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8 September 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR: The 303 Committee

SUBJECT: Reaffirmation of Existing Policy on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

1. SUMMARY

The chairman of the 303 Committee, Mr. Walt Rostow, on August 10, asked CIA to present a paper to the Committee on the findings of the Panel on U.S. Government Broadcasting to the Communist Bloc as they pertain to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. He further asked to see evidences of effectiveness of the radios, CIA's plans for modernization of the radio's technical facilities, and CIA's reply to the Bureau of the Budget request to show what the effects on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty would be of: a) holding at the FY 1967 budget level for five years, and b) reducing by [redacted] over a five year period from the FY 1967 level.

This paper presents the information requested and proposes that the 303 Committee approve the sections of the report of the Panel on U.S. Government Radio Broadcasts to the Communist Bloc, dated 28 April 1966, dealing with Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and reaffirm Radio Free Europe's mission as a non-attributed U.S. radio

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Approved by 303 Committee
on 29 September 1966.
(Minutes dated 30 Sept 66)

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broadcasting to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria and Radio Liberty's mission as a non-attributed radio broadcasting to the Soviet Union. It also proposes that the 303 Committee endorse CIA's plans to implement certain of the specific suggestions of the Panel, CIA's modernization proposal, and review CIA's analysis of the effects of the BOB alternatives.

2. BACKGROUND

a. Objectives of Radio Free Europe

Since its inception in 1950, the basic objective of Radio Free Europe has been and continues to be to keep the communist regimes from achieving or maintaining a monopoly over communications with the people of Eastern Europe and in this way to limit the capabilities of the regimes and USSR for exploiting the political, military and economic resources of the area for their own purposes. This is done primarily by encouraging evolution toward open, self-governing societies in Eastern Europe, capable of mutually beneficial relationships with the Western European community of free nations as well as with the United States. For evidences of effectiveness of RFE see Attachment A.

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b. Objectives of Radio Liberty

The original proprietary cover committee, later the American Committee for Liberation, now the Radio Liberty Committee, was organized in 1951 on the recommendation of the State Department with the primary political function of consolidating several USSR emigre groups into a useful political force. In 1953 the Jackson Committee recommended that the unattributed radio become the principal task of the ACL with a concomitant decrease in non-radio activities. Since that time Radio Liberty has evolved from simple, hard-line anti-Communism to become a sophisticated voice of opposition in the effort to break the Soviet monopoly on news and information in the USSR. For evidences of effectiveness of RL see Attachment B.

3. PROBLEM

When the 303 Committee was considering [redacted] Radio Proposal in November 1965, McGeorge Bundy, then Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, appointed a panel consisting of [redacted]
[redacted]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

to evaluate the U. S. covert broadcasting effort. After a six-month survey the panel was unanimous in its judgment that the need to maintain Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in a period of liberalization and intellectual ferment was greater than ever. The Panel's conclusions on these radios are excerpted as Attachment C.

4. FACTORS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

a. The missions of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty as the major non-official Western radios challenging communist efforts to secure a monopoly on information and ideas in Eastern Europe were reaffirmed by the Special Group on 31 August 1961. This position was again reapproved on 15 August 1963 by the Special Group when it agreed that no change in existing policy on Radio Free Europe or Radio Liberty was desirable. On 12 December 1963 the Special Group further agreed that Eastern Europe was still a target for the heaviest concentration of political-psychological operations and that the Free

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Europe Committee, Radio Free Europe, the American Committee for Liberation, and Radio Liberty should continue.

b. In light of the Panel's suggestions (Attachment C), which CIA accepts in their entirety, (with one partial exception relating to RFE's fund-raising campaign--see Attachment D)

CIA is prepared to:

- 1) Present to the BOB for approval a plan for modernization of facilities of both radios at a total cost over a three year period of with being required in FY 1968 (see Attachment E). CIA considers that the technical improvements recommended are the minimum required if Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are to retain a competitive position in international broadcasting to the Soviet Bloc. This position was arrived at only after a thorough review of the international broadcasting field and a study of all conceivable alternatives. (Attachment F contains the summary of this study.)
- 2) Undertake a program for improved research on and increased broadcasting by Radio Liberty to nationality groups in the Soviet Union.

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- 3) Implement the panel's suggestion that "given the increasing importance . . . of international communications in shaping international relations, and given the relative insignificance of the cost of these radio operations compared to the costs of weaponry, there should be greater generosity in funding them."
- 4) Advise the Bureau of the Budget that the implementation of either of their suggested alternatives would result in the inability of these policy instruments (RFE and RL) to carry out current policy directives. Both organizations have a built-in cost factor that increases by percent per year, due primarily to wage increases resulting from union negotiations and the rising cost of living in overseas locations. While management economies and elimination of low priority items can absorb approximately percent, there remains percent that must come out of operations. After three tight budget years in which both radios have eliminated low priority items any further absorptions must come at the expense of operations. Over a period of five years the effect of either alternative would

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be a decline in effectiveness, elimination of high priority activities and disintegration of employee morale. Because modernization of the facilities of both radios is essential, absorption of capital expenditures under either alternative would further degrade the level of operations. (See Attachment G for summary of analysis and charts.)

5) Decrease the emphasis on mass solicitation of funds, but to continue the RFE fund-raising effort in the corporate field in view of its continued success.

5. COORDINATION

a. Intra-Governmental

[redacted] papers governing RFE and RL broadcasts

[redacted] are coordinated with the State Department

and USIA and have been most recently revised and approved as follows:

[redacted]

20 Aug 63

12 Dec 63

13 Apr 64

25 Mar 65

25 Mar 65

6 Dec 63

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b.

[Redacted]

c. Host Countries

The radios have no current problems with the government [Redacted] site of their programming headquarters, or with the governments of [Redacted] where their transmitters are located.

RFE is operating in [Redacted] on the basis of a ten-year license renewed in 1963 and [Redacted] on a year-to-year automatically renewable license.

RL has agreement from the [Redacted] government that it will not use its termination rights before 9 July 1971. RL's [Redacted] license was renewed for 12 years on 15 July 1957, and its [Redacted] agreement will not expire until 30 July 1974.

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6. RECOMMENDATIONS

- a. That the 303 Committee approve the sections of the report of the Panel on U.S. Government Radio Broadcasts to the Communist Bloc as they pertain to Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe with the one exception noted in paragraph 4. b. 5).
- b. That the 303 Committee approve CIA's modernization proposal and its plans to implement certain suggestions of the Panel as stated in paragraph 4. b.

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