MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

November 20, 1951

SUBJECT: Meeting at Mr. Barrett's home on Tuesday evening, November 20, 1951, to discuss USIA and OPC relationships

PARTICIPANTS:

For CIA: Mr. Dulles, Mr. Hiss, Mr. Broder
For State: Mr. Barrett, Mr. Kohler, Mr. Joyce, Mr. Harbourn, Mr. Devine

CONCLUSIONS:

It was agreed that:

1. The proposed broadcasts would not go on the air as scheduled and that a joint OPC-VOA effort would be made to produce the necessary personnel to work with OPC officials as desired.

2. That the next Crusade for Freedom would be of the high-pressure, spectacular nature of this year's but would be something in the nature of a magazine and direct-mail approach, with all copy carefully cleared.

DISCUSSION:

At the opening of the meeting an agenda was distributed in which was included brief statements propounding what the proper spheres of operation of OPC and VOA should be. These proposals were as follows:

1. Sphere of Activity for VOA

To provide radio facilities so that the potentially most effective enigmatic groups can speak from nearby points to their

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captive fellow-countrymen. By implication this would preclude acknowledged sponsorship by American, British, or any group other than the speaking enclave. It also implies that the broadcasts would be in the standard broadcast band.

2. Scheme of Activities for CES

To deliver a radio message by both medium and short waves in the name of the United States Government and the American people.

These proposals were put forward to the meeting.

Following the first reading of these proposals, Mr. Dullas pointed out that the CES States program does not now deal with large groups but rather with small effective groups many of whom are anonymous.

Mr. Plumer advanced the suggestion that perhaps CES activities should only be conducted if they are supplementary and noncompetitive with VOA.

Mr. Hochman generalized this thought in a proposal that CES should carry on covert or supplementary activities which will aid the official United States Government radio. Mr. Plumer did not think the term "covert" could be logically applied in the case of CES.

Mr. Joyce suggested that at the present time the enclavists connected with CES are so divided that CES cannot ordinarily get authority to attribute blame to any one of the enclave groups. He said that the committees are meeting one of their original purposes in that they are keeping enclave group pressure from officials in the State Department.

In response to a question asked that there is now very little recording of program material by enclave groups in New York, that was previously the basic arrangement but now the bulk of the material is originating locally.

Mr. Barrett referred to the four questions which were posed by Mr. Door at the previous meeting and said that we ought to examine all CES activities in the light of the following questions:

1. Is the activity one that is serving a useful enough purpose to justify the funds involved?

2. Can it be done better by this organization than by Government directly or by other existing organizations?
3. Is it jeopardizing the existence and success of other important activities?

4. How can it best be financed?

Mr. Barrett went on to say that according to best available estimates the USSR is now spending about two billion dollars a year on propaganda and directly related activities. Hence, there is considerable justification for multiple activities—provided they don't adversely affect one another. He also said that some of the need for non-Governmental groups to participate in a "no holds barred" campaign has disappeared with the toughening attitude of the United States Government via the USA, but that we should study carefully the extent to which such more extreme-than-governments activities are still justified.

Mr. Barbour stated that the limit on what the United States Government may say is probably getting less and less but there will always be some such area which can better be handled by a non-Governmental organization.

Mr. Kohler stated that he does not see in practical terms what this non-Governmental area is. He mentioned that VOM is now using very strong anti-Stalin material and the principal yardstick is whether an item is effective propaganda or not. He pointed out that the same criterion would apply to the operations of a non-Governmental organization. Mr. Kohler added that he thinks that the VOA programming is probably a little more conservative than VOA because VOA is not so near policy and has to tread carefully on a number of issues.

Mr. Kohler said that he was not aware that it could. He added that if a third force group appeared which had something to say that we wanted said and could not say ourselves it would then be time to give them radio facilities.

Mr. Barbour stated that he feels that VOA could as a general rule take a more strident line than VOA.

Mr. Barrett raised the question as to whether the Czech operation was actually ideal and suggested that we ought to get more information on it.

Mr. Winer reported that the French are now taking active steps to form a national committee. He also said that the British were taking some moves in that direction but had not gotten far. Mr. Barrett said that instead of a national committee for France, Britain, US, and so on, there ought to be a committee for free Europe which would really be international in character. Mr. Dulles said that an international committee would be very difficult to organize and even more difficult to operate. What would be better in his opinion would be three national committees with a permanently sitting coordinating group, probably in Paris.
Mr. Barrett said that he felt we ought somehow profit by the
devices worked out by American political parties – organisations such
as New Dealers for Hillkie”, “Young Democrats for Dewey” and so on.

Mr. Kohler raised the question of what we are really after in
Eastern Europe. He said that he didn’t think we needed propaganda in
Eastern Europe because the Russians are doing our work for us.

Mr. Joyce did not agree with this and referred to the NSC basic
documents in which we are directed to increase tension in Eastern
Europe and try to release the USSR’s hold over its satellites and roll
back the Soviet borders to the 1939 line.

Mr. Barrett said that he felt it was most important for us to get
news and ideas to the people in Eastern Europe. Mr. Kohler added that
two radio voices – VOA and RTF – were worse than one when they are not
clearly distinguishable by the audience. Mr. Winner said if we needed
more volume to Eastern Europe we should step up the Voice of America.

Mr. Barrett recalled the fact that Mr. Kohler feels that there
is nothing that needs to be said to the [allotted here that cannot be said
quite adequately by the Voice of America. Mr. Dulles raised the question
of how the plans of RTF could be called off if it is
decided not to put the programs on the air. Mr. Kohler said that in
his talks with John Hughes and Adolph Berle he had the definite im-
pression that the personnel which had so far been lined up for the
program could be taken care of in other ways. He said it
would be better to have a headache for a couple of weeks than to live
with the problem for a couple of years. Mr. Dulles pointed out that a
responsible group of American citizens had participated in the planning
for this and other RTF’s activities and that they and their proposals
would not be casually discarded. Mr. Winner said he felt that
a perfectly logical explanation could be advanced that political
conditions have changed and that the State Department is now able to carry
on the ... job; therefore, RTF’s resources could be applied in other
directions. Mr. Barrett recalled that the request from the State
Department for the ... broadcast by RTF had come at a time when
State did not have the financial resources to undertake such programs.
Mr. Kohler said that the ... program need had first come to his
attention in the winter of 1919-20. Mr. Dulles reminded the group
that in May, 1951 the Department of State had approved RTF broadcasts in the
... languages. Mr. Joyce said that this same approval had
come as recently as August of this year from his Department. It was
generally agreed that in spite of these cutbacks conditions had
changed and it was important now that RTF broadcasts did not go on in the
... languages. Mr. Kohler then said that he would get together
in New York with RTF representatives to help them take the heat off RTF
in connection with any cancellation of the ... language broadcast
plan. He said that he would do this within a week.
Mr. Kissinger asked if the present policy of the Department would allow subversive broadcasts to this area. Mr. Lehman said there was no necessity for subversive broadcasts since we had not recognized the Soviet rule in those areas and were working with what we felt were the legal governments.

Mr. Dulles said that close liaison between ____ and RFE in New York were needed and he was told that arrangements had already been made for regular meetings between ____ of RFE.

____ said that RFE has just about completed work on three stations in Lisbon which are powered with 50 kilowatts each. These have been intended for relaying purposes only, with the programs originating in Munich being sent to Portugal and then played back by short wave to Hungary, Romania, and so on. Mr. Barrett made the suggestion that perhaps more radio operations could be justified simply on the basis of tying up Russian facilities and making some progress in the electronic war.

Mr. Dulles raised the question of what should be done about the Crusade for Freedom next year. Mr. Barrett said that he felt that the present type of campaign was harming the total United States effort and making people ask the question whether the Voice of America is really needed. He did say that to his surprise no serious questions came up in the last Congress concerning the apparent duplication between Radio Free Europe and VOA. Mr. Barrett suggested that instead of the present type of Crusade for Freedom, a low-pressure program should be conducted. He said that something along the lines of the tuberculosis seal campaign in magazines, with coupons and so on, ought to be tried out.

____ then said that Abbott Washburn was only getting into high gear on the Crusade and that in the next few years he hoped to be able to work the Crusade for Freedom up to a point where it could be raised. Mr. Dulles suggested that Mr. Washburn be brought down to Washington at an early date and given the idea of the low-pressure campaign. Mr. Barrett raised the question of expediting the rest of the RFE budget if the mail order approach raises only ______. He felt that an anonymous donor could take care of that problem but Mr. Dulles did not agree on this point.

Mr. Dulles raised the question of whether the Crusade for Freedom has value in making the public more aware of the international political situation. It was said that this question could not really be answered. Mr. Barrett felt that it probably made the public more aware in certain respects but on the whole created more problems than it solved.
be brought in for a discussion of this whole problem. In closing, Mr. Barret suggested that the four positions held by

He suggested that CIA appoint one person and that State appoint another to work as a team to do this job. Mr. Ollila said that he would prefer to see a record of this meeting and have a chance to discuss it with his colleagues before appointing such a person.

P = John Ollila

12/17/51

Said by Mr. Barret - CIA