SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR:  Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: Deputy Director (Plans)
Chief, Psychological and Paramilitary Staff

SUBJECT: Policy Guidance and Program Review for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty

1. U.S. broadcasts to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have been under continuing review for severance from U.S. foreign policy objectives to ensure maximum possible impact and effect on the policies and aims of both official (VOA) and unofficial radio stations (RFI and Radio Liberty). They were thoroughly reviewed by the Committee on Radio Broadcasting Policy during 1957 and 1958. This Committee, composed of representatives of State Department, CIA, and USA, headed by H. Allen Larrabee, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, prepared policy papers for the individual target countries defining the role each broadcaster would play in the furtherance of such common and specific U.S. objectives as these cases. As a basic follow-up to this initialization of policy, the Director conducts periodic review of the program content broadcast by each of the broadcasters.

2. With respect to the broadcasts of RFE, the policy papers recommended the strengthening of RFE's posture as a reflector of the Free World through appropriate relationships with "European" organizations, greater use of European materials and points of view, emphasis on European integration, discontinuance of identification of broadcasts with the Voice of Free Poland, etc., change in the output level of the broadcasts, etc. Great care was taken to ensure that RFE broadcasts would not be inflammatory by adoption of such ground rules as "avoiding any action which would amount to or could be thought intended to be direct incitement to armed uprisings or armed resistance in connection with military defense or up-rising which might occur," "avoiding the use of program content or tone which either clearly is intended to be inflammatory or whose effects may be anticipated to be potentially inflammatory." The papers further explicitly confirmed that "policy for RFE broadcasting is almost only in providing evolutionary changes."

3. These policy papers were joined as RFE Special Guidance in the Fall of 1959. In addition to RFE's own programming direction and CIA's continuing supervision of RFE's output to ensure compliance with these directives, the Highways Committee has appointed a script review working group which periodically reviews RFE output. To date samples of output for all five countries have been examined and a second round of reviews is about to begin. These reviews have shown that RFE has made considerable

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progress in reasserting the programing along the policy lines stated above. For example, RFI began changing their name by early 1953 to such call signs as "Voice of the Polish Nation in Russia." Other call

document does appear; the proportion of programing was well

achieved by the initiative of such broadcasts as the league "University of the Air" and

planning in call signs for the creation of a European Advisory

Committee to advise and assist in RFI broadcasting. No direct

official of the European Advisory Committee in its present role

the Polish output which was reviewed on April 27, 1953, was classified to

take a long time during the next several months toward meeting current

improvement policy objectives. RFI was congratulated on broadcast in the

international committee field and as a number of other specific RFI.

4. We would like to say that we consider attempts by the Communist

regime to discredit RFI to be one indication of effectiveness. It is

obviously not in the interests of the regime, despite the efforts to

breach through the Iron Curtain with the message of truth and hope

for the captive peoples. There have been many thousands of such regime

attacks in the past as well as continuing efforts to put RFI out of business

diplomatic, public and private channels. As we have, in addition, just

learned of a Communist agent attempt to hold the RFI headquarters in Warsaw.

On the other hand, there is a continuing body of evidence available attesting

to the fact that RFI has a substantial and interested audience in its

target audience.

5. Finally, independent studies by the foreign press, the Council of

Europe and the United States government fully confirmed RFI from charges that

did not the Hungarian people to revolt in 1956. As the US Report on

Hungary itself points out, the revolt there was sparked by the people them-

selves the very words of a Soviet puppet regime.

6. The Committee on Radio Broadcasting Policy issued the policy

paper defining the policy objectives and operating rules for Radio Libera-

tion on 1 May 1958. In essence, this document provides for an evolutionary

rather than an revolutionary approach in seeking to bring about changes in

the Soviet system which are desirable from an operational point of view, an approach which the

radio already had been following.

7. RFI's basic objective is to stimulate Soviet listeners to think

critically of the communist system and to pursue, by means available to

them, for alternative forms of Soviet governmental structure and behavior

calculated to give them greater participation in decisions affecting their

own future. The essence of the regime is preserved as an essential

ingredient in furthering the image that fellow countrymen the live in

Russia in the West are speaking to their fellow countrymen behind the

Iron Curtain with the knowledge and experience they have acquired in both

forms of society. In point of actual fact, the radio is completely inde-

pendent of the Soviet radio community and under the complete control and

authority of the radio's own management.
operating control of American citizens. It does not involve any violation of the constitution and international agreements against the Soviet State or the leaders but establishes selective media policies and restrictions which seek to the disadvantage of the Soviet people. It is quick to recognize and exploit Soviet successes and other achievements in order to minimize them as a stimulus of the right of Soviet citizens. It speaks generally from the viewpoint that any changes which may be brought about in Soviet society must be achieved by the Soviet people themselves and not from outside.

4. In exercising adherence to the policy paper, a working group of the committee on Radio Broadcasting Policy concluded on 30 October 1973 on the basis of state treatment by Radio Liberation. Its draft report to the committee said the working group agreed that the broadcast service generally continued to present policy directives. It noted the success of the state departments representatives on the working group that the sample consisted of good balance in tone, containing yet too much investigative while at the same time not being overly critical. The integration and presentation of news program was perfect while that of others was maintained. The text of the working group’s draft report is attached herein.

5. State Department representatives on the working group recommended that the ease of the ease in solution should be changed as soon as possible by Radio China (in English, Radio Liberty, or others). This change is now in the process of being effected after a lengthy study conducted by the management of the American Committee for Liberation. The Department of State, CIA and the American Committee for Liberation are agreed that the ease “abolition” possible to the nation’s interest the liberty of the people of the US by force from inside and that such a revision does not necessarily interpret the nation’s position and also as defined by the official policy document governing the operation. It is expected that the new ease for the nation will be established shortly under a phased procedure allowing for a gradual transition period of a few weeks.

6. In a personal conversation with Ronald L. Reagan, President of the American Committee for Liberation on 5 January in New York, President Reagan emphasized the role attributed to him by now that US and Radio Liberation should be “abolished” if the Soviets agreed to discontinuance jailing of USA broadcasts. He outlined his real views, according to Mr. Reagan, as follows:

The time is not always at hand that the USA either will stop jailing of its own accord or be prepared to make a deal which is in a good one from our point of view.

The time is not always at hand that it would be wise to make an agreement by which such private broadcasts on USA or Radio Liberation were shut down or eliminated.
Under present circumstances the USSR might reduce or eliminate its army for a time until the professional nature of such service is resumed. The technical equipment displayed and then it would be still in a position to frustrate new restraint for restoring the service. They would then have achieved the objective of eliminating these broadcasts without impairing their own position substantially.

There may however come a time in the future when a point at which there is a possibility of a serious negotiation and then the question of whether broadcasts such as those of USSR and Radio London should be maintained might bring us to the point where the USSR could be willing to pay for their elimination.

SIR HENRY, M.A.
Chief
International Organizations Division

1 Attachment
As stated

IO/I:AFREYNOLDS:kb (27 Jan 59)

Distribution:
Orig. & 1 - Address, w/att.
1 - DDCI, w/o att.
1 - DDF, w/o att.
1 - CFP, w/o att.
1 - RI, w/o att.
1 - C/IO, w/o att.
1 - IO/I, w/o att.
4 - IO/I, w/o att.