

The end in view is effective cooperation between three elements, viz., two departments of Government (State and X) and a group of private citizens organized as a non-profit corporation (hereinafter referred to as "the Fund"). Another department of Government--Defense--might come into the situation actively as the general situation develops further, but it appears not to have done so up to the present.

For the purpose of analysis, areas of cooperation may be designated: diplomatic; psychological warfare; fiscal. The first has to do with handling to the best advantage the political exiles from Communist-dominated countries. Psychological warfare has meant radio propaganda so far, but other activities may arise under this heading. Fiscal explains itself.

1. Diplomatic. When the Fund began operations a year and a half ago, the exiles had already been organized to some extent in the form of national councils. It was desired that this type of organization should be extended and perfected.

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"Policy guidance" respecting relations with the exiles would be received by the Fund exclusively through X. The guidance would originate with State.

The plan has not worked well. The Rumanian National Council, which existed when the Fund began, has now dissolved. The Bulgarian Council is a one-man show. The Czechoslovak Council is not deemed to be satisfactory. Only the Hungarian Council comes near justifying the plan originally envisaged. There is no prospect of a broadly representative Polish national council. A Yugoslav national council is not at present desired and probably could not be brought into being if it were desired.

The latest "policy guidance" received by the Fund on the subject of National Councils nevertheless reiterates the original plan. The paper in question appears to be animated by the idea that the scheme of national councils could be made to work if the Fund were sufficiently adroit and assiduous.

However, some who have had experience in this field, not only

currently but earlier during World War II, are convinced that the plan itself is not the best and could never be made to work in a fully satisfactory way.

Whatever the final judgment on this point, it is clear meanwhile that little progress is likely to be made until more explicit exchange of views and coordination of action are achieved among the above mentioned three principal elements in the situation. It does not suffice for Washington simply to enunciate "guidance" and expect the Fund to achieve results, if for no other reason than that the exiles have access one way or another to all three elements in the situation and are by no means inexperienced in making the most of the opportunities that such a complexity creates.

Exile is a morbid and exasperating condition. It may well be that relations with the exiles will never be worked out to everybody's complete satisfaction; but a tolerable working solution can almost certainly be come to and maintained

if, as indicated above, a more explicit exchange of views and fuller coordination of action can be achieved among the three elements. To this end, it is suggested that two principal officers of the Fund might meet at fairly frequent intervals with representatives of State and X, explore the situation of the moment, and come to decisions. On points of policy it is obvious that the word of State must be final, but it is of the essence that in taking its decisions State should have the advantage of unlimited consultation with its partners.

2. Psychological Warfare--Radio Propaganda. Two areas have to be distinguished: (1) that of technical arrangements for delivering radio signals in desired areas; and (2) programming.

Regarding the first, coordination among the three elements appears to have been worked out so far on a practical basis of talks at the Department of State--but the end results have still to be seen.

(F.A.)

coordination with our friends in the matter of
Regarding programming, the current situation is fully
as unsatisfactory as that described above in the diplomatic field;
and there is this to be added--whatever the experience

of the past may have been, it is clear that the United States is now entering upon a new and more intense phase of psychological warfare such as calls for more careful arrangements in any case.

The Fund (Radio Free Europe) is one important element in the general complex of the American psychological warfare effort. The mission of Radio Free Europe must be at all times clear. Above all, there must be coordination with the Voice of America.

And it has to be borne in mind that coordination cannot be effected once for all. The situation will remain fluid and readjustments will be required, perhaps at frequent intervals. For instance, the character of VOA propagation appears recently to have been altered fundamentally, as reported in the New York Herald Tribune and other papers of September 25.

The solution of the radio problem would appear to be analogous to that required for better coordination in the diplomatic field. An overall working authority on psychological warfare is needed, and there needs to be a place in such a body

(presumably a regularly constituted board) for representatives of the Fund.

The question arises also of information from official sources for use in Radio Free Europe programming.

There is not yet a satisfactory answer to this.

3. Fiscal. Procedures in this field have so far proved to be satisfactory and no important alternations are recommended.

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With regard to all of the foregoing it has to be borne in mind that the Fund is directed by individuals not only of some public stature but possessing specific experience in the fields of diplomacy and psychological warfare. If an ostensibly private instrumentality is desired which will do no more than carry out automatically directions from Washington, a different type of personnel will have to be found for the Fund.

The individuals now directing the Fund are intensely loyal citizens. They are in the field not to hinder but to help the Government. They can be counted upon to go to the utmost

in giving effect to Governmental policies when these are clearly and authoritatively established. A long step forward would be accomplished simply by recognizing the Fund to be a partner on an equal footing, subject only to the final authority of the Government on points of public policy.

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