

March 10, 1961

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Robert:

The attached memorandum was prepared for the President in response to his own doubts about the effectiveness of Radio Free Europe. Without letting anyone at RFE know that this inquiry is going on -- for such a breach of security would eventually get back to the President and hurt us both -- would you please give me your comments on the memorandum.

You may wish to be in touch with the Government official from whom the President has officially requested an analysis of this memorandum. His name is Tom Sorensen.

Cordially,

Theodore C. Sorensen

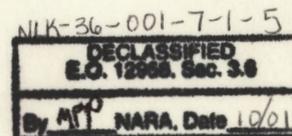
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This Week Magazine  
485 Lexington Avenue  
New York, New York

Enclosure

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING UNITED STATES  
INFORMATION SERVICES POLICY TOWARDS  
EASTERN EUROPE  
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## I INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In the last years the United States suffered numerous defeats in what is usually called the 'cold war'.

The whole idea of 'peaceful co-existence' between these two ideologically-opposed blocs, in fact implies competition in every field; its ruthlessness is tempered only by the fear of war on both sides. The terminology may vary but as long as the two leading world powers possess equally powerful deterrents, such concepts and terms as co-existence, peaceful competition, economic co-operation, cultural exchange and so on, will still represent different forms of political rivalry. The West may at times find this terminology misleading but on the Soviet side there is no doubt about its real meaning. This emerged clearly in the declaration published at the end of the last Communist summit in Moscow, in which co-existence with the capitalist countries was defined as a form of class war-fare and not as a compromise.

In the years to come the uncommitted nations of Africa and Asia will be the most important stake in the political rivalry between the USA and the USSR. In this campaign both powers will take the offensive. In addition the Soviet Union will be waging an offensive campaign in Latin America, where the United States will have to defend its status quo ante. As an additional field for an American political offensive, Eastern Europe would seem to be the most suitable. This applies particularly to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Eastern Germany. These countries form the most politically exposed Western frontier of the Soviet bloc and are situated on the approaches of a Western Europe which is

already in the process of integration. They offer the most practical objective for a bold 'new frontier' American policy towards the Communist camp.

Such a policy should not deviate from the principle that the USA has never given its moral approval to the imposition of Communist regimes on to the nations of Eastern Europe. Instead, however, of raising false hopes of armed liberation, this policy should concentrate on easing the Soviet grip upon these nations by peaceful methods such as the systematic strengthening of economic and cultural ties between Eastern Europe and the West.

The existing trends in Europe towards economic and political integration may provide a useful basis for this policy of gradual emancipation from Soviet domination. Western Europe could well become a bridgehead towards wider European unity. The idea of a United States of Europe has a strong political attraction for the countries behind the Iron Curtain. This attraction will grow as the present process of economic integration of Western Europe is gradually followed by steps towards closer political integration. This process could take place gradually, by means of growing trade and political exchanges and increased economic interdependence. It would, of course, be expedited by any upheaval inside the Soviet Union.

These considerations are particularly applicable to Poland. During the electoral campaign the President of the USA referred to Poland as the country which is most ripe for peaceful 'extraction' from the Soviet bloc.

In the case of Poland the process of gradual extraction will be furthered by American aid to that country, as formulated in President Kennedy's Seven Points. Such aid has already helped in a modest degree towards the neutralising of Poland and her isolation from the other Soviet satellites.

A declaration of American aims and principles  
- the same sort of document as President Woodrow Wilson's  
memorable Fourteen Points - would provide a valuable  
instrument for a new American leadership and policy in  
Europe and elsewhere.

Some of these aims and principles should be of a more general nature and would apply alike to the uncommitted nations and the nations under Communist rule. Others would be concerned with particular geo-political regions.

Such a declaration would help to dispel the  
fears prevalent in Eastern European countries that they are  
being used as a pawn in the East-West game. It would, moreover, help to raise the American prestige, which in that part of Europe is still suffering from the reckless 'liberation' slogans used in the early years of the Republican administration.

II PRESENT STATE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL  
PROPAGANDA MACHINE FOR EASTERN EUROPE.

The new American leadership, should not only counteract the numerous and excellent Soviet instruments of psychological warfare but should take the initiative and carry the war of ideas straight back into the Soviet camp.

Whatever the future relations between Washington and Moscow there is at present no reason to believe that Russia will be willing to dispose of its powerful propaganda machine, run by a corps of 5,000 foreign policy experts who are supported throughout the world by 200,000 so-called 'officers of revolution'.

At present Soviet radio-propaganda to the West and the uncommitted nations is four times greater than US transmissions to the Soviet camp and the neutrals. The American propaganda machine compares very modestly with that of the Soviet Union. Moreover its costs are out of all proportion to the unimpressive results achieved and it is to a certain extent at least responsible for the recent decline of American prestige in the world.

The following remarks will be concerned with the present nature and quality of American political propaganda aimed at Eastern Europe, and more particularly at Poland, the most vulnerable of the satellites. But some of its weak points are of a more general character and some of the suggested remedies could be more generally applied.

United States political propaganda is  
conducted by -

- A The United States Information Agency
- B Voice of America
- C Radio Free Europe
- D Free Europe Committee.

A U.S.I.A. and 'Ameryka' As far as Poland is concerned, USIA is responsible for the publication of an official American magazine in the Polish language called 'Ameryka'. Although billions of American zlotys are blocked in Poland 'Ameryka' is printed and edited in the USA, the same staff running its equivalents for Russia and the Arab states. The finished copies are afterwards mailed to the countries concerned for distribution. The end results of this complicated and costly process can best be illustrated by the following examples.

The January 1961 issue of 'Ameryka' carried a story describing the technique of the presidential inauguration without mentioning the name of the new President. His name appeared for the first time in February, together with a life story. As this was prepared for Polish, Russian and Arabic readers, the Polish issue did not mention facts which would have been of special interest to the Polish readers, such as details of the new President's visits to Poland and his attitude towards American aid for that country. As for his inauguration speech, parts of it will appear only in the April issue, while profiles of the members of the new Cabinet are planned for August.

There is no message in the whole magazine and no political thought or purpose. The American way of life is presented with an unnecessary snob appeal, and with an exaggerated stress on material prosperity. Such issues as industrial relations, labour unions or race integration are neglected.

B The Voice of America The programmes of the "Voice of America" are organised in the same sort of centralised and bureaucratic way as the USIA publications. The VoA is, of

course, an official organ of the American Government and this fact undoubtedly imposes many responsibilities and limitations on its policy. But there is still no need for the programmes to be stiff, stuffy and completely detached from the life of the countries to which they are broadcast. The British and French programmes compare - at least in Eastern Europe - most favourably with those of the Voice of America and have a much higher standing as sources of information in the countries of reception.

The programmes of the Voice of America are edited and prepared exclusively by American-born Americans. Naturalised Americans, many of whom are political exiles with an expert knowledge of their countries or at least a natural understanding of their countrymen's reactions and ways of thinking, are by virtue of their birth excluded from editorial and advisory posts. They are used only as translators. Moreover, the fact that they are obliged to translate the English texts verbatim does not increase the quality of the VoA programmes.

C and D Radio Free Europe and the Free Europe Committee

i Discrepancies between Aims and Practice. The declared aims of the Free Europe Radio and Committee have always been to present unofficially American ideals of freedom and democracy to that part of Europe which as a result of the last war fell under Soviet domination. The Radio is intended to keep a flame of hope burning behind the Iron Curtain and to counteract anti-American and anti-Western propaganda from the Soviet end. The Committee also aims, on behalf of the American people, to maintain relations with and give support to the numerous political exile groups in Western Europe, which constitute an important Western political asset in the war of ideas with the Soviet bloc.

The Radio and the Committee are different branches of an organisation which bears the same name, although they like to stress their separateness in public. In practice, their activities are often so interwoven that it would be difficult to discuss them separately here. In any case, they are commonly identified by European public opinion on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

'Free Europe' has at its disposal a powerful organisation, seemingly inexhaustible funds and a modern broadcasting station which is technically without rival in Europe. What it seems to lack notably is a fund of constructive ideas .

The Radio and the Free Europe Committee were launched at the time of growing federalist and integrationalist tendencies in Europe. It was then generally believed that in addition to serving as an American cold-war instrument the new organisation would live up to its name by fostering the ideas of united Europe, and helping to preserve cultural relations between Europe's Eastern and Western sectors. Political exiles from Eastern Europe had their hopes raised high by the Committee's representatives; they were given to believe that the Committee would serve as a sort of link between them and the American Government, through which they would be able to represent their Communist-dominated countries.

All these illusions were however soon dispelled by the Chairman of the then American National Committee for a Free Europe, who in a Press statement described the aims of 'Free Europe' as purely diversionary. According to this statement the idea behind this organisation

was to keep Eastern Europe on the simmer, so as to keep the Russians busy in Europe and give the Americans a free hand in other theatres of the cold war.

This statement had, despite subsequent belated attempts to deny it, a most unfortunate effect; it heavily undermined the authority and goodwill which 'Free Europe' might easily have garnered behind the Iron Curtain. The maladroitness of this statement could only be matched by a later remark of Mr. Foster Dulles. In October 1956 he described Radio Free Europe as one of the instruments of the State Department, apparently forgetting that the Free Europe organisation had been presented to the Europeans from its inception as a purely private American initiative, animated by goodwill.

Later the authority of the Free Europe organisation was certainly not strengthened by the zeal with which Radio Free Europe continued to use 'liberation policy' slogans long after they had been forgotten in Washington. This had its tragic epilogue in the Budapest rising. Several reputable refugees from Hungary later accused the Hungarian section of Radio Free Europe of misleading them about American policy and inciting them to make the uprising.

ii Negative Radio Programmes As long as it was in force, the liberation policy at least represented a certain defined American attitude to Eastern Europe. Its collapse in 1956 was a major blow to the reputation of Radio Free Europe, which had been this policy's loudest exponent. It also exposed the fact that no government nor any established and respected international organisation was responsible for the views and programmes disseminated by RFE. In fact, the question most frequently asked by listeners behind the Iron Curtain is: who stands behind Radio Free Europe and who is responsible for its policy?

The staff for the various national desks of Radio Free Europe was originally recruited on a party-political basis. /See pagell / The object of this was to create the fictitious impression that Radio Free Europe represents the political exile groups in the West. In the case of Poland, RFE went so far as to call its Polish language programme "The Voice of Free Poland", despite protests from all Polish political groups in exile. After the 1956 upheavals in Hungary and Poland, this "political exile" facade became so transparent that, in consequence, the name "Voice of Free Poland" was dropped shortly afterwards.

To this day, however, the programmes of RFE remain purely negative. They should of course expose the malpractices of the Communist régime but the present constant bickering and monotonous attacks on the inefficiency and shortcomings of the Communist régimes cannot take the place of a positive programme. People behind the Iron Curtain know from everyday experience what it is to live in a Communist system and they do not want to be constantly reminded of it by an American broadcasting station.

iii Combination of Political Propaganda and Intelligence Activities It would appear that the Free Europe organisation is suffering from a great error which was probably made at its inception and which has undermined the authority of Radio Free Europe in particular. The source of this error is the attempt to combine political propaganda with intelligence services. This is an unsavoury combination which can never give good results, and indeed there are no other precedents or instances of this combination at work to-day. Even Soviet Russia avoids it,

and if she ever avails herself of a political propaganda machine for intelligence purposes she does this through the satellite services, not her own. In Britain this division is very strictly observed. The same applies to various French official and semi-official institutes dealing with political propaganda.

The allegedly charitable sources of Free Europe's financial backing are also not taken very seriously, particularly in view of this organisation's lavish spending. In Western Europe it is regarded as an annexe of the CIA and its agencies are not always very welcome guests. One reason for this is that the activities of the Free Europe Committee sometimes clash with those of the local security authorities. Further suspicions are raised by the fact that owing to a special direction of wavelength the broadcasts beamed from Munich via powerful transmitters in Lisbon usually cannot be heard in Western Europe. This leaves the Free Europe Radio Free of any control or criticism except for control by the Federal German Government, to which the Radio Free Europe has to submit its tapes after their transmission.

#### iv Maladroit Dealings with Exile Communities

The Free Europe organisation appears to have been in the habit of disarming exile criticism of its activities by a subtle and pervasive system of individual and collective corruption, which has achieved results amongst some refugee intellectuals and leaders, who are usually penurious and unable to find an equivalent source of income in their countries of settlement. This process either through the granting of direct subsidies from the Free Europe Committee, or by the manipulated commissioning of redundant material for Radio Free Europe. Those who accept subsidies

from the Free Europe Committee are not likely to criticise its activities; instead they tend to silence the decreasing number of those who remain independent and uncorrupted. The whole system is highly demoralising and has contributed far more to the disintegration of the political exile communities in Western Europe than have the increasing efforts to that effect undertaken by the Communists.

This gradual collective corruption is carried out on a party-political basis. The Free Europe Committee acts on the fictitious assumption that there are in the West exile representatives of democratic political parties that still exist secretly behind the Iron Curtain. In fact, whether or not such underground political parties still exist in particular countries behind the Iron Curtain, the mandate of the majority of exile political parties dates from the pre-war or wartime period and their present influence either in their home countries or amongst the exile communities is highly debatable. Instead of supporting non-partisan exile institutions of a cultural, educational or scientific nature in their efforts to preserve the cultural values of their respective nations, which at home are under heavy attack by the alien régimes in power there, the Committee has concentrated its support mainly on these exile parties. The same 'party' system was applied when Radio Free Europe was recruiting the staff for its national desks from amongst the Eastern European exiles.

Although it concentrates on political partisan groups, the Free Europe Committee has for some rather obscure reasons also made devious approaches to some of the purely social and welfare organisations which serve the mass of East European immigrants settled in the West. This has created the unnecessary impression that the Eastern

European communities are being run by the Americans and with American money. It is of course resented by the West European governmental departments that are officially concerned with immigrants. In France, for instance, it caused some trouble with the French authorities and resulted in the Committee having to wind up some of its Paris offices.

v Intelligence Interviews with Visitors from East Europe What may be called the open intelligence activities of the Free Europe organisation are usually carried on under the guise of press interviews with the increasing number of individuals who arrive from Eastern Europe on temporary visas. The interviewee is often offered a small sum of money for the information supplied. The interviews usually take place where the refugees congregate and where the new arrivals can easily be found. This method was recently 'improved on' in Paris, by the opening of a nightclub with financial backing supplied by the Free Europe Committee. The questions asked are often of a purely technical nature and cannot possibly be of any press or political propaganda interest. All in all, the visitor from a Communist country to the free West is left in no doubt that he has fallen into the hands of an American intelligence network. When he returns home he may reflect upon this while he tunes in to the Radio Free Europe transmission.

There is no doubt that diplomatic and consular representatives in the West of the Communist governments are fully aware of this aspect of the Free Europe Committee's activities. They may well make use of this knowledge if and when they decide to close the frontiers. In this connection it should be remembered that

Soviet propaganda always maintains that anything that the West can offer to the people's democracies in the sphere of cultural or political rapprochement is just a mask for intelligence activities. Surely then the Free Europe Committee should not recklessly supply arguments which may seem to substantiate this thesis.

### III RECOMMENDATIONS

#### I General Considerations for Formulating Policy

It would seem that a new American approach to Europe should be based on the principle; Fewer dollars, more political leadership.

In formulating a new approach and new methods, the following general considerations should be borne in mind.

- The present American propaganda machine was hastily constructed in the period of the Stalinist type cold war. It is still burdened by some rules and methods which might have been useful in the early cold war and 'brinkmanship' periods but which seem outmoded now. The inclusion of an intelligence element in the political propaganda machine is certainly one of them.

- As the present propaganda machine was designed in the Stalinist period, any positive reconstruction should also take into account the considerable changes that have since then occurred in Europe as in the rest of the world. Although the Kremlin's aims remain on the whole unaltered in Eastern Europe, Soviet pressure has been relaxed or at least is not displayed as directly as before. The process of certain political relaxations has advanced furthest in Poland, which has become the weakest link in the Satellite chain. Another element to be considered is the new generation that has grown up in the Communist-dominated European countries. On the whole this young generation has not been won over to Communism, but its political and moral attitudes are understandably confused and the pre-war political system and leadership in Eastern Europe have very little meaning to these young people.

- Western Europe has also undergone many changes since the early cold-war days. The political integration which will sooner or later follow the economic one may at some point weigh decisively on the fates of the European continent.

## 2 Detailed Recommendations

A USIA and The Voice of America Judged by the effects of its activities, as seen from Europe, the USIA seems to suffer from too rigid an organisation. This is understandable in the ordinary Government department, but surely some of its rules should be relaxed in an information service, where quick reactions and on the spot decisions are often needed.

The Voice of America should become a truly authoritative spokesman for the American Government and a source of first-hand knowledge of all aspects of American way of life. Its role as a purely American spokesman would become even more important if the suggestions made below for re-organising Radio Free Europe were to be accepted.

Eastern European listeners to the Voice of America complain that its programmes are dull and monotonous. The main reasons for this in the past seem to have been the overall bureaucratic approach and a lack of journalistic touch. These faults seem unlikely to persist, however, in view of recent top-level appointments made by the new administration.

More use should also be made of the abilities and special knowledge of naturalised Americans of East European origin. The present system of excluding them from policy-making posts appears an unnecessary waste of talent.

The case of the official American magazine 'Ameryka' cited earlier is also an example of how an otherwise useful initiative can be spoilt by bureaucratic red-tape. So far as the Polish edition of this journal is concerned, the obvious solution would be to transfer its printing to Poland, where it could be printed locally and at least partly edited by the American Embassy Staff in Warsaw, and its costs could be covered out of the funds of local currency at the disposal of the American Government. The publication could thus become more up-to-date and would be able to take into account local angles and local interests in presenting the USA to Poland. The present system of combining the Polish, Russian and Arabic editions seems to be bad publicity.

B Radio Free Europe and the Free Europe Committee. This organisation has fallen very far short of the noble ideals it was supposed to propagate and the new administration should initiate a thorough investigation of its past activities. It has a poor reputation in Europe generally, and has no moral authority behind the Iron Curtain, although it is certainly widely heard because of its powerful transmitters.

The Free Europe organisation is equipped with the most modern technical propaganda apparatus and has large funds at its disposal of which a substantial part are collected from the American public by the "Crusade for Freedom."

If it were to attain the necessary high moral standing and authority, this organisation could be a most useful tool in the carrying out of the new American policy towards the nations of Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe.

The following recommendations are put forward as likely to promote this dual object. Although the recommendations are interlocking and integrated, they are divided for convenience under two main heads:

a) Immediate Remedial; and b) Long-term Constructive.

a) The general orientation of the Free Europe organisation should be adapted to the new American approach to Eastern Europe and the errors and abuses in present policy and practice should be eliminated. The following recommendations refer back to the detailed comments on Radio Free Europe and the Free Europe Committee in Section IIC.

i) The early cold-war orientation of the Free Europe organisation is outmoded and should be rethought in terms of contemporary East-West relations. So called "peaceful co-existence" involves much more subtle forms of political warfare and demands more flexibility. Such subtlety and flexibility are particularly required in the execution of the policy of the peaceful "extraction" of Poland and other Eastern European countries from the Soviet bloc by means of gradually building up and strengthening their cultural and economic links with the West.

This purpose could be furthered by a statement of policy based on the references to Eastern Europe in President Kennedy's State of the Union Message, which should be regarded as a blinding political directive. This wider statement of policy should clearly tell the captive nations of Eastern Europe what the free world can do for them, even in a limited way, and how far the West is prepared to go in supporting them against Soviet domination. The people in Eastern Europe who have successfully withstood Soviet pressure for so many years have developed a strong resistance to indoctrination, and they will always have more respect for

and more confidence in an honest statement of policy than in political double-talk aimed at a raising of hopes which subsequently prove groundless.

More emphasis should be put on the European character of the organisation which is, after all, expressed even in its name. In view of the changing face of Europe the organisation should be imbued from top to bottom with a dynamic and constructive purpose, of which the spearhead and goal would be the idea of a United States of Europe.

ii) Instead of trying to be merely the anti-Communist counterpart of the Communist-run national Broadcasting systems of the respective Eastern European countries, Radio Free Europe - while not neglecting issues of special interest to different countries - should drop its present negative approach and become the spokesman of this idea of a united Europe of which Poland and other Eastern European countries form an integral part. This whole question is discussed in more detail in Sub-section b.

iii) Both Radio Free Europe and the Free Europe Committee should be separated from all intelligence activities. This would almost certainly involve some personnel changes. The anonymous character of the Organisation should also be done away with. It is particularly damaging to Radio Free Europe which, lacking any serious and responsible backing, cannot have the authority necessary to exert any significant influence amongst its listeners behind the Iron Curtain.

iv) The Free Europe Committee should reorganise its relations with the East European ethnic groups on a far wider basis. It should, for instance, co-operate with and take advice from the old and solidly-established organisations of the Polish-American community, which so far have not been invited to co-operate with the Committee.

In its relations with the more recently-settled East European minorities in Western Europe the Committee should also take into account the fact that these groups have now been settled in the West for fifteen years or so, and that their character and social structure have changed and will continue to change accordingly. There are exile institutions and organisations other than the political groups which are in constant touch with Eastern Europe and they well deserve the Committee's financial assistance. The same applies in the case of a number of elderly outstanding individual exiles, whose high intellectual qualities and contribution to the cause of freedom in their countries deserve acknowledgement. This assistance, should however, be given openly, not secretly as hitherto, on an impartial basis and under impartial control.

v) The contacts with visitors from East European countries should be made exclusively with a view of their utility for RFE programmes purposes and should no longer give even the impression of being connected with intelligence activities.

C. The Free Europe organisation will attain the necessary authority and political influence if it is brought closer in spirit to Europe and if it takes its inspiration from the growing trends towards European unity.

Instead of being run more or less anonymously by a private American corporation, Radio Free Europe and the Free Europe Committee should represent the Atlantic Community under American leadership. This wider and more representative basis could be achieved either by linking the organisation with NATO or - with the existing federalist movements and the organisations which are working for the integration of Europe. Such organisations as, for example, the European Movement, the European Atlantic Committees,

the Council of the European Economic Community, the European Federalist Movement, and some of Europe's more representative institutes for East European studies, including Cardinal Ottaviani's Institute in the Vatican, should be invited to participate in the activities and also in the financing of a remodelled Free Europe organisation and in shaping its East European policy. In order to emphasise the Christian foundations of Western Europe and to give expression to the growing trends towards Christian unity one should also secure the co-operation of the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity and of the World Council of Churches.

With this sort of backing and with firm and enduring support from America, Radio Free Europe would become the spokesman of the growing trends towards European integration and the pioneer of the idea of an eventual United States of Europe, whose frontiers would stretch far beyond the Iron Curtain. Instead of the present purely national approach, Radio Free Europe would lay more stress on the **historical**, cultural and economic links which unite the whole of Europe across the present East-West barrier. However remote the ideal of a gradual and peaceful absorption of Eastern Europe as a corollary of the intensified integration of Western Europe may seem at present, it is at least constructive and may have a considerable attraction for East Europeans, whose hopes of independence following armed intervention or assistance from the West have long since faded. This approach should be accompanied by constant reminders that the free world does not recognise the present political set-up in Eastern Europe as just or lasting.

At present Radio Free Europe is exclusively concerned with transmissions beyond the Iron Curtain. And as has been noted earlier these transmissions are beamed in such a way as to be almost unobtainable by West European listeners. In this connection three extensions or changes of policy of programmes are suggested.

i) - The idea of European unity and the pan-European character of the free Europe organisation could be further stressed by introducing special broadcasts for Western Europe.

ii) - In diverting some of Radio Free Europe's transmissions to Western Europe, the interests and needs of the large East European ethnic groups in the West should not be forgotten, and programmes specially designed for them in their own language should be included.

iii) - In addition, their links with their home countries should be supported by making such technical adjustments as would enable them to listen in to the programmes beamed in their languages beyond the Iron Curtain.

The active co-operation of Western European representatives in the Free Europe organisations would necessitate some changes in its structure. The present advisory committee is really no more than a facade and should be done away with. In its place, a Policy Committee, with headquarters, a permanent secretariat and a research unit in Europe, would provide the necessary platform for co-operation between the American heads of the Free Europe organisation and the prominent representatives of Western Europe. This Committee should act openly and the name of its chairman and members should be publicised in East Europe as well as the West.

The Committee should not only have control over Radio Free Europe's programmes but should have a decisive voice in shaping them. This should be done in accordance with the overall political strategy of the Western allies. The

special national interests of each country behind the Iron Curtain should also be respected and taken care of through the Committee's co-operation with non-partisan delegates from all representative East-European organisations in the West.

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The contents of and recommendations made in this Memorandum have inevitably been concerned with American-European relations. In the new climate of American foreign policy Europe may seem a relatively small and stable sector compared with the opportunities and challenges provided by the newly-independent and uncommitted nations in other continents. It should, however, be borne in mind that Europe and Africa form a single geo-political area, that they are mutually complementary in the economic sphere and that they are linked by many profound social and cultural ties which will long outlast the transient frictions set up by earlier colonialist relationships.

February, 1961.