

ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS
SECRETARIAT

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B26
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2005

ACEN F: 534 (VII)Sec
November 2, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Bernard Yarrow, Senior Vice President PEC

From: Chairman and Secretary General of ACEN

Subject: Relations between ACEN and RFE

Complying with the wish you expressed in our talk last week, we shall endeavor to set forth briefly our views of the relations between ACEN and RFE, as well as of the measures which in our opinion would lead to a closer cooperation between two institutions serving the same goal.

I. THE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP

It has always been the view of ACEN that political propaganda divorced from political action is meaningless and, therefore, in the long run, ineffective. To be effective, political propaganda must have as its source an organized body with clear political purposes, able and willing to assume political responsibility for the views and news it transmits. This problem does not even arise in the case of government-sponsored broadcasts. Political responsibility is there clearly vested in the sponsoring government. In the case of privately sponsored broadcasts, however, the risk is that sooner or later it will be viewed as a sheer propaganda venture unconnected with any organized action designed to benefit eventually the target country. This is why one finds a real or at least a fictitious group behind most of the successful non-governmental propaganda efforts directed to foreign countries.

ACEN never succeeded in securing acceptance for this view. The question of who bears political responsibility for the transmissions of RFE was never solved. Yet, there are many indications that in our homelands responsibility is often attributed to the better known exiles, that is to men who have no voice in the determination of policy. This, be it said in passing, is quite understandable as long as RFE broadcasts are presented as the "Voice of Free Poles", "Free Hungarians", etc., which to some listeners suggest organized groups rather than undefined, amorphous masses of exiles.

Since the likelihood of a solution along the views of ACEN appears to be more than negligible, a number of partial remedies were repeatedly suggested and are here sketchily outlined.

1. Consultation on Policy

In the framework of WEAC leading Western European personalities are now associated in a consulting capacity, with RFE. Strangely enough, however, the political bodies most directly interested, i.e., the national committees of the RFE target countries and ACEN, their common political organization, have not been asked to participate on a regular basis in this or any other machinery of consultation. This lack of consultation between two institutions which speaks daily to the people of the captive lands and another

institution which speaks for the same people in the free world is certainly not helping the common cause. The very existence of ACEN provides RFE with propaganda ammunition, since ACEN is a living symbol of a continuing, organized effort in the free world on behalf of the freedom of the captive countries. One would therefore expect RFE to support and not undermine the acclaim of political representation which ACEN and its member organizations are in duty bound to put forward. It would be, however, difficult to deny that the failure of RFE to consult ACEN is a direct challenge of the latter's political status and has already harmed its position in Western Europe.

Three remedies are suggested:

- (a) to include one or two representatives of ACEN in WEAC;
- (b) to enable one or two representatives of ACEN to take part in over-all policy meetings of RFE (contact with a liaison officer is no substitute for an active participation in policy-making discussions);
- (c) to bring into closer association the national committees and the national RFE desks in all cases where such association is non-existent or sporadic

2. Addressing the Homelands

The very description of the RFE broadcasts as the "Voice of the Free Romanians".... "Poles".... "Chechoslovaks".... "Hungarians".... "Bulgarians" is indicative of a preference for anonymity. Terms descriptive of vague, amorphous groups are preferred to concrete, organized groups; and anonymous announcers to clearly identified speakers.

We submit that this tendency not only runs counter to certain basic rules of political propaganda but also is productive of very harmful effects in our homelands.

Experience shows indeed that on a large scale political ideas cannot be promoted abstractly. They have to be tied to a name, to a face, to a voice.... In the concrete circumstances of the captive countries this basic rule of political propaganda has acquired an even greater importance. In all of the RFE target countries free political life has been suppressed for ten to twenty years. As a result, the only known names, faces and voices are those promoted by the Communist regimes. Potential leaders are unknown. All this fosters the depressing impression among the unorganized non-Communist majorities that only the Communists have leaders; that the cause of freedom is leaderless and hence hopeless.

It is the task of propaganda emanating from the free world to fill this dangerous void. This can be accomplished in several ways. One way is to lend emphasis to all organized activities on behalf of the captive nations in the free world. Another is to publicize the politically active exiles and to enable them to address frequently enough their fellow-countrymen. It is particularly important to build up new names from among the younger exiles, so as to give assurance that the struggle will be carried on even after the better known previous generation will have disappeared.

This may give, as it is said by the supporters of the aloofness approach, unfair advantage to specific people. But such objection should yield

before the necessity of keeping hope alive in our homelands, the more so as most of the apparent beneficiaries of such political publicity might not live long enough to really benefit from any political build-up. This and only this is the truly political approach.

In conclusion it is suggested:

- (a) to publicize regularly and advisedly the names of all exile leaders who keep politically active in the free world, and to enable these leaders to address as frequently as possible the people in their own homelands;
- (b) to foster the area-wide solidarity by constantly recalling the common struggle carried out in the free world and by building up area-wide reputations; this could be accomplished among others by asking leaders of international organizations in exile to address audiences in other countries than their own.

3. RFE Reporting of ACEN Activities

The coverage given by RFE to ACEN activities and views could be substantially increased and improved.

In the light of available information it would appear that RFE news editors and commentators tend to suppress all ACEN expressions of views in which issue is taken with any of the Western Powers or which is in conflict with Western policies. We submit that everybody concerned would have much to gain and little to lose if RFE were to transmit even the most outspoken ACEN criticism of the Western Powers. Silencing such criticism would not put an end of the mute criticism with which the people of our homelands follow all Western moves indicating or irresolution toward the Soviets and communism. Broadcasting it would, however, give the audience in the captive countries the re-assuring feeling that their own grievances and misgivings are being voiced in the West. It would give lie to Communist propaganda which portrays the exiles as miserable tools and obedient agents of the United States; furthermore, it would once again drive home the idea of freedom of speech in the West.

4. Exchange of Information is undoubtedly, and significantly enough, the major area of cooperation at present.

ACEN is supplying the RFE newsroom and desks with both news on its activities and publications.

RFE, in turn, makes available to ACEN headquarters and overseas representations the very valuable output of its Munich research and evaluation department, as well as its monthly reports on the content of transmissions to the five target countries.

There are two obvious gaps in this exchange of information. First, access to the scripts of all five desks is for all practical purposes non-existent. Second, scripts dealing with the activities of ACEN are not made available.

We submit that both these gaps could be filled without much inconvenience to RFE. ACEN would thus be able to study, in full possession of the facts, the line of policy pursued by RFE and the way in which the

peoples of our homelands are acquainted with ACEN activities.

II. Albanian, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Transmissions

We could not conclude these brief observations without once again appealing to the leadership of the Free Europe Committee to consider the earliest possible establishment of broadcasts in Albanian, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian languages

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