

SEP 8

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Outgoing Cipher Message

To:

--EYES ONLY--

MUN 25 8 SEPT 65

TO: RICHARDSON
FM: SMITH

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EYES ONLY

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REF NYC 24, I REGRET THAT I DO NOT HAVE A LONGER TIME TO GIVE YOU MY COMMENTS ON A CHANGE OF SUCH IMPORTANCE AND CONSEQUENCE AS THE ONE PROPOSED, AND THAT I DO NOT HAVE THE BENEFIT OF THE COMPILATION OF ARGUMENTS PRO AND CON PREPARED BY YOUR STAFF. HAD I MORE TIME AND WIDER LATITUDE IN DISCUSSING THIS MATTER WITH KEY PEOPLE HERE, AND THE BENEFIT OF MORE COMPLETE KNOWLEDGE ABOUT YOUR PROBLEMS THERE, PERHAPS I COULD HAVE DEVELOPED A BETTER ORGANIZED REPLY.

BEFORE MAKING A CHANGE OF SUCH IMPORTANCE IS IT NOT POSSIBLE TO GIVE MORE TIME FOR CANVASSING THE VIEWS OF KEY PEOPLE IN THE OPERATING ORGANIZATION WHICH NOW BEARS THE TITLE PROPOSED FOR ADOPTION BY THE PARENT HEADQUARTERS ORGANIZATION? IS THERE NO OTHER CHOICE THAN EITHER ACTING ON THIS MATTER TOMORROW OR DOING NOTHING ABOUT IT FOR THE NEXT TWELVE MONTHS?

YOU STATE THAT IT IS NOT NECESSARY FOR ME TO GIVE ANY DETAILED VIEWS UNLESS MY GENERAL OPINION IS STRONGLY ADVERSE. BASED ON THE BEST ANALYSIS I CAN MAKE AFTER INTENSIVE CONSIDERATION OF ALL THE FACTORS INVOLVED, IN THE EXTREMELY BRIEF PERIOD AVAILABLE TO ME AND WITH THE LIMITATION THAT MY DISCUSSIONS BE LIMITED TO VERY FEW OF OUR TOP PEOPLE, I HAVE TO SAY FRANKLY THAT MY OPINION IS STRONGLY ADVERSE. HENCE I WILL TRY TO GIVE YOU MY VIEWS IN AS MUCH DETAIL AS TIME PERMITS TODAY, SANDWICHED IN WITH OTHER URGENT THINGS WHICH WE ARE RIGHT IN THE MIDDLE OF AND HAVE TO DO TODAY (ONE BEING COMPLETION OF CUT-BACK BUDGET SUBMISSION FOR TONIGHT'S POUCH.)

LET ME START FIRST WITH FULL AGREEMENT THAT THE WORD "COMMITTEE" IS NO MORE A "COMMITTEE" THAN IT IS IN FACT "RADIO FREE EUROPE." EITHER NAME IS A MISLEADING MISNOMER.

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SECOND, IT IS MY FIRM VIEW THAT THE NAME "RADIO FREE EUROPE FUND" SHOULD BE RETAINED. I HAD UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS IDENTITY WOULD BE PRESERVED UNCHANGED WHEN THE FUND WAS INTEGRATED OPERATIONALLY INTO YOUR HEADQUARTERS. WOULD NOT RETENTION OF THE RFEF TITLE OBVIATE CONFUSION OR MISUNDERSTANDING BY BUSINESSMEN VOLUNTEERS, OR OTHERWISE IN THE FUND RAISING OPERATION? THE NAME IS WELL ESTABLISHED, WIDELY KNOWN, CLOSELY ASSOCIATED YET ADEQUATELY DISTINCT FROM THE TITLE OF THE "FREE EUROPE HEADQUARTERS" AND THE OPERATING ORGANIZATION "RADIO FREE EUROPE". WITH RESPECT TO SIGNING LETTERS TO BUSINESSMEN CONCERNING RADIO FREE EUROPE FUND MATTERS, WHY CANNOT KAPPEL, MATER OR RUPE SIGN SIMPLY ABOVE THE WORDS "RADIO FREE EUROPE FUND," EITHER WITH OR WITHOUT USE OF FURTHER TITLES INDICATING THE INDIVIDUAL'S POSITION WITHIN RFEF? I RECOMMEND THAT WHATEVER PROBLEMS ARE INVOLVED IN SOLVING THE MATTER OF RFEF SIGNATURES, THEY NOT UNDULY INFLUENCE WHAT SEEMS TO ME TO BE WEIGHTIER PROBLEMS, SOME OF WHICH I BELIEVE HAVE MUCH GREATER SUBSTANCE, INVOLVED IN TRANSFER OF THE TITLE OF "RADIO FREE EUROPE" TO THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE PARENT ORGANIZATION.

ONE OF THE FIRST QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED IF THE TITLE OF YOUR HEADQUARTERS IS CHANGED TO "RADIO FREE EUROPE" IS WHAT WILL BE THE TITLE OF THE PRESENT HEADQUARTERS OF RADIO FREE EUROPE? BOTH HEADQUARTERS CANNOT BE NAMED "RADIO FREE EUROPE." THE CONFUSION

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IT IS MY FIRM CONVICTION, STATED VERY HONESTLY, THAT MOVING THE NAME OF RADIO FREE EUROPE TO THE SENIOR HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK

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WOULD BE A SEVERE AND DAMAGING BLOW TO THE MORALE OF YOUR PRIME OPERATING AGENCY HERE IN MUNICH. PART OF THIS WOULD BE SUBSTANTIVE AND REAL, AND A PART OF IT WOULD BE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND IMAGINARY BUT NONETHELESS DAMAGING. STRONG NEGATIVE REACTION IN THIS RESPECT IS UNANIMOUS AMONG THOSE FEW WITH WHOM THIS HAS BEEN DISCUSSED HERE. SUCH A NAME CHANGE COMING AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME ON TOP OF THE CURRENT EXTREME PRESSURES FOR BUDGETARY REDUCTIONS, INCLUDING TERMINATIONS, WOULD BE DOUBLY DAMAGING TO MORALE OF RFE EMPLOYEES.

PERHAPS OF GREATER REAL SUBSTANCE IS THE POINT THAT ONE OF THE GREAT STRENGTHS OF THE RADIO IS ITS IMAGE AND ITS REALITY AS AN ORGANIZATION EXISTING IN EUROPE AND MANAGED IN EUROPE, WHILE BACKED AND FINANCIALLY SUPPORTED BY AMERICANS. RFE IS NOW INCREASINGLY ACCEPTED AS A RESPONSIBLE RADIO BROADCASTING OPERATION WHICH ALSO ENGAGES IN USEFUL AND HIGH-QUALITY RESEARCH AND ANALYTICAL WORK. A CONFUSION OF IDENTITY WITH OTHER KINDS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY UNDERTAKEN IN WESTERN EUROPE IS LIKELY TO COMPLICATE OUR EXISTENCE, BOTH WITH RESPECT TO OUR HOST GOVERNMENT AND ELSEWHERE. AT MINIMUM, IT EXPOSES US TO THE NEED TO COPE WITH MORE CONFUSION AND UNCERTAINTIES AMONG THOSE WHO ARE INTERESTED IN OUR WORK IN EUROPE.

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ONE OF THE SPECTERS WHICH HAUNTS THE PEOPLE OF RFE IS THE WORRY THAT SOME DAY THERE MIGHT BE A RETURN TO THE "ABSENTEE MANAGEMENT" CONCEPT WHICH OBTAINED WHEN THE DIRECTOR AND THE HEADQUARTERS OF RADIO FREE EUROPE WERE IN NEW YORK, WITH THE RESULTANT DELAYS IN DECISIONS, LACK OF REALISM IN DECISIONS MADE REMOTELY FROM THE SCENE WITHOUT THE FULL BENEFIT OF THE INFORMATION AND FEEL FOR EVENTS CLOSE TO THE ACTUAL OPERATIONS, THE LONG DRAWN OUT ARGUMENTS AND OFTEN ACTUAL SQUABBLING WHICH TOOK PLACE BETWEEN MUNICH AND NEW YORK, AND THE VALUABLE TIME AND ENERGIES DIVERTED AWAY FROM DOING THE JOB HERE BECAUSE OF THE EXTRA EFFORT INVOLVED IN TRYING TO MAKE WORK AN UNSOUND MANAGEMENT CONCEPT OF DIRECTING OPERATIONAL CONTROL FROM AFAR.

I HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT YOU HAVE ANY INTENT TO CHANGE THE PRESENT CONCEPT OF OPERATIONAL DIRECTION REMAINING IN THE HEADQUARTERS AT MUNICH. NEVERTHELESS, THE MERE FACT OF GIVING THE RADIO FREE EUROPE NAME TO THE HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK WOULD LEAD TO WIDESPREAD BELIEF THAT THE OPERATING HEADQUARTERS WAS IN FACT IN NEW YORK.

IN THE WORDS OF ONE OF OUR KEY PEOPLE:

"RFE HAS ITS OWN PRIDE AND ELAN, PART OF WHICH IS DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO ITS SEMI-AUTONOMOUS STATURE. ALL IN RFE KNOW THAT FEC HAS FINAL AUTHORITY. YET ALL FEEL THE RESPONSIBILITY - AND THE PRIDE - THAT COME WITH THE KNOWLEDGE THAT RFE IS ENTRUSTED (AND TRUSTED) WITH CONSIDERABLE TACTICAL AUTHORITY OVER ITS OWN AFFAIRS. ALL IN RFE ARE CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT THE DIRECTOR OF RFE, RESIDENT IN MUNICH, ENJOYS

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-- THE INCORPORATION OF RFE INTO THE TITLE OF THE PARENT ORGANIZATION AS SUGGESTED IN NYC 24 WILL INEVITABLY BE TAKEN AS AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE LOSS OF PRESTIGE AND AUTHORITY ENJOYED BY THE RFE OPERATION. ANY SUCH CHANGE WILL REVIVE MEMORIES OF THE YEARS WHEN RFE WAS MANAGED FROM NEW YORK - WITH WHAT ULTIMATE LACK OF SUCCESS WE ALL KNOW..."

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IN MY VIEW THE CORRECT TITLE OF YOUR HEADQUARTERS SHOULD BE "FREE EUROPE, INC.". THIS IS SHORT, DESCRIPTIVE, CATCHY, EASILY REMEMBERED. THE FLAW NOW IS THAT THE WORD "COMMITTEE" IS TACKED ON. USE OF "RADIO FREE EUROPE" AS THE HEADQUARTERS NAME WOULD BE EVEN MORE NON-DESCRIPTIVE AND MISLEADING.

USE OF THE TITLE "FREE EUROPE" WOULD NOT IMPLY ANY LIMITATION TO EASTERN EUROPE, CENTRAL EUROPE, WESTERN EUROPE OR ANY OTHER PART OF EUROPE. THIS TITLE WOULD NOT INFLUENCE OR LIMIT THE SCOPE OF YOUR ACTIVITIES. I WOULD THINK IT A VERY REAL DANGER THAT SUCH SCOPE MIGHT BE NARROWED BY USING THE TITLE "RADIO FREE EUROPE." THE TITLE "FREE EUROPE" WOULD FACILITATE ENCOMPASSING OTHER TYPES OF NON-RADIO ACTIVITIES, EVEN BEYOND THOSE NOW EXISTING, WHICH MIGHT IN THE FUTURE PROVE TO BE DESIRABLE AND FEASIBLE. A SEPARATE IDENTITY (BE IT FEC, "FREE EUROPE", OR WHAT EVER) GIVES FEC AN ADVANTAGE FOR SOME OF ITS OPERATIONS AND ACTIVITIES WHICH WOULD BE LOST BY TAKING ON THE RFE LABEL. THERE ARE PROGRAMS- INCLUDING WEAC AND OTHERS - WHICH GAIN BY A CERTAIN SEPARATION FROM COMPLETE IDENTITY WITH RFE.

THE TITLE "FREE EUROPE" IS CLOSELY RELATED TO THE TITLE OF THE MAJOR OPERATING ORGANIZATION "RADIO FREE EUROPE" THE ASSOCIATION COULD BE EMPHASIZED ALL THE MORE BY JUXTAPOSITION ON LETTERHEADS, DESCRIPTIVE MATERIAL, ETC., PLACING IMMEDIATELY BELOW "FREE EUROPE, INC." THE TITLE OF THE RADIO FREE EUROPE DIVISION, AS WELL AS TITLES OF OTHER DIVISIONS ALL OF WHICH COULD INCLUDE IN THEIR DESIGNATION THE WORDS "FREE EUROPE" PLUS ADDITIONAL DESCRIPTIVE WORDS SUCH AS "RADIO FREE EUROPE FUND," "FREE EUROPE PUBLICATIONS," ETC. THIS COULD SIMILARLY BE EXTENDED TO REFERENCES TO "FREE EUROPE STUDENT CONFERENCES", "FREE EUROPE SYMPOSIUMS", "FREE EUROPE UNIVERSITY", "FREE EUROPE SEMINARS", ETC.

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BECAUSE I AM REMOTE FROM THE NEW YORK AND U.S. SCENE, NO DOUBT I LACK SUFFICIENT KNOWLEDGE OF THE PROBLEMS YOU REFER TO TO UNDERSTAND FULLY WHY A VAST AMOUNT OF CONFUSION IS GENERATED IN IMPORTANT MINDS BY PRESENT FEC NAME, OR AT LEAST WHY THIS COULD NOT LARGELY BE CLEARED UP SIMPLY BY DROPPING THE WORD "COMMITTEE" FROM THE TITLE AND HABITUALLY PLACING IN CLOSE JUXTAPOSITION ON PRINTED MATERIAL AND LETTERHEADS THE NAMES OF "RADIO FREE EUROPE" AND OTHER "FREE EUROPE" OPERATING DIVISIONS. IF CONTINUED USE IS MADE OF THE TITLE "RADIO FREE EUROPE FUND" FOR FUND RAISING PURPOSES IT WOULD SEEM THAT THIS TESTED AND PROVEN TITLE COULD CONTINUE TO DO THAT JOB EFFECTIVELY WITHOUT GENERATING CONFUSION.

DOES THE PRESENT TITLE ACTUALLY CAUSE CONFUSION IN WASHINGTON CIRCLES WHICH HAVE ANY RESPONSIBILITIES OR INFLUENCE CONCERNING THE ACTIVITIES OF YOUR ORGANIZATION? IF THE "RADIO FREE EUROPE FUND" TITLE IS RETAINED TO TAKE CARE OF THE PUBLIC IMAGE IN THIS REGARD, DO ANY OF THE REMAINING PROBLEMS CONCERNING "IMAGE" COMPARE WITH THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN EITHER CHANGING THE NAME OF THE RFE HEADQUARTERS IN MUNICH, OR TRYING TO EVOLVE A NON-CONFUSING OPERATING SYSTEM WITH TWO HEADQUARTERS BEING

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I FULLY AGREE WITH THE BASIC POSITIVE ARGUMENT YOU ADVANCE "THAT RFE IS AN AMERICAN INSTITUTION, WIDELY AND FAVORABLY KNOWN, AND WE NEED TO MAKE FULL USE OF THIS ADVANTAGE" BUT BELIEVE THAT THIS SHOULD BE KEPT IN THE RIGHT CONTEXT. MY CONCLUSION THAT THE NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS OUTWEIGH ANY GAIN THAT CANNOT LARGELY BE ACHIEVED BY

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USE OF THE TITLE "FREE EUROPE, INC." GIVES PARTICULAR WEIGHT TO THE TWO POINTS OF (1) PRESERVING THE IDENTITY OF RFE AND ITS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT IMAGE (OR MORE IMPORTANT ITS REALITY) AS A EUROPEAN RADIO SPEAKING TO EUROPEANS AS AN AMERICAN-BACKED EUROPEAN INSTITUTION, AND (2) THE ADVERSE EFFECT UPON THE PERSONNEL OF RFE BY HAVING THE TITLE IT HAS HELD FROM ITS INCEPTION NOW AFTER FIFTEEN YEARS APPROPRIATED BY THE SENIOR HEADQUARTERS.

IN WEIGHING ADVANTAGES VERSUS DISADVANTAGES, THE THINGS THAT COUNT MOST ARE EFFECTIVENESS IN ACTUAL OPERATIONS AND THE RESULTS PRODUCED FROM THE OPERATIONS, TOGETHER WITH ACCURATE UNDERSTANDING OF THESE OPERATIONS AND RESULTS IN THE LIMITED CIRCLES THAT REALLY COUNT, PLUS THE FUND RAISING IMAGE. I ALSO SEE THE NEED TO TRY TO ACHIEVE ALL THE NICE REFINEMENTS POSSIBLE IN OUR IMAGE IN OTHER PLACES, BUT AS A SECONDARY OBJECTIVE AND NOT AT THE EXPENSE OF LOSING GROUND IN MORE IMPORTANT AREAS.

YOU SAY THAT YOU ARE "NOW PRETTY WELL CONVINCED THAT THE NAME OF FREE EUROPE COMMITTEE, INC. SHOULD BE CHANGED TO RADIO FREE EUROPE, INC." IF YOU ARE ALREADY CONVINCED PERHAPS THERE IS NO POINT IN MY HAVING TAKEN THIS POSITION TO THE CONTRARY. HOWEVER, I CANNOT BE LESS THAN FULLY FRANK AND HONEST WITH YOU IN EXPRESSING MY JUDGMENT THAT IT WOULD BE A SERIOUS ERROR TO MAKE THIS CHANGE.

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YOU MAY WELL ASK WHY I HAVE NOT SPOKEN UP ON THIS MATTER PREVIOUSLY WHEN THE SUBJECT WAS RAISED BY YOU. THE FACT IS THAT AS HEAD OF THE PRINCIPAL AGENCY AFFECTED I DID NOT WISH TO EXPRESS WHAT MUST INEVITABLY BE SUBJECTIVE VIEWS UNTIL I HAD THOUGHT ABOUT THE MATTER MOST CAREFULLY IN AN EFFORT TO BE AS OBJECTIVE AS POSSIBLE. FURTHERMORE, BELIEVING THAT EVEN THE VERY IDEA THAT THE MATTER WAS UNDER CONSIDERATION MIGHT CAUSE UNDUE WORRIES, RUMORS AND MORALE DAMAGING DISCUSSIONS WITHIN RFE, I DID NOT WISH TO CANVASS THE VIEWS OF PEOPLE WITHIN THE RFE ORGANIZATION UNTIL OR UNLESS THE QUESTION FINALLY CAME UP FOR SPECIFIC CONSIDERATION AND DECISION. I HAD ASSUMED THAT THERE WOULD THEN BE SUFFICIENT TIME TO WORK UP OUR CAREFULLY CONSIDERED VIEWS AND PRESENT THEM TO YOU IN DUE COURSE. MEANWHILE I HAVE HAD NO INTIMATION AT ALL THAT THE SUBJECT WAS AGAIN UNDER CONSIDERATION WITH A VIEW TO EARLY ACTION. I NOW REGRET THAT I DID NOT VOICE MY INHERENT MISGIVINGS WHEN THE QUESTION WAS RAISED BY YOU EARLY LAST SPRING, BUT THIS IS HINDSIGHT.

FINALLY, AND IN SHORT, I STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT THE NAME "RADIO FREE EUROPE" NOT REPEAT NOT BE GIVEN TO THE FEC HEADQUARTERS, BUT THAT THE NAME "FREE EUROPE, INC." BE ADOPTED.

END MSG