

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS POLICIES: A SCENARIO

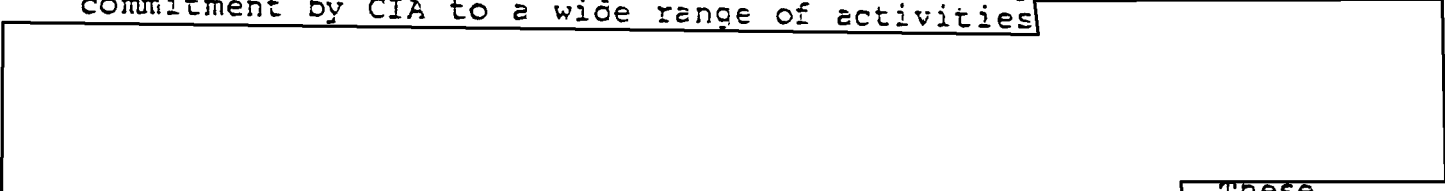
Problem

1. Need for a comprehensive communication program to provide an overall strategic policy and resource focus for USG activities.

Background

-- The USG has not provided a comprehensive focus to "communication activities" supported by various elements of the government (ICA, State, AID, CIA) as well as quasi private elements, such as RFE/RL, since the days of OCB. In the late 1950's and 1960's functional orientation was rather successfully accomplished because of a deep financial and operational commitment by CIA to a wide range of activities

25X1



These activities were paralleled by similar thrusts in the Department of State's Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs, in USIA and elsewhere. Effective interagency committee work on youth and students and labor activity was also evident as was central focus on radio operations. AID's activity in labor and in certain "nation building" areas was closely related to CIA's operations. State's "CU" activities were integrated into the totality of the US foreign policy. This also was a time in which the US private foundations such as Ford, Carnegie and Rockefeller felt a deep responsibility to participate in foreign programs.

-- One by one various parts of this total package began to drop off. In the case of CIA, security flaps in 1967 led to the unraveling of its international program. As a result, many of the activities were either discontinued and/or set up on their own to survive as best they could in the jungle of governmental bureaucracy (or via private philanthropy) without any inside sponsor to effectively articulate the interrelation of the program with US national strategies. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were merged and set up as a free standing structure under the Board of International Broadcasting (BIB). These radios received an erratic level of support with support rather directly affected by both the warmth of debate and the post-Viet Nam reaction which affected the body politic in Washington in the second half of the 1970's.

-- Problems affecting VOA and ICA were of a somewhat different character. Under President Carter ICA's role was defined in terms of the national security...

expansion of NOA or for the continued energizing of forward leaning "CU" programs were hard to come by and frequently were cut at the whim of each passing Director of the Budget.

25X1

-- CIA orphans, [redacted] suffered a more difficult fate. Other former CIA activities which had been picked up by foundations found most US philanthropies facing inward in the aftermath of the 1968 urban riots and with the consequence that international programs were cut. Those that remained funded by the Government were simply tag-ons to budgets of selected agencies and, as such, received "house-keeping" funding and little else. For example, the Asia Foundation anticipates receiving a core grant of \$4.1 million from State, a sum which is less than it received from CIA when this entity was funded by the Agency in the late 1960's. The very important Regional Labor Institutes, which were originally provided a funding supplement by CIA, now receive Governmental funds exclusively from AID. As a consequence of straight line budgeting, these institutions have received the same amount of funds (\$13 million) over the past five years and the result has been a shift from a very effective balance between operations and overhead of 70% - 30% to a current distribution of 30% - 70% -- in other words 70% of total funds now go to overhead. We are paying for mechanisms but we are not giving them sufficient funds to run programs in a meaningful way. Other activities which were supported in a comprehensive fashion by CIA or other parts of the Government have atrophied or are non-existent. These include such specific projects as the former Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) which provided, in the post-war era, an effective means of mobilizing the world intelligentsia around key issues of concern to the US and the West. Other areas that are not covered which come to mind rapidly include the need for a reinvigoration of an European/American dialogue, a comprehensive program dealing with youth and students around the world as well as political and cadre training, particularly in Third World.

Discussion

-- There is a need to weave the elements of these programs together as a comprehensive national security package so that the proper strategies, goals and resource commitments can be made. The power of ideas should not be unilaterally handed over to the opposition. The current Administration has made considerable progress at the tactical level to improve interagency coordination and to generate a greater sense of mutual purpose for on-going programs. Several specific coordinative efforts should be cited:

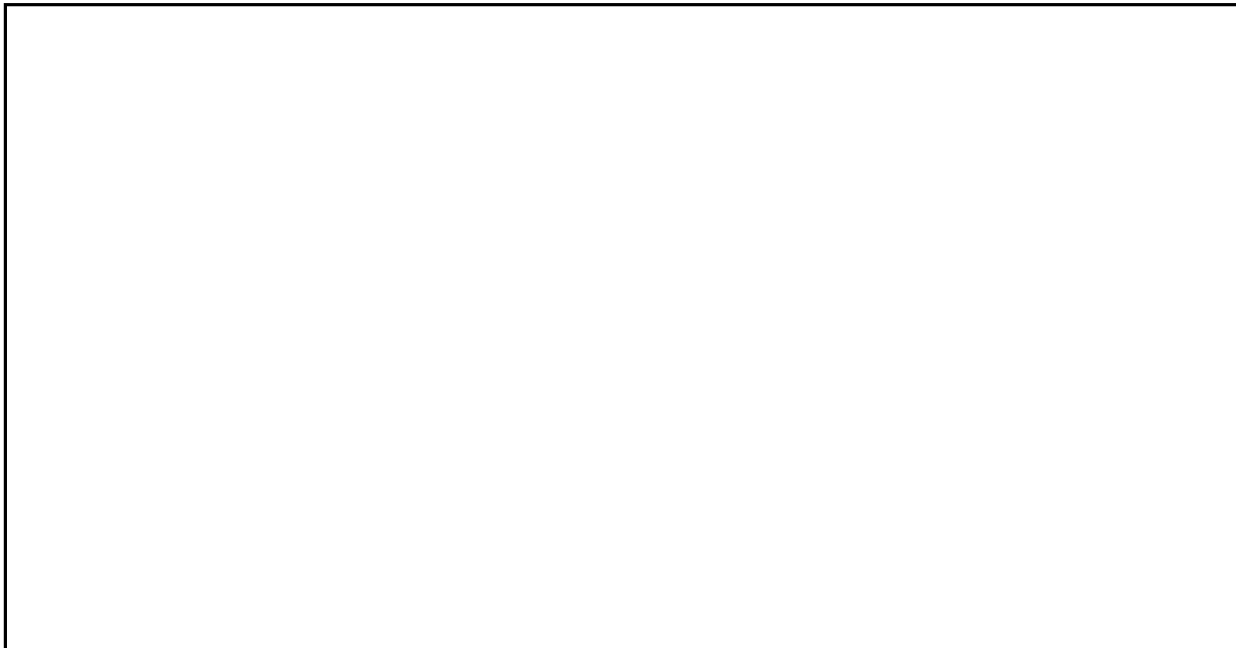
-- Charlie Wick's creative initiative to establish Project Truth. This group has proved an increasingly effective interagency coordination in pursuit of psych-war themes. The senior officers in this group from the key agencies recognized the growing need for the

a working level structure to serve as an interagency information coordinating committee with a mandate broader than Project Truth.

-- Under Department of State chairmanship, a European Attitude Coordinating Committee has been established which has provided useful step-by-step tactical guidance for the implementation of policy and propaganda issues in Europe.

-- An integrated State, CIA and ICA effort is in place and underway to exploit and counter Soviet Active Measures.

25X1



2. A series of tabs are attached which illustrate certain of the types of programs which require our focus and support.

Recommendations

3. A comprehensive policy requires a Presidential endorsement. We would recommend that this issue be discussed at an up-coming NSC/NSPG meeting in which these diverse activities can be endorsed with a pledge of funding as part of the national security program. Following such an endorsement, a managerial process can be set in motion to support these programs probably utilizing the interagency information coordinating committee concept. Mr. Wick had mentioned in his July presentation to the President that it might be necessary to establish, at the direction of the President, a Committee on Information Policy Coordination within the framework of the NSC. A key point would be to identify existing programs and once they have been developed, move with sufficient resource commitments to ensure their efforts may be carried out effectively. We know what we need and we should find the steps necessary to move forward with defining the more laborious construction of complicated entities.

-- such as an "American Council" - until later. An interagency working group could focus on these longer range needs and develop the appropriate staff papers while implementing existing and necessary programs on a real time basis.

ICA	\$18M (up from \$4.1M core grant)	Gov't (via State)
Liberal Institutes (Latin Political Program)	\$18M (up from \$13M grant)	Gov't (via AID)
U./European Dialogue	\$3M	Gov't (parallel private fund- ing should be encouraged)

25X1

Restoration of ICA Cultural Budget	\$10M	Gov't (via ICA)
Expanded RFE/RL Capability	?	Congressional apparatus to RL
Expanded VOA Capability	?	Gov't (via ICA)
Committee for a Free World	\$5M	Private
"Consecutive Parties" Program	?	Private

TAB

The Asia Foundation (TAF)

TAF has an established presence throughout Asia and can undertake a number of activities which are directly responsive to overall USG needs and interests. TAF has the capability to reach the emerging leadership in a number of key countries, to communicate and seek to influence the political opposition and to maximize in-place infrastructures without having to go through the leadtime necessary to construct such a capability. Two examples: TAF initiatives have resulted in the development of an exchange program with the PRC; TAF is actively involved in private support to ASEAN and has facilitated dialogue among research centers in the area on political and security matters.

TAF has consistently been in a white knuckle situation every year with its budget. As best I can understand it the current situation is that State will provide within its budget \$4.1 million as a core grant. Very little other money is available. ICA which has funded in the past has indicated that it will not be able to renew its program in FY82 because of budget cuts. The cutoff of FY82 funds for TAF of \$700,000 of program monies eliminates a number of significant exchange programs including the Young Diplomats Program, Congressional Fellowships and Journalism Fellowships. In addition, a number of programs designed to strengthen democratic institutes in Asia were eliminated. More details can be provided.

Labor Institutes

The Asian American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI), the Afro/American Labor Center (AALC), and the American Institute of Free Labor Development (AIFLD) are specific institutes which represent the foreign policy action arm of AFL/CIO. The ratio of programs to overhead was 70% - 30% four years ago. Now it is more than reversed: 30% - 70%. There has been no growth for the past four to five years. The funding is as follows for FY 82.

AAFLI (Asia)	\$4.1M
AALC (Africa)	2.7M
AIFLD (Latin America)	6.3M

Thus, the budgeting was moved in the direction of a grant principally focused on maintaining overhead. It would require a supplemental \$5 million to get a 50% - 50% split and nearly \$10 million to restore the ratio to a 70% program.

The International Trade Secretariats, which are involved in most functional areas of labor, are also significantly affected by the absence of funds. Some of this funding [redacted]

25X6

[redacted] could very effectively be funded by AID. A specific example points up the problem. One of the ITS's turned down a proposal to fund the Peruvian Bank Workers Union. This organization is an effective and powerful force in Latin America. Since Western funding has dried up, the Peruvian Bank Workers Union has been taken over by the communists. The Union provides \$50,000 monthly checkoff dues which are used by the communist union leaders to support Communist Party activities. Support to the appropriate ITS, the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees (FIET) would give us a fighting chance to regain control over the Union. Other areas where programs can be developed include Nicaragua, El Salvador, Brazil, Argentina, the Phillipines, Thailand, Malaysia, and Korea. FIET, for example received \$25,000 per year for Africa but needed \$100,000 to \$125,000. This kind of infrastructure has to come via AID. Exchange and visitor programs in the labor field which include such things as labor education programs, union-to-union contacts, and training seminars are held hostage to a perilous budget.

The labor unions and affiliate organizations have the ability to function not only in the political center but also the democratic left. The three institutions cited above have established track records but in those areas where an organization should not have an American label, they are able to function through the International Trade Secretariats.

American/European Dialogue

There is an overriding need to develop a public/private program focused on trans-Atlantic dialogue. We need to revitalize the wide spectrum of Atlantic links. We need to rekindle public consensus for the inseparability of American/European interests. Such dialogue draws on official and non-official groups and particularly should focus on the successor generation. A special concern would be center, center/left audiences in Europe.

This general program is one which should receive significant governmental interest. This necessitates expansion of the person-to-person program of ICA. It includes provision for speeches, conferences, publications and exchanges.

A second portion of this program involves the private sector. If we seek to revitalize the whole spectrum of Atlantic links, this could be accomplished by a consortium of concerned citizens who could be brought together to provide funding support for the private sector. A longer term solution is the creation of something analagous to the "American Council" which would provide a more permanent funding basis for programs in this area. Such a proposal conjures up an image of an "Institute for international or human rights affairs or a National endowment. This will require careful development with several agencies as well as Capitol Hill. It is a downstream option. The Council concept is a second stage. The financial resources for public or private dialogue are needed now.

STAT

Approved For Release 2007/02/08 : CIA-RDP84B00049R001303350009-3

Approved For Release 2007/02/08 : CIA-RDP84B00049R001303350009-3

TAE
5

Restoration of ICA Cultural Budget

The transfer of the Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs to ICA was a constructive move but the simultaneous distancing by the Carter Administration of the entire ICA program from the foreign policy apparatus resulted in misconceptions of the ICA role and an inadequate defense of the ICA budget as part of the national security. Each of the activities described above have a certain relationship. The cutting of the ICA exchange program (the "CU" account) results in a tight budgetary situation thus preventing the development of a viable US/European dialogue and thus impacting on the ability to further other things, such as More importantly, if we view ICA as executing one of the traditional instruments of foreign policy, namely "information programs" we must ensure that it is given the resources to do the job effectively.

25X1

Expanded Radio Broadcasting Capability

There has been no effective planning for the maintenance and strengthening of radio operations on the part of the USG since the Ford Administration. During the 1976-1980 period, the budgetary exercise was a gerry built phenomenon with no serious attention to the need to revitalize the facilities both from the standpoint of physical and technical needs as well as to seriously adjust the program to meet any world crises. This would be a good item for the interagency coordinating committee which could examine all the evidence and make a judgment as to what the position should be. The VOA story, or lack of story, concerning programming to Afghanistan in the period after December 1979 underscores the problem graphically. Leadtime is essential in order to develop a communications capability. The Polish crisis underscores the need but we knew this when confronted with the Iran, Afghanistan, Cuba, and the Central America problems.

A concurrent issue concerning RFE/RL, is to ensure that it continues to maintain the integrity of its programs and does not become victimized by the heavy bureaucratic hand of over supervision. The Pell Amendment is designed to place the RFE/RL structure under much tighter control of a federal agency, thus making a mockery of the argument that the radios are a private organization, independent of the Government. General guidelines are relevant but tight control is stifling. I believe the whole question of the Pell Amendment should have much deeper examination and review within the Executive Branch. There is considerable evidence to suggest that the Pell Amendment is not being offered in the best interests of the radios. It involves far reaching ramifications and legally unclear changes with managerial consequences which are far from certain. One tactic may be to encourage Congress to take a broader view of radio programming to determine their problems and their effectiveness. This will move the debate up to a broader issue, removing it from Pell's personal domain and would set up a useful backdrop for Congressional support to proposals from the Administration for expanded financial assistance to our various radios.

Committee for A Free World

Mel Lasky has made an impressive case for significant financial support principally from the private sector for an international committee designed to focus on the intellectual target. This is a cluster concept designed to generate ideological support to free world ideas. The battlefield of ideas must be entered, particularly by private citizens of the intellectual group, focused on the key issues of peace, neutralization, security and the basic restatement of Western values are critical. As Laskey stated: "As little government and information as is necessary. As much independent non-Government activity as possible."

This concept requires private funding. The most effective way to proceed immediately will be to call a group of prestigious American private citizens concerned with world affairs and the adverse trends affecting the US. This group should receive a presentation from a high level official of the USG, underscoring the importance of the need to effectively reenter the battlefield of ideas. A cash commitment from five to ten businessmen of the US to support such a dialogue with counterpart funding from Europeans is essential and now. A major meeting is scheduled in January in Washington. As Lasky stated on 10 December, if appropriate donors could be found -- Rockefeller, Annenberg, Scaife, and others -- funds could be made available to the "Cultural Council of International Communications" via Freedom House which is tax exempt. Leonard Sussman would be the intermediary according to Lasky. If major financial support is provided, the meeting in January would be a kickoff to a major international campaign and program. Leo Labeledz advises that evidence of top level support -- perhaps with a brief Presidential appearance at the meeting -- would assure the attendance of such people as Craxi, Jenkins, Rocard, and Kohl. This private infrastructure would have organizational counterparts in the US, UK, France, Germany, Scandinavia and Southern Europe. Later other international programs could be involved as the group recreates the essence but not the body of the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

Major program support for a number of activities has been proposed in CIA, ICA and State. While a private funding effort is to some degree, separate from NSPG action, it is thought that discussions of this initiative might be constructive in a NSPG mode. The willingness of the USG to provide significant support to this broad program described in the pages above would provide ammunition to any government officials seeking to garner

ILLEGIB