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**APPROVED**  
AUG 28 1974

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

AUG 28 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Enrolled Bill S. 3190 - Board for International  
Broadcasting appropriations authorization,  
fiscal year 1975  
Sponsor - Sen. Sparkman (D) Alabama

*Portel*  
*8/28*  
*J. Archiver*  
*8/29*

Last Day for Action

August 30, 1974 - Friday

Purpose

Authorizes appropriations of \$49,990,000 to support the activities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and for the operating expenses of the Board for International Broadcasting for fiscal year 1975.

Agency Recommendations

Office of Management and Budget	Approval
National Security Council	Approval
Department of State	Approval (Informally)
United States Information Agency	Defers to State

Discussion

The "Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973" authorized the creation of a seven-member Board for International Broadcasting to assume from the State Department the role of administering the annual U. S. grants to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and to monitor and evaluate the radios' activities. The Act also authorized appropriations for the operations of the radios and the Board for fiscal year 1974.



S. 3190 would amend the 1973 Act to authorize appropriations of \$49,990,000 to remain available until expended, for the operating expenses of the two radios and the Board for fiscal year 1975. In addition, the bill would authorize to be appropriated for fiscal year 1975 such additional sums as may be necessary for increased employee benefits authorized by law, such as pay raises, and other nondiscretionary costs.

The amount that would be authorized by the enrolled bill is \$150,000 more than the \$49,840,000 proposed by the Administration. The increase reflects the congressionally-added provision in the bill that not less than \$75,000 shall be available solely to initiate broadcasts in the Estonian language and not less than \$75,000 for the initiation of broadcasts in the Latvian language. The Administration's proposal was to begin broadcasts in fiscal year 1975 in Lithuanian and subsequently in the other Baltic languages. The amendment, inserted by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, mandates that broadcasts be initiated in all three of the Baltic languages in fiscal year 1975.

*Neufred H. Rommel*

Assistant Director for  
Legislative Reference

Enclosures



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 20, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR

Wilfred H. Rommel  
Assistant Director for  
Legislative Reference  
Office of Management and Budget

SUBJECT: Enrolled Bill S. 3190

We have reviewed the enrolled bill S. 3190 re authorization of appropriations for fiscal year 1975 for carrying out the Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973 and we concur in this proposal.

  
Jeanne W. Davis  
Staff Secretary



USIA  
UNITED STATES  
INFORMATION AGENCY  
WASHINGTON 20547

August 21, 1974

Mr. Wilfred H. Rommel  
Assistant Director  
for Legislative Reference  
Office of Management and Budget  
Executive Office of the President

Dear Mr. Rommel:

In accordance with OMB Circular A-19, I am submitting this Agency's views on S. 3190, an enrolled bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1975 for carrying out the Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973.

Since the Board for International Broadcasting and the United States Information Agency are organizations independent of each other, this bill would have no effect upon this Agency's operations. Further, given the independent status of the Board for International Broadcasting, this Agency defers to the Department of State insofar as making any specific comments regarding the proposed language changes to the International Broadcasting Act of 1973.

Sincerely,



Edward Hidalgo  
General Counsel and  
Congressional Liaison





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

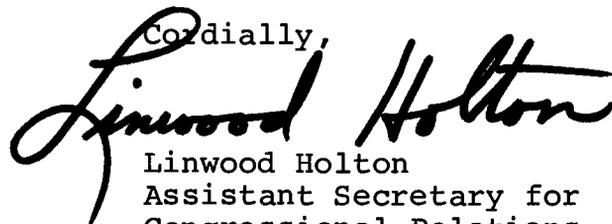
Washington, D.C. 20520

AUG 22 1974

Honorable Roy L. Ash  
Director,  
Office of Management and Budget  
Washington, D. C. 20503

Dear Mr. Ash:

In compliance with the request of August 19, 1974 by Wilfred H. Rommel, Assistant Director for Legislative Reference, I am forwarding with this letter the views and recommendation of the Department of State on S.3190, an Act to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1975 for carrying out the Board of International Broadcasting Act of 1973.

Cordially,  
  
Linwood Holton  
Assistant Secretary for  
Congressional Relations

Enclosure:

Recommendation on S.3190



VIEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE ON S.3190, AN ACT TO AUTHORIZE  
APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1975 FOR CARRYING OUT THE  
BOARD OF INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING ACT OF 1973

The purpose of S.3190 is to authorize continued government grants in fiscal year 1975 in support of the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL).

S.3190 strikes the fiscal 1974 figure of \$50,209,000 and replaces it with a figure of \$49,990,000 for fiscal year 1975. S.3190 provides that not less than \$75,000 shall be available to initiate broadcasts in the Estonian language and not less than \$75,000 shall be available to initiate broadcasts in the Latvian language.

The administration's request for fiscal year 1975 was \$49,840,000. The request contained provision for the initiation of Lithuanian language broadcasts. It did not contain provision for broadcasts to be initiated in the Estonian and Latvian languages. At the time the original administration request was submitted, it was anticipated that there would be great difficulty in finding qualified candidates for staffing Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian services. Therefore, the administration's request contained only a request to begin broadcasts in Lithuanian. It has since been determined that sufficient qualified staff are available for broadcasting in all three languages. As a consequence, the Department of



State welcomes the additional \$150,000 added by the Congress to establish Latvian and Estonian services.

The Department of State continues to believe that continuation of RFE and RL broadcasting is in the national interest. In writing to David M. Abshire, Chairman of the Board of International Broadcasting, on August 2, 1974, Secretary of State Kissinger noted that Dr. Eisenhower and his Study Commission on International Radio Broadcasting concluded in 1973 that the broadcasting services provided by RFE and RL play an important role in the development of relations between East and West and in the flow of ideas and information vital to the relaxation of tensions and true understanding. Secretary Kissinger stated that the administration firmly endorses that view.

The Department of State recommends that the President approve S.3190.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ENROLLED BILL

SUBJECT: Enrolled Bill S. 3190 - Board for  
International Broadcasting appropriations  
authorization, fiscal year 1975

<u>Name</u>	<u>Approval</u>	<u>Date</u>
<u>Tod Hullin</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>          </u>
<u>Phil Buchen</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>          </u>
<u>Bill Timmons</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>          </u>
<u>Ken Cole</u>		<u>          </u>
<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>
<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>
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<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>

-----  
Comments:

THE WHITE HOUSE

ACTION MEMORANDUM

WASHINGTON

LOG NO.: 529

Date: August 23, 1974

Time: 9:30 a. m.

FOR ACTION: ✓ Tod Hullin  
✓ Phil Buchen  
✓ Bill Timmons

cc (for information): Warren K. Hendriks  
Jerry Jones

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DUE: Date: Monday, August 26, 1974

Time: 2:00 p. m.

SUBJECT: Enrolled Bill S. 3190 - Board for International  
Broadcasting appropriations authorization, fiscal  
year 1975

ACTION REQUESTED:

\_\_\_ For Necessary Action

XX For Your Recommendations

\_\_\_ Prepare Agenda and Brief

\_\_\_ Draft Reply

\_\_\_ For Your Comments

\_\_\_ Draft Remarks

REMARKS:

Please return to Kathy Tindle - West Wing

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately.

K. R. COLE, JR.  
For the President



To  
Sparkman Headquarters  
8-22-74

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

AUG 22 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Enrolled Bill S. 3190 - Board for International  
Broadcasting appropriations authorization,  
fiscal year 1975  
Sponsor - Sen. Sparkman (D) Alabama

Last Day for Action

August 30, 1974 - Friday

Purpose

Authorizes appropriations of \$49,990,000 to support the activities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and for the operating expenses of the Board for International Broadcasting for fiscal year 1975.

Agency Recommendations

Office of Management and Budget	Approval
National Security Council	Approval
Department of State	Approval (Informally)
United States Information Agency	Defers to State

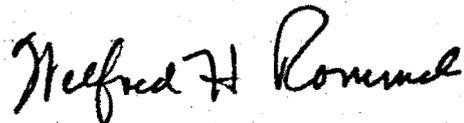
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S. 3190 would amend the 1973 Act to authorize appropriations of \$49,990,000 to remain available until expended, for the operating expenses of the two radios and the Board for fiscal year 1975. In addition, the bill would authorize to be appropriated for fiscal year 1975 such additional sums as may be necessary for increased employee benefits authorized by law, such as pay raises, and other nondiscretionary costs.

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Assistant Director for  
Legislative Reference

Enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 23, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. WARREN HENDRIKS

FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *W.E.T.*

SUBJECT: Action Memorandum - Log No. 529  
Enrolled Bill S. 3190 - Board for International  
Broadcasting Appropriations authorization,  
fiscal year 1975

The Office of Legislative Affairs concurs in the attached proposal and has no additional recommendations.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

ACTION MEMORANDUM

WASHINGTON

LOG NO.: 529

Date: August 23, 1974

Time: 9:30 a. m.

FOR ACTION: ~~Tod Hullin~~  
Phil Buchen  
✓ Bill Timmons

cc (for information): Warren K. Hendriks  
Jerry Jones

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DUE: Date: Monday, August 26, 1974

Time: 2:00 p. m.

SUBJECT: Enrolled Bill S. 3190 - Board for International  
Broadcasting appropriations authorization, fiscal  
year 1975

ACTION REQUESTED:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> For Necessary Action     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> For Your Recommendations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Agenda and Brief | <input type="checkbox"/> Draft Reply                         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> For Your Comments        | <input type="checkbox"/> Draft Remarks                       |

REMARKS:

Please return to Kathy Tindle - West Wing

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately.

Warren K. Hendriks  
For the President

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

AUG 22 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Enrolled Bill S. 3190 - Board for International  
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fiscal year 1975  
Sponsor - Sen. Sparkman (D) Alabama

Last Day for Action

August 30, 1974 - Friday

Purpose

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Agency Recommendations

Office of Management and Budget

Approval

National Security Council

Approval

Department of State

Approval (Informally)

United States Information Agency

Defers to State

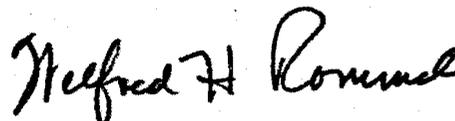
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Assistant Director for  
Legislative Reference

Enclosures

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 20, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR

Wilfred H. Rommel  
Assistant Director for  
Legislative Reference  
Office of Management and Budget

SUBJECT: Enrolled Bill S. 3190

We have reviewed the enrolled bill S. 3190 re authorization of appropriations for fiscal year 1975 for carrying out the Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973 and we concur in this proposal.

  
Jeanne W. Davis  
Staff Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

ACTION MEMORANDUM

WASHINGTON

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Date: August 23, 1974

Time: 9:30 a. m.

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Phil Buchen  
Bill Timmons

cc (for information): Warren K. Hendriks  
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\_\_\_ Prepare Agenda and Brief

\_\_\_ Draft Reply

\_\_\_ For Your Comments

\_\_\_ Draft Remarks

REMARKS:

Please return to Kathy Tindle - West Wing

*no objection*

*JH*  
*8-23-74*

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately.

Warren K. Hendriks  
For the President

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

AUG 22 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Enrolled Bill S. 3190 - Board for International  
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Office of Management and Budget

Approval

National Security Council

Approval

Department of State

Approval (Informally)

United States Information Agency

Defers to State

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*Welfred H. Rowland*

Assistant Director for  
Legislative Reference

Enclosures



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 20, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR

Wilfred H. Rommel  
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SUBJECT: Enrolled Bill S. 3190

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Jeanne W. Davis  
Staff Secretary



USIA  
UNITED STATES  
INFORMATION AGENCY  
WASHINGTON 20547

August 21, 1974

Mr. Wilfred H. Rommel  
Assistant Director  
for Legislative Reference  
Office of Management and Budget  
Executive Office of the President

Dear Mr. Rommel:

In accordance with OMB Circular A-19, I am submitting this Agency's views on S. 3190, an enrolled bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1975 for carrying out the Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973.

Since the Board for International Broadcasting and the United States Information Agency are organizations independent of each other, this bill would have no effect upon this Agency's operations. Further, given the independent status of the Board for International Broadcasting, this Agency defers to the Department of State insofar as making any specific comments regarding the proposed language changes to the International Broadcasting Act of 1973.

Sincerely,



Edward Hidalgo  
General Counsel and  
Congressional Liaison



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*No objection  
H.C.*

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Warren K. Hendriks  
For the President

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

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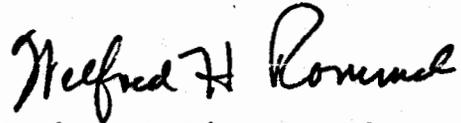
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Assistant Director for  
Legislative Reference

Enclosures

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 20, 1974

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Assistant Director for  
Legislative Reference  
Office of Management and Budget

SUBJECT: Enrolled Bill S. 3190

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Jeanne W. Davis  
Staff Secretary



USIA  
UNITED STATES  
INFORMATION AGENCY  
WASHINGTON 20547

August 21, 1974

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Assistant Director  
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Sincerely,



Edward Hidalgo  
General Counsel and  
Congressional Liaison



# Calendar No. 978

93D CONGRESS }  
2d Session }

SENATE

{ REPORT  
No. 93-1019

## RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY

JULY 17, 1974.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. SPARKMAN, from the Committee on Foreign Relations,  
submitted the following

### REPORT

[To accompany S. 3190]

The Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred the bill (S. 3190) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1975 for carrying out the Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973, having considered the same, reports favorably thereon without amendment and recommends that the bill do pass.

#### PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of S. 3190 is to authorize fiscal year 1975 appropriations for grants to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, and for the operating expenses of the Board for International Broadcasting which will administer the grants and monitor and evaluate the radios' activities. The following table shows the fiscal year 1974 appropriation for these purposes, the administration's fiscal year 1975 request, and the committee's recommendation:

	Fiscal year—		
	1974 appropriation	1975 request	Committee recommendation
Radio Free Europe.....	\$30,708,000	\$30,685,000	\$30,685,000
Radio Liberty.....	18,792,000	18,865,000	18,865,000
Board for International Broadcasting.....	125,000	290,000	290,000
Total.....	49,625,000	49,840,000	49,840,000

#### BACKGROUND

The Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973, in addition to authorizing fiscal year 1974 appropriations for Radio Free Europe

and Radio Liberty, authorized the creation of a seven-member Board for International Broadcasting to assume from the State Department the role of administering the annual U.S. grants to the radios and overseeing their operations. The Board, officially established on April 30, 1974, comprises five appointees nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate, together with the chief executive of each radio serving ex-officio. The Board serves on a per diem basis and meets only periodically, but is supported by a small full-time staff.

Though the Board for International Broadcasting Act authorized the full \$50.2 million request for fiscal year 1974 appropriations for the two radios and the Board, Congress subsequently allowed only \$45 million for these purposes in the regular fiscal year 1974 appropriations bill. This 10-percent cut prompted the radios to begin consolidating and combining some of their activities. Paradoxically, to finance the consolidation, the radios requested a supplemental fiscal year 1974 appropriation of nearly \$5 million, and this was approved.

The radios' consolidation consists essentially of an effort to eliminate duplicatory support sources. The radios are planning a single operations center in Munich and a single management structure in both the United States and Europe. As an initial step, both radios have made significant personnel reductions during fiscal year 1974—RFE cutting 14.4 percent (221 people) and RL cutting 8.7 percent (74 people). The fiscal year 1975 request is intended to finance continued consolidation activities, as well as normal broadcasting operations.

#### COMMITTEE ACTION

On March 19, Senator Sparkman introduced S. 3190 by request; and on May 30, the committee held public hearings on the bill. Testifying were six of the seven members of the Board for International Broadcasting: David Abshire, chairman; Foy Kohler, member; Thomas Quinn, member; John Roche, member; Howland Sargeant, ex-officio member and president of the Radio Liberty Committee; and William Durkee, ex-officio member and president of Free Europe, Inc.

On July 16, the committee considered the bill in executive session, and acted first on an amendment offered by Senator Fulbright requiring that, beginning in fiscal year 1976, the United States pay no more than 50 percent of the radios' expenses. By a margin of 8-6, the committee voted against this burden-sharing proposal. Opposing the amendment were Senators Sparkman, Pell, McGee, Humphrey, Case, Javits, Scott and Percy. In favor were Senators Fulbright, Mansfield, Church, Symington, Aiken and Pearson. The committee then voted, by a margin of 10-4, to report the bill favorably without amendment. Voting in favor were Senators Sparkman, Pell, McGee, Humphrey, Aiken, Case, Javits, Scott, Pearson and Percy. Opposed were Senators Fulbright, Mansfield, Church and Symington.

#### COST ESTIMATE

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 calls for an estimate of the costs, over the ensuing 5 years, entailed by any bill being reported from committee. S. 3190 authorizes appropriations only for fiscal year

1975, and expenditures beyond that period will be dependent upon further congressional action. If continued U.S. financing of the radios is assumed, a straight-line projection provides a reasonable estimate because the costs of the radios, apart from inflation, are generally stable. Such an estimate indicates a 5-year expenditure, in current dollars, of \$250 million.

#### CHANGES IN EXISTING LAW

In compliance with paragraph 4 of Rule XXIX of the Standing Rules of the Senate, changes in existing law made by the bill, as reported, are shown as follows (existing law proposed to be omitted is enclosed in black brackets, new matter is printed in *italic*, existing law in which no change is proposed is shown in roman) :

#### BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING ACT OF 1973

(87 Stat. 456)

\* \* \* \* \*

#### FINANCING AND IMPLEMENTATION

SEC. 8. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated, to remain available until expended **[\$50,209,000 for fiscal year 1974]** *\$49,840,000 for fiscal year 1975*. There are authorized to be appropriated for **[fiscal year 1974]** *fiscal year 1975* such additional or supplemental amounts as may be necessary for increases in salary, pay, retirement, or other employee benefits authorized by law and for other nondiscretionary costs.

(b) To allow for the orderly implementation of this Act, the Secretary of State is authorized to make grants to Radio Free Europe and to Radio Liberty under such terms and conditions as he deems appropriate for their continued operation until a majority of the voting members of the Board have been appointed and qualified, and until funds authorized to be appropriated under this Act are available to the Board.

○

AMENDING THE BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL  
BROADCASTING ACT OF 1973

JULY 9, 1974.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of  
the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. MORGAN, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs,  
submitted the following

REPORT

together with

OPPOSING AND ADDITIONAL VIEWS

[To accompany H.R. 14780]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 14780) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1975 for carrying out the provisions of the Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with amendment and recommend that the bill do pass.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 1, line 7, strike out "\$49,840,000 for fiscal year 1975" and insert in lieu thereof the following:

\$49,990,000 for fiscal year 1975, of which not less than \$75,000 shall be available solely to initiate broadcasts in the Estonian language and not less than \$75,000 shall be available solely to initiate broadcasts in the Latvian language.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of H.R. 14780 is to authorize an appropriation of \$49,840,000 for fiscal year 1975 to support the operations of Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and the Board for International Broadcasting.

COMMITTEE ACTION

On February 27, 1974, the Executive forwarded to the Speaker of the House, Executive Communication 1981, together with a draft bill "to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1975 for carrying out the

provisions of the Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973", which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The Honorable Thomas E. Morgan, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, introduced the draft bill as H.R. 14780 on May 14.

The committee held hearings on this bill on May 14 and 15. It received testimony from Dr. David M. Abshire, Chairman, and three other members of the Board for International Broadcasting in support of the proposed legislation. Other Board Members are: Mr. Thomas H. Quinn, General Partner, law firm of O'Connor and Hannan, Washington, D.C.; Mr. Abbott M. Washburn, Consultant, Office of Telecommunications Policy, Washington, D.C.; Dr. John P. Roche, Henry R. Luce Professor of Civilization and Foreign Affairs, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts. The fifth voting member of the Board, the Honorable Foy D. Kohler, Professor of the Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, had not been confirmed by the Senate at the time of the hearing and, consequently, did not appear as a witness. Ex officio (non-voting) Board Members, representing the two stations, were Mr. William P. Durkee, President, Free Europe Inc., and Mr. Howland Sargeant, President, Radio Liberty Committee.

The committee also heard testimony from Professor Herbert S. Dinerstein, Director of Soviet Studies, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C.; Ms. Susan Jacoby, writer on Soviet Affairs; Mr. Naum Korzhavin, prominent Russian poet and recent emigre from the Soviet Union; and Mr. Lev Navrozov, former Soviet translator, recent emigre, and presently a free-lance writer.

On June 25, 1974, the committee held an open mark-up session and, by a vote of 23 to 6, ordered favorably reported the bill H.R. 14780 with an amendment described above.

#### COST ESTIMATES

Pursuant to clause 7 of rule XIII of the House Rules, the committee has examined the request submitted by the Executive and has determined that an authorization of \$49,990,000 is sufficient to support the operations of Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and the Board for International Broadcasting for fiscal year 1975.

Approximately 80 percent of the radios' operating expenses are paid in foreign currencies. Hence, forward cost projections are significantly affected by fluctuations in the value of the dollar vis-a-vis other currencies, especially the deutsche mark. Moreover, the newly constituted Board for International Broadcasting has advised the committee that it will be initiating a number of studies designed to achieve savings, further consolidation of headquarters space and equipment, and increased efficiency of operations. The FY 1976 budget, it is anticipated, will reflect the findings and conclusions of these studies.

In light of these considerations, the committee does not believe a realistic cost projection past June 30, 1975, can be made at this time.

## BACKGROUND

Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL) had their genesis in the years immediately following World War II, when the Soviets gave every indication of establishing hegemony over Eastern Europe and threatening Western interests. RFE was incorporated in New York in 1950 and RL in Delaware in 1951. Operational headquarters for both stations are located in Munich, Germany.

Until June 30, 1971, both radios were supported by funds provided by the Central Intelligence Agency. In the case of RFE, some funds were raised from private sources totalling \$48,973,289 from 1951 through 1973. After CIA funding of the two radios was terminated by Congress, they were funded on an annual, temporary basis under section 703 of the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, as amended. This act (the Smith-Mundt Act) is the basic authority for the activities of the U.S. Information Agency. Under this authority, an authorization of \$35 million was provided to the Secretary of State for fiscal year 1972 and \$39.67 million for fiscal year 1973. Both of these authorizations were stop-gap measures pending the completion of studies on RFE and RL by the Library of Congress, the General Accounting Office and, subsequently, the Presidential Study Commission on International Radio Broadcasting, headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower.

In October, 1973, Congress passed and the President signed the Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973. This Act, based on the Eisenhower Commission's recommendations, created a five-member Board for International Broadcasting which was authorized to receive congressionally appropriated funds and to allocate them to the two radios. The Board was also charged with certain specific review and oversight responsibilities. In addition, the Act authorized an appropriation of \$50,209,000 for fiscal year 1974 to finance the operations of Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and the Board for International Broadcasting.

## THE BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

The Board consists of five voting members, appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and two ex officio (nonvoting) members representing the two stations. Voting members are to be selected from "among Americans distinguished in the fields of foreign policy or mass communications" who are not regular full-time employees of the U.S. government. Not more than three such members may be "of the same political party." Board members serve without annual salary, although they may be compensated on a daily basis at level V of the Executive schedule while attending Board meetings or engaged in official Board business, and receive travel expenses and per diem.

## STAFF

The Board is currently serviced by a small staff, consisting of four members and two secretaries. The Executive Director is Mr. Thomas F. Barthelmy, a former Foreign Service Officer and Defense Department employee. Staff headquarters are located in Washington, D.C.

## FUNCTIONS

As noted above, the Board is authorized to receive congressionally-appropriated funds for allocation to the two radios. In addition, it is charged with the responsibility of reviewing and evaluating the mission and operation of the two radios and assessing the "quality, effectiveness and professional integrity" of their broadcasting within the context of broad U.S. foreign policy objectives. The 1973 Act also requires the Board to "encourage the most effective utilization of available resources and undertake such studies as may be necessary to ensure economic and efficient operations"; to develop financial and auditing procedures to ensure that grants are being made for the purposes Congress intended; and to report annually to the President and Congress on the activities of the Board and the operations of RFE and RL.

## COMMITTEE REVIEW RESPONSIBILITIES

In last year's report (H. Rept. 93-510 of September 13, 1973), the committee specifically endorsed one of the Eisenhower Commission's recommendations calling for an intensive examination of the benefits which might accrue from consolidation of headquarters space and functions in Munich, as well as in other locations, and urging that all possibilities for increased economy and efficiency of operations be fully explored.

The committee also expressed the hope that:

\* \* \* the Board will address itself to another recommendation of the Eisenhower Commission—"that a comprehensive study of all United States international radio broadcasting facilities be undertaken at the earliest possible date"—and report upon it prior to consideration by Congress of any further authorizations.

Although the Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973 was signed into law by the President on October 19, 1973, the nominations of four out of the five Board members were not announced by the White House until March 18, 1974. The fifth nomination was announced on April 12. As a result of this delay, the Board was able to hold only one formal meeting prior to the May 14th hearing.

Despite its disappointment over this late start, the committee was favorably impressed by the plans outlined by Dr. Abshire for implementation of the Board's oversight responsibilities and by the fact that initial savings achieved during fiscal year 1974 have produced a reduced authorization request for fiscal year 1975.

## FISCAL YEAR 1975 BUDGET

This year's request for station grants (\$49,550,000)<sup>1</sup> is slightly less than the amount Congress-authorized for fiscal year 1974. It includes the following budget breakdown:

<sup>1</sup> This request figure does not include the \$150,000 authorized by the committee and specifically earmarked for initiation of broadcasting in the Latvian and Estonian languages.

## BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

	Fiscal year—		Increase or decrease
	1974 estimate	1975 estimate	
Regular appropriation:			
Radio Free Europe (RFE).....	\$27,675,000	\$30,685,000	+\$3,010,000
Radio Liberty (RL).....	17,325,000	18,865,000	+1,540,000
Board for International Broadcasting.....	125,000	290,000	+165,000
Subtotal.....	45,125,000	49,840,000	+4,715,000
Partial termination and consolidation supplemental:			
Radio Free Europe.....	3,109,000		-3,109,000
Radio Liberty.....	1,503,000		-1,503,000
Total.....	49,737,000	49,840,000	+103,000

This appropriation request, totaling \$49,840,000, is to provide for the continued broadcasting of Radio Free Europe (\$30,685,000) and Radio Liberty (\$18,865,000), and the continued activities of the Board for International Broadcasting (\$290,000).

BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING  
OBLIGATIONS BY OBJECT CLASS

	1973 actual		1974 estimate		1975 estimate		Increase or decrease	
	Number	Amount	Number	Amount	Number	Amount	Number	Amount
Personnel compensation:								
Total permanent, annual rate.....			6	\$113,000	6	\$113,000		
Deduct lapses.....			4	73,000				\$73,000
Net permanent.....			2	40,000	6	113,000	4	73,000
Positions other than permanent.....			1	10,000	1	33,000		23,000
Total personnel compensation.....			3	50,000	7	146,000	4	96,000
Personnel benefits: Permanent positions.....				4,000		9,000		5,000
Total personnel compensation and benefits.....				54,000		155,000		101,000
Travel and transportation of persons.....				17,000		60,000		43,000
Transportation of things.....				5,000				5,000
Rents, communications, and utilities.....				20,000		51,000		31,000
Printing and reproduction.....				2,000		4,000		2,000
Other services.....				10,000		12,000		2,000
Supplies and materials.....				2,000		4,000		2,000
Equipment.....				15,000		4,000		11,000
Grants, subsidies, and contributions.....		\$39,670,000		45,000,000		49,550,000		4,550,000
Total obligations under regular appropriations.....		39,670,000		45,125,000		49,840,000		4,715,000
Supplemental for partial termination and consolidation.....				4,612,000				4,612,000
Total obligations.....		39,670,000		49,737,000		49,840,000		103,000

<sup>1</sup> The appropriation for fiscal year 1973 was \$39,945,000 which included \$39,670,000 for grants to the radios and \$275,000 for the operating expenses of a temporary Study Commission. The \$275,000 was not used in fiscal year 1973 because the establishment of this Commission was not approved in the final congressional authorization of appropriations.

<sup>2</sup> The \$4,612,000 was requested as a supplemental appropriation to cover mandatory costs resulting from partial termination and consolidation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

## CONSOLIDATED GRANTS TO RFE AND RL—DISTRIBUTION OF COSTS BY TYPE OF EXPENSE

[Dollar amounts in thousands]

	Fiscal year 1973 actual		Fiscal year 1974 estimate		Fiscal year 1975 estimate		Increase or decrease	
	Number	Amount	Number	Amount	Number	Amount	Number	Amount
<b>OPERATING EXPENSES</b>								
Personnel compensation costs:								
Permanent employees and annual rate.....	2,416	\$23,325	2,117	\$27,938	2,071	\$27,317	-46	-\$621
Deduct: Lapse.....	-48	-467	-43	-559	-43	-546		+13
Annual salaries:								
Permanent employees.....	2,368	22,858	2,074	27,379	2,028	26,771	-46	-608
Temporary and part-time employees.....	34	152	33	167	31	175	-2	+8
Total annual salaries.....		23,010		27,546		26,946		-600
Employee benefits:								
Taxes.....		2,260		2,738		2,708		-30
Pension program.....		859		775		1,215		+440
Fringe benefits.....		5,152		6,441		6,553		+112
Total employee benefits.....		8,271		9,954		10,476		+522
Severance.....		538		276		1,060		+784
Miscellaneous fees and professional services.....		1,721		1,684		1,728		+44
Total personnel compensation and benefits.....	2,402	33,540	2,107	39,460	2,059	40,210	-48	+750
Administrative Costs:								
Travel.....		199		237		226		-11
Rents and utilities.....		1,196		1,381		1,439		+58
Licenses, royalties, copyrights.....		519		568		572		+4
Technical.....		2,152		2,470		2,685		+215
News and information.....		395		457		468		+11
Conferences.....		32		3		4		+1
Entertainment.....		41		47		44		-3
General and administrative.....		1,801		2,081		2,203		+122
Total administrative costs.....		6,335		7,244		7,641		+397
Capital—Maintenance.....		126		99		754		+655
Capital—Construction <sup>1</sup> .....						945		+945
Total operating expenses excluding fiscal year 1974 termination supplement.....		40,001		46,803		49,550		+2,747
Partial termination and consolidation (supplemental).....				4,612				-4,612
Total operating expenses.....		40,001		51,415		49,550		-1,865
<b>FINANCING</b>								
Application of working capital.....		-331		-1,156				+1,156
Private contributions.....				2-647				+647
Subtotal.....		-331		-1,803				+1,803
Appropriation:								
Regular.....		38,520		45,000		49,550		+4,550
Supplemental.....		1,150		4,612				-4,612
Total.....		39,670		49,612		49,550		-62

<sup>1</sup> For consolidation of RFE and RL Munich facilities.<sup>2</sup> Because of stringent budgetary limitation, RFE has been forced to allocate these funds to regular operations for fiscal year 1974. In 1975, allocation of private contributions to a special fund earmarked for technical modernization of outmoded equipment will be resumed.

## PRELIMINARY CONSOLIDATION PLANS, PERSONNEL REDUCTIONS AND OPERATIONAL CUTBACKS

The fiscal year 1975 budget request includes a provision for the consolidation of certain facilities of the two radio stations, modifica-

tion of the remaining operating centers, and elimination of supporting functions no longer required. These expenditures are designed to reduce overall rentals and lower base cost of administrative and technical support services.

### *Personnel Reductions*

In fiscal year 1974, permanent personnel reductions totalled 295. The breakdown is as follows:

Terminations by RFE (14.4 percent)-----	221
Terminations by RL (8 percent)-----	74
<b>Total</b> -----	<b>295</b>

These personnel terminations initially involve increased rather than reduced expenditures, as salary and separation benefits under existing contracts enforceable in foreign courts must be paid on a lump sum basis.

### *Operational Cutbacks*

Radio Liberty has eliminated regular North Caucasian service and now carries only a special Sunday program. This affects broadcasts in the following five languages:

Adighe  
Avar  
Chechen  
Karachai  
Ossetian

Also, RL has been required to discontinue service to Eastern Siberia from transmitters in Taiwan. Both radios have made reductions in substantive original programming and in such areas as foreign news bureaus and stringers.

### BALTIC LANGUAGE BROADCASTS

In its report on last year's authorizing legislation (H. Rept. 93-510), the committee recommended:

\* \* \* that Baltic language broadcasts should be accorded a high priority and be included in the fiscal year 1975 budget presentation to Congress. Planning for this contingency should begin promptly.

The administration's request for fiscal year 1975 provided only \$75,000 to Radio Liberty for initiation of broadcasting in Lithuanian. No funds were projected for broadcasting in either Latvian or Estonian. The desirability of commencing broadcasts in all three Baltic languages has been acknowledged both by Radio Liberty and the Department of State.

The committee found those arguments valid and believes that broadcasting in all three Baltic languages should commence in fiscal year 1975. An additional \$150,000 to the Board for International Broadcasting is proposed for this purpose. The committee amendment specifically earmarks \$75,000 of this additional amount for the initiation of broadcasting in Latvian and \$75,000 for initiation of broadcasting in Estonian.

## THE RADIOS AND "DÉTENTE"

Critics of the radios have charged that the operations of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are inconsistent with the official United States policy of seeking "détente" with the Soviet Union. The committee has reviewed this issue at some length in its hearings and finds the argument unpersuasive.

During the past two years, the committee has heard testimony from administration witnesses, including ranking State Department officials who have been directly involved in implementation of the détente policy. It has heard from academic specialists in Soviet and Eastern European affairs and from journalists with experience in the U.S.S.R. It is the overwhelming consensus of those knowledgeable in the field that these radios continue to perform a useful function and, in long-range terms, contribute toward, rather than inhibit, a lessening of tensions between the United States and the countries of Eastern Europe.

If a meaningful détente is to develop, it must be based on "a freer flow of people, ideas and information" between East and West. That has been the consistent position of the United States delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which is presently in progress at Geneva. A unilateral decision to terminate the radios' broadcasting operations would, in fact, serve to undermine that position at a time when this fundamental issue is under intensive negotiation.

Moreover, the radios permit the voices of moderation within Soviet and Eastern European societies to be heard—an essential factor in bringing about détente. Recent studies, based on polls conducted by the Soviets themselves, as well as by reputable, independent polling organizations in the West, indicate that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are listened to not only by the so-called "dissidents" within the target areas, but also by a substantial number or middle to senior-level Communist party officials. These individuals receive news about events taking place in their own countries which is denied to them by their own strictly-controlled media. The radios are, in fact, the *only* source of this type of information and it is for this reason, in particular, that the committee feels their operations should be continued under present circumstances.

As the Eisenhower Commission noted in its report of last year :

A people uninformed or misinformed is a danger to itself and a potential danger to its neighbors. Thus, a precondition for world peace is international freedom of information.

### CHANGES IN EXISTING LAW MADE BY THE BILL, AS REPORTED

In compliance with clause 3 of Rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, changes in existing law made by the bill, as reported, are shown as follows (existing law proposed to be omitted is enclosed in black brackets, new matter is printed in italic, existing law in which no change is proposed is shown in roman) :

SECTION 8 OF THE BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING ACT  
OF 1973

## FINANCING AND IMPLEMENTATION

SEC. 8. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated, to remain available until expended, **[\$50,209,000 for fiscal year 1974]** *\$49,990,000 for fiscal year 1975, of which not less than \$75,000 shall be available solely to initiate broadcasts in the Estonian language and not less than \$75,000 shall be available solely to initiate broadcasts in the Latvian language.* There are authorized to be appropriated for fiscal year **[1974]** *1975* such additional or supplemental amounts as may be necessary for increases in salary, pay, retirement, or other employee benefits authorized by law and for other nondiscretionary costs.

(b) To allow for the orderly implementation of this Act, the Secretary of State is authorized to make grants to Radio Free Europe and to Radio Liberty under such terms and conditions as he deems appropriate for their continued operation until a majority of the voting members of the Board have been appointed and qualified, and until funds authorized to be appropriated under this Act are available to the Board.

## OPPOSING VIEWS OF HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

Before Members vote another \$50 million for these radio stations, they should ask themselves: Would anyone vote to establish a Radio Free Europe or a Radio Liberty today? Would anyone agree to undertake this program while our own government is actively pursuing trade and security agreements with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European governments? Would Congress today initiate a program run largely by emigres who broadcast back to their countries of birth?

I think it fair to state that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty exist largely as a matter of habit. The question for Congress today is whether habituation is a sufficient reason to spend \$50 million each year to keep these marginal operations going. It is clear from this year's testimony that neither private U.S. contribution nor our European allies are going to give any significant funds to sustain these stations.

Why then should we in Congress stand alone in maintaining what others (including our own citizens) are obviously not concerned with?

This money could be much better spent, in my view, by financing an improved and expanded Voice of America. This new VOA could incorporate the work of RFE/RL, eliminate the duplication implicit in two U.S.-government broadcasts to Eastern European countries, and use the savings to reach other people in the world who are also deprived of news about events in their own countries.

I see only a dismal future for these stations as long as Congress continues them in their present patterns. The emigres who ran these stations are growing older, the stations' budgets are eroded by inflation, the technical equipment declines in efficiency. Eventually, they must disband when these developments overcome inertia.

Before that time, I hope the Congress will seriously examine our international broadcasting program and allow our policies in this field to express the best of our society instead of a bad version of government radio journalism.

BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL.

## ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF HONORABLE J. HERBERT BURKE

With government spending at an all time high, and inflation almost rampant, it is time to really examine the merits of some of our programs, particularly those that do not directly benefit the American taxpayer.

Since the early 1950's we have been routinely spending millions of dollars annually to support Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. There is a real question in mind about continuing this spending.

No one really knows how many people listen to Radio Free Europe or Radio Liberty, and it is difficult, if not impossible to evaluate the benefit derived from its operation particularly in terms of the U.S. taxpayer.

At Radio Free Europe, 1,079 out of 1,312 employees are non-Americans.

At Radio Free Liberty, there are 607 non-American employees and 167 U.S. citizens.

One indication of waning support by our citizens is the rapid decline of private funding. In 1971 Radio Free Europe raised almost \$1.5 million, but in 1973 they raised only \$375,000.

The appropriation for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in fiscal year 1974 was \$50,209,000, and an appropriation of \$49,840,000 is proposed for fiscal year 1975. While the funding is almost half a million dollars less than last year, I am pleased about that, I nevertheless feel that it is money wasted.

It may be true that citizens of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European Countries have a "right to know" but why is it the duty of the American taxpayer alone to transmit the truth to them? We have not only the Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty programs, but Voice of America, and Armed Forces Radio and Television Service as well—All doing similar or identical work. The total cost of this effort is unrealistic in view of our economic problems today. The argument that we need some voice is perhaps proper, but to have three voices is excessive and it is wasteful.

If Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are to continue, they should be financed at least in part by the prosperous nations of Western Europe which stand to benefit more than anyone else if the programs are successful in accomplishing their broadcasting objectives. Until such time as the West European countries reach into their own pockets to help pay the cost of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, I cannot support passage of this legislation.

In summary, I object to the U.S. financing three simultaneous programs to beam broadcasts into the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe particularly since our Western European allies who benefit from these efforts do not share the costs.

J. HERBERT BURKE.

# Ninety-third Congress of the United States of America

AT THE SECOND SESSION

*Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the twenty-first day of January,  
one thousand nine hundred and seventy-four*

## An Act

To authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1975 for carrying out the Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 8(a) of the Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973 (22 U.S.C. 2877(a)) is amended—*

(1) by striking out “\$50,209,000 for fiscal year 1974” in the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof “\$49,990,000 for fiscal year 1975, of which not less than \$75,000 shall be available solely to initiate broadcasts in the Estonian language and not less than \$75,000 shall be available solely to initiate broadcasts in the Latvian language”; and

(2) by striking out “fiscal year 1974” in the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof “fiscal year 1975”.

*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

*Vice President of the United States and  
President of the Senate.*