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Herewith is the full official English text of Council of Europe Special Committee report re. RFE submitted to Consultative Assembly. The report was written by Mr. F. J. Goedhart (The Netherlands) and was unanimously approved by all Committee members. Text follows:

Strasbourg, April 27 (CNR) -- The following report on RFE was presented by Mr. F. J. Goedhart to the Committee on non-represented nations of the Consultative Assembly of Council of Europe - Conseil de L'Europe:

1. Right from the time of its establishment in 1950 Radio Free Europe has been subject to much criticism. This is understandable, for public opinion in Europe had still to learn what were the aims of Radio Free Europe.

Radio Free Europe transmits its programs in Polish, Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, Rumanian and Bulgarian. All these languages are only spoken by few people in Western Europe and this makes it extremely difficult to form an opinion on the political character and the cultural and intellectual merits of these programs. It also makes it extremely difficult to find out whether there are grounds for the rumors that have been circulating about these broadcasts.

There are also other factors impairing an impartial judgment. The political refugees from behind the Iron Curtain -- who naturally are highly interested in the work of Radio Free Europe -- often hold different political views and this cannot but lead to criticism of Radio Free Europe by some of them.

We have heard Radio Free Europe criticized from the Communist side as being inspired by Fascists and reactionaries and we have heard it accused by neo-Fascists as being under Communist influence. Then there are those criticizing the high salaries paid to Radio Free Europe's staff; this criticism clearly comes from those refugees who have to scrape for a living and are envious of their more fortunate fellow refugees in good positions.

Then there is also the factor of the sharp German reaction to Radio Free Europe's transmitters broadcasting on German territory without being under direct control of the German Government or other German official bodies.

After the Hungarian revolt in October and November 1956 the tone of this criticism became more aggressive and it found an echo in the press and parliaments of many countries. Committees of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe also considered the

question and the Special Committee to watch over the interests of nations not represented in the Council of Europe has collected all available data in order to be able to form an unprejudiced opinion on the position and the activities of Radio Free Europe.

2. How did Radio Free Europe come into being:

Radio Free Europe is a branch of the Free Europe Committee, Inc., an organization set up by a group of private American citizens in 1949. Both the Committee and Radio Free Europe are backed by the Crusade for Freedom. In the U. S. A. it finds its supporters among Democrats and Republicans alike. Since 1950 Radio Free Europe has grown from a tiny $7\frac{1}{2}$ kilowatt mobile transmitter into a network of five stations, utilizing 29 transmitters located in Western Germany and Portugal. The five stations broadcasting to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria operate for a public of 70 million. They supply their listeners with truthful and impartial information, political arguments and moral support. They try to inspire them with hope and the courage to shake off the Soviet yoke. There are daily broadcasts of the actual facts and figures which are thus brought home to the opposition behind the Iron Curtain. In this way the listeners are armed with political argumentation to meet the misleading Soviet propaganda and this forms an offset against the Soviet confuse-and-divide campaign and renders it difficult for the Kremlin to consolidate its grip on the satellites. It also fights the monopoly of the information system built up by the Soviet government in all the satellite countries.

We may compare Radio Free Europe's task to that performed by the B.B.C. during the second World War for the German-occupied European countries. To those unfortunate countries which have lived under the Soviet Regime since the second World War, the Radio Free Europe broadcasts are a daily recurring evidence that we in the West have not lost interest in their fate. The activities of Radio Free Europe which includes the spreading of pamphlets by balloons have considerably contributed to the fact that the Kremlin has not been able to break the morale of the captive nations.

3. The character of the Radio Free Europe broadcasts.

Though the primary aim of these broadcasts is to fight Communism in the satellite countries, they do not bear an exclusively political character. The importance of these transmissions can hardly be overrated. They include daily broadcasts from the big Western press agencies and this news service enables listeners behind the Iron Curtain to form a realistic opinion about the actual political situation in the world and to escape the demoralizing effects of misleading Soviet propaganda.

Radio Free Europe has organized an extensive monitoring service which makes verbatim reports of the most important broadcasts behind the Iron Curtain. It also carefully reads and analyzes Soviet

newspapers and magazines. This method of systematically observing the Communist press and radio has made Radio Free Europe into one of the most important centers of documentation in the field of Soviet affairs. This imposing documentation -- often of a very topical nature -- gives Radio Free Europe the opportunity to fight Communist lying campaigns and to supply the listeners behind the Iron Curtain with convincing arguments.

Furthermore Radio Free Europe is broadcasting regularly reviews of European and American newspapers in order to make the listeners more familiar with the many shades characteristic of political thinking in the free world.

Much attention is also being paid to the cultural, artistic and scientific life of Western European countries. Listeners are given the opportunity to learn about important books published in these countries and to become familiar with dramatic art and other artistic manifestations in the free world.

Great attention is given in the program to fashion news from the Western countries, as this will interest the women behind the Iron Curtain. Radio Free Europe also broadcasts modern and classical music as well as radio plays which form a regular part of the programs.

Radio Free Europe further pays much attention to the work of the Council of Europe and other international organizations such as NATO, W. E. U. and the E.C.S.C., and recently also to EURATOM and the European common market. Experience has shown that people behind the Iron Curtain are greatly interested in all European manifestations such as the increase in production, in military power, the simplification of formalities; in short everything which aims at greater unity and which proves that Western European politicians are not letting themselves be deceived by the maneuvers of the Kremlin. During the past few years, various members of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe have had the opportunity to speak for Radio Free Europe to the Europeans behind the Iron Curtain. This has to some extent compensated for the fact that the Council of Europe does not have its own broadcasting station.

4. Communist counter-measures.

There is sufficient evidence to prove the effectiveness of Radio Free Europe. We think of the statements given by the continuous stream of refugees, of the letters smuggled through the Iron Curtain, and of the Communist attacks on Radio Free Europe which indicate that the Reds are seriously troubled by its influence. Communist collaborators in the satellite countries, who were denounced over Radio Free Europe have changed their names or have attempted to conciliate the workers they terrorized.

In order to prevent the captive nations hearing the voice of the free world, the Soviets established more than 1,500 jamming stations -- much more than Goebbels had at his disposal during the second World War -- which are

active day and night. But in spite of the fact that the Reds spend more money annually by trying to jam Western broadcasts than Radio Free Europe spends by transmitting them, Radio Free Europe generally succeeds in reaching their listeners. It is interesting to observe that the present Polish Government has put an end to the activities of the Polish jamming stations, and that the Soviet troops in Poland have since taken over the said stations.

In its constant effort to stay ahead of the Soviet jammers, Radio Free Europe has made use of all kinds of technical devices. A very effective and popular one is to direct all its transmitters towards one target for a certain period of the day, thus making a sieve out of the Iron Curtain and generating a volume which makes jamming ineffective.

5. The various aspects of criticism of Radio Free Europe.

Especially during the Hungarian revolt criticism of Radio Free Europe became very marked. The following points were relevant:

- a. Criticism from the U.S.S.R. and its fellow travelers asserted that Radio Free Europe was guilty of the events in Hungary. The Soviet delegate at UNO, Kuznetsov, stated that "the general headquarters of the rebellion in Hungary were at the headquarters of Radio Free Europe in Munich." He further declared that for weeks Radio Free Europe had been constantly on the air, giving orders and instructions to the insurgents, that the 1,400 employees of Radio Free Europe had organized the "counter-revolution" in Hungary and that thus Radio Free Europe was chiefly responsible for the tragic events in Hungary. The Soviet press added to this that the staff of Radio Free Europe consisted for the greater part of Fascists, Nazis, Reactionaries and the like and that U.S.A. oil concerns had staged the revolt in Hungary by using Radio Free Europe, in order to divert attention from what happened in Egypt at the same time. These accusations are so ridiculous that they need not be rebutted.
- b. German criticism of Radio Free Europe can be explained as follows:

In nationalist circles opinion is that it is intolerable that a broadcasting station should be located on German territory without a German management and without direct control of either the German government or other German bodies.

In German business circles which aims at an extension of trade with the U.S.S.R., the presence of Radio Free

Europe in Germany is considered a serious impediment to an improvement of trade relations with Moscow and the satellite governments.

In other German circles it is believed that German reunification can be promoted by avoiding all that might be disagreeable to the Soviet Union and they consequently see in Radio Free Europe's presence on German soil an obstacle to German unification.

Sudeten Germans are indignant that the Czechoslovakian Department of Radio Free Europe does not back the claims of the Sudeten Germans with respect to Czechoslovakia.

Other Germans would like Radio Free Europe to start a campaign against the Oder-Neisse-Line. Radio Free Europe, however, systematically refuses to start any campaign relating to nationalist or frontier matters; it rightly holds the view that this is beside the point. Its only aim is and remains the fighting against Communist domination. This standpoint has led to Radio Free Europe being blamed for an anti-German attitude in these matters. It has even led to actions which were not only directed against Radio Free Europe but also against the government of the Federal Republic at Bonn and it almost looks as if internal German political conflicts are being fought out on the beam of Radio Free Europe. It leaves the U.S.S.R. as the man who has the last laugh, for the Kremlin can only be pleased when it sees anti-Communist Germans inflicting harm on an efficiently functioning anti-Communist instrument.

- c. In neutralist circles too -- and they are not confined to Germany -- there exists a distinct aversion to Radio Free Europe. These circles see in the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe a provocative element which annoys the Kremlin and disturbs the neutralist's dream of peaceful co-existence and their illusion of the "Cold War" being over. It is Radio Free Europe which confronts them with the naked facts and tries to awaken them from their pleasant dreams. The blame is consequently put on Radio Free Europe.
- d. The accusation that Radio Free Europe promised the Hungarian people during their revolt military aid from the West was proved to be without ground and this rumor has died out since. But other charges are now being

directed against Radio Free Europe. It is now called a center of national communism for the fact that during and after the days political tension in Poland it urged the Polish people not to offer armed resistance, as it was in the proper interest of all Polish anti-Communists to support -- for the time being -- Gomulka against Moscow. Radio Free Europe's policy at the time may be compared with the policy of the Roman Catholic Episcopacy in Warsaw, who offered no resistance against the Gomulka government as they feared a large scale massacre among the Polish people; instead they adopted a rather benevolent -- though critical -- neutrality towards the government in order not to weaken its position with Moscow.

We may or may not agree with this policy, but we must all admit that there are circumstances in which one has to act contrary to one's deepest convictions. It clearly was a question of tactics which had brought about a substantial change as regards the attitude towards Communism. There is consequently no reason to accuse Radio Free Europe or the Polish Catholic Episcopacy on these grounds of having embraced national communism.

- e. As regards the accusation of a promise of armed support from the West during the Hungarian revolt, the government of the German Federal Republic has submitted to a careful examination all the texts of the Hungarian Department of Radio Free Europe which were broadcast during the November revolt. On the strength of this examination Dr. Adenauer, at a press conference held at Bonn in January 1957 made the following statement:

"A verification has taken place. This verification revealed that the statement which appeared in the press that Radio Free Europe had promised armed support of the West to the Hungarians, is not in conformity with the facts. Remarks have, however, been made which could give rise to a wrong interpretation. A debate and an exchange of views have therefore taken place which resulted in a turnover in the staff and I think that until further orders the matter may be considered closed."

The phrase "remarks that could give rise to the wrong interpretation" refers to a statement from the Washington correspondent of the London Sunday paper "Observer" which was quoted in a review of the comments from the World Press on the events in Hungary. This statement read that if

the Hungarians could carry on their struggle until November 7th, it could be assumed that the State Department might be compelled to revise its policy with regard to Hungary. This quotation from the "Observer" was certainly not out of place in an objective press review. But it is understandable that this report could easily have led to misunderstandings in a country going through a period of such strain as Hungary did at the time. In the report, however, there was no reference whatever to armed support.

- f. Some of the Hungarian refugees who fled to Europe also made bitter remarks about Radio Free Europe. These refugees, most of whom took part in the armed revolt against the Communists, were naturally highly disappointed that the West did nothing to help them so that they had to yield to the superior force of the Soviets and had to seek refuge in the free countries of the West. The fact that they waited in vain for military support from the West was a bitter disillusion for them. The more so when Soviet propaganda had for years led them to believe that the West was eager for war and that especially the U.S.A. were in constant preparation for a war. This had the reverse effect, as this propaganda gave the masses an increasing faith in the West and in the U.S.A.; especially Eisenhower was a great favorite of theirs. They therefore did not doubt that at least the U.S.A. would take action through UNO or else through NATO. The Hungarians could in no way understand why this did not happen. They immediately started to blame Radio Free Europe, being the voice of the free world on which they had built their hopes during all those years and from which they expected help. The embitterment against the West accumulated in accusations against Radio Free Europe.

There were, however, no concrete accusations from the side of the Hungarian refugees.

- g. The publication of the American journalist Demaree Bess in the "Saturday Evening Post" throws another light on the accusations against Radio Free Europe. I quote:

"Our networks (the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe) made a documented report of what actually happened on the European air waves during the Hungarian revolution. This record, to which I have been given complete access, shows that Soviet psychological warriors revived a familiar wartime trick. Soviet transmitters announced themselves as Radio Free Europe and other trusted Western stations. Behind this mask, they encouraged Hungarian recklessness by faking assurances of

outside armed assistance. By so doing, Kremlin operators sought simultaneously to justify harsh measures in Hungary and to smear American propaganda networks.

"The Soviet fakers' transmitters began to operate during those critical October days when the Hungarians had reason to hope that they had induced the Red Army's withdrawal. Only Moscow, at that moment, knew additional Russian divisions already were mobilizing to crush the revolution. Then our monitors picked up transmitters using stolen signals of American and British broadcasting networks. Some of those transmitters were traced to Russian-controlled East Germany, while others apparently were operated inside Hungary, either by Russians or by Hungarians still stooging for the Kremlin. These Judas mouthpieces assured the embattled Hungarians that they might soon expect military reinforcements from the West."

- h. The course of the Hungarian revolt, the heroic and general resistance of the population, the slaughter made by the Communists and the restoration of the Kremlin's reign of terror without the West intervening to help the Hungarian people, spread a feeling of shame, annoyance and frustration in the free world. This brought some people to very tumultuous demonstrations against Communist editors and party organizations; while it led others to look for a scapegoat. It is difficult to escape the impression that here and there one was eager to use Radio Free Europe for this purpose, with the result that one lent one's ear more to the accusation expressed against Radio Free Europe than was justified by the facts.

6. The position of Radio Free Europe.

There can be little doubt about Radio Free Europe being a well managed organization working efficiently and performing an extremely useful political task and one can only be grateful to those who have made this possible. The American promoters have rendered a big service to their country as well as to Europe and together with those who are contributing large and smaller amounts to raise the millions of dollars necessary to finance Radio Free Europe, prove thereby that they are sincerely concerned with the cause of freedom and democracy. It is regrettable that Europe herself did not take the initiative at the time; it is also regrettable that Radio Free Europe is still entirely financed by the U.S.A. and that we Europeans have failed to show financial interest for Radio Free Europe. Radio Free Europe depends entirely on American funds and is consequently a purely American affair. The staff consists of some 1,400 persons and is composed inter alia of 700 Germans, 150 Czechs and Slovaks, 120 Americans, 100 Poles and approximately 100 Bulgarians and Rumanians. The executive of the six departments is in the hands of emigrants who have much freedom of action. It is nevertheless

obvious that the actual political leadership and the last word rests with the American management. One is thus confronted with the fact that due to a lack of interest and funds from the European side such an extremely important institution as Radio Free Europe, which mainly deals with European questions, is not under European control. To say this does not mean that we appreciate less the excellent work of Radio Free Europe. Nevertheless, the fact that Europe has no say whatever in this typically European matter, constitutes a somewhat unnatural situation.

As a reaction to this situation, voices were raised, especially in Germany, pleading that Radio Free Europe be placed under the control of the German Parliament or the German Government. It is doubtful whether this would be in the interest of the work of Radio Free Europe. It is in the nature of the work of Radio Free Europe that it can better be done by private organizations than by governments or governing bodies. Parliamentary control of Radio Free Europe seems to be no more in the nature of things than Parliamentary control of a big newspaper.

Basically, the task of Radio Free Europe is no more German than it is American. A German control would therefore be as unacceptable as the now existing American direction. Apart from the fact that the German government grants the license for this European broadcasting station which operates on German territory there is no reason why Radio Free Europe should fall under German control. It would be a much better idea to attract some capable and qualified persons from various European countries and make them sit on the Board of Management of the Radio Free Europe so that in close cooperation with the American staff the organization would obtain a more European character. In this way Radio Free Europe could remain a private enterprise for which no government would be responsible. Such an Americo-European cooperation would change its present predominantly American character.

The suggestion raised that the Council of Europe should play a part in the matter, seems -- for the time being -- to present many difficulties. It would of course be useful for the Council of Europe to have access to Radio Free Europe's documentation, but under the present structure of Radio Free Europe that is already possible. Moreover, the representatives of Radio Free Europe indicated that they would welcome the establishment of some form of cooperation between Radio Free Europe and the Council of Europe. On the other hand, should the Council of Europe get a say in the management, the Council of Ministers as well as the Consultative Assembly would be confronted with insurmountable difficulties. In neither of the two bodies does there exist unanimity on the policy to be pursued with regard to the USSR and the Central European affairs. Under the given circumstances any interference from the side of the Council of Europe would only complicate matters and would not be in the least advantageous. Such an interference in whatever form would therefore be highly undesirable. Here there is no clearly defined task for the Council of Europe.

For the rest it is clear that changes in the structure of Radio Free Europe are only possible when the American management is prepared to take the necessary initiative. Nobody else is in a position to make suggestions to this effect. Radio Free Europe is entirely the result of American initiative, it is financed by American funds, it is built up and managed by

Americans and in America it has become quite an important organization.

It could be imagined, however, that a change in the present structure would also appear useful to the Americans. Europe could do much to help realize the ultimate goal of liberating the European countries, which have been under Soviet rule since 1945. The problem of Central and Eastern Europe is no longer an abstract question. It will in due course be necessary to formulate a common Americo-European policy with regard to the satellite question. The Hungarian tragedy has made it sufficiently clear that neither America nor Europe are ready for this. Americo-European interest must therefore be constantly focussed on this problem in order to prevent political initiative ways coming from the USSR. Radio Free Europe in furnishing the nations behind the Iron Curtain with moral and political support plays an important part in the political psychological struggle, which should be a matter of equal concern to both Americans and Europeans.

(NOTE: This report was approved unanimously by the Committee on Non-represented Nations at its meeting on April 29, 1957.)

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This Tab is in three parts. The numbers in the margins of the first part (Summary of Department of Defense Budget Hearings) correspond to numbers in the margins of the second part (Comments on Certain Points in the Summary). The third part anticipates a possible question as a result of Mr. Whitten's testimony.