

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

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Sparks Into the U. S. S. R.**EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF****HON. WILLIAM H. BATES**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 8, 1957

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

**SPARKS INTO THE U. S. S. R.—THE STORY OF
RADIO LIBERATION**

Radio Liberation began its work on March 1, 1953, from studios in Munich and by means of one 10-kilowatt transmitter in Lampertheim, Germany. At first, there was one 20-minute program, repeated 12 hours a day.

In the last 3 years, Radio Liberation has upped its transmitting facilities to 11 at diverse spots on the globe to blanket the U. S. S. R. and its total daily (transmitting) time to 228 hours, to be available to Soviet citizens whenever and wherever they dare and can listen. From broadcasting only in the Russian tongue, Radio Liberation has branched out to speaking in 17 languages used in the U. S. S. R.: Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaidjanian, Tatar, Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmen. Ossetin, Adyge-Kabardin, Karachay-Balkar, Chechen-Ingush, Avar and Kumyk.

Ten minutes after it went on the air, Radio Liberation was jammed by the Soviets. As Radio Liberation stepped up its activity, the Soviets responded with ever-heavier jamming. Today hundreds of jamming stations, spreading from the western edges of Czechoslovakia and Poland eastward over the entire Communist orbit to Siberia, try to black out the message of Radio Liberation. On the whole, they fail.

Radio Liberation has combatted the jammers through technical improvement of antenna design and through flexible transmitter operation. To its transmitting facilities in West Germany it has added transmitters in the Far East. Radio Liberation has blanketed the U. S. S. R. from several directions, weaving in between the jammers.

This policy has paid off. Extensive long-range monitoring from a half a dozen points on the periphery of the U. S. S. R. has demonstrated that Radio Liberation delivers an intelligible signal to almost all parts of the vast country. And direct confirmation of this fact has come from Soviet citizens themselves. * * *

Here is some of the evidence:

From time to time, travelers with a knowledge of the Russian language come to Radio Liberation to volunteer their impressions of the country and its people. Most often they are prompted to contact Radio Liberation because they have happened upon persons who have reported to them that listening to Radio Liberation and other Western broadcasts is a daily habit. The Western travelers to the U. S. S. R. provide the staff of Radio Liberation with valuable information—how many listen in the Soviet Union—how the

programs are getting through—and general listener reaction * * *.

A young Russian, now a political refugee in the West, reports that he heard Radio Liberation while he was a soldier with the Soviet occupation forces in East Germany. Together with two other members of his tank crew, he listened over the tank's receiver * * *.

Another Soviet soldier, now also in the West, heard Radio Liberation while stationed in Hungary. The station had been guardedly talked about by other members of his unit * * *.

In Vilna, the capital of Soviet-annexed Lithuania, a number of people listen to Radio Liberation. This is the testimony of an elderly woman whom the Soviets recently permitted to emigrate.

Sometimes anti-Soviet individuals hear of Radio Liberation from the Soviet police itself. One man, recently freed from a concentration camp in Soviet Moldavia, reports that his police interrogator was the first to ask him if he had ever heard of the station. When he replied that he was glad it existed, he was given 3 days' special punishment.

Soviet concentration camp inmates particularly welcome Radio Liberation's programs and take comfort and hope from them. A German recently released from the notorious Vorkuta camp in the Arctic Circle has reported that since the strike some prisoners are allowed to visit outside the camp zone and consequently could hear some foreign broadcasts. The German was told by a Russian prisoner who had begun to enjoy the visiting privileges that he had heard Radio Liberation and found its programs well informed on conditions in the Soviet Union * * *.

The German's report confirmed and elaborated on one made in 1954 by a Greek who had also been confined at Vorkuta. The testimony of the German and the Greek together indicate that Radio Liberation had been heard almost continuously for at least a year and a half in that explosive prison camp.

Not only at northerly Vorkuta, but in concentration camps deep in Soviet central Asia, Radio Liberation seems to be a force. A Hungarian released from a camp in Kazakhstan described how he and Russian inmates heard the station completely free of jamming, although there was occasional fading. Hearing anti-Soviet broadcasts, the prisoners declared, was like being treated to a glass of vodka.

In Stalin's own home territory, in Soviet Georgia, Radio Liberation is well known, according to borders crossers into Iran.

A 26-year-old bear tamer, Viktor Iijinsky, traveling with a Soviet circus in West Europe, escaped from the circus train at Aachen, Germany, January 26, 1956, and told of listening nightly to Radio Liberation after the show as the circus traveled.

Letters have been arriving for several years. This alone is noteworthy.

The volume of letters is not large. Certain trends, however, stand out clearly.

Some letters reflect the official Soviet propaganda line. There are warnings: "You are traitors to the Russian people and it is none of your business to bemoan Russia," writes a locksmith from Tambov. "If you traitors are thinking of again fighting the country of the Soviets, you will be given what you deserve. This time we shall be merciless." * * *

On the anti-Soviet side, one group of letters is cautious and only establishes contact. An anonymous post card came in from Minsk, hailing one of Radio Liberation's humorous commentators on Soviet life. Others ask Radio Liberation for signs that their cryptic message has arrived: "If you receive this letter, I beseech you urgently to sing to me our favorite song, We Met by Chance." * * * Ukrainian living in Poland writes to the

COVER address the names and locations of churches that have been defaced or destroyed. A woman from the Baltic sadly infers that her father and mother have been liquidated. A loquacious youngster from Kharkov describes the misery of peasants on the farms, hints that a new aristocracy of privilege is waxing fat in the U. S. S. R., makes fun of Soviet propaganda films, and prophesies that a man of his political leanings will probably wind up in Siberia. And a man writing from Lvov discreetly warns Radio Liberation staff members that "they had better not succumb to the blandishments of the Soviet redefection. Life here goes on as before, and nothing new has been added since you left." * * * "Many thanks for your dear letters," reads a post card. "Your relatives will be very grateful that you are young and strong enough to do intensive work for yourself and the everyday good," says a letter evidently approving the political programs of Radio Liberation.

All told, some 150 former residents of the USSR conceive, organize, and present Radio Liberation's programs to its vast and secretive audience. Each staff member has a personal history—and a profound personal insight based on that history—which enables him to speak in terms and tones convincing and compelling to listeners in U. S. S. R. Hundreds more contribute to the programing as free-lance writers and speakers.

These key members of Radio Liberation's Munich staff receive assistance from a small group of Americans who have an expert knowledge of the U. S. S. R. and a background of experience in information work. Radio Liberation's technical staff in Europe and the Far East is in a position to draw on the services of a group of American technical specialists in communications who have helped to design, set up, and operate the elaborate transmitting equipment which carries the words and spirit of the emigre broadcasting staff deep into the U. S. S. R.

WHO'S BEHIND IT?—THE HISTORY

Radio Liberation got its start in 1950.

That year a group of eminent Americans surveyed the cold war scene and found an appalling instance of neglect: No major or concerted attempt had been made to enlist the loyalties and passions of the anti-Soviet exiles from, and the anti-Soviet residents in, the U. S. S. R. against the Kremlin. An almost inexhaustible reservoir of political energy lay untapped, stagnant. No single-minded effort had been launched to appeal to the spirit that had led millions of U. S. S. R. citizens to desert from the Soviet Army and administration during World War II, and to choose the most desperate of alternatives—temporary alliance with Hitler—because they so terribly needed and wanted an alternative, any alternative at all to sovietism.

All the free world's energy in the cold war had been spent either on containing Soviet power or on encouraging aloofness from it, as in neutralism. The representative cast of characters in the cold war drama had not been assembled; the restive peoples of the U. S. S. R. had not been asked to choose. If they were offered an alternative to straight Soviet domination, how would they decide? Like the millions who deserted to the Vlasov cause in World War II? The initiators of Radio Liberation were determined to find out whether what they believed was true—that many citizens of the U. S. S. R. would, even if only by listening to foreign-originated and forbidden broadcasts, take their chances on freedom.

Out of this determination grew the American Committee for Liberation, with headquarters at 6 East 45th Street in New York. AmComLib, as it quickly became known, undertook two major efforts: First, to rally the emigration from the U. S. S. R.; and, second, to enable the emigration to speak to its countrymen in the U. S. S. R.

Setting up Radio Liberation entailed complex preparation not encountered by the ordinary broadcasting operation. The emigration from the U. S. S. R., scattered over many nations, had to be brought into cooperation with the venture, in order to give the broadcasts authority. The ablest emigres in the writing and broadcasting fields had to be located and teamed up as a station staff in order to give the programs quality. Negotiations had to be pursued with foreign governments for the location of studio and transmitter facilities on their soil.

Radio Liberation's effort has inevitably appeared to parallel that of the old Free Europe Committee, even though AmComLib is and always has been a completely independent venture and there is no duplication of mission or effort in their respective activities. The Free Europe Committee sponsored Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts to the Eastern European satellites in their languages, but not to the U. S. S. R. AmComLib, however, is the sponsor of Radio Liberation, which broadcasts to the peoples of the U. S. S. R. in their many tongues.

RADIO LIBERATION'S BACKERS TODAY

President of AmComLib is Howland H. Sargeant, a well-known American public servant and former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.

Mr. Sargeant is assisted by a small American staff of experts in Soviet affairs, broadcasting, radio engineering, and administration.

The trustees of AmComLib represent a spectrum of American business, scholarly and professional interests. They include: Mrs. Oscar Ahlgren, former president of the American Federation of Women's Clubs; John R. Burton, New York banker; William Henry Chamberlin, author of Russia's Iron Age, and other books on the Soviet Union, contributor to the Wall Street Journal, and other newspapers; Charles Edison, former Secretary of the Navy and former Governor of New Jersey; J. Peter Grace, chairman of the board, W. R. Grace & Co.; Allen Grover, vice president, Time, Inc.; H. J. Heinz II, president, H. J. Heinz & Co.; Isaac Don Levine, authority on Soviet affairs and author of the first major biography of Stalin; Eugene Lyons, author of Assignment in Utopia and Our Secret Allies, profound studies of the Soviet Union, and senior editor of Reader's Digest; Dr. John W. Studebaker, former United States Commissioner of Education; Reginald T. Townsend, former vice president and director of the advertising firm of Lennen & Mitchell; William L. White, editor, author, and publisher of the Emporia Gazette; Philip H. Willkie, president and attorney of the Rushville (Ind.) National Bank, onetime member of the Indiana Legislature.

UNIVERSAL SUPPORT FOR RADIO LIBERATION

To those who may wonder whether a positive American contribution to foreign affairs is often only the work of a few dedicated individuals, without genuine backing from the United States public, and especially without agreement from the thinking public in most of the non-Communist world's countries, it may be heartening to know that Radio Liberation has received wide support from distinguished individuals from many countries, not only the United States, but from churchmen, teachers, scientists, labor leaders, journalists, and statesmen everywhere.

United States Vice President RICHARD NIXON and the United States Republican floor leader in the Senate, WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND have spoken over Radio Liberation to the peoples of the U. S. S. R.

So has Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

So have United States Gen. Omar Bradley, Argentine publisher Alberto Gainza Paz, and American publisher Bennett Cerf. Russian-born Alexandra Tolstoy and many other well-

known names from the U. S. S. R. met at Radio Liberation's microphones.

So has the chief of the British Labor Party, Hugh Gaitskell.

Here are others, from many countries: Andre Lafond, France; Ahmed Ben Salah, Tunisia; Mohammed A. Khatib, Pakistan; Igor Gouzenko, U. S. S. R.-Canada; Henry Peyre, France-United States of America; Rene Fuelop-Miller, Hungary-United States of America; Ignazio Silone, Italy; Albert Gamus, France; Jacques Maritain, France-United States of America; Eller Jensen, Denmark; Robert Bothereau, France; Sir William Lawther, Great Britain; W. H. Auden, Great Britain-United States of America; T. Nishimaki, Japan; John T. Tettegah, Gold Coast; Itallo Vigilanes, Italy.

Harold Willis Dodds, president of Princeton University; Henry T. Heald, former chancellor of New York University, now president of the Ford Foundation; George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College; Millicent C. McIntosh, president of Barnard College; and many other outstanding American educators have addressed messages to the peoples of the U. S. S. R. over Radio Liberation.

Among the scientists who have spoken over the station are Vannevar Bush, Nobel prize winner H. J. Muller (who worked at Moscow University from 1933 to 1937); Nobel prize winner Wendell M. Stanley; bridge designer David B. Steinmann; biologist Conway Zirkie, aeronautical pioneer Igor Sikorsky, and many more.

Among labor leaders whose voices have been heard in the U. S. S. R. through Radio Liberation are George Meany, president AFL-CIO, Jacob Potofsky, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; David Dubinsky, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Charles J. McGowan, president of the Boilermakers, Blacksmiths, and Shipbuilders International; Walter Reuther, etc.

American writers whose messages have been used by Radio Liberation are too numerous to permit more than mere sampling of their names: John Dos Passos, Joseph Wood Krutch, and Lionel Trilling.

Among the American journalists who have endorsed Radio Liberation, David Lawrence singled out the unique feature when he wrote: "Unlike those broadcasting on other projects which (in the U. S. S. R.) are recognized as 'foreign,' the speakers on Radio Liberation use such terms as 'we Russians' or 'we Ukrainians' and when they criticize the Soviet system, they do it as members of the family and fellow citizens—not as outsiders."

Roscoe Drummond declared: "Radio Liberation carries the story of freedom where freedom is in chains. This group counts itself the greatest possible friend of the Russian people because it is dedicated to the liberation of all mankind from the scourge of Soviet power."