

## **September 15, 1955**

### **Visit to Radio Free Europe by NATO Officers**

#### **Citation:**

"Visit to Radio Free Europe by NATO Officers", September 15, 1955, Wilson Center Digital Archive, Obtained and contributed to CWIHP by A. Ross Johnson. UK National Archives, FO 1110-743

<https://wilson-center-digital-archive.dvincitest.com/document/134496>

#### **Summary:**

Record of an informational visit to RFE by NATO military officers in the midst of a conference on psychological warfare. Attached are detailed descriptions of its operations that RFE provided to the officers.

#### **Original Language:**

English

#### **Contents:**

Original Scan

1955

1410.

PR

PR134/24 /G

INFORMATION RESEARCH

FROM N.A.T.O. comm'd.

Visit to Radio Free Europe on September 15<sup>th</sup> by NATO

No.  
Dated  
Received in Registry— Sept 26

Officers attending the psychological warfare course at Boebinger.

References to former relevant papers

MINUTES

PR10112/386

Other aspects of the N.A.T.O. Psychological Warfare Conference for Senior Officers which was held recently at Boebinger near Stuttgart are dealt with on PR10112/386 and subsequent papers.

(Print)

2. The enclosed documents give quite a good summary of R.F.E.'s activities. Your desk officers may care to see.

(How disposed of)

*[Signature]*  
27/ix

Mr Zubrzycki Circulated to Desk Officer.

G.Z. 10/x

Of interest to you?

*[Signature]*  
13/x

(Action completed)

(Index)

24/16

sub b.  
18-9-57

Mr Wecker ✓ Yes, thank you.  
*[Signature]* 14/10

References to later relevant papers

I.P.D. may like to glance - thank you. *[Signature]* 10/10.

ER. allow  
18/10  
*[Signature]*  
20/x

NATO STAFF OFFICERS BRIEFING  
Wilson Center Original Source Archive

Kater PK.

RFE

Link with  
programme

PP

PR134 24 G

- 0945 - 1000 Visitors arrive at RFE, proceed to Studio One.
- 1000 - 1015 Coffee.
- 1015 Welcome by Mr. Condon and outline of RFE mission and scope.
- 1030 Political situation in the Satellites and RFE's "targets" - Mr. Griffith.
- 1050 RFE Programming - Mr. Bell.
- 1115 Information Gathering - Mr. Michie.
- 1140 Information Evaluation - Mr. ~~Heest~~ Richter
- 1200 Recess.
- 1215 RFE's Technical Facilities - Mr. Quinn.
- 1230 Free Europe Press Balloon Operations - Mr. Weaver.
- 1255 Adjourn for "Dutch" luncheon with RFE staff at Chinese Tower Restaurant.
- 1425 Return to RFE, Studio One.
- 1430 Effectiveness of broadcasts and leaflets - Mr. Sorensen.
- 1450 Questions and Answers.
- 1510 Tour of Studio Building.
- 1600 Visitors depart for Neubiberg.

\*\*\*\*\*



### FACT SHEET

#### WHAT IS RFE?

Radio Free Europe is a division of the Free Europe Committee, Inc., an organization set up by a group of private American citizens in 1949. Both the Committee and its striking arm, R.F.E., receive support from the Crusade for Freedom.

Radio Free Europe is a network of five stations, utilizing 29 transmitters located in West Germany and Portugal. The five stations, which broadcast to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria, are aimed at a population of 70 million people, bringing them truth, hope and encouragement to bolster their determination to shake off the Soviet yoke. R.F.E. gives these millions the facts and information with which they create their own "People's Opposition" to the Communist regimes. It counters the Red campaign of confuse-and-divide, and it makes it difficult for the Kremlin to integrate and consolidate its captive populations. Thus it is a deterrent to renewed Soviet aggression.

Radio Free Europe has grown from a tiny 7½ kilowatt mobile transmitter to its present size in a short four years. It now broadcasts to Czechoslovakia alone a total of 20 hours a day.

#### R.F.E. EFFECTIVENESS

R.F.E.'s effectiveness is well-proven. The testimony of countless escapees proves it. Letters mailed and smuggled through the Iron Curtain prove it. Soviet reaction and satellite attacks on R.F.E. prove it. The Communist attacks, continuous and in great volume, clearly show that R.F.E. has gotten under the skins of the Reds. Communist collaborators denounced over R.F.E. have changed their names, reformed or attempted to conciliate the workers they terrorized -- that, too, demonstrates the impact of R.F.E.'s "truthcasts".

#### JAMMING

R.F.E. gets through -- despite the fact that the Reds spend more money annually trying to jam out Western broadcasts than R.F.E. spends transmitting them. In the constant effort to stay ahead of the Red jammers, R.F.E.'s primary weapons are advanced engineering techniques and professional know-how. A variety of methods frustrates the Red jammers. One of the most effective is the R.F.E. device of turning all of its transmitters onto one target for a certain period of the day, making a sieve out of the Iron Curtain and generating a volume which makes jamming ineffective.

#### THE BALLOON OPERATION

Coordinated with R.F.E.'s broadcasts, Crusade for Freedom sends printed matter via balloons to Czechoslovakia and Hungary as well. Millions of messages of truth are flown by balloon over the Iron Curtain. The effectiveness of the balloon campaign can be gauged by the more than four hundred radio-press attacks and official protests of the Communists. The balloon campaign started two years ago.

*CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM*

The entire Free Europe Committee action program -- particularly R.F.E. -- gets added impetus from the American people's support of the Crusade for Freedom drives. The people behind the Iron Curtain know that they are hearing the expression of millions of private Americans whose donations and assistance have helped R.F.E. and the Free Europe Committee grow throughout the past years.

*A REACTION FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN*

Former Polish Air Force Lieutenant Franciszek Jarecki, who flew his MIG jet fighter to freedom in March 1953, says: "Radio Free Europe is the favorite radio station in Poland, broadcasting its programs throughout the day so everyone can listen. It gives us true information and enables the people to understand the lies of Red propaganda. Its Voice of Free Poland considerably influences our decision of moral survival by answering so effectively the Communist propaganda which constantly torments us."

*AN EXILE NETWORK*

R.F.E.'s "Voice of Free Poland," its "Voice of Free Czechoslovakia," "Voice of Free Hungary," "Voice of Free Romania" and "Voice of Free Bulgaria" are truly exile radio stations, reflecting the views of democratic anti-Communist leaders who continue to fight for the freedom of their homelands from R.F.E.'s studios. With American know-how to assist them, these exile leaders -- educators, statesmen, journalists, clergymen, entertainers and many others -- have established a network which enjoys the full trust of those enslaved by Communism.

*TYPICAL R.F.E. PROGRAMS*

Thumbnail sketches of typical R.F.E. programs follow:

*Newscasts*

Every hour on the hour. Each day closes with news headlines broadcast at dictation speed and a half hour political commentary on the outstanding event of the day broadcast on "saturation service" to defeat jamming over twenty-three transmitters.

*Political Commentaries*

Usually follow news broadcasts. Commentaries cover both international news and "local developments of special interest to Czechoslovaks interpreted by informed and respected exiles.

*Program Previews*

Six times daily immediately preceding the news. The equivalent of radio listings in newspapers.

*The Other Side of the Coin*

Daily analysis of regime propaganda based upon up-to-the minute monitoring of Czechoslovak radio and research of regime newspapers, designed to nail the lies of the Communists. Sometimes comments on news less than ten minutes after it has been announced by Radio Prague. Written between eight and eleven pm, this program is broadcast first late in the evening and repeated periodically throughout the next day.

*Religious Services*

Live broadcasts direct from churches with nationality congregations as well as studio broadcasts for Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths.

*Messages*

Daily survival program in two parts: the first, an expose of Communist informers and officials who

exploit the people and endanger the security of the individual; the second part, coded messages from escapees back to their friends and relatives.

#### *To the Farmer*

A daily agricultural program for the farm family. Sometimes a husband and wife discussion. Comments on farming conditions within the specific country and reports on news of agriculture in the Western world and the nations within the Soviet bloc.

#### *Labor Program*

Daily, sometimes in dialogue, sometimes in dramatic form. Prepared by leaders of labor groups now in exile and trained radio writers. Reports on progress of labor in the free world as well as conditions within the Soviet bloc.

#### *Fighting Church*

Prominent church leaders in exile speak to their people bringing them not only hope for the future, but constructive advice for the present. Programs such as "Fighting Church" strive to help parents instill religious values in their children and maintain their own faith and worship in an atheistic state.

#### *Tuesday with Joe*

Musical variety show to Czechoslovakia featuring the original songs of composer-pianist Joe Stelibsky, one of Czechoslovakia's best known tunesmiths, now in exile. Features non-political popular music as well as original songs satirizing current events in Czechoslovakia.

#### *Europe without the Iron Curtain*

Advises listeners of developments in the movement for a federated Europe. Prepares them for the Europe of which they may be a part in the event of liberation. Features interviews with individuals prominent in the European community and on-the-spot coverage of important conferences.

#### *Music*

Two, forty minute periods of music daily - symphony, opera, light classics and folk songs. Stress is placed on traditional national music which is suppressed or distorted by the Communists.

#### *Youth Program*

Regular daily time segments are consistently devoted to programs for young people. Round table discussions, radio dramas, news about scouting, sports, camping and international youth organizations are featured. Young people are counseled on survival without submission to the regime and urged to think, read and develop their judgment.

#### *Women's Program*

Daily, devoted to the role of woman and the family under Communism. News of fashion, food and women's activities both in the West and within the specific country is reported. Famous women in exile are interviewed. Teen-age girls addressed once a week.

#### *The American Woman at work*

Four part series of programs describing the place of American women in the working world, the careers open to them, the conditions of work, integration of careers and marriage, etc.

#### *Parents, Take Care of Your Children*

Urges parents to capitalize on the holiday months when their children are more often at home by leading them in democratic ways. Gives specific advice for combatting the effect of Communist indoctrination on a child's thinking.

#### *Polish Tea Party*

A variety, satirical program patterned after a pre-war Polish program; "Katjus", a simple but crafty peasant boy, and his "Aunt", a funny gossipy old woman, and a large cast spoof the

Communist regime in Poland with laughter and song. Theme song "Let Us Be Gay," reported to be so popular that it is whistled on the streets and sung by laborers travelling to work. "Hungarian Light Varieties" and "Kohout's Kabaret" are its counterparts to Hungary and Czechoslovakia

### *Calling the Communist Party*

Daily show addressed to party members. Spreads doubt and dissension inside the party. Aims to demoralize Communist officials and paralyze the functions of the Party

### *I Chose Freedom*

Interviews with refugees usually recorded by RFE reporters at D.P. camps in Germany. Escapees describe conditions leading to their flight and their reception in the West.

### *Round Table Discussion*

Ad lib airing of opinions on important events in the news by authoritative people and RFE news editors.

### *Kohout's Kabaret*

Variety, satirical show featuring Jara Kohout, a comedian, singer, and movie actor well-known in Czechoslovakia. Weapons of wit and music effectively employed against the Communist regime.

### *Between Two Cogwheels*

Hungarian dramatic show pointing out the weaknesses and mendacity of Communism through personal stories.

### *Doctors Talk it Over*

Medical program written by doctors and demonstrating the advances of sciences in the free Western world as opposed to the inadequacies of health and medical facilities in Communist countries.

### *Inside USA*

Describes the people and forces that have shaped America. Designed to illustrate concretely how the principles of democracy and freedom have been forces in creating the high technological, economic and humanitarian standards of U.S.

### *How to Survive*

Constructive advice on how to live, develop mental judgment, prepare for the future and avoid trouble from the Communist regime.

### *Children's Program*

Games, fairy tales, dramas and songs for children. Non-political but designed to develop moral values and sustain national traditions.

### *Date with Eva*

Non-political disc jockey program featuring American jazz and popular music.

### *To the Army*

Talks to military personnel and their families. Features interviews with army defectors whenever possible. Emphasis on the strength of the free world. Shows the captive people how Communist leaders plan to exploit CSR army for Soviet purposes.

### *We Accuse*

Case histories of specific communists who are known to be particularly cruel in exploiting the people. Accuses them by name, lists their misdeeds, and warns them that retribution is sure unless their ways change.

### *Father Speaks to Son*

Exile in America speaks weekly to his son who is a functionary of the government and a member

of the Workers' Party. Comments on world events, and on a personal man-to-man basis point out the weakness of Communism.

### *Science and Invention*

Points out the advancement of science in the free world and emphasizes its strength.

### *Through the Capitol Window*

First hand report from Washington.

### *Czechs and Slovaks in the West*

Describes the life and experiences of exiles living in the West. On the spot reportage by RFE reporters. Aims to strengthen ties of Czechoslovakians with the free world.

### *Sports Column*

World sports developments with emphasis when possible, on exile performers.

### *Play of the Week*

Dramatization by RFE radio actors of an important play, usually one that is being performed currently in Europe or in the United States.

### *Cultural Program*

Sustains native cultures which Russians try to destroy or distort.

### *How it Really Happened*

Objective history lessons pointing out distortions and omissions in Communist history text books.

### *Belief and the World*

Religious program showing the strength of spiritual values and their influence on the world.

### *ABC of Democracy*

Description of the way democracy and democratic institutions develop and operate both in the U.S. and elsewhere.

### *Questions from Home*

Replies to questions in letters received from behind the Iron Curtain. Spot announcements on RFE inform listeners of the changing and anonymous box number to which mail may be addressed.

### *Movies*

Reviews of important Western films sometimes including music from film. A link with the Western world and pre-Communist days when American films and movie stars were popular in Eastern and Central Europe.

### *Book of the Week*

Review of a significant novel, biography, or political book.

### *The Poet's Corner*

Sunday afternoon interlude of poetry and music designed for relaxation and reflection.



# Wilson Center Digital Archive

## RADIO FREE EUROPE

### ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT

#### HISTORY & DESCRIPTION OF TECHNICAL FACILITIES

##### TRANSMITTER FACILITIES

###### Target Transmitters

Radio Free Europe started its operation on July 4th, 1950, in the woods of Lampertheim, near Frankfurt, Germany. A mobile 7,500 watt short wave transmitter housed in seven trailer vans was first employed. All program material was at that time prepared in the New York studios and flown into Germany on a daily basis. Shortly thereafter a permanent installation was started to replace the mobile unit. At the same time two additional installations were begun. Holzkirchen 155,000 watt medium wave and two 10,000 watt short wave went into operation in May, 1951, and Biblis two 10,000 watt short wave in July, 1951. One month later the mobile 7,500 watt Lampertheim transmitter (affectionately nicknamed "Barbara") was transported to Lisbon, where it again resumed broadcasting to the target countries. Munich was chosen for the studio and headquarters' site because of its central location.

Germany was selected for the first RFE transmitting site because of its proximity to satellite countries, in that one hop transmission (which gives the least amount of signal attenuation) could be obtained to the target via the short waves. It was limited, however, on short wave to the 49.41 and 31 meter bands. Medium wave signals are ideal from Germany. In order to use the higher frequencies, Lisbon was selected as it was propagationally ideal for the 25, 19 and 16 meter bands. This, then, gave RFE one hop transmission coverage in all of the international short wave broadcast bands, as well as medium wave, to all target areas. Each of the above installations have since grown in number of transmitter units, power output and antennas. (RFE Technical Facilities Chart).

## Relay Transmitters to Lisbon

In the USA, radio stations or networks such as RFE, are linked together by program lines supplied by the Bell Telephone System. However, in Europe such facilities are not available in all areas. While they are available in Germany itself, there are no program lines through Spain to Portugal. RFE had therefore to devise a system whereby its programs could be sent by radio to the Lisbon installation. At Holzkirchen six 10,000 watt transmitters were installed which beam programs to the Lisbon receiver site, whereby they are received on triple diversity receiving apparatus and go out again from the Lisbon transmitters back to the target countries. In order to obtain the best results over the relay, in case of either jamming or poor propagation conditions, programs from the three main language desks are sent over two transmitters each. In other words, the six relay transmitters are split up into three groups of two. The best transmission of the two in any language group is selected for rebroadcast. When one of the transmissions becomes jammed, Lisbon then requests Holzkirchen to change that particular language transmitter to clear frequency, where once again the program is continued. As many as eighty-four frequency changes are made per day on these six transmitters to maintain the best reception conditions. (RFE Physical and Technical Facilities Operational Chart).

## Methods of Combatting Jamming

RFE decided initially that the best method to combat jamming was by quantity or numbers of transmitting stations, rather than by fewer stations of higher power, since it was obvious that the Opposition did not have sufficient jammer transmitters to adequately cover the already existing services broadcasting into Soviet controlled territories. For this reason, if their jamming efforts could be kept behind actual requirements (that is, lacking a sufficient number of jammers to go around), then RFE's chances of interference-free transmissions would be increased. This also permits the use of several international bands for each language desk simultaneously. If one wave-length is jammed the listener then has a choice of several bands (for example, 49, 41, 31, 25 and 19 meter bands). This is the theory on which RFE built. The theory remains valid to this day, except in cases where increasing the number of transmitting stations in a given area is no longer feasible, due to frequency or wave-length limitations which prohibit further expansion. In this case the only alternative is to find locations where wave-lengths are available, or to increase the power of existing radio transmitters, in order to maintain its lead over the Opposition's efforts.

RFE is also striving to increase the power of its existing technical facilities insofar as economically possible.

\*\*\*\*\*

# Wilson Center Original Search Archive

## RFE TECHNICAL FACILITIES CHART

<u>RADIO STATION</u>	<u>POWER</u>	<u>BROADCAST TO</u>	<u>DATE FIRST ON AIR</u>
Biblis 1	20,000 watts	Czechoslovakia	11 July 51
Biblis 2	50,000 watts	Poland	6 Oct. 51
Biblis 3	50,000 watts	Hungary	18 Nov. 51
Biblis 4	50,000 watts	Poland	8 Jul. 52
Biblis 5	10,000 watts	Hungary	12 May 53
Biblis 6	10,000 watts	Hungary	15 May 53
Biblis 7	10,000 watts	Poland	20 May 53
Biblis 8	10,000 watts	Czechoslovakia	25 May 53
Biblis 9	3,000 watts	Cue transmitter only	
Holzkirchen MWT (medium-wave transmitter)	135,000 watts	Czechoslovakia	1 May 51
Holzkirchen 1	10,000 watts	Relay transmitter to Lisbon	1 Dec. 51
Holzkirchen 2	10,000 watts	"	1 Jan. 52
Holzkirchen 3	10,000 watts	"	1 Dec. 52
Holzkirchen 4	10,000 watts	"	1 Dec. 52
Holzkirchen 5	10,000 watts	"	25 Jan. 53
Holzkirchen 6	10,000 watts	"	25 Jan. 53
Holzkirchen 7	3,000 watts	Cue transmitter to Lisbon	29 Sept 54
Cham MB-50	50,000 watts	Czechoslovakia	2 Dec. 53
Lisbon 1	50,000 watts	Czechoslovakia	25 Dec. 53
Lisbon 2	50,000 watts	Poland	25 Dec. 51
Lisbon 3	50,000 watts	Hungary	27 Mar. 52
Lisbon 4	50,000 watts	Hungary	27 Mar. 52
Lisbon 5	50,000 watts	Hungary	1 Nov. 52
Lisbon 6	50,000 watts	Poland	1 Nov. 52
Lisbon 7	50,000 watts	Hungary	12 Dec. 52
Lisbon 8	50,000 watts	Poland	1 Jan. 53
Lisbon 9	100,000 watts	Poland	24 Dec. 53
Lisbon 10	100,000 watts	Czechoslovakia	25 Dec. 53
Lisbon 11	100,000 watts	Hungary	24 Feb. 54
Lisbon 12	100,000 watts	Czechoslovakia	24. Feb. 54
Lisbon 13	7,500 watts	Czechoslovakia	3 July 51
Lisbon 14	3,000 watts	Cue transmitter to Munich only	21 Sep. 54

(Figures are as of today - they are subject to change)

Apr. 28, 1955

# Wilson Center Originals Archive

RFE MONITORING

The Monitoring Section, one part of the News and Information Service, constitutes the ears of RFE's Program Desks. By listening to the home transmissions of radio stations behind the Iron Curtain - that is, the broadcasts which the Communist regimes beam to their own people - RFE glean a great deal of information about the internal situation of the satellite countries, the propaganda tactics of the Communists and, by reading between the lines, the reaction of the people.

Information acquired in this way and combined with refugee reports gathered by RFE correspondents stationed along the western side of the Iron Curtain affords quite a comprehensive picture of conditions in the East. In addition, much valuable material is picked up mechanically by Morse and Hellschreiber\* from the Eastern European wire services in English, French, and other languages (Tass, CTK, PAP, MTI, ADN, Tanyug, Agerpress, BTA, and ATA), which combines with the aural monitoring to form the grist of the mill for Program Desks.

It is one of the wonders of American engineering that in addition to their propaganda beamed abroad, we are able to hear so many of the self-revealing local broadcasts, because in most cases the Curtain stations are not concerned with reaching beyond their own borders - whereas American equipment and techniques have enabled us to "pull in" stations from great distances. This is of high importance just because the local flavor of these broadcasts spell something to the exiles who are working in Munich formulating the free world's answer to them.

At present 35 Curtain stations are monitored regularly, 4 to 6 others on spot basis. In the course of a week twelve languages will be used. The daily intake by aural monitoring runs between 45,000 and 48,000 words. On some heavy days the total monitoring intake (including news services, monitored mechanically) will run better than 200,000 words. In any service this is an extremely heavy volume. However, when it is considered that the bulk of this material is highly specialized, dealing with specific targets, it can be seen that this great volume is necessary, in order to keep fresh the highly diversified fields of programming. We suffer periods of strangulation when atmospheric cut off one country or another, and the fact that we have a good cushion of wordage to fall back on enables the desks, through close cross-reporting, to weather the setbacks.

As Radio Free Europe comprises actually five radio stations in one, so the Monitoring Section, which employs 51 persons, is broken down into nine sub-sections according to the country monitored:

---

\* A NOTE ABOUT THE HELLSCHREIBER:

The Hellschreiber is little known outside Europe. It is a short-wave and long-wave transmitting and receiving system at slow speed, and can be copied over great distances. It is, perhaps, a forerunner of radio-teletype.

The fact that most of the satellites use Hellschreiber for at least part of their news transmission is a windfall for RFE, for it means that we can have much of their news output as soon as, or even before their own newspapers. The Hellschreiber enables RFE editors to dissect the satellites' news budget and be on the air with our answers to it often before it has appeared in the local press.

(more)

# Wilson Center Originals Archive

1. The three major monitored sub-sections - Czech-Slovak, Hungarian, and Polish - supply three major program Desks with news, political commentaries, dramatic programs, economic and labor reports, etc. - in short, all types of material which can be used for full-feature programs. One of the most successful types of program is that which makes direct answer to false statements and misleading information from the Communist radio, such as the Polish and Czechoslovak "The Other Side of the Coin" and the Hungarian "Reflector" programs. Such programs as these are based almost exclusively upon monitoring reports.
2. The Romanian and Bulgarian Monitoring sub-sections supply much the same sort of material to their respective program desks, though on a somewhat smaller scale. They also supply supplementary material to the three major desks, who keep a weather eye out for significant developments in all other satellites.
3. More collateral information is provided by the Russian, Serbo-Croat, Albanian, and East-German sub-sections. The Russian sub-section keeps up with daily broadcasts of Radio Moscow, including the daily PRAVDA editorial, which sets the pattern for the day's journalistic line in the satellite press. The East-German sub-section has been operating at full strength since the June 17, 1953 revolt in the East Zone. As the show-window of Communist activity and policy, East Germany is watched attentively by all the radio desks of RFE.

The Monitoring Section covers the red broadcasts from 0500 hours to 0100 hours the following morning. Peak operation hours are in the early morning, when most of the satellite regime editorials for the day are broadcast, and the evening hours. A broad schedule such as this is covered by means of shift work and tape recordings, the latter also serving as a means for covering simultaneous programs from the same country. Frequently, important events, such as speeches, Party congresses, etc., require overtime work.

"Rotation" for Speed: A special "rotation" system for speedy handling of important speeches was worked out by the Hungarian sub-section. By transcribing the speech in relay style, 15 minutes at a time, the first monitor is able to finish and rush to the editors the first quarter hour of the program in time to pick up the fifth quarter hour; the second monitor takes the second and sixth quarter hours; and so on. In this way, the editors and translators have the whole speech only minutes after the end of the broadcast.

In order to have the closest possible liaison with the working desks, three sub-sections (Czech-Slovak, Hungarian and Polish) are located on the second floor of the English Garden building, receiving their programs piped in from the receiving stations. From a central panel in the Monitoring rooms these signals are relayed to the desired magnecorders, where the monitors may listen directly to the program while it is being recorded on tape. Lines may also be "patched" from the monitoring room panel directly into conference rooms of the corresponding Program Desks, enabling members of the Czechoslovak Desk, for example, to listen in to a round table on economics from Radio Prague and to go on the air immediately afterwards with their own round table of comment and analysis.

In all operations the monitoring sub-sections are geared to the speediest possible distribution of the news. On occasion, RFE has been able to scoop both the West and the East. For example, in the case of Stalin's death, the Beria purge,

# Wilson Center Originals Archive

and Malenkov's resignation, RFE picked up the news from TASS and broadcast it to the satellite countries as much as two hours before Moscow announced it to them. In the case of the illness of Gottwald, former President of Czechoslovakia, in 1953, RFE scooped the West press by as much as three hours, having received the news directly from Radio Prague. Routine news bulletins reach key persons on each desk within minutes after they are received - in the form of carbon copies of the monitor's transcription. The original, a ditto stencil, is then run off and distributed (in the original language) to various departments upon request. Several copies of each go by air express to New York daily.

In addition to the original language Monitoring, which covers verbatim all programs which are monitored, the respective monitoring sub-sections publish a daily English summary of the monitored news. Known as the Monitoring Highlights, this summary goes to all Desks. Amounting to 5,000-7,000 words, it is also sent daily over a low-cost, leased radio-teletype circuit to the New York RFE office, where it forms the basis for discussion at New York's morning meetings. This is important, as it keeps New York in hour-to-hour touch with the pattern of Curtain developments. Needless to say, the Highlights, being published in English, are invaluable for cross-reporting among the various different language desks. They form, for instance, one of the few ways in which the Polish Desk keeps in touch with events in Hungary.

One of the fascinating facets of Monitoring is the human side. At present, some 40 exiles from Curtain countries are working side by side with Americans and Germans. They travel on "Stateless" passports and have found second homes in many different countries, Germany, France, Switzerland, England and Italy. Despite tremendous language barriers in the beginning, they have been knit into a smooth-running organization. German is the chief language of inter-communication, and many now speak English.

There has been a very satisfying development of language talent among the monitors. Many have attended English or German classes on their own and where they have shown interest and ability, the Americans in the Monitoring Section have worked with them to improve their English, against the time when they may emigrate. A practical by-product of this has been the development of translation talent, so that at present it is possible to get practically any Curtain language into either German or English quickly for more efficient use by more RFE departments. Also, within the section itself a great deal of interchangeability has been developed. It is not hard for a Slovak to understand the Czech language and vice versa. Bulgarian and Russian, though presenting some difficulties, usually can be teazed up; Yugoslavs can help in both of these languages, while we do have one Rumanian who knows Serbo-Croat and one Albanian who can do both Serbo-Croat and German.

The great value of monitored voice broadcasts from behind the Iron Curtain is that they give a day-to-day picture of life in the Curtain countries, which would never emerge from the satellite propaganda broadcasts beamed abroad. Set against the background of the personal experience of the national editors, these domestic broadcasts acquire a special significance to them and form the basic raw materials of the programs which they write for broadcast by RFE.

\*\*\*\*\*

# Wilson Center Originals Search

## EFFECTIVENESS OF RADIO FREE EUROPE

When all is said and done about the facilities, the policies and the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, the ultimate question remains: Are the programs reaching the hearts and minds of people behind the Iron Curtain?

It is not enough to command the ears of a large audience; the crux of "effectiveness" is the ability to influence the actions, as well as the thinking of the listeners. In other words: Is Radio Free Europe winning friends for the West and for the cause of freedom, and undermining the authoritarian grip of the Kremlin and its puppet regimes in Eastern Europe?

There is no simple, absolute answer to this question. Psychological warfare is not an isolated phenomenon, but is interwoven with the political, economic and military components of the Cold War between the Free West and the Kremlin. Its ultimate success therefore is linked with the outcome of all other Cold War activities. Furthermore, public opinion polls are not yet sanctioned behind the Iron Curtain -- hence, not even the approximate findings that may be derived from such polls are available.

In the face of these limitations in evaluating Radio Free Europe's effectiveness, there is a mounting body of direct and circumstantial evidence indicating that RFE programs are influencing the thinking and the actions of the captive peoples, and of the Communist regimes themselves. Although much of this evidence is accumulated, correlated and analyzed by RFE itself, a good deal of it is obtained from outside sources, such as BBC's skilled analysts who evaluate the impact of international broadcasts.

This evidence of effectiveness is manifested in the following ways:

- 1) Letters from behind the Iron Curtain.
- 2) Reports from escapees from satellite countries.
- 3) Communist measures to frighten and frustrate the listening audience.
- 4) The contents of official Communist reports, designed not for propaganda purposes but for internal Party use.
- 5) Communist propaganda attacks against RFE.
- 6) Official regime protests against RFE operations.
- 7) Positive action by the regimes resulting from pressure by RFE broadcasts.
- 8) Positive actions by the people themselves as a result of specific RFE campaigns.

A brief explanation of each of these evidences of program effectiveness follows:

- 1) Hundreds of letters from RFE's target countries are received annually from workers, peasants, teachers, students, housewives, intellectuals, shopkeepers, young people and even members of the Party, the police and armed forces. Some letters are channeled through the regular mails,



some are smuggled out. Many letters include detailed analyses of RFE programs, proving that Communist jamming efforts have not been able to drown out RFE programs, which are repeated several times over multiple transmitters of both the short and medium wave type. A recent letter of the many received from Czechoslovakia stated: "I want to express thanks and praise to all exiles for their words of encouragement through Radio Free Europe, inspiring millions of our citizens to continue resistance to the Communist regime and hope for a better future. Practically every child can tell you that entire families listen to the programs. This is because you are not promising paradise on the earth, because you are not lying and because all your words are truthful and such that every honest Czech and Slovak feels them in his heart."

2) Escapees consistently report that RFE is piercing Communist jamming and that the programs are widely heard and given extensive word-of-mouth circulation. Interviews with refugees - which are conducted as scientifically as possible in order to separate fact from fiction - reveal that the satellite people depend on RFE as their point of contact with the free world and their countrymen now living in the West. The Polish Airforce pilot, Franciszek Jarecki, who flew his jet plane to West Germany, made the following statement: "There are three things the Communists cannot kill: what mother said about God and Poland, what one's own heart dictates and what Radio Free Europe tells us."

3) The regimes have devised many ways to discourage radio listenership - though tuning in on Western broadcasts is not officially a crime. In Hungarian communities, for example, the Communists have recruited "listening couples" with instructions to drop in on neighbors unexpectedly and report if they are listening to Western broadcasts - especially RFE. In some communities, family dogs were seized by local authorities (on the pretext of canine disease epidemics) because the dogs interfered with the spying of the "listening couples" by barking warnings of their arrival.

4) Official Communist reports stress the danger of RFE to the regimes. One report, prepared by the Hungarian Minister of Defense, stated: "The most dangerous effect of Radio Free Europe is that it results not in organized resistance, which is easily detected and suppressed, but in atomized resistance which is more difficult to control. For example, a Radio Free Europe program recently compared the situation in Hungary to a former despotic era: "the effect of broadcasts of this kind is that they create resistance among Hungarian soldiers to the Army's Russification program."

Sometimes unofficial but equally authentic reports of this nature reach RFE. For example, a high official in the Polish Communist government, in a personal conversation in the West that he never dreamed would be repeated, said: Radio Free Europe is accomplishing the work of the opposition in Poland. It is the mortal enemy of the regime, which would offer any amount of money if it could persuade them to abolish this radio station."



Another Polish official revealed RFE's extensive "word-of-mouth" circulation by the following statement at a Department of Propaganda and Agitation meeting: "One radio set in each village is quite sufficient to poison the peasants' minds with (Western) calumnies and lies."

5. A cardinal rule of psychological warfare is not to dignify or advertise hostile propaganda by replying to it. The Communist regimes (and Moscow as well) have consistently broken this rule in regard to Radio Free Europe. In doing so, they have become RFE's best publicity agents. During the past year, the Czechoslovak regime in particular has gone beyond its usual frantic invective against RFE; it now quotes programs, in substance and in depth, then tries to refute them in an effort to minimize their impact. Meanwhile, the anti-RFE vitriol poured out by Communist radio stations, newspapers, magazines and speechmakers continues. Here are a few typical lines from a recent article in Rude Pravo, the official Communist organ in Prague:

"On the waves of the American 'Free Europe' a former (Czech) leader was heard lately. This time he tried, as much as his worn-out strength permitted, to 'prove' that a peaceful co-existence of the countries of the Socialist and Communist camp is absolute nonsense... Yes, that is the way the refugee gang talk from their American and Munich dens. For a few dirty dollars, they talk like Hitler, and Mussolini, the language of the Wall Street armament manufacturers... The ground is collapsing under these traitors' feet... However, our people as well as all the nations of the whole world are longing for peace, and fight for peace. A handful of nobodys won't spoil our victory, even though they howl with wolves for their Judas money."

The frequency of these attacks is illustrated in statistics on attacks by Czechoslovak propaganda organs from April through September, 1954. During this period, Radio Free Europe was the subject of more than 400 direct attacks (not including reprints and rebroadcasts) as against 49 attacks directed against other Western broadcasters. More than 100 radio attacks along by Czechoslovak stations were heard in September. In many cases, regime campaigns against RFE are spearheaded by instructions from Moscow.

6) Almost from its birth, Radio Free Europe has been the target of official protests by the satellite regimes to the U.S. Government. Shortly after RFE's "Voice of Free Czechoslovakia" went on the air, in May 1951, the Czechoslovak regime violently protested the existence of RFE to the U.S. State Department. The demand to extinguish RFE (which was firmly rejected by our government) is apparently a measure of the regimes' fear of RFE, and an indication that RFE is reaching the people.

7) There is considerable evidence that the programs have forced the regimes to take specific steps to protect themselves against the anger of the people. On several occasions RFE has exposed sub-human living conditions in prisons and slave labor camps; in many of these cases, regime officials felt obliged to improve conditions, and brutal guards (either through fear or honest shame) have improved their behavior. Another type of RFE "denunciatory" program is that which exposes the identities of Communist secret agents and informers. RFE has later received first hand information from refugees to the effect that regimes have been forced to dismiss those exposed by RFE (or transfer them to other regions) as their activities were rendered useless, and they became objects of possible violence.

8) Possibly the ultimate test of "effectiveness" of propaganda is its ability to influence the actions of its listeners. In this respect RFE is simply a catalyst, giving its listeners the true facts and the moral strength to enable them to act in accordance with their local needs and desires. An example of a broadcasting campaign that resulted in concrete action by the people was initiated to Hungary in July 1953, when RFE set out to help the Hungarian peasants win concessions from the regime so they might improve their living conditions, while weakening the Communists' power. In the following six months, almost 50% of the peasants on Hungarian collectives abandoned the state farms and returned to private farming. The blame for this mass action was put squarely on RFE's shoulders by both the Prime Minister of Hungary and the First Secretary of the Communist Party.

In the face of this body of evidence regarding the effectiveness of its broadcasts, Radio Free Europe is fully aware that psychological warfare is only one facet of the Cold War against Communism. Only through joint action by the world's free nations - in the spheres of political, economic and military cooperation as well as on the propaganda front - can Communism be stopped, short of war.

It is within this framework of joint action on a global scale that Radio Free Europe has attempted to develop an effective and dynamic weapon in the struggle to restore man's dignity and freedom where the curtain of Soviet darkness has fallen.

Visual Seater

Digital Archi

# A NEW WEAPON



*The spoken  
and printed word  
penetrate  
the Iron Curtain  
in combined  
operations*

**FREE EUROPE PRESS**

Division of the

**FREE EUROPE COMMITTEE, Inc.**

# Wilson Center Digital Archive Original Scan

By 1953 it was clear that changes were occurring behind the Iron Curtain. The massive Pilsen-Ostrava strike in May and the June riots in East Germany signalled the growing power of the people and the waning strength of the Communist regimes. The people had declared against the "People's Democracies."

It was at this time that a novel experiment was made in combining with RFE's spoken word the printed word of leaflets carried over the Iron Curtain by balloon. Operation "Prospero," directed to Czechoslovakia during a five-day period in July, 1953, joined the forces of Radio Free Europe and the Free Europe Press in coordinated psychological effort. While RFE transmitters beamed saturation broadcasts at the rate of 20 hours per day 6,512 balloons were launched from a temporary site near the West German-Czechoslovak border. 12,000,000 leaflets showered down on predetermined targets inside the country. Refugee reports, along with the Prague regime's quick, angry response to "Prospero," gave conclusive evidence that a joint radio-leaflet campaign was more than a novel device, that it was a pioneering technique awaiting full exploitation in the field of political warfare.

After careful examination of the evidence, the lesson of "Prospero" was aptly summed up in the arithmetical formula "two plus two equal five." From this beginning grew the Free Europe Committee's current large-scale operations into Czechoslovakia and Hungary (see below).

The underlying concept of combined operations is this: radio and printed matter each possesses unique qualities and advantages in any long-term effort to break Soviet control over Eastern and Central Europe. The printed word can supply the Czech, Slovak, or Hungarian peasant with tangible evidence of the free world's continuing interest in his fate, with detailed legal advice on how to exercise his right to leave the hated collective farm, with easily understood instructions on how to ad-



Radio carries the spoken word and the "winds of freedom" carry the printed word across the Iron Curtain, from the free world to the peoples of Communist-dominated Czechoslovakia and Hungary. (Boundaries are de facto frontiers as they exist today.)

just his radio receiver to prevent regime jamming of free world broadcasts. Radio, mobilizing its immense resources, can react to world events with a speed impossible to other media. The printed leaflets scattered by the millions over cities and fields reach Army barracks, isolated construction sites, and poverty-stricken peasant villages where no broadcast reception is possible, but only radio can achieve that highest degree of variety and selectivity embodied in appeals to specific groups, as in farm, family, or youth programs. Leaflets exploit the visual resources of photographs, cartoons, and color, but again only radio can call on music, sound effects, or tone of voice — all making for the sense of intimacy, of personal contact, the sense of being "in the same room."

Thus the two media reinforce one another, adding a third dimensional quality to political warfare across the Iron Curtain. Careful coordination makes each part of a greater whole.



RFE transmitters at Holkebeek. RFE's Voice of Free Czechoslovakia and Voice of Free Hungary employ more than 156 announcers, script writers, political analysts and translators. Each broadcasts 20 program hours each day.



Long-range balloons bound for Hungary with messages setting forth the "Twelve Demands of the National Opposition Movement."

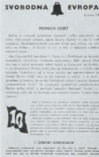
Beginning April 29, 1954, Operation Veto introduced what is believed to be the first sustained campaign of coordinated radio-printed word operations directed across the Iron Curtain. To take advantage of the Communist holiday schedule the first leaflets were timed to greet the May Day crowds.

As the first leaflets showered into the country, RFE's Voice of Free Czechoslovakia began to broadcast on a completely changed schedule, to ensure maximum impact for the first balloon drops. The first day's radio material was limited to announcements designed to pique the curiosity and start a word-of-mouth campaign so that the audience would be maximum for the peak of the broadcasting the following day. On May 1 RFE increased its Czechoslovak transmissions 37% for a total of 213 transmitter hours, featuring a special 50-minute Veto program built around the Ten Demands of the People's Opposition and including songs specially composed in advance. This program was repeated eight times. With playing of songs, spot announcements and reading of full leaflet texts, RFE continued to concentrate on the introduction of Operation Veto. Since then RFE programs to Czechoslovakia have maintained this close coordination with leaflet operations and have woven the themes of the Ten Demands and the spirit of the People's Opposition into both content and technique. New songs have been composed and new broadcast campaigns have announced the introduction of each new leaflet.

That the Communist regime has followed these broadcasts closely is clear from the frequent shrill counterattacks against the station and the attempted violation of RFE frequencies. The printed-word phase of the program has introduced a continuing variety of materials based on the themes of the People's Opposition, including the 8-page periodical, "Svobodna Evropa" ("Free Europe"), delivered twice a month in a 3,000,000 airborne edition. Special leaflets have introduced new aspects of the campaign, small gummed posters have symbolized opposition demands, and have subsequently appeared mysteriously posted in such places as near the doors of police stations in Prague; political cartoons have lampooned doubletalking functionaries. From May through the end of August the number of leaflets reached a total of 41,000,000, dropped over the three major regions of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia (see diagram for areas of penetration). The weight of this balloon-borne printed material is more than 50 tons.

The strategic plan of Operation "Veto" is bold and novel, but based on careful analysis of political and economic changes in the Soviet orbit occurring since the death of Stalin on March 5, 1953. Briefly stated it is this: the Pilsen-Ostrava mass demonstrations, the East German riots, the Bulgarian tobacco strikes, and the first frightened concessions offered by the satellite regimes to the enslaved peoples of the Soviet orbit all signalled a limited, but definite shift in power and initiative away from the central leadership of the Communist Parties and to the peasants, city workers, and underpaid white-collar classes. This increasingly effective resistance to Communist exploitation — reflected by dissolution of 12 per cent of Czechoslovak collective farms and by industrial wage raises which the regime and its captive trade unions have been unable to halt — existed in Czechoslovakia before Operation "Veto" began. The purpose of the new radio-leaflet actions has been to give form and self-confidence to this national movement, or "People's Opposition," concentrating the nations attention on 10 specifically attainable, limited demands.

Operation "Veto," as a new approach to political warfare directed across the Iron Curtain, seeks liberation, but its methods are nevertheless gradual. Its present purpose is thus to undermine the regime by restoring free



First copy of the 8-page airborne periodical, "Free Europe," sent to Czechoslovakia, in Czech and Slovak. It sets forth the Ten Demands of the People's Opposition.

# Wilson Center Digital Archive Original Scan

agreed to the Czechoslovak working people through reductions in agricultural delivery quotas and industrial work norms, by restoring some degree of local autonomy and self-government. Operation "Veto" is not directed against the Czechoslovak People's Opposition, it suggests specific, limited goals. It does not counsel the use of violent methods, but asks the Czech and Slovak people to work for the 10 Demands without endangering themselves, in the ways they know best.

The reaction of the Czechoslovak Communist regime to "Veto" gives vivid indication of the operation's effectiveness. On May 5 the Czechoslovak government made an official protest to the US government objecting to the action and demanding that "the US government punish all persons who have participated in the organization and execution of this campaign..." The Czech protest said in part:

"This foolish trick can only meet with contempt as far as the Czechoslovak working people are concerned. For those whose bosses are notoriously known throughout the world as exploiters, as the worst enemies of the working class and of all working people, and as ruthless colonialists try to speak in these leaflets about the rights and social achievements of the working people..."

The US government rejected the protest, saying:

"It is understandable that the American people would seek by such means as are available to maintain contact with the people of Czechoslovakia with whom they had formerly enjoyed a free association and with whom they share many common traditions and beliefs. The American people take a profound interest in the welfare and future of the people of Czechoslovakia. The leaflets borne to Czechoslovakia express the interest of the American public in seeing the welfare of the people there improved through the attainment of a series of goals. Notwithstanding, the Czechoslovak government claims that these leaflets were subversive and inciting. It consequently appears that in the eyes of the present regime in Czechoslovakia discussion of concrete steps to better the lot of the common man in that country is tantamount to subversion..."

In the period of May through August there were 155 separate denunciations and large-scale attempts to counter the effects of the radio-leaflet campaign. Regime reaction in this period ranged from attempted radio propaganda diversions of protest to a flood of hysterical newspaper editorials arguing the issues raised by the radio broadcasts and leaflets, often in terminology taken from the leaflets.

The May issue of *Slovo Agitatora* ("The Agitator's Handbook"), a detailed instruction booklet issued to all Communist functionaries in the cities, towns, and villages, devoted its major effort to a detailed "refutation" of a current issue of "Free Europe" (Approximately



Areas of concentration of Veto leaflets in Czechoslovakia. Darkest areas indicate heaviest concentration.

one million copies of this leaflet had been dropped over Czechoslovakia in the preceding weeks).

The Communist propagandists were forced to take up specific developments in the radio and leaflet messages. Replying to the "Veto" agricultural campaign in mid-summer, the Czechoslovak Minister of Bulk Purchasing angrily declared over Radio Prague on August 7:

"It is the duty of every farmer to fulfill his deliveries and to reject the hostile attempts of the enemies who broadcast treason and scuttler it over our country in leaflets..."

On the same day Radio Prague declared:

"... People's Opposition. This is the new name for those who with the help of balloons, are dispatching leaflets to our territory... What is their aim? They want no harvest, the crops belong to those who cultivate them; they suddenly claim..."

Meanwhile evidence of the people's reaction in letters and refugee reports was mounting in the May-August period, showing that the people understood the implications of the campaign and supported it. A letter from Czechoslovakia made a characteristic remark:

"The balloon action is excellent. Everybody reads the messages. In some workshops and factories there is always someone who posts them on the door... They are everywhere, and no amount of gathering them up helps..."

Police patrols assigned to collect leaflets have not "helped" the Communists to suppress the campaign, nor have fighter planes and soldiers assigned to shoot down balloons.

Careful analysis shows deeper, more significant gains in the gradual realization of the Ten Demands. Although no decree has been issued, so-called "absenteeism" is on the increase and the regime seems powerless to curb it. This is a considerable change in the situation since the start of Operation Veto, when the problem of forced overtime work was focused in the fourth demand of the People's Opposition: "No Meddling with Free Time." Similar indications are evident in the agricultural field, especially with

no improvement has been forthcoming (as in housing) the regime has been careful to cover the subjects with intensified propaganda.

The first phases of Operation "Veto" posed a serious, unprecedented question in the field of free world political warfare: Could the free world join in any degree of partnership with the gradually emerging elements of true opposition to Communist oppression in the satellites, and could such a partnership help to build the opposition's strength in sensible, effective ways towards limited but attainable objectives?

In the evidence which tends to answer that question the following remarks of a young

Czech student who escaped from Czechoslovakia during this period give a typical reaction from inside the country — he tells how his family heard about the Ten Demands of the People's Opposition and discussed their secrecy:

"That night we heard about the contents of the Ten Demands... we all fell silent. We were all very happy and could hardly speak. Finally my father said... 'With this sort of basis one can build and fight against the Communist government because the revolution is eternal and objective. By transplanting the Ten Demands we could force the regime to change its rule...'"

## OPERATION "FOCUS"

Operation "Focus" is the second large-scale combined operation sponsored by the Crusade for Freedom. Launched on October 1, 1954, Operation "Focus" is directed against the satellite Hungarian regime and, like its predecessors, seeks to aid the enslaved nation in its step-by-step struggle for freedom.

The strategic plan behind "Focus" resembles that of present Czechoslovak operations, but seeks to capitalize on the greater insecurity and "softness" of the Hungarian Communist Party. The "12 Demands of the National Opposition Movement" (the initials in Hungarian are NEM, or "NOI") call for restoration of local autonomy and self-government, an end to persecution of the peasant and the rebirth of private agriculture, free trade unions, denationalization of retail and service trades, and a shift from heavy to light industry, to name only a few. Close study of the internal Hungarian scene reveals that opportunities to win important concessions from the regime, at the same time weakening it, are extremely great.

Following established procedure, Operation "Focus" exploits the combined resources of radio and printed matter. In the early days of the operation, the Voice of Free Hungary operated on a virtual round-the-clock schedule, hammering home the Manifesto of the National Opposition Movement and its 12 Demands. First refugee reports indicate that within a matter of hours the entire program was known in the remotest corner of Hungary.

The geographical position of Hungary, its relatively great distance from launching sites in West Germany, poses special problems for any balloon action. To meet these difficulties a special balloon was developed, which together with a special release device for leaflets, permits deep penetration. The success of these measures is reflected in the fact that on October 18, less than three weeks after the operation had begun, well over one million copies of the Manifesto and 12 Demands were dropped into Hungary by balloons launched from a single site.

Three days earlier, on October 15, the Hungarian regime, notoriously slow to react to free-world political warfare attacks, delivered an angry diplomatic note of protest to the United States Legation in Budapest:

"Since the first days of October, balloon-transported leaflets are dropping on the territory of Hungary. According to the unanimous report of American and other news agencies the balloons are launched by the so-called Radio Free Europe, financed by the so-called Crusade for Freedom. They are launched from the American-occupied zone of Western Germany towards Hungary with the task of automatically emptying their load of leaflets over the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic. The specific, diversified purposes of this action is that the provocative and calumnious leaflets arouse dissatisfaction and opposition against the legal government."

Early refugee reports indicate that the signs "NEM" and "12" are appearing in Hungary — scrawled on factory walls, railway cars, regime election posters, and the doors of local government offices.

### 12 DEMANDS OF THE NATIONAL OPPOSITION MOVEMENT

1. A HUNGARIAN CONSTITUTION GUARANTEEING LIFE AND LIBERTY
2. A HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT
3. A HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT
4. A HUNGARIAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM
5. A HUNGARIAN ARMY
6. A HUNGARIAN POLICE
7. A HUNGARIAN PRESS
8. A HUNGARIAN CHURCH
9. A HUNGARIAN CULTURE
10. A HUNGARIAN EDUCATION
11. A HUNGARIAN SCIENCE
12. A HUNGARIAN ECONOMY

The "12 Demands of the National Opposition Movement," first leaflet designed for Hungary.

# Wilson Center Digital Archive Original Scan

## WINDS OF FREEDOM



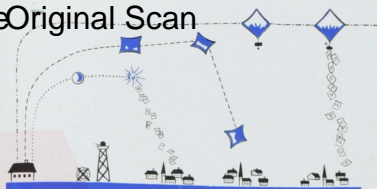
Workers filling balloons with prescribed weight of leaflets for the computed rise through the moving air.

Delivery of printed materials to predetermined target areas behind the Iron Curtain requires scientific plotting of balloon flights on the prevailing winds blowing to the east. Technicians and working crews at the Free Europe Press launching sites remain on the alert to go into production when favorable winds are reported from seven different wind observation sources.



Meteorologist plots balloon flights to "targets" behind the Iron Curtain.

With accurate information on wind directions and speeds meteorologists compute the ratio of paper payload and hydrogen required to lift the balloon on the "Westerly Winds of Freedom" to high altitude over desired target points. At these points the balloons release their paper (see diagram for different methods) and thousands of leaflets stream to earth, still following the course of the plotted winds. In a single launching period of ten hours more than two tons (4,000 pounds) of paper, amounting to 1,188,000 leaflets, have been put into the air from one launching site.



Three types of balloons serve different purposes. The rubber balloon (left) containing leaflets is carried by the wind as it rises to high altitude (30,000 to 40,000 feet). It expands at rises and, depending on its load, bursts at a predetermined point and showers its leaflets to the earth. The smaller plastic pillow-shaped balloon (center) also contains leaflets and expands as it rises, but instead of bursting it springs a leak. The leakage of gas causes the balloon to settle slowly to the ground. It delivers its load of leaflets intact, inside the waterproof container. The large plastic balloon (right) carries leaflets inside the paperboard container suspended below. Under this is an envelope containing dry ice ballast. The release of paper occurs when the dry ice ballast is exhausted. This upsets the balance of the paperboard container, which dumps the leaflets. This ballast system enables the balloon to rise to a specified altitude and "float" there on favorable winds. The use of dry ice as ballast permits the timing of release according to the rate of sublimation.

Three types of balloons in flight.



Sheaf of leaflets drops from release mechanism.



Radio programs and delivery of printed matter are coordinated and timed for maximum impact.



Production line for rubber balloons. Exact amount of hydrogen is measured by the balancing on arm on the filling device, an invention of Czech member of Free Europe Press. Workers seal filled balloons with leaflets inside.



Production line for large plastic balloons. Paperboard containers attached to balloons carry the computed weight of paper. Below the container, a paper envelope holds dry ice ballast which permits timing of the release of the leaflets.

# Original Seater Digital Archi



## RADIO

### I. INFORMATION REPORTS

15 RFE Bureaus (103 Persons) flow into Munich at rate of 1,200 per month:  
Refugee interviews - Reports from Travellers, Athletes, Letter-Writers, etc.

from



### II. MONITORING of

35 Regime Radio Stations on regular basis, spotcheck of 12 more, Soviet & Satellite News Services

### III. NEWS from Wire Services

- INS, Reuters, and monitored Soviet and Satellite news services
- News items and reaction from RFE Bureaus
- Daily roundup of news and comment by teletype from N-Y.



- Editorial comment and lead articles from American & W-European Press
- Translations, reprints, clippings, etc.

### IV. 550 NEWSPAPERS

and Magazines from behind the Iron Curtain, plus 650 Western Publications and



### V. 15,000 BOOKS

from the Satellite countries, plus 10,000 from the West, with emphasis on economics and politics.



# FREE EURO



Processed by Staff of 46 Evaluation Experts, Translators, etc. who assess reliability. Evaluation files contain 250,000 cards, with over 1,250,000 entries, thousands of clippings, newspapers, maps, etc.



Staff of 52 monitors over 200,000 words per day in 10 to 12 languages.



Staff of 23 processes and distributes 250,000 words per day - 24 hours a day - seven days a week.

Handled by staff of 41 researchers and librarians.



# PE - FLOW



From this source material, plus independent research and on-the-spot coverage of special events RFE Munich's 115 editor-writers, teamed with

producers  
actors  
announcers  
composers  
musicians  
researchers

freelance contributors  
create \* 184 hours of original programs weekly ,

RFE-New York prepares an additional \* 25 hours per week (15% of total programs) but all are broadcast from Munich. N.Y. Programs in form of scripts, tape recordings, or daily short-wave transmissions direct to Munich include American Press comment, "The American Scene", Special Events & Topics, Exiles in America , etc.

\* Original Programs plus repeats  
total 426 1/2 hours per week.



# CHART

- Voice of Free Czechoslovakia
- Voice of Free Poland
- Voice of Free Hungary
- Voice of Free Bulgaria
- Voice of Free Rumania



I. Straight Newscasts  
 16% of total broadcast hours  
 623 minutes of news per day  
 430 newscasts per week



II. Political Commentaries



III. "Group" Programs  
 Labor - Agricultural - Women's  
 Youth - Calling the C.P. - Economic



IV. Feature Programs  
 Cultural - Religious - Plays  
 Political Satire - Music &  
 Entertainment

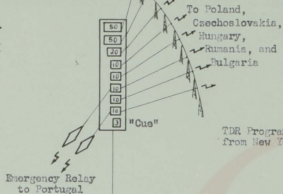
Broadcast  
 over  
 29  
 Transmitters  
 in  
 Germany  
 and  
 Portugal

WESTERN GERMANY

## RADIO FREE EUROPE

TECHNICAL FACILITIES IN EUROPE

BIBLIS  
Transmitter Station



SCHLEISSHEIM  
Receiving and Monitoring Station

TDR Program from New York

Monitors approx. 129 satellite Broadcasting Stations

Receives 9 Satellite News Agencies and 4 Western News Agencies

MUNICH  
European Headquarters

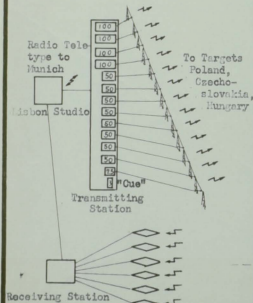
Mobile Studio Units  
Originating Point for all Broadcasts  
20 Studios and Control Rooms

Tech. Monitoring

Radio Teletype to New York and Portugal

Teletype and Telex

## PORTUGAL



Original Scan

POLAND

CHAM  
MW - Transmitter

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HUNGARY

RUMANIA

BULGARIA

Tech. Monitoring from behind the Iron Curtain

13 miles

HOLZKIRCHEN  
Transmitting Station

MW to CE-SL

Radio Relay to Portugal

"Cue"

Reversible to Target Areas