

1968 DEZ 7

RADIO FREE EUROPE  
MUNICH

INCOMING CIPHER MESSAGE

TO:                     

NYC-29 7 DEC 68

TO: GROZIER COPY WALTER (COOK ACTING) KINGSLEY HART GITLIN  
HAUGHTON GUNN  
FM: HOVEY COPY DURKEE MATER

06/554 PM

MANY THANKS FOR ALL THE HELPFUL SUGGESTIONS ON AD COUNCIL BOOKLET. HAVE THE FOLLOWING FURTHER QUESTIONS ON WHICH WOULD APPRECIATE EARLIEST POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE:

1) MINOR DISCREPANCIES ON FIGURES: (A) POPULATION AS BROKEN DOWN IN COUNTRY TABLES TOTALS 84.1 MILLION RATHER THAN 85; (B) LISTENERSHIP AS BROKEN DOWN IN TABLES TOTALS 28.5 MILLION NOT 30 MILLION, AND (C) RADIO SETS TOTAL 15.9 MILLION WHEREAS PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS HAVE USED VARIOUS FIGURES FROM 14 TO 17. CAN THESE BE EXPLAINED, RECONCILED OR CORRECTED? PLEASE INDICATE SOURCE OF DATA.

A SECOND TYPE OF APPARENT DISCREPANCY CONCERNS LISTENERSHIP PERCENTAGES BY COUNTRY. IN SECTION ON LISTENERSHIP IT IS STATED THAT LISTENERSHIP IN POLAND HAS INCREASED FROM 50 TO 65 0/0, BUT IF YOU MULTIPLY 65 0/0 TIMES TOTAL POPULATION OF 32 MILLION YOU GET 20.8 MILLION RATHER THAN 10.5 MILLION SHOWN IN TABLE AS RFE'S TOTAL POLISH LISTENERS. SIMILAR DISCREPANCIES APPEAR WITH

(MORE)

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RESPECT TO OTHER COUNTRIES LISTED IN PARAGRAPH CITED. ASSUME EXPLANATION HAS TO DO WITH SIZE OF ADULT POPULATION. CAN YOU PLEASE CONFIRM AND SUGGEST ANY LANGUAGE FOR INCLUSION IN TEXT BY WAY OF CLARIFICATION.

2) PLANNING 5 DOUBLE PAGE SPREADS OF PHOTOGRAPHS MOSTLY FROM YOUR M SERIES. HOWEVER, WOULD LIKE TO USE PHOTOGRAPH OF MARIA MIKECZ WHO, I UNDERSTAND, WAS A HUNGARIAN NEWSCASTER UNTIL HER RESIGNATION ABOUT A YEAR AGO. IS THERE ANY OBJECTION TO OUR USE OF THIS PHOTOGRAPH ("CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM PHOTO" WHICH BEARS THE NUMBER NO. 848)? PLEASE REVIEW THE FOLLOWING PROPOSED CAPTIONS AND LET US HAVE ANY COMMENTS OR SUGGESTIONS:

1.  
NEWS REPORTING AND ANALYSIS ARE THE MAINSTAY OF RFE'S PROGRAMMING. FROM THE NETWORK'S STUDIOS IN MUNICH, WEST GERMANY, MEMBERS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK BROADCASTING DEPARTMENT (UPPER RIGHT) REVIEW WESTERN PRESS COMMENTARY ON THE RECENT CRISIS. A HUNGARIAN ANNOUNCER (LOWER RIGHT) PRESENTS ONE OF THE TEN-MINUTE NEWSCASTS THAT ARE BEAMED EVERY HOUR ON THE HOUR TO ALL FIVE OF RFE'S AUDIENCE COUNTRIES.

2.  
THE NEWS FLOWS INTO RFE'S CENTRAL NEWSROOM IN MUNICH AT THE RATE OF A MILLION WORDS A DAY. THERE IT IS EDITED INTO A DAILY NEWS FILE OF SOME 100,000 WORDS A DAY AND DISPATCHED TO THE FIVE BROADCASTING DEPARTMENTS AND OTHER RFE UNITS. MAIN NEWS SOURCES FOR THE NETWORK ARE THE WESTERN WIRE SERVICES, THE NEW YORK OFFICE, AND RFE NEWS BUREAUS OR CORRESPONDENTS LOCATED IN LONDON, PARIS, ROME, BERLIN, BONN, VIENNA, BRUSSELS, STOCKHOLM, GENEVA, ATHENS, WASHINGTON, AND THE UNITED NATIONS. NEWS FROM THE COMMUNIST WORLD IS OBTAINED NOT ONLY FROM THE WESTERN WIRE SERVICES BUT ALSO FROM RFE'S DAILY MONITORING OF A DOZEN COMMUNIST NEWS AGENCIES AND SOME 40 DOMESTIC RADIO STATIONS IN EAST EUROPE, THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNIST CHINA.



3.  
RFE'S FEATURE PROGRAMS OFFER BIG-BEAT MUSIC, SERMONS AND RELIGIOUS SERVICES, SPORTS, SCIENCE, DRAMA, LITERATURE. (LOWER LEFT): AN RFE MUSIC EDITOR FROM HUNGARY DISCUSSES FOLK

MUSIC WITH AMERICAN BASSO GEORGE GOODMAN. (UPPER LEFT): A POLISH PRIEST ON RFE'S STAFF BROADCASTS RELIGIOUS NEWS TO LISTENERS IN POLAND. (ABOVE): AN RFE DISC-JOCKEY, WHO ESCAPED TO THE WEST WITH HIS PARENTS IN 1956, CONDUCTS A POPULAR PROGRAM FOR YOUNG HUNGARIAN LISTENERS.

4.  
RESEARCH AND INFORMATION STORAGE ARE MAJOR ACTIVITIES AT RADIO FREE EUROPE. (CLOCKWISE FROM LOWER LEFT): RFE'S SPECIALIZED LIBRARY CONTAINS 40,000 VOLUMES IN A DOZEN LANGUAGES AND RECEIVES REGULARLY SOME 1450 COMMUNIST AND FREE WORLD PUBLICATIONS. RFE'S TAPE LIBRARY STORES PAST PROGRAMS FOR REFERENCE AND REPEAT BROADCASTS. AN AUDIENCE RESEARCH SPECIALIST (TOP LEFT) FILES DATA COMPILED FROM SOME 7000 INTERVIEWS MADE ANNUALLY WITH EAST EUROPEANS TRAVELLING IN THE WEST. RFE'S MUSIC LIBRARY (TOP RIGHT) CONTAINS 25,000 DISCS AND 1,000 TAPES. A MEMBER OF RFE'S RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS DEPARTMENT (LOWER RIGHT) EXAMINES REFERENCE FILES ON CZECHOSLOVAK AFFAIRS. THE CZECHOSLOVAK SECTION ALONE HAS BIOGRAPHICAL DOSSIERS ON MORE THAN 100,000 PROMINENT CZECHOSLOVAK CITIZENS.

5.  
POLICY IN THE MAKING--RADIO FREE EUROPE'S TREATMENT AND INTERPRETATION OF THE NEWS IS ESTABLISHED AT POLICY MEETINGS HELD EACH MORNING AT THE MUNICH BROADCASTING CENTER. THESE SESSIONS, WHICH WESTERN NEWSMEN AND OTHER VISITORS OFTEN ATTEND AS OBSERVERS, BRING TOGETHER EXILE AND AMERICAN SPECIALISTS FROM ALL OF RFE'S BROADCASTING AND ANALYTICAL DIVISIONS IN GIVE-AND-TAKE DISCUSSIONS WHOSE MAIN PURPOSE IS TO EVALUATE THE DAY'S DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST EUROPE.

6.  
(MAP CAPTION) IN RFE'S AUDIENCE-AREA THERE ARE 85 MILLION PEOPLE AND 16 MILLION RADIO SETS. USING 32 MEDIUM-WAVE AND SHORT-WAVE TRANSMITTERS IN WESTERN EUROPE, RFE REACHES 30 MILLION LISTENERS IN THEIR OWN LANGUAGES. RFE BROADCASTS 18 HOURS A DAY TO POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND HUNGARY, 12 HOURS A DAY TO RUMANIA AND 8 HOURS A DAY TO BULGARIA.

7.  
(AD COUNCIL CAPTION) RADIO FREE EUROPE HAS BENEFITED SINCE 1950 FROM SPONSORSHIP OF THE ADVERTISING COUNCIL. THE AD COUNCIL'S 1968 ADVERTISEMENT (ABOVE) EMPHASIZES RFE'S POPULARITY WITH YOUNG EAST EUROPEANS. THE TEXT OF THE AD NOTES THAT "MORE THAN HALF THE PEOPLE IN EAST EUROPE ARE UNDER THIRTY. WHEN THEY WANT TO KNOW WHAT'S HAPPENING--THEY SWITCH ON RADIO FREE EUROPE..."

(MORE)

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(FYI THE PRIEST PICTURED IS FATHER KIRSCHKE; THE DISC JOCKEY IS PETER ZABOJI; THE POLICY CONFERENCE SHOT IS M-1; THE LIBRARY PHOTOGRAPH IS DATED FEBRUARY 1966; THE TAPE LIBRARY SHOT IS NOT IDENTIFIED OR DATED; THE AUDIENCE RESEARCH PHOTO IS M-34; THE MUSIC LIBRARY PHOTOGRAPH IS M-30; THE DOSSIER RESEARCHER PHOTOGRAPH IS UNIDENTIFIED BUT YOU MAY RECOGNIZE IT FROM THE CAPTION QUOTED ABOVE.

3) THE NEW SECTIONS ON BULGARIA AND HUNGARY AS EDITED HERE NOW READ AS FOLLOWS (PLEASE ADVISE IF THERE ARE ANY FURTHER SUGGESTIONS ON THESE):

#### 1) BULGARIA

CAPITAL.....	SOFIA
POPULATION .....	8.3 MILLION
AREA .....	42,817 SQ. MILES
CHIEF POLITICAL LEADER .....	TODOR ZHIVKOV
	PARTY FIRST SECRETARY
GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT .....	\$8.4 BILLION
NUMBER OF RADIO SETS .....	1.5 MILLION
RFE'S LISTENERS .....	2.5 MILLION
RFE WEEKLY BROADCAST HOURS .....	53'12"

THE RELATIVE INSECURITY OF THE ZHIVKOV LEADERSHIP AND ITS CONSEQUENT DEPENDENCE ON MOSCOW'S SUPPORT HAVE MADE BULGARIA ONE OF THE SOVIET UNION'S MOST RESPONSIVE AND RELIABLE ALLIES.

IN RECENT EFFORTS TO SHOW THAT IT IS PROMOTING BULGARIAN NATIONAL INTERESTS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN STEPS TO REDUCE BULGARIA'S EARLIER SELF-IMPOSED ISOLATION FROM THE REST OF THE



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SIMILAR INITIATIVES HAVE NOT BEEN AS APPARENT ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE. ALTHOUGH BULGARIA HAS UNDERTAKEN LIMITED EXPERIMENTATION WITH ECONOMIC REFORM, CENTRAL PLANNING REMAINS ONE OF THE REGIME'S BASIC PRINCIPLES. BULGARIA WAS THE FIRST EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRY TO COMPLETE THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE, AND AGRARIAN POLICIES CONTINUE TO BE OF AN ORTHODOX COMMUNIST CHARACTER. SOFIA'S POLITICAL SUBSERVIENCE TO MOSCOW HAS BEEN COMPOUNDED BY A NEW SERIES OF ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS THAT TIE THE BULGARIAN ECONOMY EVEN MORE CLOSELY TO THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION.

THE POLICE ARE LESS OBTRUSIVE THAN BEFORE, BUT POLITICAL REPRESSION REMAINS SEVERE, AND PUBLIC MANIFESTATIONS OF DISSATISFACTION HAVE BEEN KEPT TO A MINIMUM. IN RECENT CONGRESSES OF YOUTH AND OF WRITERS, THE PARTY HAS SIGNIFIED ITS INTENTION TO TIGHTEN ITS GRIP ON THESE POTENTIALLY DEFIANT GROUPS. IN SHORT, THE CENTRIFUGAL AND LIBERALIZING FORCES AT WORK IN THE COMMUNIST BLOC HAVE AS YET MADE RELATIVELY LITTLE IMPACT ON BULGARIA.

"WHEN THE WEST BEMOANS THAT IT CAN DO NOTHING TO HELP, IT FORGETS THAT IT CAN SUPPLY INFORMATION, AND THIS IS WHAT EASTERN EUROPE NEEDS TO KEEP ITS HOPES ALIVE... IT IS NOT ONLY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA THAT HONEST NEWS IS NEEDED. ALL THE OTHER SATELLITE COUNTRIES KEEP THEIR PEOPLES IN IGNORANCE OF THE FACTS... IN FIGHTING THE SORT OF TYRANNY WE NOW SEE IN EASTERN EUROPE, A GOOD TRANSMITTER IS WORTH AT LEAST ONE NUCLEAR SUBMARINE."

--THE (MANCHESTER) GUARDIAN, AUGUST 31, 1968

## 2) HUNGARY

CAPITAL .....	BUDAPEST
POPULATION .....	10.2 MILLION
AREA .....	35,855 SQ. MILES
CHIEF POLITICAL LEADER .....	JANOS KADAR
	PARTY FIRST SECRETARY
GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT .....	12.9 BILLION
NUMBER OF RADIO SETS .....	2.5 MILLION
RFE'S LISTENERS .....	4.0 MILLION
RFE WEEKLY BROADCAST HOURS .....	132'17"

HUNGARY, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF PARTY FIRST SECRETARY JANOS KADAR, HAS PROGRESSED FURTHER THAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED BY ANY WHO RECALL THE DEPTHS OF DEFEAT AND DESPAIR THAT FOLLOWED THE CRUSHING OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION BY SOVIET TANKS IN 1956.

THE GOVERNMENT HAS GRADUALLY LIFTED THE BURDEN OF OPPRESSION AND TERROR THAT CHARACTERIZED HUNGARIAN LIFE DURING MUCH OF THE PAST TWENTY YEARS AND HAS REHABILITATED PERSONS CONVICTED OF POLITICAL AND OTHER "ANTI-STATE CRIMES" UNDER FORMER PARTY LEADER MATYAS RAKOSI. TOURISM TO AND FROM HUNGARY HAS SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED (IN 1967, SOME 200,000 HUNGARIANS VISITED THE WEST), AND FOREIGN VISITORS FIND IT EASIER TO CONVERSE WITH THE HUNGARIAN MAN-IN-THE-STREET.

UNDER A MORE RELAXED CULTURAL POLICY, IN WHICH THE CRITERIA OF "SOCIALIST REALISM" HAVE BEEN DE-EMPHASIZED, THE QUALITY OF FILMS AND LITERARY WORKS HAS IMPROVED MARKEDLY. EARLY IN 1964, THE HUNGARIAN REGIME QUIETLY STOPPED THE JAMMING OF ALL WESTERN BROADCASTS.

ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENTS HAVE ALSO BEEN MADE. AT THE BEGINNING OF 1968, AFTER THREE YEARS OF PREPARATION, A "NEW ECONOMIC MECHANISM" (NEM) WAS PUT INTO EFFECT. THE NAM PROVIDES FOR A DRASTIC DECENTRALIZATION OF ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING AND PLACES NEW EMPHASIS ON THE ROLE OF THE MARKET, MATERIAL INCENTIVES, PROFITABILITY AND COMPETITION. THE STATE NO LONGER RETAINS ITS MONOPOLY OF INVESTMENT AND FOREIGN TRADE, AND ALMOST 25 PER CENT OF ALL RETAIL GOODS HAVE BEEN PLACED IN A FREE-PRICE CATEGORY. WHILE MANY PROBLEMS REMAIN (POOR QUALITY, SHORTAGES, LACK OF VARIETY, INEFFICIENT USE OF MANPOWER AND RESOURCES), IT APPEARS THAT THE NEM HAS BEGUN TO GET RESULTS.

HUNGARY REMAINS A LOYAL MEMBER OF THE WARSAW PACT, THE COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC AID (COMECON), AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. ALTHOUGH THE PEOPLE AND THE LEADERSHIP OF HUNGARY WATCHED WITH APPARENT SYMPATHY THE ATTEMPTED DEMOCRATIZATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, SOVIET POLICY FINALLY PREVAILED AND HUNGARY WAS COMPELLED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INVASION. THE OCCUPATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA STRUCK A BLOW AT THE GROWING HOPES OF HUNGARIANS FOR A BETTER LIFE, AND THE KADAR REGIME HAS FOUND IT NECESSARY TO ISSUE REPEATED ASSURANCES THAT THE RECENT LIBERAL TREND WILL NOT BE REVERSED.

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4) SUBJECT TO DURKEE'S APPROVAL, WE NOW HAVE THE FOLLOWING QUOTATIONS FOR SECTION ENTITLED "WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT RFE":

#### LISTENERS

"FREE EUROPE HAS BECOME ... A NATIONAL INSTITUTION. IT IS TRUSTED AND IT IS LISTENED TO. AND RADIO FREE EUROPE HAS WON NOT ONLY THE BROAD MASSES; EVEN MEN IN THE HIGHEST RANKS OF GOVERNMENT LISTEN TO YOU. RADIO FREE EUROPE IS THE ONLY SOURCE OF HOPE AND COMFORT FOR OUR PEOPLE IN THESE DAYS.

...PERHAPS YOU MAY BE ABLE TO GUAGE THE IMPACT OF YOUR PROGRAMS YOURSELVES; HOWEVER, YOU CAN BELIEVE ME. I AM AN OLD JOURNALIST, AND HAVE BEEN A MEMBER OF THE PARTY SINCE 1921. BEFORE AUGUST 21, I USED TO SPEAK ABOUT YOU CONTEMPTUOUSLY; I ADMIT THAT I WAS WRONG..."

--LETTER FROM PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, NOVEMBER, 1968

"...NOW THAT I CAN SPEAK FREELY, I SHOULD LIKE ALSO TO EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION AND GRATITUDE TO RADIO FREE EUROPE FOR OPENING TO THE POLISH PUBLIC THE CLOSED DOORS OF THE COURTROOMS IN WHICH SECRET TRIALS ARE HELD AGAINST FREEDOM OF CONVICTIONS."

--LETTER FROM POLISH RESEARCHER NINA KARSOV, IN VIENNA, FOLLOWING HER IMPRISONMENT IN POLAND (IN LONDON TIMES, NOVEMBER 30, 1968)

"WHAT GOOD LUCK IT IS THAT YOU EXIST, OTHERWISE WE'D HAVE TO LIVE COMPLETELY MISGUIDED, HEARING ONLY HACKNEYED CLICHES ABOUT THE WORLD."

--LETTER FROM BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

"...I REGULARLY LISTEN TO RFE'S NEWSCASTS BECAUSE ONLY IN THIS WAY CAN ONE FIND OUT THE TRUTH ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN RUMANIA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD..."

--LETTER FROM BUCHAREST, RUMANIA

#### COMMUNIST PRESS AND RADIO

"IT IS BY NO MEANS CHANCE THAT SOME OF THE LEAFLETS PUBLISHED BY THE UNDERGROUND WHICH SLANDER CZECHOSLOVAK-SOVIET RELATIONS AND CALL FOR THE DISRUPTION OF THE RESULTS OF THE MOSCOW TALKS AND FOR THE PREVENTION OF THE NORMALIZATION OF LIFE IN THE COUNTRY ARE IN THE HANDS OF THE RADIO PIRATES AT RADIO FREE EUROPE.

THEIR VILE, PROVOCATIVE CONTENT IS NOT ONLY BROADCAST BUT ALSO APPEARS IN THE PAGES OF THE MAGAZINE EAST EUROPE WHICH IS PUBLISHED BY MEMBERS OF THE STAFF OF THIS SAME RADIO STATION..."

--IZVESTIA, SOVIET UNION, AUGUST 31, 1968

"RADIO FREE RUOPE AND OTHER SIMILAR 'CHANNELS' ARE THE MAIN TOOLS FOR LEADING THE ATTACK OF BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA... WHOSE METHODS ARE BEING PREPARED AND SHAPED BY DOZENS OF SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS... THE EVENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAVE CLEARLY SHOWN US THAT THE MASS-MEDIA OF INFORMATION, SUCH AS PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION, CAN INFLICT ENORMOUS HARM IN THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SPHERE. AS SOON AS THE PARTY AND THE AUTHORITIES LOST CONTROL OVER THE MASS INFORMATION MEDIA, THESE MEDIA BECAME THE TOOL FIRST OF A REACTIONARY AND THEN OF A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGN..."

--SPEECH BY STANISLAW MOJKOWKI, EDITOR IN CHIEF OF POLISH PARTY PAPER TRYBUNA LUDU, SEPTEMBER 19, 1968

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#### RPTG

"AT ONE TIME, WE USED TO SAY: LET US JAM. THEN WE SAID: LET US NOT JAM, SINCE DECENT PEOPLE DON'T LISTEN TO IT ANYWAY. WE MUST GIVE UP, ONCE AND FOR ALL, THE PRETENSE THAT NOTHING IS GOING ON. WE MUST GIVE IT UP AND TREAT THESE PROPAGANDA MEDIA AS A REAL POLITICAL FORCE WHICH REACHES WITHIN OUR COUNTRY..."

--JERZY SOLECKI, CHIEF OF POLISH AGENCY INTERPRESS IN WARSAW LITERARY GAZETTE, OCTOBER, 1968

END MSG