

The Radio During the Early Cold War (1945–1953)

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Radio was an important means of psychological strategy and political propaganda used by both sides. In this paper, I discuss this topic for Hungary in the period between 1948/1949 and the death of Stalin in 1953. My main sources are the documents of the Hungarian Radio and the articles of the Hungarian Radio Journal (*Magyar Rádió Újság*). First, I examine how efforts aiming to neutralize or jam radio broadcasts transmitted from western countries to Hungary are reflected in these documents.

The most popular of these were, in chronological order of their commencement, the Hungarian broadcasts of the BBC (British Broadcasting Company), Radio Vaticana, the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe with its widely ranging programmes.

The scope for independent action of countries in the Soviet sphere of influence was becoming ever narrower in this period. This appeared in the tone of broadcasts on the Hungarian Radio and its international relations. The turnaway from the initial friendly manner and professional relations was connected to the fact that the two different world systems turned against each other and came to an end with the lowering of the “Iron Curtain”. This change was followed by the growth of Soviet influence and by reaching its final form at the outbreak of the Korean War.

The struggle against imperialism and the forces of clerical reaction appeared ever more strongly in the propaganda programmes of Hungarian Radio broadcast abroad. These tasks were determined by the Hungarian Working People’s Party that controlled the radio as well. Broadcasts transmitted to Hungary from western countries were supported formally by big companies, factories and banks, but actually there were governmental organizations, American ones in the case of the latter two (i.e. factories and banks), behind them.

The Hungarian broadcasts transmitted to western countries were not jammed but the broadcasts transmitted to Hungary were made practically unlistenable by different technical methods.

THE BBC

The BBC was the first of the western radio stations with Hungarian broadcasts. The radio station was founded by a royal deed on the 14th of November 1922 and its



foundation was followed by Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese programs. And finally, a Hungarian broadcast. For the first time on the 5th of September in 1939, simultaneously with the German, Czech, Polish, Serbo-Croatian, French and Italian broadcasts, which put an end to the silence of the politics of “appeasement”.

In the beginning, there was an English head of the Hungarian Section and a Hungarian actor, György Tarján, who had to emigrate before the war, took over the position from him in 1946. (Tarján was the head of the department that broadcast to Central Europe later on). The short-wave broadcasts tried to counterbalance the flood of German propaganda. After the war, the main aim of the broadcasts transmitted in Hungarian was to relay news of British political events.

In the years of the Rákosi era worked well-known emigrant journalists in the Hungarian Section of the BBC: it was managed by Ferenc Rentoul, and among others György Mikes, the famous humorist, György Tábori, Pál Katona, György Urbán, István Kanócz and László Cs. Szabó (who came from Italy) also worked in the Section. The Hungarian Broadcast of the BBC put its last program on air on the 31st of December 2005.¹

Gyula Schöpflin, the program director of The Hungarian Radio visited the editorial office of BBC in the autumn 1947. The Radio Journal (*Rádió Újság*) published a short interview about this visit. The program director said in the interview that the figures of the huge corporation spoke for themselves: the radio had “almost 14 million subscribers, more than ten thousand employees; besides the total of 40 hours a day over the three main programs, many regional stations had independent programs, and the short-wave broadcasts were transmitted in almost all of the main languages of the world”.

In the course of Schöpflin’s visit — as he said — he looked into the editing of mainly the “public entertainment” programs. He considered one of the most important results of this professional visit was the creation of the possibility of exchanging programs: BBC “is willing to broadcast not only our most outstanding concerts but is interested in Hungarian light music and popular orchestral concerts as well”. The experience would be exploited by The Hungarian Radio — said Schöpflin at the end of the interview.² It was, however, not to happen in this way.

The effects of the Cold War soon made themselves felt. Internal and foreign politics changed in Hungary due to the strengthening of Soviet influence and, as a result of this, the relationship between The Hungarian Radio and the BBC changed as well. This is observable in the new tone of Schöpflin’s writings, as for example in his answer to the Director-General of the English radio, Sir William Haley. Haley talked about the political responsibility of radio in a speech he gave at the University of Bristol. Schöpflin stressed the importance of total and strict objectivity in an article of his entitled “The responsibility of radio” that was published in the *Radio Journal* on the 20th of August 1948.

According to Haley –Schöpflin wrote — radio “cannot be anything but the servant of the public”, that is, all news has to be elucidated from all sides when it is broadcast, and listeners should be allowed to form their own opinions. He gave the reason for

1 66 years in a nutshell. http://www.bbc.co.uk/hungarian/news/story/2006/02/060206_bbchung66_history.shtml [cit. 2016-07-25].

2 London, Prague, Budapest. *Radio Journal*, 14 November 1947, p. 2.



this the fact that the effect of radio is more influential than any other tool of the media — that is why it “cannot be anything but an institution that is above social classes, political parties and interests. [...] However nice this — in any case arguable — principle sounds, practice reveals that actually it is illusion, an illusion in which even the leaders of the BBC do not believe it at all; they only want to influence their listeners by making them believe it”. In Schöpflin’s opinion, in the programs of the English radio station broadcast in foreign languages, among others in the “news” broadcast by the Hungarian newscast, the listeners “can find hardly a trace of this loudly proclaimed objectivity. [...] The newscasts of the BBC serve the interests of the potentates of England disguised as objectivity — the interests of the English ruling class but not the English people.”

Schöpflin considered that the head manager of the English radio station could sense the uncertainty in his standpoint, and that was why he changed subject to the analysis of the cultural tasks of the radio. Haley stated as an essential principle that “every program at any time has to be more advanced than the audience itself”. He was referring mainly to the formation of musical tastes here. Schöpflin agreed with this argument as well. He then went on: “Nevertheless we do not agree with the statement of the Director of the BBC according to which radio is merely a means of reporting and nothing more.”

Haley asserted that he could not see how radio could shoulder any kind of responsibility “in the rise of a new field of artistic endeavour”. In Schöpflin’s opinion, radio is suitable for “the creation of the art of the microphone by exploiting the best from the richly endowed realm of sound and voice”. The experiments that were going on the Hungarian Radio reinforced this — he claimed.

As a closing thought, Schöpflin emphasized the importance of radio in people’s lives. Every family had a radio set in England; and in Hungary it was an objective to make radio as popular and as high a standard as it was in England.³

Schöpflin wrote an article entitled “Radio and internationality”, published in the *Radio Journal* on 27th August, 1948. It was a continuation of his previous analysis. He responded to the point raised by Haley concerning the role of radio in international relations. According to Haley, “in the beginning radio broadcasts were addressed only to native listeners; the evolution of broadcasts that were transmitted to foreign countries went in parallel with the development of short wave transmission. For many years, this was not good business since it was not possible to collect a fee from listeners from foreign countries thus mainly colonialist countries used it in the beginning to accelerate their connection with their distant colonies”. Schöpflin explained in his answer: “The development of international radio broadcasts was started off by the realization of the fact that radio is one of the best means of propaganda in fascist states. In the course of the war the ‘battle of the airwaves’ attained unimaginable dimensions.” Then he quoted Haley’s “important” statement: “the best weapon in this war — was truth”. That was why — wrote Schöpflin — “Moscow or the BBC were listened to by millions of people during the war, because they knew that they were hearing pure truth, sometimes a bitter and dreadful truth. And we can draw the lesson that this experience is as true of the present peace as it was true of the war, and since we do not have anything to hide, we can proclaim our own truth, difficulties and results

3 Gyula Schöpflin, The responsibility of radio broadcasting, *Radio Journal*, 20 August 1948, p. 2.



alike, without any worry, and these will always be stronger than the spate of disquieting rumours coming from the West."⁴

Haley considered *"The ideal international aim of the radio is our getting to know each other better, mutual understanding, and the support of cooperation"*. In Schöpflin's opinion, *"Every radio station can subscribe to this in principle and practice, for example, in the fast growing field of program exchange, this provides many promising cases. But Haley himself mentioned as an example the odd scheme of program exchanges hatched between the states of the Western Union — England, France and the Benelux States. Due to an initiative of the BBC, the declared aim of this 'contribution was the increased propaganda in favor of the Marshall Plan⁵ that in reality did not serve the politics of understanding. Although we know that this program exchange failed as a result of the French party's reluctance, it was typical of that 'objectivity' which seems to exist only in words."*

Schöpflin drew his conclusions concerning the two writings of Haley at the end of his article: *"since we have truth on our side we can fight with every prospect of success against the alarmist scare-stories poured on us by western radio stations. But every argument tends in one direction, the urgency of the earliest possible establishment of short-wave radio broadcasts in Hungary. Truth gains the victory even, it is said softly — but it has to be said."*⁶ (Schöpflin accepted a diplomatic mandate in 1949 and then chose emigration in 1950).

An anonymous author in an article entitled *"The integral Churchill and the lament of the 'National Committee'"* in the February 3rd 1950 issue of the *Radio Journal* wrote as follows: *"It was forbidden for the London radio to 'make leading politicians and the members of the government seem ridiculous' in the ongoing electoral campaign. In other words: the BBC cannot make fun of Churchill or the reactionary program of the Conservative Party, for example, or ridicule the so-called Labour policy of Bevin. The English radio is allowed to discuss the topic of parties and party leaders of the election campaign only in a serious tone, if it is allowed to deal with them at all..."*⁷

The author underlined the "cunning decision" (Churchill) in the program of the Conservative Party that *"terminates food supply coordinated by the authorities and entrusts it instead to the pirates of the free market. This will cause a big rise in prices — as*

4 From 1938 there were Hungarian language programs in the foreign language broadcasts of Radio Moscow. The first editor in chief was — until December 1942 — Zoltán Szántó, an emigrant communist leader. The broadcasts transmitted abroad from Moscow were re-organized from 1943 and from then on, these broadcasts appeared as national broadcasts operating in illegality. J. RAINER, *Nagy Imre. Politikai életrajz: 1896–1953*, Vol. 1, Budapest 1996, pp. 229–232. Cf. Nagy Imre, *Radio Journal*, 14 November 1947, p. 3.

5 President Truman proclaimed the policy of containment. In his speech in Congress he stated that the USA *"will provide effective help all the nations that are threatened by an external aggressor"*. The Marshall Plan functioned as the economic background of this policy that originally was to serve the reconstruction of the whole of Europe. I. ROMSICS, *The History of Hungary in the XXth Century*, Budapest 2005, p. 293.

6 Gyula Schöpflin, *Radio and internationalism*, *Radio Journal*, 27 August 1948, p. 2.

7 The Labour government of Clement Attlee (26 July 1945 — 26 October 1948) was superseded by the Conservative government of Churchill (26 October 1951– 5 April 1955). R. SURÁNYI, *United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*, in: I. SIMÁNDI — J. KARDOS (Eds.), *European Political Systems*, Budapest 2004, pp. 529–569.



Churchill's program acknowledges, in which we will be able to help by raising the unemployment allowance and decreasing taxes'. That is to say: property and income taxes from which workers obviously will hardly be able to derive any benefit. Finally, it is in the Conservative warmongers' program that means to establish still closer links with the USA."

According to the author, the Labour Party member Bevin "was dismissive: the Labour Party [...] cannot be beaten in this respect. If Mr Churchill could make the relationship between England and the USA stronger only the 'iá' [that is hee-how, cry of a donkey — the translator's note] would remain of Anglia' [Anglia is England in Hungarian — the translator's note]'. And only donkeys speak this way."⁸

The tone of the articles published in the Radio Journal was becoming sharper and sharper. The BBC was referred to as a "secondary station" of the Voice of America. In an article, written in 1950, this was expressed as follows: "The Western European lackeys of American imperialism are ready to help spread and propagate it. First of all, the British BBC has set a new record for lackeying. They are the most wicked liars and warmongers among the leaders of the BBC. Its broadcasts and misleading the listeners make every honorable man indignant." A letter from an engineer from New Zealand is quoted in the article: "The broadcasts of the BBC are the most shocking example of warmongering and are so depraved that I do not listen to them anymore."⁹

The BBC was mentioned in the 9th February 1951 issue of the *Radio Journal* in an article entitled "One of the citadels of lies". The fact that the operation of the BBC had been examined in a report of the Beveridge-committee was pointed out in it. In the introduction of the report, the following was written: "A society that is built on lies has no future. [...] the BBC itself is a citadel of lies." The committee was called upon by the government to examine the broadcasts of the BBC after "a series of complaints, outbursts of indignation and wild attacks". The committee held 62 meetings and summarized its experience in a book of 910 pages.¹⁰ Some of these were highlighted by the author of the article, such as that according to the establishment of the committee "British radio oppresses every contrary opinion and suggests that 'although carefully', 'a little Hyde Park Corner should be created on air'. Just as at Hyde Park Corner "everyone can stand up and propagate any kind of political principal 'openly'. Real British hypocrisy! -the author wrote. A worker was seriously condemned recently because he gave a speech on peace". The judge sentenced him not because he gave a speech Hyde Park Corner, but because he "suggested that the listeners should read communist newspapers". Politicizing is allowed, but "business advertising is forbidden"!

The proposal of the committee involved putting an end to the monopoly of the BBC to allow for other organizations to get permission to operate a radio station. "However, the BBC itself decides on the question of regional permissions [...] to avoid the issuing of such regional permissions comes into conflict with the interests of the country." That is the British radio can decide "which competition is acceptable to it and which one is not".

8 The integral Churchill and the lament of the 'National Committee', *Radio Journal*, 3 February 1950, p. 6.

9 The Voice of America and its secondary stations. *Radio Journal*, 23–29 October 1950, p. 11.

10 William Beveridge (1879–1963), a British economist made a proposal in his report concerning the reconstruction of Great Britain after the Second World War. This proposal later on became the starting point of the establishment of the welfare state.



As stated, the committee made a proposal to the leaders of the radio for an increase in the number of the staff, that is, a “governing committee” of nine members should lead the radio, the president of which “should get 4,000 pounds a year and the members of it an honorarium of 2,000 pounds a year”.¹¹

RADIO VATICANA

Radio Vaticana started to broadcast on the 12th of February 1931. The inaugural program was introduced by one of the creators of the broadcasts, Guglielmo Marconi, and following that, Pope Pius XI spoke. “It was the very first time that the leader of the Catholic Church spoke on the radio.” The broadcasts of the radio became particularly important internationally between 1939 and 1945, in the period of World War II.

Many people listened to them because families were given help in the radio broadcasts to find missing family members (soldiers, prisoners of war, and civilians as well). The radio broadcast from 1948 in 19 and later, in 34 different languages. It was possible to pick up its broadcasts in 170 countries. It had programs in Hungarian three times a week in the beginning, and every evening and Wednesday afternoons (with morning repeats) from 1950. These programs are still broadcast.¹²

The Radio Vaticana was ‘unmasked’ in the 23rd of June 1950 issue of the *Radio Journal* by Endre Gellért. “One of the most faithful allies of the war adventurers of American imperialism in its fight against peace and the working class is the Vatican itself. The Vatican mobilizes all of its power to perform the most successful propaganda against the interests of millions of the faithful and obeys the command of its governors. Its allies are all the enemies of the working class, murderers who will shrink from nothing when it comes to their pockets, their individual gains”.

He thought “the Vatican aligned all its weapons, among others the radio, in a phalanx in the fight against the working class. Through Radio Vaticana, the voice of warmongers, the furious enemies of the people poisoned the past and still poisons the air. The Pope gave his ill-famed speech on Christmas 1947, in which he proclaimed a political struggle against the Soviet Union, and people’s democracies — that is all the progressive forces of the world.” He compared Radio Vaticana with the Voice of America too: “there is not much difference between their programs. The only difference is that the Vatican radio is a more sanctimonious servant of the warmongers.” The “war propaganda” of the radio is financially supported “by the business partners of the Vatican and almost all of the representatives of the international and — ever-more dominantly — American plutocracy. [...] As every capitalist concerned, the Vatican has its own business partners among whom — besides the increasing number of profiteers, swindlers (and other businessmen), we can find fewer and fewer trustworthy cardinals of the Apostolic See.”

According to Gellért, the means of propaganda are “the sanctimonious words of Papal Bulls, proclamations, excommunications and menaces’. [...] Their paternal warnings serve merely one aim, that is, the defence of American imperialism and through that the direct financial interests of the Vatican.”

11 A citadel of lies. *Radio Journal*, 9 February 1951, p. 4.

12 <http://www.jezsuita.hu/taxonomy/term/120>, [cit. 2016-07-25].



In Gellért's opinion *"The honourable believers of the Catholic Church can see more and more clearly that the radio of the Vatican serves only one aim: supporting the imperialist warmongers, who are striving for world hegemony and well deserve the charitable gifts of the American plutocracy — the several million dollars yearly that provides an excellent standard of living, political power for the Pope, some of the Cardinals and other businessmen of the Vatican."*¹³

At an editorial meeting of Hungarian Radio on the 25th of September 1951, the work of the Foreign Affairs Programs was examined among others as noted in the minutes of the meeting. It was stated as a criticism that *"the short, striking and popular anti-imperialist commentaries that make the imperialists objects of hatred using the weapon of sarcasm and irony are missing from the work schedule of these programs. It would be possible for sure to find good anti-Vatican materials amongst these too."*¹⁴

The 27th of November 1952 issue of the *Radio Journal* reflected in a speech of the Pope. *"The Vatican antennas certainly always transmit with all of their words a policy that is permeated by a true respect for the Dollar."* The author of the article, just as in former articles, revealed: *"the lion's share of the income of the Holy See is from overseas cash registers"*. He highlighted that the speech *"is worthier of attention than the usual provocations. Pius XII, admirer of Mussolini's corporate state, who took an active part in the preparations of Hitler's coming into power as a Papal Legate in Germany, spoke about the workers this time. His words were full of heavenly bliss. He said that in capitalist countries workers 'have risen socially, they are not exposed to the fluctuation of economic conditions and enjoy general esteem'. In many ecumenical documents Pius XII indicated what miraculous signs he was able to read in the sky. This broadcast of Radio Vaticana proved again how good His Holiness' eyes are. To see miraculous signs in the sky — that is something!"* The author's opinion in connection with the situation of the workers was very different. He wrote as follows: *"But to notice the slums of the Borgate just a stone's throw from the walls of the Vatican — no way! Why do we not call the cave-dwellings in Southern Italy (not to mention an example from another country) the social elevation of the working class?!"*¹⁵ Then he emphasized that *"more than two million fully, and almost the same number partially Italian unemployed workers depend "to less and less on the fluctuations of economic conditions"*.

According to the author, the solution was as follows: *"It is necessary indeed to overcome the class struggle through organizing the relationships between employees and employers. And then they will overcome the class struggle too. However, to get there not a heavenly miracle is needed — but the battle of classes at which Pius XII shudders so much."*¹⁶

VOICE OF AMERICA

The radio station was founded in 1941, and it had a permanent program from the 24th of February 1942. Its first broadcast was transmitted to counteract the propaganda

13 Radio Vaticana, *Radio Journal*, 23 June 1950, p. 8.

14 Report for the meeting of the editorial board. 25 September 1951. Central Archive of MTVA, KI TD-295/11.

15 A housing estate out of Rome, built by Mussolini in the 1920s, in a bad state nowadays.

16 Radio Vaticana, *Radio Journal*, 27 October — 2 November 1952, p. 5.



of Nazi Germany. Its Hungarian broadcasts started on the 3rd of August 1942, as well as in several languages to introduce the American position to those people living under Nazi occupation or fighting against the Third Reich on the side of the Allies in World War II. After World War II the aim of its programs broadcast to the countries of East-Central Europe was to make known the policy of the United States and have its ideas accepted. Following the war, the station was managed by the Department of State and it had approximately 3,200 programs in 40 languages. Ten programs broadcast in 10 different East-Central European languages (among them in Hungarian) were terminated on 27th February 2004, since the American government judged that the radio programs had fulfilled its mission in the region.¹⁷

The *Radio Journal* represented the work of the Voice of America in tones similar to those of the American radio station, but without shrinking from rude expressions in hostile comments. Endre Gellért's article was one of this kind, published the 6th of January 1950 issue. Gellért was a director in the National Theatre, and he worked for the Hungarian Radio at the same time. "[...] I heard some days ago the voice of American fascism on the Voice of America that was called simply 'lie factory' by 'Die Tat', a rightwing Swiss newspaper. The talkative employee of the lie factory who speaks with a uvular r outlined the terror in Hungary in his short opening and then he defended Puccini, the great Italian composer on the anniversary of his death as follows '[...] In Hungary the communists banned Puccini's operas and certainly did not authorize concerts on the occasion of the anniversary of his death...' This statement was followed only by some lyrical lines about Puccini, then the Voice of America lied about other things." Gellért could conflate the statement of the Voice of America: some days before, he had attended the premier of *Madame Butterfly* at the Hungarian State Opera. Moreover, Radio Kossuth station commemorated the anniversary of Puccini's death with a gala concert. He was not surprised at the fact — as he wrote in his article — that "*the Voice of America lied. That is a matter of course too — for them, of course. But all at once [...] on the same day as the Voice of America is repeating that 'communist terror banned Puccini in Hungary', in the same hour, as well as minutes in Hungarian time, Hungarian Radio commemorated him in-one hour program. Of course, all of this is not surprising [...] The Hungarian workers are just laying the foundations of socialism; the leasers of the Voice of America would like to lay the foundations of fascism. 'The little lie is good lie — say the editors of the Voice of America in the present case.' Furthermore, they can set it up as a defence, it is not always possible to tell a big lie.*"¹⁸

In the 13th of January 1950 issue of the *Radio Journal*, an article was published entitled "What is wrong with the Voice of America?". "*There is always something that distresses the Voice of America. Sometimes the fact that we can live in our country without Marshall Aid, or sometimes that the price of meat, shoes or bread is decreased. Nowadays the American voice of war hysteria is troubled because the music of our neighbors and friends can be heard too often in Hungarian Radio.*" According to the author's assertion the ears of the Voice of America are shocked by the soaring of the music of Soviet, Romanian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovakian and Polish peoples coming from the antennas of the

17 [18 The Voice of America speaking, *Radio Journal*, 6 January 1950, p. 3.](http://www.e-nepujsag.ro/op/article/az-amerika-hangja-70-%C3%A9ve-hallhat%C3%B3, [cit. 2016-07-25]. Cf. G. BORBÁNDI, <i>Hungarians in the English Garden: The History of Radio Free Europe</i>, Budapest 1996, pp. 26-27.</p>
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Hungarian Radio. The station propagates peace and friendship between the people living in the Danube Basin, which has come into being after a long time, as well as the endeavor to get to know each other after so many hostilities and conflicts. Well, this hurts the Voice of America very much, and we cannot suggest anything else in this case, but that they should take an aspirin.

It is beyond doubt that, the Voice of America and the lurking behind it would be happier to see the Voice of Hungary transmitting hatred, contempt, boisterous cultural snobbery, poison and threats to the world and towards its neighbors, instead of Polish and Soviet music, just as in the Horthy-era. The Voice of America, Otto 'Crown Prince' and his courtier, Tibor Eckhardt (a right-wing politician, member of the Smallholders' Party between the world wars) would like it better if the Romanian and Czechoslovakian radio would still follow the sabre-rattling regulations of the Little Entente, and the Budapest radio station would echo its words with tinkling spurs. It would suit the taste of America better if the peoples of Eastern Europe wrangled with each other and were full of hatred. Voice of America misses the voice of the murderers.

The author of the article thought that maybe the Voice of America did not like the fact *"that American film music and the concerts of Texas revolvers are missing from the radio programs of the people's democracies [...]. We are sorry, but we cannot please the Voice of America with such programs. We stick to Hungarian songs, sweet Polish mazurka and heart warming Russian love-songs. If Voice of America wants to hear bar music and warmongering, it should listen to its own voice..."*¹⁹

Jenő Randé, journalist, and a leading colleague of the Hungarian Radio introduced a brochure²⁰ of M. G. Moshenski, a Soviet author, entitled *"American radio at the service of monopoly capital"* in the *Radio Journal*. As he wrote, Moshenski mainly discussed in his work *"the most vulgar program of American radio, the Voice of America. We can often find among its targets the Hungarian people's democracy too, which is building its peaceful future"*. According to Randé, the author *"elucidates what is hidden behind the flow of lies flooding the whole world: the broadcasts of the Voice of America are destined to make the political, military and economic infiltration to other countries easier for the United States, and this policy is not one of a recent date"*. The author highlighted a section of Moshenski's book in which he quoted David Sarnoff, American radio and television mogul, one of the initiators of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America: *"[...] the plan is from 1943 when the heroic fight of the Soviet Union against fascism was being watched passively by the overseas countries. 'After the victory of the United Nations, the United States will have a more important role in global issues. To promote an understanding of our policy on the part of the people it will be necessary to use the tools of mass media. The most effective tool of media that can reach the greatest number of people in the shortest time is radio."*

In Moshenski's work, the fact that *"the Voice of America reviles in 30 languages under the control of the State Department of the United States"* was presented as evidence. Also, that *"Tens of millions of dollars are spent on the broadcasts in this cause. But in vain. They cannot make the peoples of the world believe that this voice is the voice of the American people. The Voice of America is the voice of Wall Street."*

19 What is wrong with Voice of America?, *Radio Journal*, 13 January 1950, p. 7.

20 Published in the Little library of Marxist knowledge series of Szikra Publisher, 1950, p. 55.



As written in the introduction of the brochure by Randé: „Moshinski’s book is an enlightening and exciting piece of reading. This is a weapon against the false ideology of the American lifestyle and the voice of monopoly capital, the American radio at the service of imperialism.”²¹

Who are the owners of American radio stations? This was the question raised by Randé in another of his writings. Approximately 85 % of all the radio stations in America are owned by the four biggest radio networks. These are the following: the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS) and the American Broadcasting Company (ABC). “All four companies are in the hands of American businessmen.” In America “the dictatorship of these monopolies is total. They make it practically impossible to found radio stations capable of representing the voice of the broad masses, the real voice of America. After all, every application for founding a new radio station has to be handed in to the American secret police, the notorious FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation), and is thus judged by the dictatorship of the power-enforcement machine of monopoly capital”. It is not necessary to explain that in this situation neither “what freedom of speech looks like” nor “if five hundred strikers are fighting against monopoly capital, when it echoes the “monopolist opinion” of the radio”.²²

In the 23–29th of October 1950 issue of the *Radio Journal* the following was written: “some days ago the Voice of America published a fiery commentary in Hungarian in connection with the defence of human rights in Hungary in which they played the advocate of the Hungarian hoarders for several minutes, then stated indignantly that the Hungarian government ‘had started a fight against hoarders and it will bring them to trial before People’s Courts.’ According to American radio, this is a violation of human rights.”

The Voice of America “started with the protection of human rights — and it ended with the protection of extortion”. It protects those “in whose flat three quintals of flour was found, who lived by providing usurious loans, and who had villas and lands”. The author of the article nominated in particular Dezső Prohászka ex wine-merchant from Orosháza, whose “freedom” was protected by the western radio. Prohászka “wanted to sell mutton dressed as lamb to be able to pocket three times more money”. The radio station “is concerned for the “ex industrialists, wholesalers, discredited landholders and the Horthy-pashas — the freedom of the entire Hungarian working class. Well, that is something to be concerned about. [...] If there was someone who did not know that commodity concealers, ‘official queuers’ and panic-merchants are the accomplices of mass murderers — know he could get to know about it.”

According to the author of the article the radio announced “the treaty of mutual protection and alliance with wholesalers and market speculators. We take notice of that. And we will deal with them according to that.”²³

In this issue of *Radio Journal*, a summary of an article written by an employee of TASS, the Soviet News Agency was published concerning the activity of the secondary stations of the Voice of America. “The Anglo-American imperialists use the dirty

21 The American radio at the service of the monopoly capital, *Radio Journal*, 3 February 1950, p. 4.

22 Whose is the Voice of America?, *Radio Journal*, 10 February 1950, p. 8.

23 The cat is out of the bag..., *Radio Journal*, 23–29 October 1950, p. 10.



weapon of the reactionary radio newscast as well in their fight against the peace camp, led by the Soviet Union.” The Voice of America and “its secondary stations are poisoning the ether day by day with furious slander and misanthropy, and they are instigating war psychosis”. The broadcasts of the radio “make people from all countries indignant”. TASS quoted an Argentine radio listener who wrote that the radio is “a trumpet of the imperialists. It employs propaganda not for the sake of democracy but for selfish international capitalism. The American warmongers glorify their nuclear bomb in every way. But they do not frighten anybody. Their hysterical outbursts generate only disgust and hatred!”

A letter came from Sidney to the agency: *“It is clear to everyone that the United States of America wants to monopolize the newscast of radio to increase warmongering. But war is not in my interest, and I want peace in the world, together with millions of people.”*

The author highlighted at the end of his writing that *“the slanders and indignations of the radio cannot deceive or frighten people for whom war is an important question. People who love freedom turn away from these radio stations with disgust and they drink in the words of peace transmitted loud from the radio stations of the Soviet Union and the countries of people’s democracies.”*²⁴

RADIO FREE EUROPE

The above mentioned American propaganda radio stations set up by David Sarnoff during the war gained a new role in the period of the Cold War following the Second World War. The most significant undertaking was Radio Free Europe. It defined its aim and task as in harmony with the endeavors of American foreign policy in containing Soviet expansion. The history of Radio Free Europe can be traced to a radio station of the period of the world war with a similar name, but actually it started in the summer of 1949 with the foundation of the Committee for a Free Europe. The Committee was registered on the 17th of May in New York.

There were two important tasks in the first programme of the Committee. First was the support of emigrants who presented themselves in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This task was performed by the Committee of Intellectual Collaboration, with the aim of providing work for those who arrived from Eastern Europe. The other task imposed on the Committee was *“to get the voice and the thoughts of the emigrants back to Europe to their compatriots through the ether in their own languages”*.

The Hungarian Department of Radio Free Europe was organized in the beginning of 1950 in New York. The Hungarian broadcasts started on the 4th August 1950 in the rented offices of the Committee for a Free Europe in the Empire State Building.

The European broadcasts of the station started in June 1950 with the installation of the 75-kilowatt short-wave transmitting equipment near Frankfurt am Main. This antenna was transmitting one and one-half hour programmes by the end of that year to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. When a 135-kilowatt short-wave radio transmitter was set up on the 15th of May 1951 in Holzkirchen near München, the center of RFE became Munich. The employees of the radio occupied their offices in the district called Bogenhausen, at 9 Passartstrasse at the end of the

24 The Voice of America and its secondary stations, *Radio Journal*, 23–29 October 1950, p. 11.



July 1951. The first program, was broadcast on the 6th of October 1951, when the head-quarter of the radio was also inaugurated.

The first director of the Hungarian Department was Count Gyula Dessewffy, and his deputy director was Lajos Thury. The department moved to the new building of Radio Free Europe in the English Park (Englischer Garten)²⁵ on the 7th of March 1952, and it operated from there until 31st of October 1993. The employees of the radio came from the political and intellectual circles of the Hungarian emigration — most of them were lawyers, economic experts or journalists.

Radio Free Europe became the target of attacks from the beginning of 1952. There was an article in the February 1952 issue of the Radio Journal on the establishment of Radio Free Europe originally published in *Ludovy Rozhlas* (Radio Folk), a Slovak newspaper. The source of the information of the Slovak newspaper was the New York Times, which “*admitted openly and cynically that the Voice of America is an effective supporter of the subversive activity of the USA*”. Nevertheless, there are western countries that “*are frightened of the general outcry of their own people against American radio propaganda. This was why they decided in New York to found Radio Free Europe, a radio propaganda instrument apparently independent of the American government, to disguise this subversive activity.*” The founders of the radio stated that the new radio station “*is not a competitor of the Voice of America, on the contrary, it complements it. [...] One of the main spokesmen of the propaganda of Radio Free Europe, General Clay,*²⁶ *made a slip of the tongue as follows: the new instrument of radio propaganda is the result of an initiative of private people which the Voice of America, as an instrument of the government, cannot approach openly. Radio Free Europe was created based on these considerations. Its spirit and activity are determined by such out-and-out warmongers as John Foster Dulles, Allan Dulles and Eisenhower, who act in the mask of Europe and have taken every depraved traitor of the people into their service. America brought these evil-doers together to form a Council that fights for a free Europe. This Council’s most important task was to transmit subversive radio propaganda to the people’s democracies. The founders — following the model of Hitler’s ‘Winterhilfe’ which we remember well enough from the fascists’ time — collected voluntary contributions for the free Europe movement to conceal their real intentions and called this action a ‘crusade for freedom.’*”

Summing up the activity of Radio Free Europe from October 1951, it expressly established that the radio “*is an equal collaborator of the Voice of America about which Perry, an American journalist wrote, it is foolish and stupid prattling which has only one aim — to mislead listeners. From the mud of lies to the swamp of slander — this is the way of American propaganda from the Voice of America to the Voice of Free Europe.*”

The Slovak newspaper denied that Radio Free Europe would be a private establishment and its article referred to the New York Herald Tribune. John Foster Dulles, in an interview he gave to the newspaper, said that “*the American government accorded*

25 I. SIMÁNDI, *Hungary at the Frequency of Radio Free Europe 1951–1956*, Budapest 2005, pp. 17–30.

26 General Lucius D. Clay (1898–1978), one of the deputies of Eisenhower during WW II, later on the governor of the American sector of Berlin, organizer of the Berlin airlift in 1948 and 1949. Following that he was one of the leaders of the “cultural cold war”. <https://coldwar-radios.blogspot.hu/2010/12/hero-of-berlin-general-lucius-d-clay.html>, [cit. 2016-07-12].

due praise to” the Committee for Free Europe that “manages — as an executive organ — the propaganda work of Radio Free Europe.”²⁷

Károly Marosi (announcer and actor), an ex-employee of the RFE who came back to Hungary following the amnesty decree of Presidential Council, had a role in the exposure of Radio Free Europe.²⁸ The March 1956 issue of the Radio Journal published a summary by Emil Várai, (editor at Hungarian Radio) of a press conference held in Budapest. Marosi said of the American leaders of RFE and its operation: “The director is American. His deputies are Americans, and the direction and checking of the programs take place in English. The technical terms concerning the broadcasts are English. For example, an approved draft is ‘OK’. And payment [...] is in dollars of course.” And the creators of the programs are “aristocrats, fascist journalists and adventurer who ran away with the Nazis. The situation is similar at the Hungarian group. The leader [...] Andor Gellért, is a ex Horthyist diplomat. His deputies: Baron Bornemissza and János Ölvedy, an employee of a Nazi newspaper called Új Magyarország (New Hungary).”

Marosi described one of his colleagues as follows: “While they prated about the service to our mother country they jostled for the well-paid positions at Radio Free Europe just as at home in the past, for a stake in rich financial swindles. But they reserve a part of their pay to grease the palms of their ever-changing bosses. They like chatting about going home or the day of reckoning, but meanwhile they beg for American entry permits. And if they shed a tear in the broadcasts because Christian morals are falling apart at home the editors mitigate the grief caused by emigration with the help of alcohol, morphine and young ladies.”

He argued that the possibilities of journalistic or artistic ambitions have to be forgotten. “Take your pay and shut up! — this is their main principle. And the broadcasts are just like the editors. They make Hungarians living in München let their voice be heard just as newly arrived refugees from Hungary. Their method is that only names and addresses are correct in what they say and the rest of it is a creation of their fantasy. The hundreds of lies in the last years made them sweat, said Marosi. They are tired, exhausted and writing raises greater and greater difficulties for them. Nowadays they have just started to read in the broadcasts articles that they wrote earlier in an updated form.”

Marosi said about the work at Radio Free Europe: “performs not the task of radio, that is informing, entertaining and teaching listeners. The fact that their most important task is to listen to the radio stations of people’s democracies, archiving their press — that is collecting data and scouting. They have the most modern equipment to fulfill these tasks.” At the end of the press conference Marosi reinforced the fact that “the name Free Europe is not unfounded: it is free to lie boundlessly and infinitely.”²⁹

JAMMING FROM HUNGARY’S SITE

International radio broadcasting was regulated by the International Telecommunications Agreement signed in Atlantic City in 1947 after World War II. One of the most important tasks of this agreement was to allocate and register the frequencies to

²⁷ From the mud of lies to the swamp of slander, *Radio Journal*, 11–17 February 1952, p. 2.

²⁸ <http://www.abtl.hu/node/216>, [cit. 2016-07-12].

²⁹ I worked for Radio Free Europe..., *Radio Journal*, 11 March 1956, p. 17.



avoid interference among the radio stations of different countries.³⁰ The first clause of the agreement declared that radio stations — regardless of their function — have to be established and operated in such a way that they do not jam the broadcasts or radio service of the associated members insofar as they are operating in compliance with the “Radio Regulations”. According to the third clause the members accept that they will make any arrangement to make sure that any device or equipment will not jam radio broadcasts.³¹ The agreement was not adhered to, just as in the past.

The minutes of the 31 of March 1951 meeting of the Board of The Hungarian Radio includes a notification by István Szirmai, the general manager of The Hungarian Radio Office: “*the American imperialists have made an assault against us: they are continuing their slanderous broadcasts close to the wave-length of Radio Petőfi at 20.00 and 22.15.*”³² *We have to accept the challenge. On the Radio Petőfi station we have to broadcast new music at that time.*” He also recommended “*moving the broadcast of Radio Petőfi to the frequency of Nyíregyháza*”. For the sake of this, the listeners have to be informed that “*they will be better able to pick up the broadcast*” of Radio Petőfi at the frequency of Nyíregyháza”.³³

Szirmai made a note for Mátyás Rákosi, the secretary-general of the Hungarian Workers’ Party on the 5th of May 1950 stating that the Voice of America “*is still at the frequency of Radio Petőfi. Our experts have tried to hinder the reception in different ways at the time of the broadcasts. They have managed to make the Voice of America totally inaudible with the help of a big crystal detector, but the broadcasts of Radio Petőfi became inaudible too at the same time. The experts suppose that there is only one serious possibility of making the Voice of America inaudible in our country: the mechanism of the Soviet Union elaborated for this purpose should maintain jamming at the time of the Hungarian broadcasts. According to our information the Soviet Union keeps on jamming this frequency of the Voice of America exactly until the beginning of its Hungarian broadcast. If we were able to convince the Soviet Union to prolong its jamming by half an hour the problem would be solved.*”³⁴

The general manager considered this issue important, the Voice of America “*could cause serious political harm*”, thus he considered it necessary that “*comrade Rákosi should take steps with the competent Soviet agents*”.³⁵

30 *The Regulation of the Hungarian Post: International Telecommunication Agreement*, Atlantic City 1947, pp. 12–13.

31 *Ibidem*, pp. 33–34.

32 The broadcast of Radio Petőfi was available only in 50 % of the territory of Hungary, coverage was insufficient especially in the Transdanubian region. The reception of Radio Petőfi was improved by the 135-kw antenna that was set up on the 24th of October 1953 in Balatonszabadi. The antenna started to transmit broadcasts abroad in foreign languages in January 1956. G. DÓSA, *The Development of Hungarian radio broadcasting from 1949 to the middle of the 1970s*, <http://www.bpmk.hu/old/fileadmin/content.old/pdf/dosa-radiomusorszo-ras.pdf>, [cit. 2016-07-29], pp. 3–4. Later on, the Balatonszabadi main transmitter was used for jamming too. D. BALÁS, *From telegraph to radio. A history of the technology of radio from 1800s to the WW II*, 2009, p. 308. <https://books.google.hu/books?isbn=9639934194>, [cit. 2016-07-29].

33 Minutes of the 31 of March 1950 meeting of Radio Council. MTVA KI. TD-359/5. box nr.1.

34 The Soviet Union started to jam the broadcasts of the Voice of America in 1948 and the broadcasts of the BBC in 1949. BALÁS, *From telegraph to radio*, p. 302.

35 A note for Comrade Rákosi, 5 May 1950. MTVA KI. TD-280/8.



On the following day, the 6th of May 1950 Szirmai made his request clearer: The Voice of America “carries on a slanderous, provocative political propaganda at the 251-m. medium wave frequency in Hungarian against the Soviet Union and peoples’ deocracies. The American imperialsts have been using this frequency illegally since the Copenhagen Convention was accepted on the 15th of March 1950.”³⁶ According to the experts, wrote Szirmai, “the broadcast of the Voice of America at the 251-m. frequency is jammed succesfully until 20.00 by a Soviet radio station. The Hungarian broadcast of the Voice of America is on air from 20. to 20.30”.

Jamming the Voice of America “successfully is possible only from a longer distance, our attempts in Hungary have been unsuccessful” — he wrote. Repeating his request, he called upon Mátyás Rákosi to ask the “competent Soviet” organs “to have their radio station set up for this purpose to keep on jamming at 251 m. medium wave until 20.30” CET.³⁷

Szirmai notified Rákosi in his report on the 2nd of June 1950 about the success of jamming. Test measurements were made at the 251-m. wave length to reveal the possibilities of the reception of the Voice of America in Budapest, Nyíregyháza, Székesfehérvár, Miskolc, Pécs, Mosonmagyaróvár, Rákosszentmihály and Tárnok. “The result: jamming was perceivable everywhere, it decreased the quality of reception to a lesser degree in one place and a greater degree in another place. The report from Miskolc: the reception was quite audible for 2 or 3 minutes then a strong mechanical noise occurred and it continued until the end of the broadcast... The whole broadcast was inaudible. Székesfehérvár: the quality of reception was quite good. Magyaróvár: the broadcast was intensely jammed, totally inaudible for many minutes. Nyíregyháza: it was not possible to pick up the broadcast.” Pécs: “the broadcast was so intensely jammed that it became inaudible”. The quality of reception was not steady in Rákosszentmihály, jamming occurred several times during it. The quality of the reception of the Voice of America was good in Tárnok.³⁸

The Office of The Hungarian Radio had the quality of reception checked in three places in Budapest. In the laboratory of the Technical Department, in the cable fixing room and in the rooms of the building at 22 in Szentkirályi street. Jamming was observed by a set equipped with a Standard 445A type antenna and an Orion 320 radio set. The Standard was a high powered super set. “At the beginning of the broadcast some hardly perceivable jamming occurred but later on from 20.02 grew in intensity. This jamming was stronger than the one perceived on the Orion 320 set.” According to the report “the voice was audible and the text was totally understandable in spite of jamming”.

36 Hungary successfully defended its demand concerning two exclusive frequencies at the radio conference held in 1948 in Copenhagen. The new frequency allocation plan, the so called “Copenhagen frequency plan” came into force on the 15th of March 1950, and due to that the frequencies of the Hungarian stations were modified a bit. The frequency of Kossuth was changed to 539 kHz, the frequency of Petőfi was changed to 1187 kHz and that significantly improved the quality of the broadcasts of the programmes of Kossuth station. G. DÓSA, *The Development of Hungarian radio broadcasting from 1949 to the middle of the 1970s*, <http://www.bpmk.hu/old/fileadmin/content.old/pdf/dosa-radiomusorszorasz.pdf>, [cit. 2016-07-29], pp. 3-4.

37 Proposal. 6. May 1950. MTVA KI. TD-280/8.

38 A note for Comrade Rákosi, 2 June 1952. MTVA KI. TD-322/2.



In the cable fixing room, the set was observed by the technical staff of the radio, without an antenna. The result was similar to that experienced in the laboratory.

In the room at 22 Szentkirályi Street an Orion 320 set was observed. They did not use an antenna and there was no fading controller (used to avoid volume fluttering typical of broadcasts coming from a great distance) installed in the set. The technical experts of the radio wrote in their report: *„the quality of the broadcast was excellent. Jamming was hardly perceivable at the frequency of Szolnok and it was possible to receive the programme of Budapest II [...] and the observed station as well clearly. The jamming started to become stronger at 20.20 but even then, the set reproduced sounds clearly.”*³⁹ In contradiction with the report of István Szirmai, written for Mátyás Rákosi, the jamming was not completely successful and its efficiency was highly affected by the capacity of the set. From a great distance it was not possible to jam the medium wave broadcasts.

Szirmai made a note on the 18th of September 1950 but this time for József Révai, the deputy secretary-general of the Working People's Party. According to this document *“the broadcasts of the Voice of America can once again be listened to at the wave length of Radio Petőfi. Up to 14–15 days ago we could totally cover the Voice of America by bringing in the Lakihegy 50 kw reserve station besides external jamming.”* Szirmai wrote on the basis of the information provided by the experts that the broadcast of the Voice of America is available again because a high-powered valve of the reserve station burnt out. The valve was ordered by the Hungarian Post from the Netherlands through Elektroimpex External Trade Corporation. The first valve did not work. *“Now there are new delays in the line of import.”* Szirmai asked Révai to talk to András Szobek, the secretary-general of the National Office of Public Supply *“considering the importance of the issue and for the sake of a stronger emphasis”* to have Elektroimpex directed to arrange the import quickly.

In his note Szirmai called attention to the fact that the valve reserves of The Hungarian Radio Office would only last until August 1951. (The valves were imported from England and the Netherlands by the Office). At the beginning of 1950 he informed Ernő, Minister of State, about this and made a proposal according to which one of the Hungarian factories should start *“urgently”* producing radio valves. Gerő directed that it would be Philips' task to arrange it. Szirmai expected that the production of valves would start at the beginning of 1951 but in the end, it could start only at the end of the year. Szirmai expressed his indignation because he had sent an order to Elektroimpex for valves but the order had not been filled since then. *“Fast arrangement is important because we are vulnerable to the fact that English valve exports directed to Hungary will be prohibited.”* This was an important motive for launching a national radio valve production process.

It was also written in the note that *“Jamming by hostile radio broadcasts and the decentralization of our broadcasts make necessary the setting up of a 20 ½ kilowatt transmission tower. The decentralization of our broadcasts makes it necessary to build a new low-duty transmission tower in Kaposvár and to replace the small antenna with a higher powered one in Miskolc.”* Szirmai urged in the document that setting up a new antenna and replacing the old one with a new antenna should be part of the development plan

³⁹ Note. 2 June 1952. MTVA KI. TD-322/2.

of the Hungarian Post. “I think” — he wrote — “that the production of small antennas is more and more urgent due to the political situation”.⁴⁰

Szirmai wrote a letter to Révai on the 26th of April 1951 in which he urged the jamming of short and medium wave broadcasts and pointed out that “the enemy is building medium wave transmission towers and wants to increase attacks on the medium wave”. At the same time, he considered an increase in the production of the telecommunication industry in Hungary important because the Standard could not satisfy the domestic demands. He suggested asking “advice and help” from the Soviet Minister of Post. “Jamming itself is possible only in collaboration with them” because “they have great experience and knowledge”.

For the sake of the success of jamming he called attention to the opportunity of using the Technical Center of O.I.R (International Radio Organization)⁴¹ whose task it was to measure the broadcasts of “all the European and Middle Eastern long, short and medium wave stations” and register their exact location.⁴²

However, the technical and financial possibilities were limited. The Hungarian Army asked for a permit from Szirmai in a document written at the beginning of 1953 to make a copy of “different noise records. The hum of an engine, rattle of weapons (gun, machine gun), thunder, the blast of a siren (raid warning)”⁴³ The Hungarian Radio stated in its answer: “We cannot fulfill your request for the rerecording of noise because of the shortage of raw material.”⁴⁴

The broadcasts of Radio Free Europe were jammed the most successfully of the western radio stations. The equipment used for jamming was installed on the territory of the radio stations of the Hungarian Post and they had the employees of the Post technically operate the equipment, thus saving a lot of money.

Jamming was effected using two different methods: by surface waves, local low-duty (0.2; 1.0 kw) antennas and by field waves from a greater distance, stronger, 15–100 kw capacity transmission towers. The ideal distance in the case of the field waves was a minimum of 80–100 kilometres. However, in this case it often happened that the antennas with a bigger (15 kw) capacity transmitted to Slovakia or the territory of the Soviet Union as well and vice versa. There were big capacity short wave-length (RH) jamming stations each with four 15 kw antennas in operation at the radio stations of Szolnok and Székesfehérvár. The jamming equipment was produced in Hungary.

Four jamming centers developed in the 1950s: besides the ones in Szolnok and Székesfehérvár there was one each in Diósd and in Budapest. The latter was in the

40 A note for Comrade Rákosi, 18 September 1950. MTVA KI. TD-322/3.

41 Organisation Internationale de Radiodiffusion: an organisation founded in 1946 (with a centre in Prague from 1949), directed by the Soviet Union. Its name was changed to OIRT (Organisation Internationale de Radiofusion et Télévision) later on. Its operation was stopped in 1992. http://www.ard.de/home/intern/fakten/abc-der-ard/Organisation_Internationale_de_Radiodiffusion/473040/index.html, [cit. 2016-07-29].

42 Dear Comrade Révai!, 26 April 1951. MTVA KI. TD-322/3.

43 To Comrade Szirmai from The Hungarian Radio. 6 January 1953. MTVA KI. Presidential correspondence (Elnökségi levelezés). box nr. 2.

44 Dear Comrades!, 10 January 1953. MTVA KI. Presidential correspondence (Elnökségi levelezés). box nr. 2.



management building of the Post (the building of the former Klotild Palace) in Petőfi Sándor street. The cover-name of the jamming system was Budapest 118 post office. There were further antennas operating in Pécs, Balatonszabadi, Nyíregyháza and Szombathely. The antenna of the Budapest jamming station was set up in the tower of the OTI (National Health Service).⁴⁵

* * *

Nevertheless, despite all of these efforts, the high-powered broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America could be received at a quite good quality almost everywhere in Hungary. The jamming of foreign broadcasts was stopped in the spring of 1964 as a part of the consolidation following 1956 and not in last place because of the insignificant success of jamming activity. After the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia the jamming antennas were reactivated for a while — they jammed the western broadcasts transmitted to Polish, Soviet and Czechoslovakian areas. The jamming of radio stations from Hungary was stopped for ever in 1979.⁴⁶

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⁴⁵ D. BALÁS, *Jamming in Hungary (1950–1979)*, in: *Almanac of Radio Technology*, 2002, pp. 170–175.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 11.