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WESTERN RADIO BROADCASTS TO SOVIET LITHUANIA 1950 – 1990

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**VILNIAUS UNIVERSITETAS
LIETUVOS ISTORIJOS INSTITUTAS**

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**VAKARŲ RADIO TRANSLIACIJOS
Į SOVIETINĘ LIETUVĄ 1950 – 1990 METAIS**

**Daktaro disertacija
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Western radio broadcasts were an effective tool of implementing Western states' policy during the Cold War. The authorities of the U.S. foreign policy-making realised early enough that the winning or losing of the Cold War will take place in the context of public opinion rather than be determined by the hostilities in the battlefield. Having realised the threat of communism, in the early stages of the Cold War the U.S. government supplemented the so-called restraint policy by a wide scope of special secret operations that were targeted at the liberation of Eastern Europe and overthrow of the Soviet government. Radio broadcasting operations which had to reach the states of the Soviet bloc through the Iron Curtain, were entrusted the mission of encouraging resistance to the firmly entrenched communist regime by means of radio waves. Having witnessed controversially interpreted historical moments at the beginning of their establishment and after the USA government had modified the goals set for radio broadcasts, in the middle of 1970's radio stations *Laisvoji Europa (Radio Free Europe)* and *Laisvė (Radio Liberty)* acquired the status of an instrument of public diplomacy. The concept of public diplomacy is defined as the government's attempts to access foreign states' audiences without keeping any international relations with the governments of those states. Although in implementing the goals of their foreign policy the USA refused propaganda as a means of fighting communism, however their attempts to affect the development of the societies of the Soviet bloc states remained an unconventional instrument in the ideological battle with the Soviet Union.

Western radio broadcasts have not been researched extensively in Lithuanian historiography. First and foremost, the analysis of U.S. radio station broadcasts to the Soviet Lithuania reveal the type of policy that the United States implemented during the Cold War in terms of its relations with Lithuania by means of public diplomacy rather than traditional diplomacy. Despite the officially declared policy of non-recognition of the annexation, the incorporation of the Lithuanian territory into the Soviet Union *de facto* restricted U.S. government's possibilities to implement any activity with respect to the occupied Baltic states by posing a threat to the bilateral relations with the USSR. Whereas acting by means of public diplomacy, essentially via radio broadcasts which provided an opportunity to avoid any direct contact with the Soviet government in this sphere, the USA had a chance to

contribute to Lithuania's gradual liberation from the Soviet Union's regime. Studies of Western radio broadcasts are important not only in analysing the policy implemented with regard to Lithuania but also in revealing fundamental processes of the society's development, differences of ideological indoctrination from those of other Soviet societies, the changing relationship of their members with the Soviet system, and also the position of the regime itself with regard to various threats. In addition, such a study would be significant in enabling further analyses of the impact of Western radio broadcasts on the Soviet Lithuania.

The analysis of the processes taking place in the Soviet Lithuanian society reveals that Western radio broadcasts produced for each state of the Baltic Bloc in their native languages motivated citizens' passive resistance, distrust in the Soviet regime as well as led to questioning its legitimacy and achievements. The view that during the Cold War the USA sought to affect the inner development of the Soviet Lithuania's society by means of radio broadcasts provides an opportunity to assess the policy of the non-recognition of the annexation of the Baltic States' territory in a different light and to analyse political and socio-cultural processes in the Soviet Lithuania's society from a new perspective.

Relevance of the topic. The relevance of the subject analysed is determined by the lack of research on Western radio broadcasts to the Soviet Lithuania. For the first time *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL)* corporate documents stored in the Hoover Institution have been made public which reveal the place of the Baltic States, including Lithuania in USA's foreign policy implemented at that time. At the dawn of the Cold War, the makers of U.S. national security policy, in forming the model of the war against communism by means of unconventional fighting measures had planned a certain role for Lithuania. The numerous studies by U.S. state institutions on the Soviet Lithuanian society and history that have been extensively used in this thesis as a reference point reveal the Anglo-Saxon assessment of those events which enriches the view that to this day is widespread in Lithuanian historiography.

Studies on the topic of the Cold War in the geopolitical scope carried out in the West and in Lithuania have been ample, therefore a parallel analysis on the level of ideology and

values helps acquire more profound understanding and re-evaluate the processes that took place at the time. Based on Professor Y. Richmond's argumentation regarding the collapse of the Soviet Union, the spread of Western ideas and values via radio channels was one of the crucial factors that led USSR to its dissolution. The Iron Curtain which prevented any spread of Western press or cultural exchange without the looming shadow of security services, was permeable to radio waves which at the early stages of the Cold War had already been used to spread information that was ideologically unwelcome and unfavourable to the USSR. The present work on Western radio broadcasts to the Soviet Lithuania and their effect is analysed from the perspective of the spread of ideas and values, taking into account their perception among local citizens and the Soviet government's response to them by means of ideological warfare.

In addition, the U.S. foreign policy implementation with respect to Lithuania in the context of public diplomacy has been very scarcely researched. The fact that by making use of radio station broadcasts the U.S. government sought to influence the development of the Soviet Lithuanian society's views shows that in addition to the policy of non-recognition of Lithuanian territory's annexation which was implemented throughout the whole period of the occupation, use was also made of non-traditional measures of diplomacy which had to contribute to the ultimate goal, i.e. the overthrow of the Soviet regime. The realisation of the relations between USA and the Soviet Lithuania in the framework of public diplomacy is a novel scholarly work adding to the field of studies of international relations during the Cold War. The novelty of the research is also determined by the fact that even in Western historiography, in which research on Western radio broadcasts draws considerably more attention than in Lithuania, radio broadcasts and their impact have been analysed by treating the Baltic States as a single entity without a detailed account of the specificity characteristic to each state in its own right. In this regard, the review of specific foreign broadcasts to the Soviet Lithuania fills a significant research gap. Especially great attention in this work is given to the analysis of the audiences of foreign radio broadcasts in the Soviet Lithuania which provides new insights into the development of a Soviet society, its relationship with

the regime and potential influence of external forces to its internal development and the study contributes to the area of Soviet societies' research.

The relevance of the study is also clear in the context of current geopolitical events when regime states gradually implement censorship policy of web space, radio waves become the most effective means of freely reaching the audiences that have been isolated from information by their local authorities.

The object of the research is U.S. radio broadcasts to the Soviet Lithuania in 1950 – 1990 which are investigated based on a complex source analysis.

The chronological boundaries in the thesis are established on the basis of the key moments in U.S. foreign policy and in the general geopolitical situation. In April 1950 an intensive propaganda programme *Campaign of Truth* was launched at the initiative of U.S. President H. Truman. The aim of the campaign was to strengthen their position in the information battle and counter the anti-Western propaganda spread by the Soviet regime. The Soviet Union, in its own turn, responded to the U.S. government's actions by broadcast suppression which they started the same year. On February 16, 1951, the first broadcast of *The Voice of America* (Lith. *Amerikos balsas*) of the Lithuanian language service opened the period of U.S. radio broadcasts specifically produced for the Soviet Lithuania which lasted more than half a century. The diachronic end point in the analysis is Lithuanian National Revival and the year of the declaration of independence, i.e. the time when radical changes were taking place in the country in terms of its political system and when its international status was not clearly defined. At that time the news broadcast via radio channels was particularly significant in informing Lithuanian citizens about the ongoing events and changes. Although *Radio Free Europe* and *Voice of America* produced programmes in Lithuanian until 2004 and 2003, respectively, after the Cold War ended and the barrier of free information flow removed, U.S. radio broadcasts played a secondary role both in informing Lithuanian citizens and in shaping their views. In the period under investigation, it is possible to distinguish the boundary of the middle of 1970's, when in 1974–1975 the U.S. government changed their perspective towards foreign audiences and refused brutal spread of propaganda in their use of political measures via radio channels. In 1974 a

solution was reached regarding another important issue that was debated for over two decades, i.e. the question of establishing the Lithuanian editorial office of the *Radio Liberty* which was constantly escalated by Lithuanian emigrants. On January 4, 1975, the Soviet Lithuania heard the first radio programme in its native language broadcast by the American radio that thereby directly conducted its foreign policy. Before that programmes in Lithuanian were produced only by the *Voice of America* and *Vatican Radio*. *Vatican Radio* broadcasts in Lithuanian are not analysed in this thesis for a few reasons. Firstly, its radio programmes were targeted at a specific audience, i.e. believers and their main goal was to promote the idea that faith can win over atheism. Secondly, until 1967 *Vatican Radio* programmes were broadcast irregularly, a few times per week, their length was up to 15 minutes and they did not have a tangible and systematic effect on the radio's audience. Treating radio broadcasts as an instrument of implementing the government's foreign policy, according to *Vatican Radio's* statute, a radio is not considered an official voice of the Holy See, therefore the content of its programmes is exclusively the responsibility of the radio. The decision not to include *Vatican Radio* broadcasts was also made having researched a survey of the Lithuanian radio audience in which *Vatican Radio* programmes are mentioned only episodically as well as KGB reports which mainly include USA radio stations' programmes in the list of Western broadcasts most perilous to the regime. However, this does not exclude the assumption that in prospective studies a more detailed analysis of *Vatican Radio* broadcasts could contribute to revealing the specificity of a significant element of the Soviet Lithuanian society.

Among the main radio stations that conducted consistent and systematic activity of conveying radio programmes to the USSR listed in Western historiography are *Voice of America*, *Radio Liberty*, *Radio Free Europe*, *BBC*, *Deutsche Welle* and *RIAS* (U.S. financed radio station that broadcast from Western Berlin to Eastern Germany). Of all these radio stations, programmes produced specifically to Lithuania were prepared only by those stations that were financed by the U.S. government. Therefore only these stations' programmes have been chosen for the analysis of the present study.

The term *Western radio broadcasts* in the thesis refers to programmes in the Lithuanian language targeted specifically at the Soviet Lithuanian society that were broadcast by radio stations established at the initiative of the USA. Apart from the *Voice of America*, *Radio Liberty*, and *Radio Free Europe*, Lithuanian audience were able to listen to the programmes of the *BBC* and *Deutsche Welle*, however, they were mainly targeted at the Soviet Union in general and broadcast in Russian. *Madrid Radio*, *Rome Radio* and the Catholic Radio *Veritas* that broadcast programmes in Lithuanian were established at the initiative of the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania the information centre of which prepared 15–20 minute programmes. Since the governments of Spain, Italy and Philippines contributed to the establishment of these radio broadcasts by only providing radio air and moral support to the occupied Lithuania the activity of these radio stations is not examined in this work. In those places of the research that tackle absolutely all Western radio broadcasts to Lithuania, the term *foreign radio broadcasts* is used. The concept *hostile voices*, a term used in the Soviet rhetoric as an equivalent that encodes the meaning of ideological charge of radio broadcasts, is used in the analysis of the Soviet government with Western radio broadcasts to USSR and the Soviet Lithuania. In 1976, having merged *Radio Free Europe* and *Radio Liberty* at the initiative of U.S. government, the new corporation acquired a new abbreviated name of *RFE/RL* (Lithuanian, LER/LR). In the analysis of the period after the merger of the radio stations, the abbreviation of the radio station name is used except for those cases which discuss an individual radio station. In addition, it is also relevant to discuss the concept of *Lithuanian editorial office*, which in the sense of the English bureaucratic term would mean *Lithuanian service*. Although direct translation from English would presuppose the usage of the term *service*, however, with respect to the organisational functions and meaning these services functioned more as language editorial offices, therefore this term is given priority and used in the present research. During the period of the Cold War, U.S. foreign policy did not differentiate between the Baltic States as separate countries and applied unanimous policy including the issue of the launching of radio broadcasts. For this reason, in discussing U.S. foreign policy the term *Baltic States* is equivalent to that of Lithuania only specifying those cases when the applied measures or a

position held with respect to Lithuania was different. The term *passive anti-Soviet activity* in this thesis is used to refer to the public's non-political activity which meant indirect resistance to the regime by questioning its legitimacy, achievements and protest against the order implemented by the regime which was manifest by resistance to Russification policy and fostering the hopes of Lithuanian independence. The passive anti-Soviet activity of the Soviet Lithuanian society was realised by listening to foreign radio programmes, reading literature banned by the USSR, telling anti-Soviet jokes, approval of the Western ideas and values as well as spreading them. In using the term of anti-Soviet activity it is important to highlight the difference between the motivation of a person's position which encompasses mostly moral values and the intentions of resistance. The concept of *public diplomacy* in the thesis is used in the classical sense of international relations which refers to the formation of foreign policy by affecting the public opinion in states bypassing their governments. The central concept in the conception of public diplomacy which is established in the research is the stream of information and ideas into Soviet societies with the goal of influencing their domestic development in helping shape the public opinion with respect to the regime. Because of its especially negative connotation and links with the Soviet rhetoric, the term *propaganda* is only used to refer to the measures taken by U.S. foreign policy during the early period of the Cold War. In other cases the activity of radio broadcasts is referred to by using the terms of transfer and dissemination of information.

Research aim and objectives. The aim of the thesis is to analyse U.S. radio broadcasts to the Soviet Lithuania, the reasons and problems of their establishment, their effect on the trends of the development of the society and the relation between the Soviet government and the phenomenon of foreign radio broadcasts.

In order to reach the aim, the following objectives have been set:

1. To review radio broadcasts as a tool of implementing U.S. foreign policy and to identify the peculiarities and goals of radio programming;
2. To analyse the problem of launching radio broadcasts of *Radio Free Europe* to the Soviet Lithuania by revealing the position of the U.S. government;

3. To determine the role of Lithuanian emigrants in the attempts to launch *Radio Free Europe* broadcasts;
4. To analyse *Radio Free Europe* broadcasts in the breaking points of the Lithuanian history, to examine the peculiarities of producing radio programmes;
5. To present the attitudes of foreign radio broadcast listeners in the Soviet Lithuania towards Western broadcasts, their listening habits and specify the influence of radio broadcasts on the society's passive resistance to the Soviet regime;
6. To discuss the attitudes of the Soviet government to broadcasts of hostile voices as a phenomenon directed against the communist ideology, to identify measures which were taken by the Soviet government in its fight against Western ideas.

Research methodology. To conduct the research, the methodologies of humanities and social sciences have been applied. The main tools applied are the method of problem-based analysis and the historical-descriptive method. Due to the historically determined situation of insufficient data available for such analyses, the section of the thesis which focuses on the audiences of Western radio stations does not use the quantitative method which is most suitable and traditionally applied in such cases. To analyse collected data, a combination of the comparative and statistical analysis methods is used which enables historical evaluation of the social indices.

Investigations of historical periods carried out to this day review the political development of relations between two super states and analyse in detail the policy of the Soviet regime both with respect to Western states and its implementation in Soviet republics and satellite states. A new wave of research into Sovietology assesses the Cold War from the perspective of the war between two ideological enemies, analysing the effect of the spread of ideas and values on the Soviet society or, in other words, as an ideological, psychological and cultural fight for the sake of "hearts and minds". The newly accessed and opened U.S. archival documents utilised for the research provide valuable information about the usage of nonconventional measures of war directed against the development of the communist ideology and the consolidation of the regime thereby enriching the understanding of the processes of the Cold War. In analysing the history of the Cold War it

is necessary to assess not only the tendencies of political relations and implementation of traditional diplomacy but also to evaluate the cultural and ideological aspects of propaganda and psychological war. All of these issues in U.S. public diplomacy research are revealed by classical, globally acknowledged scholarly works which are the key source in the present research.

In conducting the analysis of Western radio audience, in order to reveal the philosophical conception of the Soviet society and its life, use was made of the Soviet social and cultural history which had become a classical research source in this field. These works were valuable in disclosing the functioning of the mechanism of spreading ideas in the Soviet societies and the influence of the official ideology on the daily life of the society.

There are two dominant positions in Western historiography regarding the assessment of the role of *Radio Free Europe* and *Radio Liberty* in the implementation of USA foreign policy. One position considers *RFE/RL* operations as the continuation of the suppression policy, whereas the other treats access to radio station broadcasts to the Soviet Union and their satellite republics as a commitment of U.S. government's foreign policy to contribute to the liberation of the oppressed states. In both cases the mission entrusted to radio stations contributed to the aims of U.S. foreign policy and its implementation. The nature of *The Voice of America* radio was different since it was the only radio station in the USA which was directly and openly funded by the government. Even though all three radio stations – *Voice of America*, *Radio Free Europe* and *Radio Liberty* – were established as entities for the provision of information, by their very nature they were all different. The latter two were treated by the U.S. government as a political tool in the fight against communism used to implement secret operations. Different institutional subordination, mission and methods of programming directed towards the achievement of a common aim determined the prospective competition between stations which at times was especially fierce.

Together with President Eisenhower's new administration came the change in the rhetoric of the U.S. national security policy. The new policy of liberation and rollback of communism created conditions for the use of aggressive propaganda the outcome of which

would be the overthrow of the communist regimes. Non-conventional measures of war against communism such as propaganda, psychological warfare and secret operations were of crucial importance for the implementation of U.S. foreign policy in the early period of the Cold War. In the change of the U.S. security policy from Truman's advocated policy of containment to Eisenhower's policy of "liberation" the mission of radio broadcasts which implemented secret operations gained even greater significance in the war against Communism. In the 7th and 8th decades, when it had become clear that the measures of disinformation and manipulation for the sake of "propaganda" are contradictory to the democratic values advocated by the U.S. government, other ways of accessing the foreign states' audiences were started to be searched for. Having determined that the greatest potential for the changes in the social and political development in communist states could be reached by more educated members of the middle class in the society, a need occurred for the modification of producing new radio programmes. Having reviewed the activity of the United States' Information Agency and in providing recommendations for its improvement, the term *public diplomacy* was used for the first time in seeking to describe the government's attempts to reach foreign audiences without the mediation between the governments of these states. The transition to public diplomacy in the implementation of the U.S. foreign policy meant refusal of the propaganda ideas and tools. The measures of public diplomacy covered the usage of different tools in the implementation of foreign policy and reaching its aims. In 1976, by the decision of the Congress the radio stations *Radio Free Europe* and *Radio Liberty* were merged into one corporation. The geographical distribution of radio broadcasts remained unchanged.

At the end of 1951 the position of the U.S. State Department and National European Committee for Liberation regarding the establishment of the Baltic States' services of *Radio Liberty* changed, and the decision regarding the launching was not yet finalised. U.S. government questioned Baltic States' ability to resist the repressions and the process of Russification conducted by the Soviet regime. Having assessed mass deportations in the Baltic States implemented by the Stalinist regime, U.S. government representatives claimed that in the next five years Baltic nations would either be banished from their home lands or

destroyed, therefore according to them it was pointless to start broadcasting the programmes. In addition, there was a lot of fear that broadcasts by the *Radio Free Europe* could provoke resistance to the Soviet regime, which in its turn could lead to even harsher massacre of Baltic States' residents.

In 1971 the question of launching broadcasts to the Baltic States was again raised, however, this time emigrants from those countries who requested to initiate radio broadcasts addressed not the Committee of the *Radio Free Europe* but that of *Radio Liberty*. The united address of Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian immigrants was accepted by the Committee's officials in a favourable manner, although attention was drawn to the specificity of radio programmes of *Radio Liberty*. With respect to radio programming policy, *Radio Liberty* followed the non-predetermination principle and addressed the audience on behalf of former Soviet citizens. The principal rules of programming in *Radio Liberty*, which in a way presupposed the attribution of the occupied Baltic States to the Soviet Union, did not cause objections on the part of diaspora representatives. Emigrant members also agreed with the remark that in the fifth decade broadcasts in Baltic languages having established *Radio Liberty* were rejected in this station as a result of the fear that the U.S. stance with regard to the states' annexation illegitimacy would be compromised. The harmonised address of Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian émigrés was determined not only by the different situation of *Radio Liberty* as a tool of political fight against communism but also by the more active work of Baltic immigrants as well as more frequent violations of human rights in the USSR. The seventh decade which was highlighted by the détente policy and warmer relations between the USA and the USSR, raised immigrants' concerns that the improved relations between the USA and USSR would determine the acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the Baltic region's annexation. The constant negative response regarding the launching of the Baltic States' editorial office in of the *Radio Free Europe* in the background of détente scared diaspora members from the Baltic countries and they repeatedly addressed those institutions which had not given negative answers yet. The first programme in Lithuanian was aired in *Radio Liberty* on January 4, 1975.

In 1983, an independent Baltic States' editorial office of the *Radio Liberty* was established, which was followed by further administrative changes related to the openly demonstrated policy of the USA of not acknowledging the Baltic States' annexation. Charles H. Percy, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee offered to the board for international broadcasts that Baltic States services should be moved from *Radio Liberty* to the subordination of *Radio Free Europe*. The importance of the administrative transfer of the service was emphasised by the USA which never acknowledged the annexation of the Baltic States and which believed that it would lead to a more effective implementation of the foreign policy, therefore the activity of these states' radio services under the cover of programmes targeted at the audience of the Soviet Union was essentially defective. In addition, the broadcasts of *Voice of America* were produced in the department of European affairs rather than Russian affairs. Such a transfer of the Baltic States' editorial office to the department of *Radio Free Europe* would yet again clearly demonstrate the position of the USA not to acknowledge the incorporation of them to the body of the Soviet Union. Apart from highlighting the political will, the initiated structural change was logical with respect to the ongoing mission of *RFE/RL*. The historical, cultural and religious traditions of Baltic States' citizens clearly identified them as Europeans and they were associated with the West rather than East. Besides, the fact that Baltic States' citizens were in the intense process of Russification was no less important. The authorities of *RFE/RL* thought that if Balts were addressed in radio programmes as Europeans who have the right to self-determination, the radio would in all its sense become their authentic voice and will substantially contribute to the consolidation of their spiritual and moral standing.

Until the very end of the ninth decade the traditional content of the Baltic States' radio broadcasts consisted of such issues as emigrants' daily life and affairs, culture news, and relevant political affairs. The broadcasters of the Baltic editorial offices were hiding any anti-Russian positions and strict instructions from the radio authorities indicated that offensive positions or abuse on ethnic grounds were to be avoided in radio reports. When indicating the opponents of the Baltic States' independence, the broadcasts of *RFE/RL* focused on criticism directed towards Russian imperialism, communism as an idea as well

as functionaries of the local communist party. The distinction between “bad” communists of Russia and “good” communists of Lithuania was not drawn in radio programmes. At the end of 1980, after the start of more intense events in the Soviet Union and Lithuania, the administration of *RFE/RL* was forced to introduce some changes in the radio’s policy and the programme setup. A traditional programme of *RFE/RL* covered the news and reports on Lithuania/USSR politics, economy, social affairs, reviews of culture and cultural events. At the initiative of *RFE/RL* department of research and development, two reviews of programmes produced by the Lithuanian service were conducted every month.

Following the events in the Baltic States and especially in Lithuania during the revival period, *RFE/RL* authorities sought to develop the policy of radio programmes in advance in such a way that the statements broadcast by radio waves would not be understood as promotion of violence or an urge to resist the Soviet government in the Baltic States. Statements made by some activists of the Reform Movement of that time about the necessary armed or public resistance to any attempts of Moscow to renew the dictatorship in the state were treated as particularly irresponsible or even dangerous. According to *RFE/RL*, if Moscow resorted to the military force, Lithuanian citizens, motivated by such irresponsible statements could take measures of violence which would by no means get support from the West but would also provoke the Soviet Union to take even stricter measures to stifle the dissent. If the events turned this way, Western radio broadcasts would assume an especially responsible role of informing the public. In order to avoid the repetition of Hungary’s case, the authorities of *RFE/RL* paid a great deal of attention to the radio’s position and to the design of the programming policy in Lithuanian. Irresponsibly chosen information about an assumed or a clear resistance without revealing the full context or comment could make an impression on the part of the listeners that citizens are summoned to rebel against the government.

The actions of the authorities with respect to broadcasts to the Baltic States in such a politically significant moment showed that the possibility of using military force on the part of USSR was not utterly impossible. Even though *RFE/RL* did not refuse its mission to passively participate in the events of the Baltic States as a tool of public diplomacy, its key

function was to maintain the non-violent form of resistance to the Soviet regime. Director of *RFE/RL* Robert Gillette ordered Baltic States editors that in case public statements regarding non-passive resistance attracted noticeable attention from the public, in their comments *RFE/RL* editorial offices should emphasise the advantages of a peaceful civil disobedience which has superior moral power. Among role models and examples were mentioned Mahatma Ghandi, Martin Luther King, the Polish movement *Solidarity*, and peaceful revolutions in Eastern Europe that took place in 1989.

The ideological influence on the Soviet audience which had to lead USSR society to its liberation and discrediting the communist ideology was one of the major goals of the secret operations conducted by the U.S. government, therefore the distribution of the categories of listeners' age, sex, education, place of residence and region played an essential role in radio broadcasts programming design.

The research of Western radio audiences in the Soviet Union was carried out by the department of Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research which was in charge of *RFE/RL*, however, factual surveys were conducted by independent research institutes, which ensured that the results were neutral and no prejudices with regard to a particular broadcaster were present. The key indices to be measured were the size of the audience that listened to Western radio broadcasts as well as listeners' behaviour patterns. Making use of these parameters, the authorities of these radios were able to modify the character of radio programming, to design the content of the information provided and to observe the potential influence of radio broadcasts in the context of ideological opposition. It is important to stress that based on the methodology and the amount of information available at that time individual persons' surveys conducted by *Radio Liberty* audience and opinion research department was not adequate to what is in the contemporary sense considered proper public opinion research.

The professional distribution of the Western radio audience in Lithuania was very diverse. It consisted of engineers, teachers, journalists, librarians, writers, tractor-drivers, joiners, housewives. The surveys of tourists Lithuanian travellers showed that the dominant part of the Western radio audience consisted of members of the intelligentsia, part of the

Soviet society. This segment of the society was the greatest power giving momentum to “citizens’ intellectual evolution”. The information transmitted from the West by the “hostile voices” which was taken over by this particular part of the Soviet society posed a threat to maintaining the whole Soviet ideology and its morals and could gradually lead to the collapse of the Soviet Union. Surveys of persons from Lithuania made use of by *Radio Liberty’s* audience research department did not reveal clear tendencies of the age categories of Western radio listeners. Such a vague situation regarding age groups was determined by the methods used for the collection of information. First of all, the dominant group of people from the Soviet Union to leave to capitalist countries were age 30 – 49, mostly men, urban residents, members of the communist party. Youngsters who did not have any possibilities to go abroad were excluded from surveying, therefore the age of radio audience was not measured accurately and did not reflect the actual situation in the Soviet Lithuania. In addition, no less important is the fact that the possibilities to go to Western countries mostly lay with people who had expressed loyalty to the Soviet regime, which naturally presupposed that their attitudes were favourable with regard to the socialist system and prejudices against Western radio broadcasts. The surveys showed that the largest part of U.S. radio stations audience was the generation that still remembered the period of the independent Lithuania, survived the forced occupation of the Soviet government, the repressions and citizens’ land expropriated conducted by the regime. It was this segment of the society that could passively fight the communist ideology indoctrination by receiving and accepting information broadcast by Western radio waves thereby contributing to the passive resistance to the Soviet regime.

Although due to insufficient scope of the research the surveys targeting listeners from the Soviet Lithuania which were performed in the seventh and eighth decades could not provide reliable data on the size and segments of the audience of Western radio, however, it revealed quite surprising valuable information about listeners’ habits, for example, collective listening to foreign radio in a factory workshop.

The group of the Soviet society which was allowed to travel to the West was demographically and ideologically distorted, therefore U.S. scholars that carried out

audience studies had to apply specific methods in order to determine a realistic picture of the USSR residents. Having used a complex mass media communicator computer simulation model designed by Massachusetts Institute of Technology, surveys were carried out in 1972 – 1990 including over 50,000 people from the Soviet Union.

The first analysis devoted specifically to the audience of the Baltic States by applying the new method was conducted at the request of *RFE/RL* before launching Radio Liberty broadcasts in October 1974. A study was carried out which treated the Baltic region as a single unit which revealed that the audience of *RFE/RL* in these republics was considerably smaller than in other parts of the USSR since they did not broadcast in their native languages and the content of radio programmes was closer to the Russian audiences rather than those of the Baltic states. Thorough review of individual listeners' surveys revealed that listeners frequently requested to broadcast programmes in their native Baltic languages as well as their disappointment that *RFE/RL* drew so little attention to this region. In addition, negative attitudes were noticed to Russians as a result of the fear of Russification. Respondents from the Baltic States expressed their wish to be able to hear more information on the radio about the lives of western émigrés and to learn more about the history of the 20th century Baltic States.¹ In the Soviet Lithuania *Radio Liberty* programmes in Russian were listened to less than in the rest of the Soviet Union. The low rates of listening to the radio station were mostly affected by the fact that there were no broadcasts in Lithuanian. In the period between 1972 and 1974 in the Baltic States 75 percent of the surveyed people from the Baltic States living in the West listened to Western radio stations. The first in the list was *Voice of America* which broadcast programmes produced specifically for Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in their national languages. Like the previous year, those who listened to USA radio broadcasts regularly first of all sought to learn the global news, to hear political analyses of the ongoing affairs and to find out about life in the West. Much less listeners' attention was given to samizdat readings as well as technical/economic news. Baltic States' audience showed more than twice greater interest in programmes of political analyses broadcast by *Voice of America* in comparison to other

¹ The study of the audience and opinion research department of the Soviet region of Radio Liberty "Radio Liberty and Western broadcasts to the republics of the Baltic union". Ibid. b. 1673.7, l. 1.

regions of the Soviet Union. Extensive interest in political affairs and their interpretations broadcast by USA radio waves bore witness that the residents of the Western region of the Soviet Union border were more aware and politically more educated. Observing geopolitical tendencies they had an opportunity to see the drawbacks of the Soviet Union as a system and to start assess it critically. One more feature of the Baltic States compared to other USSR regions that listened to *Radio Liberty* and *Voice of America* was greater interest in programmes about life in the West. The wish to learn how Lithuanians lived abroad was determined by the extent of emigrants that lived in the United States, when each Lithuanian resident had relatives with whom they could not keep any contacts due to the policy applied by the regime. The willingness to learn about the world which the Soviet government tried to discredit by all possible means, and the free world in which their relatives lived also encouraged critical evaluation of the Soviet system which led to greater dissatisfaction with the regime.

A study of Baltic States' audience carried out in 1974 revealed new data in the demographic character of *Radio Liberty* and *Voice of America* listeners. It demonstrated that in the category of listeners aged 16 – 29 only 13 percent of the respondents from the Baltic States listened to *Radio Liberty* in Russian. In the group of people aged 30 – 49, 33 percent of the respondents listened to these radios, whereas in the category of the Baltic respondents age 50 and above, the percentage of listeners was 43 percent. Meanwhile the programmes in national languages broadcast by *Voice of America* were listened to by the majority of people over forty years old the dominant part of whom were members of other than the communist party. The grounds for greater acceptance on the part of the Baltic State audience to the broadcasts of *Voice of America* lie in the fact that the programmes were produced in their native languages. Local residents of the Soviet Lithuania who held negative attitudes towards the ongoing Russification avoided listening to programmes in the Russian language.

The low extent of young people's listening to radio programmes revealed by surveys was determined by their inability to travel to capitalist countries, as a result they were excluded from the statistical sample of surveyed people from the Baltic countries living in

the West. The second reason that determined non-popularity of *Radio Liberty's* programmes among young people was the content of the broadcast programmes. Fierce criticism of communism, programmes full of political commentaries and the absence of music and entertainment programmes considerably reduced the attractiveness of *Radio Liberty* to youth. The goal of U.S. radio stations was to raise the next generation's doubts regarding the Soviet regime. This had to weaken the regime in the future therefore by launching radio broadcasts to the Baltic nations in their mother tongues the radio's authorities sought to attract as many young listeners as possible.

Slow and consistent educational work of Western radios which reached the record indices in the number of audience size contributed to the process of raising Lithuanian residents' national awareness and the development of self-determined society. Non-Soviet society which lived in the Soviet system but managed to disapprove it and even to establish its own order in its closest environment was dangerous to the totalitarian regime, since in the authoritarian society the regime sought to control everything, including the matters of private life. A self-determined society led the Lithuanian society to the Reform movement (*Sąjūdis*) and ultimately to the state's liberation from the totalitarian oppression.

The main function of monitoring programmes broadcast to the Soviet Union from foreign radios both at the union and state levels was performed by the KGB. The Soviet security services conducted regular analyses of radio programmes' content and reported them to the USSR Central Committee of the Communist Party. In addition, KGB also conducted monitoring of the Soviet Union-wide coverage, i.e. it reported on foreign radio's attempts to affect the Soviet society and suggested what political measures should be taken as a response. Security reports given directly to the republic's first secretary included detailed analyses of the content of radio programmes indicating which particular programmes were inhibited and why. Radio programme suppression was given particular attention by carefully listening to the information broadcast and by minutes' accuracy blocking those particular moments in the programmes which transmitted information which was controversial or unacceptable to the Soviet regime.

Apart from direct activity against Western radio broadcasts and their employees, Soviet security also performed the role of ideological education of the society both at the union and state levels. The activity of fighting against anti-Soviet information spread by foreign radio broadcasts was controlled by department 5 of KGB², which was a division of the Soviet security for political persecution. One of the functions of the division was the fight of “ideological sabotage” and Western states’ attempts to transform the socialist system into the capitalist system.³ Western radio broadcasts posed direct threat to the communist ideology, however, Soviet security was interested in “hostile voices” only in the background of other ideological threats not listing the fight against capitalist ideology spreaders via radio channels as its primary task.

KGB received the information about the audience of foreign radio from employees of the agency’s network, the reports produced by reliable persons who were responsible for the control of the relations with émigrés and their organisations, data of post control service as well as questioning people or performing preventive actions by asking the question regarding listening to the “hostile voices”. Another source that provided direct information on foreign states audience were letters addressed to the editorial offices of foreign radio stations which were intercepted by Soviet security services. It is fair to mention, though, that apart from exceptional cases, mail interception was not a special operational activity of the KGB but a massive technical lustration procedures performed by hired employees in the central post office. The habit to turn on Western radio stations was noted and registered and could, if necessary, in the future be used against a person who listened to it. The Soviet Union never had a specific criminal article providing for liability for the activity of listening to “hostile voices”. The main articles of the USSR Criminal Code Article 58-10 “Propaganda and Agitation Containing a Call for the Overthrow of Soviet Authority” and Article 190 “Dissemination of Knowingly False Fabrications that Defame the Soviet State

² The KGB 5th Department was formed on the basis of the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the USSR Council of Ministers “On the establishment of independent subdivisions of counterintelligence in the KGB and its bodies to combat ideological sabotage”. Respective departments were established in all Soviet republics. The goal of the new security service and its divisions was the ideological counterespionage, fight against “ideological sabotage“ in the Soviet Union and abroad. In March 1979 the department was renamed into the 5th Service.

³Anušauskas A. KGB veikla Lietuvoje. P. 40.

and Social System” were not applied to persons for listening to radio programmes but rather they were treated as criminal activity directed against the Soviet government.

The Soviet security services did not possess or use accurate information about the actual listening rates to foreign radio in USSR and Lithuania. The head of the KGB 5th department received the information from various districts of the republic regarding registered cases of listening to Western radio with the purpose of spreading anti-Soviet propaganda. There was no systematic collection of data conducted by the Soviet security regarding the audiences of foreign radio and the conclusions about the sizes of such audiences were drawn based on random cases. Due to this reason KGB ideological counterintelligence service also had no possibilities to model listener categories. However, in their reports, they stressed a clear tendency of Lithuanian youth and members of the intelligentsia to listen to Western radio programmes.

Soviet security services’ activity directed against U.S. radio stations was not limited to the prevention of ideological diversity and strengthening ideological education in Lithuania. In the general activity of counterespionage the 4th division of the second chief directorate, with the help of agency network, collected data about the people who worked in radio stations’ editorial offices, channels of collecting information from the Soviet Lithuania, with the help of tourism control they controlled the movement of persons linked with the activity of radio stations. In order to penetrate Western states’ systems and organisations, Soviet security services made use of extensive network of agencies in foreign countries. Since KGB had and utilised the information that *Radio Free Europe* and *Radio Liberty* committees and the radio stations were operating with the participation of the CIA, these were the key objects that caused Soviet security services’ interest in their carrying out the objectives of counterintelligence and clarification of the enemy’s plans.

In KGB reports the negative effect of radio programmes in Lithuanian on the society was named as a constant defamation of the Soviet system, incitement of nationalist moods and spreading distrust and hate of the socialist system. Greatest concerns on the part of the Soviet government lay in the fact that the information transmitted in Lithuanian on *Voice of America* affected politically immature people, i.e. students who, led by the nationalist spirit,

rebelled against the Soviet political system. The material collected from different regions of Lithuania that reached KGB revealed that youngsters who regularly listened to the programmes of *Voice of America* gathered into anti-Soviet groups and that there were other anti-Soviet activities in the Soviet Lithuania such as raising the Lithuanian flag, celebrating the 16th of February, and dissemination of anti-Soviet proclamations. All the anti-Soviet offensive behaviour was treated by the security as a result of listening to foreign radio since all the accused offenders admitted having systematically listened to radio programmes in Lithuanian.⁴ The Soviet government had already received signals about the gaps in the ideological education of young people in Lithuania. When a student survey was carried out in the spring of 1956 by the Lithuanian Communist Youth Organisation, some young people were found who had been dangerously isolated from the Soviet life despite the fact that they lived in the general political education system which clearly was unable to penetrate youth groups. Dissociation from the Soviet system revealed itself in supporting Canadian or the USA teams in Olympic winter games rather than the USSR, a major part of the surveyed students could not indicate the main political postulates of the 20th congress of the communist party, they did not read material disseminated by the party, newspapers, whereas some youngsters were not even able to tell the name of the first secretary of the communist party.⁵ Foreign radio broadcasts which accompanied the obvious problems regarding ideological work with the Soviet youth and which constantly shed light on such issues as economic failures in rural regions, shortages in food products, inevitably became the main source of information for Lithuanian residents. The Soviet government registered signals about the massive scope of people listening to radio programmes as early as the first broadcasts of programmes in the Lithuanian language on *Voice of America*, however, the measures chosen to solve the problem focussed more on of the form rather than the content of the problem. The department of agitation and propaganda ordered to immediately change the time of the most popular Soviet programmes so that it would overlap with foreign radio broadcasts. It was no coincidence that it was the first republic of the Soviet Lithuania that

⁴ Lietuvos KGB pirmininko pavadootojo Vaigausko 1974 m. balandžio 3 d. raštas miestų ir rajonų skyrių vadovams. LYA f. K-41, ap. 1. b. 714, l. 10.

⁵ Amir Weiner, *Foreign Media, the Soviet Western Frontier, and the Hungarian and Czechoslovak Crises*, p. 302.

on the 20th of December 1962, at 9 p.m. the central radio station started broadcasting a programme reviewing foreign radio broadcasts. Making use of counter-propaganda and the decision to air these radio programmes at the same time in order to combat foreign radio broadcasts the Soviet government did not take into consideration the main reason why residents of the Western region of the Soviet Union regularly turned on their radio receivers to listen to the programmes from the other side of the iron curtain. The majority of citizens of the Soviet Lithuania (as well as other regions of the Soviet Union) listened to foreign radio broadcasts fundamentally because of the type of information they could receive and because of the content of the programmes. Meanwhile the Soviet government paid no attention to the material provided in the programmes of Soviet radios. The programmes were produced with the aim to perform the ideological function delegated by the party rather than make the listener interested. Having assessed the constantly growing number of the audience listening to foreign radio in the Soviet Lithuania it is evident that the measures taken by the government to fight the hostile voices were ineffective.

At the beginning of the Cold War, when the U.S. government assessed the development of communism as a threat to the national security, a strategy of taking measures of a political war was legally approved which included the usage of secret operations of psychological effect (which also encompassed radio broadcasts). Radio stations *Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe* established in 1951 and financed by CIA, which started broadcasts to the Soviet Union and Eastern European states, performed the function of a tool of implementing the foreign policy. During their first year of activity the radio stations which implemented intense activity directed against communist regimes, due to ambiguous actions when broadcasting to the satellite socialist republics of Eastern Europe received fierce criticism both from the Soviet Union and U.S. Congress. In 1974, when U.S. government had changed their view to radio stations as a tool of implementing foreign policy and having moved to open financing of the stations from the general budget, they further conducted their activity in the framework of public diplomacy. Even though *Voice of America*, which represented the official politics of the U.S. government, throughout the whole period of radio broadcasts did not perform the function of a direct

instrument of the government's policy, its broadcasts to the states of the socialist bloc and communist regime in their native languages nevertheless played a significant role in the ideological war by spreading Western ideas. The programmes of *RFE/RL* were produced based on the conception of an "alternate radio" established outside the target territory but maintaining the functions of a local broadcaster. In this way Soviet audiences were able to receive timely reports about ongoing events concealed by the Soviet government as well as hear their western interpretation. Those radio programmes that were produced to the specific state to which they were broadcast were aimed at obtaining listeners' acceptance which was only possible by maintaining an objective tone of the programmes as well as solid understanding of the inner processes that were taking place in the state. Criticism of the communist regime, review of global events, broadcasts about life in the West and reminding the historical facts of the independent Lithuania in *Radio Liberty's* programmes contributed to shaping Soviet Lithuanian society's views toward the regime.

Having confirmed its decision to launch *Radio Free Europe* radio broadcasts to Eastern and Central European countries, USA State Department included the Baltic States into that list. Preparatory works of establishing the Lithuanian editorial office and hiring staff were started. Due to the difference in the views of the State Department, CIA and Free Europe Committee with regard to the need of broadcasts to the Soviet Lithuania, in 1951 it was decided to defer any decision related to *Radio Free Europe* broadcasts to the Baltic States. Such a resolution provoked a wave of protests by groups of emigrants from the Baltic States in the United States. As a compensation for not launching radio broadcasts alongside the earlier established editorial office in New York (which was moved to Washington) a second Lithuanian editorial office of the *Voice of America* was established in Munich which produced individual programmes. The U.S. government put aside the issue of *RFE/RL* broadcasts to the Baltic countries for two decades. With the change in the goals of the foreign policy, the appearance of the necessary funding and with Baltic States' emigrants raising the question of radio broadcasts in state institutions, in 1974 a decision was made to establish a Lithuanian editorial office in the *RFE/RL* service. Due to institutional differences and the geographic orientation of the broadcasts specifically to the

Soviet Union, the launching of the broadcasts could be considered as a change in U.S. policy of non-recognition of Baltic States' occupation and annexation. The main reasons why broadcasts to the Baltics were considered by the U.S. government to be inexpedient were the shortage of financing sources and lack of information from the Baltic countries which did not let proper implementation of the aims of *RFE/RL* broadcasts. With respect to the dynamics of the non-recognition policy, throughout the whole period of the occupation the broadcasts of the Lithuanian service of *Voice of America* demonstrated a strong position held by the U.S. government regarding the situation of the Baltic States.

An important role in the launching of *RFE/RL* broadcasts to the Baltic countries was played by political actors representing Baltic émigrés who addressed all the highest U.S. officials in the attempt to convince them that Radio Free Europe broadcasts to the occupied Baltic states were fundamental. The most active were Lithuanian emigrants who lived in America and not the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, *Santara-Šviesa* (Accord-Light) or the Diplomatic Service. This was determined by the fact that Lithuanian-born Americans who has established themselves and their lives had possibilities to access high-post politicians. In their turn, Lithuanian emigrant organisations were busy with the activity of direct liberation of Lithuania. Launching broadcasts in the framework of *Radio Liberty* also meant certain refusal by Lithuanian emigrants of their ambitions, since for two decades they had expressed their requests only regarding *Radio Free Europe* broadcasts to the Soviet Lithuania. The main organisations that raised the issue of radio broadcasts to the Baltic countries were the Joint Lithuanian America National Committee, The Committee for Free Lithuania, Detroit Lithuanians, and American Lithuanian Women's Alliance.

The broadcasts of *Radio Free Europe* and *Voice of America* gained special significance in the breaking point of Lithuanian history. During the Lithuanian national revival period, in the rapid unfolding of intense political events while the Soviet government still implemented information censorship, Western radio broadcast became the main source of news for the Lithuanian society. This also imposed great responsibility on radio stations to pay careful attention to programming in order to prevent the expression of active resistance to the regime. Political affairs reviewed and presented in radio broadcasts

from the Western perspective contributed to the development of the self-determined Lithuanian society which led to unconditional quest for independence. Telephone journalism which was started to be implemented at that period by Lithuanian radio editorial offices and which broadcast voices from Lithuania provided moral support in the critical moments of history.

The survey conducted by *RFE/RL* of USSR audience habits of listening to foreign radio provided to radio authorities information about the Soviet Union society and allowed the evaluation of the effectiveness and availability of necessary programmes overcoming radio signal attenuation conducted by the Soviet government. Even though over two-decade long survey research conducted on USSR citizens' limited possibilities to travel abroad were not fully representative in contemporary opinion research sense, it allowed the radio authorities to focus on more accurate content of radio programmes and to draw approximate inferences regarding the scope of the Soviet audience. A few hundred of the surveyed Lithuanian residents claimed that listening to foreign radio was widely spread in the Soviet republic. Based on the data collected in the surveys, a typical foreign radio listener was a middle-aged educated man, urban resident, typically a member of the intelligentsia. The main segment of the Soviet Lithuanian society that listened to Western radio stations consisted of educated people, i.e. those people that pushed forward the development of the society. These people also belonged to the generation that still remembered independent Lithuania and saw the repressions imposed by the Soviet regime, land nationalisation, and establishment of collective farms. Western radio programmes that reached this audience contributed to maintaining people's the national awareness as well as resistance to the Soviet regime.

Soviet government's response to Western radio broadcasts was not restricted to the development of an expensive system of radio signal attenuation and the implementation of radio censorship. From as early as late fifties Soviet security services made use of the information on listening to hostile voices which was widely spread in the Soviet society. Such behaviour was treated by the regime as anti-Soviet, as posing a threat to the communist ideology and as manifesting itself by nationalist attacks. Based on information

collected, the main listeners of the hostile voices were young people, that segment of the society that had not yet formed strong political views and that was most sensitive to ideological influence. The Soviet security received information confirming the high rates of foreign radio listening among young people until the very end of the ninth decade. The main measures in trying to prevent the influence of the hostile voices on the Soviet Lithuanian residents was strengthening of the ideological education of young people performed in secondary schools and higher education institutions. Operative measures directed by the Soviet government against foreign radio broadcasts were realised by the surveillance of *RFE/RL* and *VOA* editorial offices in the West as well as their relatives in the Soviet Lithuania as well as collecting information regarding the plans of activity of the editorial offices. Having assessed the massive extent of foreign radio listening in the Soviet Lithuania the measures taken by the security services were insufficient to properly prevent the spread of the Western ideas and values in society.

In comparison to other USSR regions, citizens of the Soviet Lithuania were more receptive and sensitive to the information reaching them from the West than in the rest of the Soviet Union. Just like to other states of the Western border of USSR, U.S. radio broadcasts to the residents of the Soviet Lithuania had special significance which not only bore witness that the West did not recognise the illegitimacy of the Soviet annexation but it also encouraged the anti-Soviet moods of the passive resistance to the regime.

Disertacijos reziumė

Vakarų radijo transliacijos buvo efektyvus Vakarų valstybių politikos įgyvendinimo instrumentas Šaltojo karo metais. JAV užsienio politikos formuotojai pakankamai anksti suvokė, jog Šalto karo laimėjimas arba pralaimėjimas įvyks visuomenės nuomonės plotmėje, o ne karinių veiksmų pagalba kovos lauke. JAV vyriausybė ankstyvuojau Šaltojo karo laikotarpiu suvokusi komunizmo grėsmę nacionaliniam saugumui taip vadinamą Tramdymo strategiją papildė plačiu spektru specialiųjų slaptų operacijų turėjusiu privesti prie Vidurio ir Rytų Europos išlaisvinimo ir komunistinės valdžios išstūmimo. Radijo transliacijų operacijoms, turėjusioms per geležinę uždangą pasiekti sovietinio bloko valstybes buvo priskirta tiesos sakymo misija bei sukliudyti komunizmo ideologijos įsigalėjimui. Laisvosios Europos (toliau LER) ir Laisvės (toliau LR) radijo stotys savo veiklos pradžioje išgyvenusios nevienareikšmiškai vertinamų istorinių momentų bei JAV vyriausybei modifikavus radijo transliacijoms keliamus uždavinius aštuntojo dešimtmečio viduryje įgavo viešosios diplomatijos (public diplomacy) priemonės statusą.

Plačiąja prasme tyrimo objektu įvardijamos Vakarų užsienio politikos įgyvendinimo priemonės taikytos sovietinės Lietuvos atžvilgiu, pasireiškusios per radijo transliacijas. Šių priemonių analizė apima du aspektus: 1) JAV radijo transliacijų kaip užsienio politikos priemonės taikymo apžvalgą; 2) Užsienio radijo transliacijų skirtų konkrečiai sovietinės Lietuvos atvejui analizę ir įvertinimą. Objektų aprėptis tarptautinių santykių ir sociokultūrinių procesų kontekste reikalauja priemonių ir veikėjų sukonkretinimo. Vakarietiškoje historiografijoje pagrindinėmis Vakarų radijo stotimis vykdytosiomis nuoseklią ir sistemine laidų transliavimo į SSRS veiklą nukreiptą prieš komunistinį režimą, įvardijamos Amerikos balsas, Laisvės radijas, Laisvosios Europos radijas, BBC, Deutsche Welle (toliau DW) ir RIAS (JAV finansuojama radijo stotis transliavusi iš Vakarų Berlyno į Rytų Vokietiją). Tarp šių radijo stočių laidas kuriamas specialiai Lietuvai rengė tik JAV vyriausybės finansuojamos radijo stotys. Tai nulėmė, kad tyrimo pirmojoje ir antrojoje dalyje analizuojamos tik Amerikos balso, Laisvosios Europos ir Laisvės radijo stotys. Tyrimo objektas atskleidžiamas ne tik politiniu bet ir socialiniu lygmeniu, kadangi radijo

transliacijos ne tik atspindėjo JAV užsienio politikos tendencijas, bet ir turėjo poveikį visuomenės vidinei raidai. Trečiojoje darbo dalyje tyrimo objektas apima visas sovietinio Lietuvos teritorijoje girdėtas užsienio radijo stotis. JAV radijo stočių transliacijų į sovietinę Lietuvą analizė visų pirma atskleidžia Šaltojo karo laikotarpiu Jungtinių Valstijų vykdytą politiką Lietuvos atžvilgiu ne tradicinės diplomatijos, o viešosios diplomatijos priemonėmis. *De facto* Lietuvos teritorijos inkorporavimas į Sovietų Sąjungos sudėtį, nepaisant skelbtos aneksijos nepripažinimo politikos, varžė JAV vyriausybės galimybes vykdyti bet kokią veiklą okupuotų Baltijos šalių atžvilgiu, nes kėlė grėsmę dvišaliams santykiams su SSRS. Tuo tarpu veikdama per viešosios diplomatijos priemones (pvz. radijo transliacijas), kurios suteikė galimybę išvengti tiesioginių kontaktų su sovietine vyriausybe, JAV turėjo galimybę prisidėti prie Lietuvos laisvės išsivadavimo iš Sovietų Sąjungos režimo kontrolės. Vakarų radijo transliacijų tyrimai svarbūs ne tik analizuojant Lietuvos atžvilgiu vykdytą politiką, bet ir atskleidžiant šalyje vykusius giluminius visuomenės raidos procesus, ideologinės indoktrinacijos skirtumus kitose komunistinėse visuomenėse bei jų besikeičiantį santykį su sovietine sistema, pačio režimo požiūrį į tokio pobūdžio grėsmes. Taip pat tyrimas įgalintų tolimesnes Vakarų radijo transliacijų poveikio Lietuvos sovietinei visuomenei analizes. Tyrimo objektas apima ir Lietuvos visuomenėje vykusius procesus. Jų analizė atskleidžia, jog Vakarų radijo transliacijos, kurios parengtos individualiai kiekvienai sovietinio bloko valstybei nacionalinėmis kalbomis, skatino pasyvią gyventojų rezistenciją, nepasitikėjimą sovietiniu režimu bei kvestionavo jo teisėtumą bei pasiekimus. Požiūris, jog Šaltojo karo metais JAV radijo transliacijomis siekė paveikti sovietinės Lietuvos visuomenės vidinės raidos pokyčius suteikia galimybę kitaip įvertinti Jungtinių valstijų vykdytą Baltijos šalių teritorijos aneksijos nepripažinimo politiką bei naujai pažvelgti į sovietinės Lietuvos visuomenėje vykusius politinius bei sociokultūrinius procesus.

Šaltojo karo pradžioje, informacinės visuomenės išvakarėse, buvo pirmą kartą panaudotos informacijos sklaidimo radijo bangomis priemonės jų pagalba siekiant stabdyti komunizmo plitimą bei demaskuoti jo melagingą pobūdį. JAV radijo transliacijos į sovietinę Lietuvą taip pat demonstravo aktyvią jos aneksijos nepripažinimo politiką. Nuoseklus ir sistemingas informacijos perdavimas iš Vakarų paliko savo pėdsaką Lietuvos

visuomenės tautinės savimonės formavimosi ir pasyvaus pasipriešinimo režimui raidoje. Pagrindinė tyrimo problema – išsiaiškinti, kaip JAV Šaltojo karo metais kovoje su komunizmu naudotos politinio karo ir viešosios diplomatijos priemonės – radijo transliacijos – atspindėjo Lietuvos okupacijos nepripažinimo politiką bei veikė jos sovietinės visuomenės politinę ir sociokultūrinę raidą.

Darbo tikslas – ištirti kaip JAV radijo transliacijos į sovietinę Lietuvą atspindėjo jos užsienio politikos Lietuvos atžvilgiu dinamiką bei apžvelgti užsienio radijo transliacijų santykį su visuomene ir sovietine valdžia. Chronologinės ribos darbe prasideda nuo JAV prezidento iniciatyvos skirtos paremti užsienio politikos veiksmus, o baigėsi pirmaisiais nepriklausomybės metais atgavus Lietuvai nepriklausomybę. 1950 m. balandžio mėn. JAV prezidento H. Trumeno iniciatyva pradėta intensyvi propagandos programa pavadinta „Tiesos kampanija“, kuria buvo siekiama stiprinti informacinę kovą su sovietinio režimo skleidžiama antivakarietiška propaganda. Savo ruožtu Sovietų Sąjunga į JAV vyriausybės veiksmus atsakė tais pačiais metais pradėtu radijo transliacijų slopinimu. 1951 m. vasario 16 d. pirmoji Amerikos balso lietuvių kalbos redakcijos transliacija pradėjo daugiau kaip pusę amžiaus trukusią JAV radijo transliacijų rengtų specialiai sovietinei Lietuvai epopėją. Tyrimo pabaiga pasirinkti Atgimimo bei Lietuvos nepriklausomybės paskelbimo metai, kuomet radikaliai besikeičiant vidaus padėčiai bei Lietuvai atkuriant nepriklausomą valstybę, radijo kanalais pranešamos naujienos buvo itin svarbios Lietuvos gyventojams. Nors Laisvosios Europos radijas ir Amerikos balsas laidas lietuvių kalba rengė iki atitinkamai 2004 ir 2003 m., pasibaigus Šaltajam karui ir nelikus kliūčių laisvam informacijos srautui, JAV radijo transliacijos atliko antraeilį vaidmenį informuojant Lietuvos gyventojus ir formuojant jų pasaulėžiūrą. Siekiant atskleisti politinio karo reikšmę JAV nacionalinio saugumo strategijoje chronologiškai žengiama į Šaltojo karo pradžią, 1947 – 1948 metus, kuomet buvo reglamentuotas slaptųjų operacijų panaudojimas kovoje su komunizmo plėtra. Nagrinėjamu laikotarpiu išskiriama aštuntojo dešimtmečio vidurio riba, kuomet 1974 – 1975 m. JAV vyriausybė perėjo prie subtilesnio požiūrio į užsienio auditorijas ir politinio priemonių taikymą radijo kanalais įgyvendinimo atsisakydama akivaizdžios propagandos sklaidos. 1974 m. buvo išspręstas ir daugiau nei du dešimtmečius

trukęs ir išeivių iš Lietuvos nenuilstamai eskaluojamas „Laisvės radijo“ lietuvių redakcijos įsteigimo klausimas. 1975 m. sausio 4 d. sovietinę Lietuvą pasiekė pirmoji JAV įsteigtos ir tiesiogiai užsienio politiką įgyvendinančios stoties laida lietuvių kalba.

Tyrimui atlikti pasitelkiami įprasti humanitarinių ir socialinių mokslų metodai. Pirmojoje ir antrojoje darbo dalyse taikomas istorinis aprašomasis metodas leidžia chronologiškai atskleisti radijo transliacijų į sovietinę Lietuvą įsteigimą, lietuvių išeivių organizacijų vaidmenį bei santykį su JAV vyriausybe ir radijo stočių vadovybe. Tyrime neapsiribojama vien istoriniu tyrimo metodu, nes nagrinėjamai problematikai būtina taikyti kitų mokslo šakų metodologiją. Darbe pasitelkiama tarptautinių santykių metodologija bei probleminės analizės metodas, įgalinantis JAV užsienio politikos vertinimą ir apibendrinimą. JAV radijo transliacijos darbe analizuojamos pasitelkiant politinio karo ir viešosios diplomatijos sampratas. Darbo objektas analizuojantis Vakarų radijo transliacijas į sovietinę Lietuvą neišviangiamai apima ir jų santykio su šalies visuomene elementą. Dėl šios priežasties sovietinės Lietuvos auditorijos tyrimas trečiojoje darbo dalyje grindžiamas socialinių mokslų kiekybinio metodo pagalba sisteminant Laisvės radijo (vėliau LER/LR) Sovietinio regiono auditorijos ir nuomonės tyrimų departamento atliktas gyventojų apklausas.

Išvados

I. Radijo transliacijos, vaidinusios svarbų vaidmenį JAV politinio karo ir viešosios diplomatijos įgyvendinime, tiesiogiai atspindėjo JAV užsienio politikos interesų raidą. JAV radijo transliacijos į sovietinę Lietuvą buvo aktyvi aneksijos nepripažinimo politikos priemonė bei palaikymo Lietuvai išraiška, pasireiškusį per radijo transliacijų įsteigimą. Radijo transliacijos rengiamos specialiai sovietinei Lietuvai vienareikšmiškai su kitomis Vidurio ir Rytų Europos šalimis reflektavo JAV vyriausybės interesus Baltijos regione. Inicijuodama Laisvosios Europos radijo transliacijas į sovietinę Lietuvą JAV vyriausybė ją priskyrė Europietiskajai kultūrai, taip pademonstruodama, jog nepripažino Lietuvos Sovietų Sąjungos sudėtyje.

II. Vakarų radijo transliacijos siekė informuoti Lietuvos visuomenę neraginant priešintis sovietiniam režimui. Radijo laidos Lietuvai buvo rengiamos atsakingai, vadovaujantis

griežtomis taisyklėmis, jautriai parenkant transliuojamą retoriką. Laidose skelbiamas sovietinės valdžios nutylima informacija, socializmo „laimėjimų“ kritika, gyvenimo Vakaruose nušvietimas, nepriklausomos Lietuvos istorijos faktų skelbimas skatino Lietuvos gyventojų pasyvųjų pasipriešinimą režimui.

III. Vakarų radijo transliacijų propaguojamų idėjų ir vertybių sklaida sovietinėje Lietuvoje ir jų percepcija tarp vietos gyventojų prisidėjo prie visuomenės tautinės savimonės ugdymo bei nepasitikėjimo sovietiniu režimu skatinimo. Sovietinės valdžios atsakas stiprinant ideologinių barų veiklą šalyje ir plečiant užsienio radijo signalų slopinimo tinklą liudijo Vakarų radijo transliacijų veiklos sėkmę.

IV. Sovietinės Lietuvos visuomenė pozityviai vertino užsienio radijo transliacijas, demonstravo lojalumą vakarietiškomis vertybėms. Vakaruose ir sovietinės valdžios Lietuvoje atliktos vidinės auditorijos apklausos liudijo, jog užsienio radijo klausymas buvo plačiai išplitęs reiškinys tarp vietos gyventojų. Standartinis Vakarų radijo klausytojas buvo vidutinio amžiaus vyras, miesto gyventojas su aukštuoju išsilavinimu. Ženklią auditorijos dalį sudarė jaunimas ir inteligentijos atstovai. Pagrindinė užsienio radijo auditorija Lietuvoje buvo segmentas, stumiantis visuomenės raidą į priekį. Vakarietišku idėjų ir vertybių perėmimas šiame visuomenės segmente greta sistemingo laisvos Lietuvos istorijos priminimo užsienio radijo kanalais kėlė didžiausią grėsmę komunistinės ideologijos išlikimui bei skatino pasyvųjų gyventojų pasipriešinimą režimui.

V. Sovietinė valdžia patyrė nesėkmę siekdama užkardyti informacijos iš Vakarų sklaidą Lietuvoje bei lokalizuojant jos poveikį gyventojų ideologiniam nusistatymui. Per visą okupacijos laikotarpį sovietinis saugumas disponavo informacija apie Vakarų radijo klausymo paplitimą Lietuvoje, tačiau priemonės, kurių buvo imtasi siekiant užkardyti vakarietišku idėjų ir vertybių sklaidą visuomenėje buvo nepakankamos.