

# CHAPTER II

## The holdings

## Introduction

The main mission of the Open Society Archives (OSA) is to obtain, preserve and make available research resources for the study of communism and the Cold War, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, and for the study of twentieth and twenty-first century issues of human rights, as well as to provide information, records and archival services for all parts of the Soros foundations network.

The holdings of OSA reflect this mission: the Archives actively acquires, protects and makes available research resources in three main areas: *communism and the Cold War*, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, in the period after the Second World War; *human rights issues and movements*, with particular emphasis on the second half of the twentieth century; as well as records that document the philanthropic activities of the *Soros foundations network*, including the Open Media Research Institute and Central European University.

In the following pages we provide an overview of the main parts of our holdings. We do not aspire to describe all of the details: this will be the task of our planned *Guide*, after all the materials have been processed. Instead, we briefly describe the historical background, the administrative history and, in some cases, the history of the documents themselves, in addition to the general description of the archival material. We also introduce some of the important or interesting documents of our holdings as examples.

Since the audiovisual materials of OSA represent a special value for the researchers, and the audiovisual documents might refer to more than one main area of the holdings, we devote a separate subchapter to introduce this material. Similarly, the OSA Library has a unique characteristic, collection and administrative history, therefore its collection deserves a separate description.

# Communism and the Cold War

## RECORDS OF RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY

### The Archives in Munich

The prehistory of the Open Society Archives (OSA) started in 1949 with the post-war division of Europe; the local communist parties seized power in all of the countries in Central and Eastern Europe which were controlled and/or occupied by Soviet troops in 1944–45. Central and Eastern European emigrants – former politicians and influential public figures, once members of the domestic political, social, and cultural elite who had to leave their own countries due to these post-war political developments – decided to form a common organization, the Free Europe Committee (originally founded as the National Committee for a Free Europe). The initiative was approved and subtly encouraged by the US government. Thus, at the beginning the Free Europe Committee presented itself as a private organization. The activists tried to raise funds among people within the American upper and middle classes, and also among well-to-do emigrants who believed that the struggle against communism was of crucial importance. The declared aim of the Committee was to promote the “containment” doctrine of US foreign policy as well as to advance the liberation of the people under Soviet rule in Central and Eastern Europe by peaceful means. The Committee had a double task: it aimed to keep alive the public interest in the West towards the problems of their homelands, and at the same time they strived to maintain and reinforce the spirit of hope and resistance within the oppressed countries. Therefore, the Committee specialized in organizing research projects and conferences, accumulating information from behind the iron curtain from all available resources, and editing and publishing books, essay collections and information bulletins for the academic audience and for the broader public. The Committee set up an information center in New York which consisted of a small library and an archives that was continuously updated and enlarged. The archival center aimed to serve both the emigrant organizations and Western scholars, experts and decision-makers.

However, the mere collection of information did not seem efficient, and was unsatisfactory for the founders. It became clear very early that the Committee had to find and take advantage of other means that might produce the desired effects upon the communist world. The real task was to break the information monopoly of the communist propaganda machinery within the Eastern bloc. Under the aegis of the Free Europe Committee several actions and projects were started that tried to spread information and propaganda among the people who lived “beyond” and were completely cut off from sources of real news and information – even about themselves and about their own lives. Two ways seemed feasible. The traditional type, widely used during the Second World

War, involved dropping leaflets and other propaganda materials from jets or balloons. But the real attraction was radio broadcasting.

Radio Free Europe (RFE) was established in December 1949, and its first broadcast, targeted at Czechoslovakia, was aired in July 1950. Radio Liberty (RL) – previously called Radio Liberation – targeted the republics of the Soviet Union with broadcasts starting on 1 March 1953. (The two separate Radios were merged into a single company as RFE/RL in 1976.) After prudent consideration the founders decided to locate the Radios in Munich, West Germany. Certainly in the case of such a huge venture, the image of a private club formed by enthusiastic and committed individuals could not be maintained any more. The US government provided financial as well as technical and logistical background for RFE/RL, and the yearly budget of the Radios was incorporated into state spending (although nobody was fully prepared for the Fullbright Committee of the US Congress, in 1971, to expose that RFE and RL received funding from the budget of the CIA).



The experts and staff – editors, speakers, political analysts, archivists and librarians – were primarily recruited from among natives, many of whom were newcomers to the West. Former politicians, famous journalists and scholars who had left, or rather were forced to leave their own countries gravitated toward the Radios. The newly established national editorial desks of the Radios enjoyed a wide range of sovereignty in determining the structure and the content of their programs. Yet, the ultimate professional and political control still remained in the hands of the American supervisors, who were politically responsible and accountable for what was put on the air. The Directory Board regularly issued strategic and tactical guidelines that basically followed the actual directives of the US State Department.

Jamming equipment from the late 1960s. In Hungary these types of machines were used by the authorities for jamming “alien” radio broadcasts. The machine was displayed at the exhibition *Representation of the Counter-Revolution* by OSA in November, 1996. Property of the Hungarian Postal Museum.

Photo by Ferenc Nemzetes. Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

Radio Free Europe targeted the Soviet satellite states in Central and Eastern Europe – Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and (shortly) Albania – while Radio Liberty broadcast toward the Soviet Union. RL had services in most of the languages of the Soviet republics – in Baltic, Moldavian, Belarusian, Ukrainian and also in Caucasian languages and Turkic languages of Central Asia. In addition, they had services in Tartarian and Baskhirian as well.

The embryonic forms of the various national research sections that were merged into the RFE/RL Research Institute in 1990 were established parallel with the Radios' editorial desks in the early 50s. In 1959, the "research" function of the RFE news department was separated and the management established independent units reporting to each of the broadcast desks. As for Radio Liberation, the research section, which became the Soviet "Red" Archives, started working in 1953 and later remained administratively under the jurisdiction of the Radio Liberty.

The idea was that the research sections would serve the programming and editorial work of the national desks. Thus, some of the research units, for instance the Hungarian Unit, started functioning even a few months before the first programs were put on the air. The research activities were divided into national sections, which roughly meant that each national editorial desk was supported by native analysts and archivists who collected, arranged, interpreted and transmitted the necessary up-to-date information for the editors. However, these units were not intended to operate indefinitely. Like the Radios themselves, they were supposed to be temporary establishments, which would operate until the collapse of communism within the Soviet satellite states. The prevalent opinion was that the collapse would come soon. This was why the founders of the research sections had not considered the establishment of a uniformly regulated archival machinery. At the beginning, the research staff worked on a day-by-day basis. Even rules for mandatory preservation had not been laid out. Without having a unified system and processing rules the national sections existed and functioned separately, but still parallel to each other. The lack of unified organization meant that the processing and organizational principles, the archival methodology, the code systems, the finding aids and the accessories of the national departments were almost accidental and differentiated slightly from each other, although some general features and characteristics could be detected.

In most cases the research units were separated into two independent parts: the research and analysis sections and the evaluation sections. The first worked directly for the Programming Section and for the national desks, and elaborated actual press analyses of domestic and Western publications on the political, economic and cultural issues of the target country. From 1952 (in some cases from 1956), the Evaluation and Research sections started to regularly publish *Background Reports*, which consisted of longer essays about actual events and about the political and social situations in several countries. Soon

each country had its own *Background Report* bulletin written in English, making the information available for everybody at the Radios.

In the beginning, the *Background Reports* were written on an *ad hoc*, irregular basis and concerned not only the five countries to which RFE broadcast but also Albania, the GDR, Yugoslavia, the non-ruling communist parties of the West, and East-West political relations. Later, the periodicals were prepared with an increasing frequency, until they became monthly, then bi-weekly periodicals, *Situation Reports* that were written separately for each of the eight countries.

During the early period, the work of the Evaluation Sections seemed to be more important than research on printed and electronic sources. Their task was to analyze and evaluate reports and interviews sent to Munich by the local Field Offices. The series of these reports became known as Items. The Items were recorded in Western refugee camps and immigration offices by the agents of the field offices located in several European capitals and major cities. On the letterhead of the Items Roman numbers identified the office from which the report was sent to the center in Munich: I. was Munich, II. was Stockholm, III. was West Berlin, IV. was Paris, V. was Athens, VI. was Rome, VII. was Linz, VIII. was Salzburg, IX. was Vienna, X. or XI. was Istanbul and XII. was London. The best and most reliable reports not surprisingly arrived from the field offices located in Linz, Salzburg and Munich, where the biggest refugee camps functioned and the most effective information control could be exercised. Unlike pre-elaborated questionnaires, the Items contained complete stories as told by the “source”. The structure of each information Item was as follows: source, date, evaluation summary, evaluation comment and text.

The idea was quite interesting: the field offices surrounded the communist bloc like “military bases” and conducted information warfare. On the other hand, it was even more characteristic that the Radios tried to base the information acquisition on “independent” sources. But the within communist countries which all operated a centralized propaganda machine, only the information received from average people, i.e. the refugees, seemed to be independent and reliable. That practice could also be interpreted as a demonstrative gesture of the democratic commitment of the Radios: while the communist regimes used politics and propaganda against their own people, RFE/RL based its work upon and in favor of the very same people.

Yet, Item stories were not taken completely at face value. The primary task of the evaluation sections was to control them: the experts tried to compare details of these stories to the information received from other sources (domestic radio, official press or other Items). They also tried to filter out the elements of exaggeration, personal revenge etc. At the national research units, the reports were carefully checked for accuracy and plausibility. Only those reports which passed the various filtering systems were recommended as subjects to be used in producing radio programs. Collection of the Items went on until

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION

ITEM No 837/65

SPECIAL ATTENTION: Mr. Hart

MH  
May 12  
Lo/G-5005

HUNGARY

RFE (584.151)

OPINION ON BBC AND RFE BROADCASTS

SOURCE RELIABILITY: Believed to be reliable.

DATE OF OBSERVATION: Until beginning of February 1965.

ENGLISH SUMMARY: Source, a regular listener to BBC, quite often listens to RFE programs. He gives a detailed account of his likes and dislikes concerning both broadcasts. Comparing BBC and RFE, he says that RFE is more entertaining, more colorful and more daring in its political commentaries than the BBC.

EVALUATION COMMENT: None.

AUDIENCE RESEARCH COMMENT: By and large, the statements of this information tally with our findings, especially with respect to the point that one of RFE's strongest attractions is its concern with domestic Hungarian developments and its efforts to present international events clearly and in a manner which makes them relevant to the Hungarian listeners.

x x x

Churchill temetése utáni héten hallottam utoljára a BBC-t. A BBC adásait rendszeresen hallgatom, a SZER-t is elég gyakran. A BBC esti adására -- most a háromnegyed kilencezre -- be vagyok állítva, emberemlékezet óta. A mindennapi életemhez tartozik. Most, hogy kitűnően hallok kritikussabb vagyok, de lehet, hogy az adások hangja megváltozott. Unalmasabb lett, nincs benne a régi "anádjd". Azelőtt kitűnően tudta nevetésgecsé tenni a provinciálizmusunkat, most hazai dolgokról nincs szó. Hirmagyarázata se a mi keservesen értelmetlen kormányzatunkról. De nincs például könyvkritika a mi könyveinkről. Szóval sem a rossz, sem a jó nincs megemlítve.

Mindaz van a Szabad Európában, mind a kettő gyakori

(over)

An Item, anonymized interview about the broadcasting services of BBC and RFE conducted with a Hungarian listener, recorded on 12 May 1965. Presumably the views expressed in this interview echo the opinions of the average Hungarian public.

Hungarian Unit, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

1972, when the scandal over RFE/RL broke out in the US Congress. Then the Radio leadership, urged by the higher authorities in the US, decided to destroy them. However, fragments of them have survived. Moreover, the Items from 1951 to 1956 from all of the Radios' target and non-target countries are microfilmed as one large Evaluation Items series in chronological order.

In the early period the Items were among the most important sources of information (e.g. most of the Czechoslovak Subject Files from the 50s and 60s are Items.) The other main source was the Monitoring Department, also established at the beginning. Every day the Radios' staff monitored and recorded the programs of the official state radios of the target countries. The recorded broadcasts were transcribed, and the editors found a copied selection on their desks each morning.

It was quite natural that the Radios acquired information from other radios, and the daily reports compiled from the Radios' monitoring served as a source of information, though not exclusively or primarily, since those were produced from totalitarian propaganda. They rather served as references: they contained the "facts" that RFE and RL had to know in order to battle communism effectively. The monitoring provided a clear picture of the elements and phenomena that the official propaganda in the Eastern bloc wanted to emphasize on the one hand, and what it wanted to hide on the other. RFE/RL particularly concentrated upon just these elements. In this little game of propaganda and counter-propaganda, RFE/RL and the communist radio stations always responded, reflected, and even indirectly edited each other's programs.

During this period the traditional archival work of collecting and arranging information from the printed and electronic media perhaps was not a focus of the Research and Evaluation Sections of the Radios (although the situation was probably different in the various national sections). However, these kinds of archival activities had started from the beginning, and became increasingly systematic and important. The processing of written sources, Western and Eastern newspapers, and news agency reports was initially based on a Card File system covering various subjects, including institutions and persons. The basic references were recorded cards that indicated the original sources, which could be traced back with the help of the cards.

In the 50s the collection of news clippings was rather accidental. (It was more systematic in the case of the archives of RL, the "Red" Archives.) The archivists and researchers mostly relied upon the cards, together with the material in the newspaper and periodical collection cited by the cards. But soon a more sophisticated subject clipping system was requested, and this enabled the archives to fulfill demands of the national desks much more rapidly.

After the first few years the management of the archives became more and more professional. The experiences of the Hungarian and Polish uprisings in 1956 brought about

the major changes in this respect. These historic events made clear both the importance and the responsibility of the Radios in the region, and also proved that this venture would not be merely a temporary one. It became clear that communism would stay in these countries, and the division of Europe was a long-term historical phenomenon. This new recognition invoked the reorganization of the Radios and the research units as well.

From 1958 on, the structures of the latter were reorganized step by step, as the traditional archival work became more and more important in information acquisition. This shift of emphasis from accidental sources to regular ones required a much more organized system for processing information. The various national sections elaborated their own filing system (the Subject Code system), according to which they clipped, arranged and processed the documents and data coming from printed and electronic media. Additionally, at this time the operational structure of research and evaluation was unified, and the systematic collection and processing of the Subject Files and biographical clippings really started. The general policy was to file the same article under all of the relevant subject titles as well as in the Biographical Files if the article concerned a relevant person. The result was an extremely effective and sophisticated network of information in which data and problems could be identified and approached via divergent routes. This was also the time when the separate national archives gained a predominantly similar structure. The same elements could be found in all of the national subfonds: Subject Files, the series of *Background Reports* and *Situation Reports*, Biographical Files, Press Surveys and Monitoring Files.

The research units (from 1990 the unified Research Institute) operated until the mid-90s. During 45 years of continuous activity, they accumulated an archives of millions of documents both in paper and micro-format about the Soviet Union and the former Eastern bloc. The amount of archival materials exceeds 2,500 linear meters, despite the unfortunate fact that the research sections regularly sorted out parts of the collections that were supposed to be irrelevant in the future. After more than four decades the archives became the major source of information about the post-war history of the region. In the meantime, communism collapsed with an unexpected rapidity, and this changed the role of the RFE/RL Archives and redefined its function and mission. From an information database that served the programming needs of an electronic medium with the ultimate purpose of undermining the communist regimes, the materials of the Research Institute became an archives, a historical collection of the bygone communist regimes, a product of and a memorial to communism.

## Archival Arrangement and Structure of the Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute

The structure of the biggest fonds of the Open Society Archives (OSA), the Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute is very complex and peculiar; therefore, its archival arrangement requires a more detailed explanation.

According to the agreement with Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) only one part of the Radios' archives is in the custody of OSA. The totality consists of three components: the Corporate Archives, containing the Radios' correspondence and administrative records; broadcasting archives, containing the tapes and transcripts of the Radios' programs; and the records of the RFE/RL Research Institute. OSA holds the latter.

The RFE/RL Research Institute was established on 15 November 1990, with the merger of several RFE and RL research departments. During its entire existence, the Research Institute's director was *Ross Johnson*. The general mission of the Research Institute was to conduct and disseminate timely analyses of political, economic and social developments in the former Soviet bloc; to support RFE/RL broadcasting; to survey listener habits and public opinion; to serve as research center for scholars and other specialists; and to maintain and automate the archival collection.

Corresponding to this mission, the Research Institute was divided into four departments:

1. The *Analytic Research Department* produced comparative and single-country analyses of political, economic and social developments in the region. There were four clusters: East Central Europe, South Eastern Europe, the Russian Federation, and the cluster of other successor states to the USSR and the Baltic countries.

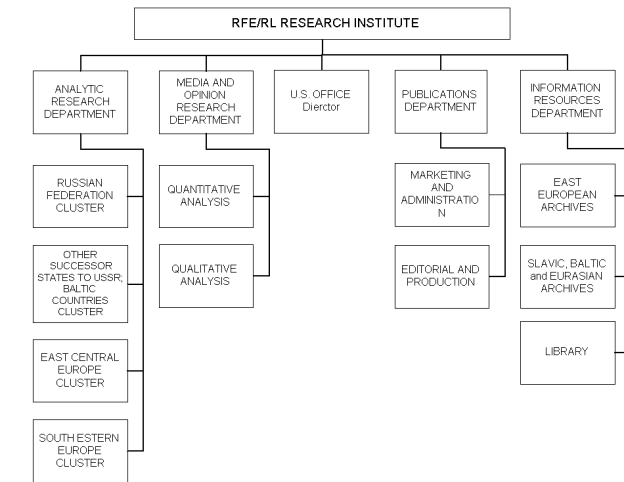
2. The *Media and Opinion Research Department* evaluated media use and public opinion in the region, in order to measure the impact of RFE/RL broadcasting and to generally survey public opinion.

3. The *Publications Department* was responsible for editing, producing and distributing Research Institute publications.

4. The *Information Resources Department* was responsible for current information, library and archival functions. The records of this department make up the biggest part of the Research Institute archives, which had three divisions: the East European Archives with five national units for target countries (Albanian and Yugoslav records were added later); Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Archives; and the Library (see subchapter "The Library").

Sometimes the *US Office* of the Research Institute was regarded as the fifth department (see Organization chart of the RFE/RL Research Institute).

The RFE/RL Research Institute, as the successor of the respective RFE and RL departments, inherited a huge amount of archival materials which dated from the 1950s. These materials were partly divided between the departments and partly, especially the oldest sections, kept separately in a remote depository. Of course, during its few years of intensive activity, the Research Institute produced many new records of its own.



Organization chart of the RFE/RL Research Institute, June 1992.

Fonds 300 Records of RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

The RFE/RL Research Institute was dissolved on 31 December 1994, and according to an agreement with the Open Society Institute-New York its archival holdings were moved to OSA in Budapest. The more current records, from approximately the last five years, were transferred to the Open Media Research Institute (OMRI) in Prague. OMRI continued the activity of the RFE/RL Research Institute, creating and adding many new materials to the existing files. These circumstances made the structure of the RFE/RL Research Institute holdings very complex.

At OSA, the arrangement of the records of the RFE/RL Research Institute is based on traditional archival rules: the principle of provenance (*respect des fonds*) and the principle of respect for archival structure.

The first rule states that the records or archives of the same provenance must not be intermingled with those of any other provenance. From this perspective, records from OMRI must be treated as separate fonds. OMRI obtained many records from the RFE/RL Research Institute, but they remained in use, and their structure was changed (in record management terms this is an “active succession”). This is why at OSA all materials coming from Prague are kept together, and only a small amount of materials which had clearly been transferred to OMRI by mistake were put back into the RFE/RL Research Institute fonds.<sup>3</sup> This is very important information for all researchers who want

3. For instance, the records of analyst Bohdan Nahaylo, who was expected to work in OMRI, but he never arrived there.

to use the fonds of the RFE/RL Research Institute: it is always necessary also to check the OMRI fonds (see below separate subchapter).<sup>4</sup>

The second rule, the principle of respect for archival structure, states that the methodology used in archival operations should reflect the varying forms and structures of the records or archives, and their administrative and functional contents. It was very difficult to use this rule in practice, because the administrative organization and the functions of the Radios' departments were changed very often. After a careful analysis of the archival materials and the historical structure of the organization, the decision was made to keep the order of the last user. Archival materials were divided into subfonds corresponding to the Research Institute's departments. The oldest part of the records, which was kept separately in a remote depository in Munich, forms individual subfonds, which reflect a former RFE and RL structure.<sup>5</sup> Records of the Institute for the Study of the USSR were inherited after its closure by the RFE/RL Research Institute (passive succession) and these constitute the last subfonds in this group of archival materials.

A general description of the better, as of date of publication of this book, known part of the archives is below, but it is necessary to remember that the RFE/RL Research Institute fonds is still being processed, and it is possible that there will be changes in the structure and description of the records. The most up-to-date version will be available on the OSA website <[www.osa.ceu.hu](http://www.osa.ceu.hu)>. When the work is completed, OSA will publish a separate *Guide*.

#### References:

*Establishment of the RFE/RL Research Institute*, Memorandum from the Radio's acting president, William W. Marsh, to RFE/RL staff from 9 November 1990, RFE/RL Administrative History, Central Files, OSA.

*A Survey of the East Europe Research and Analysis Department (EERA)*. May 1966, RFE/RL Administrative History, Central Files, OSA.

---

4. The Research Institute card files are very important and valuable historical sources. Usually they are divided into two series: subject and biographical. It is not known why but, for instance, the Bulgarian cards were separated: subject cards remained in the Radios (and were transferred to OSA), and the biographical ones were moved to Prague and now constitute part of the OMRI fonds.

5. There are archival materials from the Evaluation and Research Section, East Europe Research and Analysis Department, Communism Area Analysis Department and German Affairs.

## The Information Resources Department

### *The East European Archives*

#### *Records of the Bulgarian Unit*

The Bulgarian Unit initiated operations, simultaneous to the beginning of broadcasting to Bulgaria, in the summer of 1950. Called “Evaluation and Research” it was a subdivision of the News and Information Services Department. From the outset, except for the News Desk, all Bulgarian units operated within RFE’s New York branch. In 1957 the whole Bulgarian section was moved to Munich. In order to support its broadcasts, the staff of the Bulgarian Unit had to collect comprehensive information about events in Bulgaria after the Second World War.<sup>6</sup>

The primary work of the Bulgarian Unit consisted of covering all available information from Bulgaria in the sphere of political developments, economy, culture, etc., and supplying information on events and developments in Bulgaria. Information was selected from Bulgarian and Western media, and archived mostly on card files under different codes. The card files contain abstracts of media reports and also provide some cross-references to the Subject Files series. Useful and important information was extracted both from central and regional newspapers, and also from special articles in party, economic and literary periodicals.

The *Subject Files* contain news agency releases, excerpts of RFE *Research Reports*, transcripts from monitoring of the Bulgarian National Radio, newspaper clippings, and copies of articles from scientific publications. They include extensive information related to agriculture, armed forces, various parties and organizations, economy, culture, industry, and the state apparatus in Bulgaria. The files on the country’s ethnic minorities, dissidents, persecution and purges of the opposition, resistance to and criticism of the regime, and anti-Western propaganda are of particular interest.

The news and commentary broadcasts of Radio Sofia were read every day, as well as the news “budget” of the Central News Room, from which all information and press articles concerning Bulgaria were used. The transcripts of radio monitoring were distributed as bulletins entitled *Bulgarian Monitoring*. By 1991 television monitoring was included in the bulletins, and in 1993 the title of the distributed copy was changed to *Bulgaria Today: Media News and Features Digest: TV and Radio Monitoring*.

Particular attention was paid to news – foreign and domestic – from Bulgarian radio and television, political programs, and surveys of various Bulgarian newspapers.

---

6. Rossitza Guentcheva, who worked at OSA in 1995–1996, was the first to arrange and describe these materials.

Interviews with, and speeches by, prominent politicians were also monitored, as well as programs by leading Bulgarian journalists. These materials were an important source for the Bulgarian journalists at RFE who prepared *Situation Reports* and *Background Reports*, as well as evaluating Information Items.

At various stages of its existence the Unit employed between two and eight people; at the end five people worked there. From the beginning until 1960, Tosho Damianov was chief of the Unit. Later he was replaced by Kaloyan Kaloyanov, who was replaced by Vasil Serbesov, who in turn was succeeded by Rada Nikolaev.

The materials of the Bulgarian Unit are principally in Bulgarian, but materials in English, German and French can also be found here.

### *Records of the Czechoslovak Unit*

The records of the Czechoslovak Unit (CZ Unit) originate from the materials of the CZ Evaluation Section (later Evaluation and Research Section), a section which had the role of evaluating analyses and Items produced by Field Offices (see subchapter “The Archives in Munich”) and materials collected in Munich. In the 1950s particularly, access to Czech and Slovak dailies was rather difficult and therefore they were not systematically collected. If available, the periodicals were usually kept by the program editors of Radio Free Europe (RFE).<sup>7</sup>

The beginning of the formal archival filing of clippings, news releases, and reports of analysts, as well as the use of a subject code filing plan did not start until the early 1960s.

The individuals primarily involved in building the CZ archives were J. Nětík, V. Kusín, H. Hájek, S. Winter, A. Kratochvíl, L. Nižňanský, and the director of the CZ Unit of the RFE/RL Research Institute, P. Matuška. The staff members were each responsible for a set of periodicals which they continually followed.

The Unit did not have a separate collection of samizdat materials. However, the staff members did acquire such material through their individual personal contacts. There was extensive cooperation, including the exchange of photocopies with V. Prečan’s collection in Scheinfeld.

The systematic gathering, arranging, and filing of documents, and monitoring of the Czechoslovak Radio News from Czechoslovakia started in 1951 after the first broadcasts of Radio Free Europe on 4 July 1950.

Although there are a number of copies of newspapers from the period 1927 – 1938, including coverage of presidential elections, the bulk of the material consists of records dating from 1951 to 1994.

Unlike other target and non-target country subfonds the Subject Files and Biographical Files of the Czechoslovak Unit are available both on paper and on micro-

---

7. Jiřina Šmejkalová, who worked at OSA in 1995–1996, was the first to arrange and describe these materials.

CN093 261612/78  
EURO - METAL FRAGMENT REMOVED FROM KOSTOV FOR ANALYSIS

1978  
PARIS SEPT. 26 (SPECIAL/OVADIA) -- VLADIMIR KOSTOV, THE BULGARIAN EXILE WHO SAYS HE WAS JABBED WITH A MYSTERIOUS OBJECT IN PARIS A MONTH AGO, UNDERWENT SURGERY TODAY FOR THE REMOVAL OF A METAL FRAGMENT IN HIS BACK.

THE OPERATION TOOK PLACE IN THE PRESENCE OF FRENCH AND BRITISH POLICE. THE FRAGMENT WAS TAKEN TO LONDON FOR ANALYSIS AND POSSIBLE COMPARISON WITH THE RESULTS OF THE AUTOPSY ON THE BODY OF GEORGI MARKOV, ANOTHER BULGARIAN EXILE WHO DIED UNDER MYSTERIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES IN LONDON EARLIER THIS MONTH AFTER TELLING FRIENDS HE BELIEVED HE HAD BEEN JABBED BY A MAN CARRYING AN AN UMBRELLA.

THE KOSTOV INCIDENT TOOK PLACE BEFORE MARKOV INCIDENT AND KOSTOV REPORTED IT ONLY AFTER MARKOV'S DEATH.

KOSTOV HAS TOLD POLICE AND NEWSPAPERS THAT HE WAS JABBED IN THE BACK ON AN ESCALATOR IN THE PARIS METRO. A DOCTOR WHOM HE CONSULTED ABOUT PERSISTING PAIN FOUND A SMALL WOUND SURROUNDED BY TINY FRAGMENTS OF METAL. X-RAYS SHOWED THAT ONE METAL PARTICLE HAD ENTERED KOSTOV'S BACK AND REMAINED THERE. THIS WAS REMOVED TODAY.

KOSTOV WORKED FOR FIVE YEARS AS THE PARIS CORRESPONDENT FOR BULGARIAN RADIO AND TELEVISION. HE DEFECTED IN JULY 1977 AND IS NOW WORKING FOR RADIO FREE EUROPE.

GEORGI MARKOV WAS AN EMPLOYEE OF THE BBC. HE ALSO HAD DONE SOME PROGRAMS FOR RFE. BG/18

News agency release from 26 September 1978 broadcasted by RFE/RL, reporting on the state of health of Vladimir Kostov, Bulgarian journalist in exile, who suffered injuries following an attack a month earlier in Paris.

The action was allegedly carried out by the Bulgarian secret services, using a "mysterious object".

Records of the Bulgarian Unit, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

film. Combined with the two Chronological Series, the Czechoslovak Press Survey and Monitoring of the Czech and Slovak Radios and Television, the records extensively cover a wide range of topics and provide information on a large variety of individuals from diverse social, cultural and political backgrounds.

The *Subject Files* consist of an abundance of information on crucial subjects relating to Czechoslovakia. In particular, there is a substantial amount of information (26 archival boxes) relating to the armed forces. Within these boxes are many articles about the Warsaw Pact, NATO, the Soviet occupation in 1968 and disarmament. The armed forces material also includes an alphabetical list of the members of special military units, and information on the locations and methods of intelligence officer training.

One of the most interesting Subject Files is on the Czechoslovak Communist Party. It consists of 73 archival boxes and includes articles about the events of February 1948 and the 1968 “Prague Spring”. Articles about COMINFORM, congresses, party statutes, the Central Committee and purges, as well as regional, local and town committees are also included.

There are 38 archival boxes of cultural articles containing information about films, literature, music and theater. Some articles even reveal criticism of the cultural policy in Czechoslovakia. The culture file also contains a list of the Research Institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science Organizations.

Records on COMECON and Czechoslovakia’s cooperation with socialist and non-socialist countries, crises, prognoses and reforms can be found in the 49 archival boxes entitled “Economy”.

Articles and Items on refugees and emigrants, exile literature and newspapers, possibilities for emigration, and communist espionage are filed under “Exile”, along with nine other archival boxes of records about the news content and criticism of RFE and other Western stations, as well as the announcement of a Czechoslovak spy who worked at the Radio and later denounced its activity.

The largest Subject File is “Foreign Relations”. This material, filling 146 archival boxes, includes an alphabetical list of socialist and non-socialist countries with which Czechoslovakia had foreign relations, along with a list of delegations which visited Czechoslovakia and another list of Czechoslovak delegations which worked abroad.

Information about Czechoslovakia’s textile and mining industries, and about construction materials and dams is located under the “Industry”. An alphabetical list of factories in Czechoslovakia is also included.

Thirteen archival boxes entitled “Justice” contain files on trials and sentences, including a transcript of the 1952 trial of Slánsky, former Deputy Prime Minister and former Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

C/S.- TWO COMMENTARIES ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

P- 69

Munich aug. 21 (cnr/es bd)

The following two commentaries were broadcast by the Czechoslovak BD this morning. Other BD's may at their discretion use these commentaries in broadcasts to their own countries.

Czechoslovakia has been occupied by foreign troops. One must repeat this sentence a second time in order to believe it: Czechoslovakia has been occupied by foreign troops. There are moments when it is difficult to comment on a situation, when a word from friend to friend can hardly avoid being a helpless sigh of bitterness, when the attempt to say a few calm words fails in the face of the portent or cruelty of what is happening. This now is a historical moment, and one is hard put to find words immediately that would express it. What you are to hear now is an attempt to call the events of the last few hours by their real name -- an attempt to discern in this reality, however brutal it may be, an honorable basis for the attitude of the citizen and individual human being.

Without the knowledge of the President of the Republic and other constitutional authorities, troops of five states have crossed the Czechoslovak frontiers. This has happened, as the statement of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium points out, in violation of the principles governing relations between socialist states and contrary to the basic principles of international law. Czechoslovakia is again under occupation.

In history one cannot suppress the question: Why? Czechs and Slovaks are asking this question with painful astonishment and with urgent immediacy. But it is not only Czechoslovak history that is involved. This day is a tragic one for Czechoslovakia, for Europe, perhaps for the entire world. What has happened on this day concerns all those who believe in justice, humanity, morality, who put their faith in openness without subterfuge or unexpected deceit, in the right of individuals as well as nations to live according to their own choice and conviction, in conditions they prefer, with their own responsibilities and hopes, and living a life they can call their own. The faith expressed in these words and the rights defined by them did not sound as empty phrases in Czechoslovakia during the recent months. According to these

(PTO)

Transcript of a commentary broadcast of the RFE/RL Czechoslovak Desk relating to the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact countries, 21 August 1968.

Czechoslovak Unit, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

Files on the Constitutional Court of Czechoslovakia, amnesty, and a list of judges and lawyers in Czechoslovakia are also included.

A list of police stations done alphabetically by towns, cards on informers, methods of investigation, censorship, spies, and the People's Militia are located in the subject file entitled "Police".

A small collection of three archival boxes contains information about refugee camps in Germany, a list of prisons in Czechoslovakia, information about prison premises and descriptions of interrogatories.

One of the major highlights of the records of the Czechoslovak Unit is the section dedicated to propaganda. Sixty-one archival boxes contain information about illegal mass media and dissident publications, and a list of newspapers and the names of the members of the editorial boards of newspapers in Czechoslovakia.

"Dissent" includes periodicals and underground cultural journals focusing on the younger, "alternative" generation of intellectuals, and typewritten essays produced by dissident activists and writers such as Václav Havel and Ludvík Vaculík. A substantial part of these files consists of samples of *Charter 77* documents and reports on the activities of the political opposition in Czechoslovakia.

The *Biographical Files* consist of 130 archival boxes and 15 rolls of microfilm. Individuals included in these files include politicians, human rights activists and dissidents, artists, intellectuals, sportsmen, scientists, party leaders and functionaries, physicians, representatives of churches, military officers, historians, university professors, signatories of *Charter 77*, emigrants, Czechoslovak diplomats, musicians, spies, writers, and even "criminals". Particularly extensive files are related to Gustáv Husák, Alexander Dubček, Václav Havel, Lubomír Štrougal, Stalin, Tito, Brezhnev, and Gorbachev.

The material contains articles about foreigners as well, including some politicians, diplomats and artists (Barbra Streisand, Arthur Miller etc.).

*Monitoring* (227 archival boxes) of Czechoslovak radio (and later television) includes daily transcripts of the main news programs of the Czech and Slovak radios from March 1951 to December 1994, including the texts of speeches by the country's leaders on different occasions.

The *Collection of Documents on 1968* (30 archival boxes) documents this crucial year in the history of Czechoslovakia in newspapers, reviews of events, announcements, letters, leaflets, signed protests, occupational press reviews, the Report on Rehabilitation (on political trials from 1949 to 1968), and the daily monitoring during the occupation. There are also extensive files on the reactions of the Western countries from 21 August to 15 September 1968.

The materials of the Czechoslovak Unit are principally in Czech and Slovak, but documents in English, German and French can also be found.

*Records of the Hungarian Unit*

The predecessors of the Hungarian Unit (HU) were set up in June 1951 as two independently working entities: the Hungarian Evaluation Section (HES) and the Hungarian Research Section (HRS). This occurred just a few months before RFE started broadcasting to Hungary. The organizational changes during the long administrative history of the HU, made as the RFE underwent structural modifications, are not dealt with here in length. However, in order to understand some of the criteria which determined the filing and archiving system of the Unit, it is necessary to review the first years of its existence.

The main task of the HES was to analyze, evaluate and process reports sent to the Munich headquarters from the Field Offices. Since reports were generally based on “stories” (interviews) provided by emigrants and defectors, the evaluators had to filter out each and every element suspected of exaggeration, falsification or motivation by personal revenge. In order to compare data in the reports with reality, an extensive system of index cards and background Subject Files had been developed, based principally on Hungarian press and monitoring, and on Western press. The final results of this delicate activity, which occasionally required utmost vigilance, were the Items (described below), which later proved to be reliable historical data. In addition to evaluation, the HES also produced weekly reports (from January 1953 to October 1956), cooperated with the Central News Room in evaluating newspaper articles, and wrote occasional papers.

Initially, the HRS functioned as the service unit of the Hungarian Broadcasting Department (HBD). Its staff members were in charge of producing *Press Surveys* in Hungarian and English (selecting from more than 100 titles) and background analyses. They regularly briefed the HBD leadership and assisted its editors. They also maintained a separate set of subject matter files consisting exclusively of press clippings, as well as a collection of books and statistical material.

In order to increase the effectiveness of evaluation and research, to eliminate duplication of activities (including a double filing system), and to provide better services, the two sections were merged on 22 December 1958. The two units continued to carry out their original activities, but in a more organized and coordinated manner. By developing a common code system and ultimately merging the two separate sets of Subject Files which explains the huge number of topics included, the undesirable duplication within the files was eliminated. In 1962 the tasks of the former Hungarian area specialist were assigned to the HU. *Situation Reports* were also in production by then.

In line with the broader RFE guidelines for maintaining and updating a system of documentation, the analysts and evaluators of the HU gathered a holding with core elements which were typical to the archives of other national units: index cards on individu-

als, organizations, problems, trends, and situations; Subject Files on over 700 topics; Biographical Files.

The *Subject Files*, principally in Hungarian, contain general topics relating to Hungary – domestic and foreign political issues, economy and culture – and an extremely rich coverage of the 1956 Revolution. The latter deal with the chronology of the events, their “echo” in the Western press, revolutionary organizations, writers and the Writers’ Union, the debates of the Petőfi Circle, political trials, sentences, amnesty, and the victims and martyrs of 1956. The complete transcript of RFE broadcasts covering those heroic days, and special interpretative papers are also included. However, the most extensive files are on the Communist Party and other political parties, foreign relations, religion, and the environment – the latter especially focuses on the Bős-Nagymaros (Gabčíkovo) waterworks construction.

*Subject Files in English* is a series unique to this Unit. As part of the cross-reporting duties of the HU, these files were created mainly to keep Western researchers, editors from other units, and the Radios’ policy-making bodies informed about developments and events in Hungary. The titles included here cover almost all aspects of Hungarian



Postcard from 1974 sent to “Teenager Party”, the famous and popular program of the Hungarian Desk of Radio Free Europe, requesting, among others, a Beatles song. The postcard was printed on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of Battonya, a small border town in South-Eastern Hungary. The stamp features the liberator, Marshal M. J. Malinovskii.

Records of the Hungarian Unit, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

political, social and cultural life, and sometimes they overlap with subjects from the previous series. Occasionally, Western publications on Hungary and English translations of interesting Hungarian newspaper articles were also interfiled.

It is worth describing in more detail the series of *Items* mentioned above. The existence of these series within the materials of the HU can be considered a small miracle. The practice of producing, printing and filing the *Items* ceased in 1972, when the leadership of the Radios decided to dispose of them. Since the *Items* were circulated in several copies, the ones interfiled with the Subject Files were pulled out and, together with those kept in separate series, were destroyed. Nevertheless, for unknown reasons, about one-fifth of the original quantity remained intact and now forms a unique series. When appraising these documents, one should bear in mind the importance they had in the 1950s. Many of them were used as basis for the infamous “Black Voice”, a program of the HBD which was addressed to the bad conscience of the petty nomenclature: local party leaders and policemen, directors of factories and of agricultural cooperatives. In this program the editors tried to feature the servants of the oppressive regime, their lives and responsibilities on a personified and locally recognizable level.

One of the most fascinating parts of this subfonds is the *Collection of Documents on the 1956 Revolution*. The core of this series is composed of special files collected by a group of analysts led by Dr. Aurél Bereznai, a long-time analytical specialist of the HU. The materials accumulated were not divided and incorporated into other series, but were kept separately in a strongbox. According to Dr. Bereznai, the strongbox was intact until 1986, when he personally displayed some of these materials at RFE’s exhibition in Munich on the 30th anniversary of the 1956 Revolution. Then, during the various reorganizations within the Radios, the collection disappeared, and only a small portion of it, about four linear meters in length, was recovered and shipped to OSA.

The remaining materials – press clippings, news agency releases, book extracts, RFE *Research Papers*, open-reel audiotapes such as “Voices of the Revolution” and “Battle Sounds”, as well as original documents such as pamphlets, pro-revolutionary Western posters, cartoons, radio transcripts, periodicals and professional and amateur photographs – originate from both Hungarian official and opposition sources, and also from foreign sources. They provide information on the preceding events in Budapest and the provinces, and the domestic and international echo of the Revolution. There are files dealing with the military situation in Hungary before the events, the Soviet intervention and human rights abuses, retaliation, UN reports on 1956 and discussions of the UN’s role, and political trials and executions. Memoirs, interpretive essays, and works of revolutionary poets against tyranny and oppression can also be found here. Western and communist media reactions to the 1956 Revolution, and especially the press coverage from South American countries ruled by military dictators also deserve special attention.

Finally, there are the *Biographical Files*, a series which adds a special flavor to the records of the HU. These files give information – sometimes abundantly, sometimes superficially – about approximately 5,500 prominent and less prominent Hungarian (and also foreign) state, opposition and dissident politicians, writers, actors, journalists, and other public figures. Occasionally, their speeches and publications are included. The files on leading personalities and martyrs of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution (Imre Nagy, Pál Maléter), and opposition figures of the Kádár regime, and the highest level communist party leaders (György Aczél, Béla Biszku, Zoltán Komócsin) are of great interest. There are biographical data on Árpád Göncz, the current President of the Republic. A copy of this set of files, put in an archival box especially designed for this purpose, were handed to the president during his 1999 visit to OSA.

The materials in the HU are principally in Hungarian, but materials in English, German, and French can also be found.

#### *Records of the Polish Unit*

“This is Radio Free Europe speaking – the Voice of Free Poland. Attention! Attention! On our national holiday, the Constitution Day you are listening to the inaugural program of the radio station which will speak everyday to compatriots at Homeland [...] Poles speak to Poles.” (Pątek, 1997 p. 291)

On 3 May 1952 – exactly on the 161st anniversary of the proclamation of the first Polish (and European) constitution – Radio Free Europe started broadcasting to Poland. Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, the Director of the Polish Desk presented the mission of the new broadcast. The main goal was to offer uncensored information, to speak about topics which were prohibited or kept secret by official propaganda of the Stalinist government. Nowak-Jeziorański finished with the following words of hope and encouragement: “Compatriots! Wherever you are – remember! Poland lives. Poland fights. Poland will win.” (Pątek, 1997 p. 292) The staff of the Polish Unit worked under this motto, with the idea of fighting for a free and independent homeland, for more than 40 years. And they – together with other Poles – won.

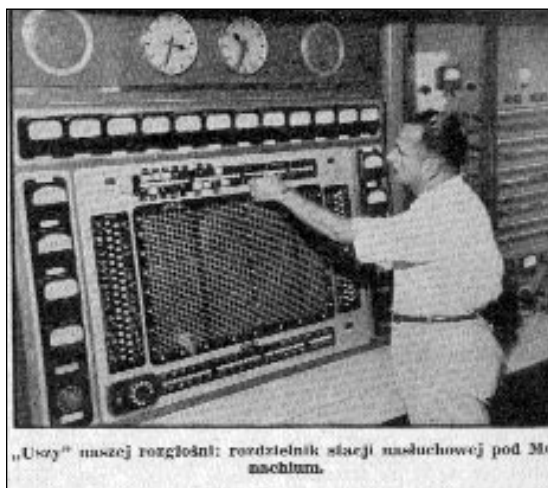
The beginning of the Polish Unit dates back to May 1951, when the Polish Evaluation Section started operating. In the beginning the main, and almost exclusive, task of this division was to evaluate Items, anonymous interviews with travelers and defectors. There was also a group of researchers who recorded and arranged information, but only for evaluation purposes. Later, the Section also supported the work of the Polish Broadcasting Department. The staff digested press, and prepared *Situation Reports* and various analytical and biographical papers.

In 1952 the Polish Research Section was created with the purpose of giving reliable information about Poland to the Radio’s units. This section also digested press and on the

basis of this produced the original-language *Polish Press Summary*. To avoid duplication of work within the Polish staff, in the summer of 1959 a decision was made to move the Polish Research Section from the Library and Reference Unit to the Evaluation Section. This was the last of the several mergers of national units within RFE's East European Research and Analysis Department, which gave birth to the Polish Evaluation and Research Section. Later it was renamed as Polish Research and Analysis Unit, until the time it was incorporated into the RFE/RL Research Institute, as part of the East European Archives, to which the Polish Unit belonged until the closure of this organization in December 1994.

During this long period of activity, a staff of about 15 people worked intensively to help all Radio units get information about Poland.<sup>8</sup> The work of the employees was divided between directly servicing the Polish Broadcasting Department and engaging in evaluation, research and analysis. The methods of gathering information were adapted according to the time and circumstances. Generally, there were four important sources: Items, press reports by Western journalists describing their visits in communist countries, information from press and news agencies, and the monitoring of Eastern European radios, and, later, television stations.

In the early period, when Stalinist censorship blocked any independent source of information, the most important data



Equipment for monitoring of the official Polish radio broadcasts.

Photo from the monthly periodical published by the Polish Desk of Radio Free Europe, *Na Antenie*, 19 May 1963, Vol. 1, No. 2. OSA Library.

came from reports sent by the West European Field Offices in the form of Items and anonymous interviews. The Polish Unit specialized in this sort of work: the number of Items it collected between 1957–1969 represented over 40 percent of all correspondents' reports on East European countries.<sup>9</sup> It was a great loss when Polish Items from the period 1951–1969 were destroyed in 1975, due to lack of space. (Zamorski, 1995 p. 104)

8. In 1965 three people processed 1,330 Items totaling 6,745 pages.

9. The Polish Unit was the biggest of all the national units. In 1966, it employed 16 people, while the Czechoslovak and Hungarian Units employed 9 each, and the Bulgarian and Romanian Units 6 people each.

After the death of Stalin, important additional information about life in the Soviet bloc came from press reports by Western journalists visiting the region. These provided independent data and facts of great value which can be found dispersed in the Polish records.

An important and extensive source of information for the Evaluation and Research Unit was the communist (especially Polish) and Western press, and later the news agencies. RFE subscribed to a huge number of central and provincial newspapers and magazines. The Polish staff usually had to digest about 60 different periodicals.<sup>10</sup>

From the beginning of the Unit, monitoring of the Polish radio (later also television) was an increasingly important source of information. This contributed to a fuller picture of life in the societies of communist countries than the one provided by the press.

The intensive collecting work of the evaluation and research staff created a huge amount of archival materials containing substantial information. At RFE/RL, a great deal of time was spent on the accumulation and classification of this information. There was one commonly accepted general filing system, but every unit created its own specific versions. In the Polish Unit there were even two systems: contrary to the practice of the Czechoslovak and Hungarian Units which merged Subjects Files, the Polish Evaluation and Research Section preserved the records of each section separately. Even 10 years after their merger there remained two separate groups of records. The main reason for this division was that the Research archives consisted primarily of files of newspaper clippings and a sizable amount of bound periodicals, while the Evaluation archives was based on Items (many of them classified) and a smaller quantity of clippings on selected subjects. The Research section organized the Subject Files on the basis of the subject classification of books in the RFE Library.

After both small and major organizational changes in the Polish Unit, an original system of arranging archival materials was developed. The staff of OSA is trying to create series divisions within this subfonds which will reflect the original order of the last user.<sup>11</sup>

The *Subject Files* are probably the most important. There are different materials from communist and Western periodicals, *Polish Monitoring Bulletin*, Items, *Polish Press Summaries*, the news file “budget” papers,<sup>12</sup> letters, memos, and other sources, which are

---

10. For instance, in 1969 there were 13 dailies, 22 weeklies, 13 monthlies and 15 others publications (A Survey, 1966, p. 141). According to Teresa Karaszewska, at one point the staff used more than 150 Polish periodicals (Morawski, 1993, p. 8).

11. Mikołaj Kunicki, who worked at OSA in 1995-1997, created the first arrangement and description of the Polish subfonds.

12. News file “budget” papers were short daily texts in English, German and French, created immediately after important events, with condensed interpretations and evaluations.

coded and composed according to an established filing system with numerical divisions and subdivisions. In the 1960s over 1,000 clippings from different sources were added to the files each week.<sup>13</sup>

Equally important information can be found in the *Subject Card Files*, which are similar to Subject Files. Originally, they were used as index cards which served as finding aids to the records kept in the binders and folders, but later the cards themselves became important sources of comprehensive information.<sup>14</sup>

There was also a large amount of *Biographical Files* in the records of the Polish Unit. The sources for this data were the same as for the Subject Files and Subject Cards. In the early 1990s, there were about 250,000 personal cards.<sup>15</sup> This enormous amount of Polish card files created an excellent information base. However, a decision of the Information Resources Department in 1992 condemned the majority of the cards to destruction, due to a lack of space. From the 16 filing cabinets of cards, the Polish Unit was allowed to keep only three. (Morawski, 1993 pp. 12–13, 83) Today OSA holds tens of thousands of the cards. After the dissolution of the RFE/RL Research Institute, some of the cards were sent to Budapest together with other Radio materials, but the majority were sent to Prague and today constitute a part of the fonds of the Open Media Research Institute.

The Subject Files, Biographical Files and Subject Cards provide extensive information about many aspects of Polish life, especially about politics, the economy, the army and culture. The biggest groups of materials can be found on the Polish United Workers Party, foreign relations, the Polish opposition, Solidarity and churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church. In addition, the biographical cards provide a good deal of information on more or less prominent people in communist and post-communist Poland. Information can be found about the leaders and members of different parties (especially the Communist Party), opposition figures (especially Lech Wałęsa), the leaders of churches (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński and many other bishops and priests of different faiths), politicians, members of parliament, and artists. Researchers can find, for instance, the biographical cards of Władysław Gomułka and Mieczysław Moczar, which were secretly copied by the communist spy Andrzej Czechowicz. (Morawski, 1993, p. 196)

The results of monitoring were published in *Komunikat Nasłuchu Radiowego/Polish Monitoring Bulletin*, in which extracts from Polish radio and (from 1982) television

---

13. In one week of 1966 there were 300 clippings from the *Polish Monitoring Bulletin*, 280 from *Trybuna Ludu*, 210 from *Życie Warszawy*, 75 from the *Polish Press Summary*, 70 from the news file “budget”, 60 from *Głos Pracy*, and 45 from *Dziennik Polski*. This totals 1040 clippings per week, which would make more than 50,000 clippings per year!

14. In 1966 there were 68,000 Subject Cards on more than 1000 topics.

15. In 1966 there were 77,000, and in 1975 136,500 biographical cards representing 112,500 people.

broadcasts were transcribed on a day-by-day and year-by-year basis. This bulletin had approximately 80 pages per issue and was distributed seven times per week. The most numerous transcripts were those of the programs of Radio Warsaw I, but sometimes those of Warsaw II and III, the regional stations, and the Polish language broadcasts of Radio Moscow and Radio Tirana also appeared. For example, the bulletin published the speech of General Wojciech Jaruzelski from 6:00 a.m. on 13 December 1981, announcing the martial law in Poland.

There is a separate group of records regarding *Polish defectors and re-defectors*. There are materials about prominent communist defectors who escaped from Poland and reported about the communist life in Poland on RFE programs. Such were the cases of Józef Światło, Lieutenant Colonel of the Ministry of Interior, who escaped in 1953 and Seweryn Bialer, a functionary in the Central Committee of the Communist Party, who defected in 1956.

There are also materials about the re-defectors; that is, people who escaped from Poland, worked at RFE, and later went back to Poland, such as Mieczysław Lach, Andrzej and Wanda Smoliski, and the most famous Captain Andrzej Czechowicz. The latter was a Polish spy who worked in the Polish Unit and returned to Poland in 1971 with documents from RFE. The communist mass media made use of his return in a big propaganda campaign against the Radios.

The materials in the Polish Unit are principally in Polish, but documents in English, German, and French can also be found.

#### *Records of the Polish Underground Publications Unit*

At Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) there was a big collection of publications distributed despite communist censorship.<sup>16</sup> After the workers' protests in 1976, and especially after the strikes in 1980 when Solidarity was created, a huge amount of different underground publications was printed in Poland. The Polish Unit of RFE/RL acquired these materials as a very good source of independent information. After the introduction of martial law in Poland, it was more difficult to obtain these uncensored publications. Thanks to the international network of Solidarity it was possible to organize the smuggling of independent news out of Poland. Mirosław Chojecki played a key role in the transportation of typographic equipment to Poland via Sweden or Austria, and the delivery of the uncensored publications out of the country. In the beginning, the underground materials were collected by Weronika Krzeczunowicz. In 1984,

---

16. Mikołaj Kunicki, who worked at OSA in 1995–1997, was the first to arrange and describe the subfunds of the Polish Underground Publications Unit. The description of this unit is partly based on his work.

Witold Pronobis<sup>17</sup> was hired to organize and manage the Polish samizdat collection accumulated by RFE/RL, as well as to acquire other independent publications. This was the formal beginning of the Polish Underground Publications Unit.<sup>18</sup> Thanks to the active work of the Unit's new chief, the collection quickly became one of the largest in the world.

It consisted of two major parts: periodicals and monographs, which were preserved as originals or photocopies. *Periodicals* contain unofficial press, human right monitoring, and other bulletins of underground organizations divided into two chronological groups before and after 13 December 1981, the day on which martial law was introduced in Poland. There are 110 titles in the first group, and 1200 in the second. The *monographs* are a large accumulation of independent Polish publications. There are many works about the country's political situation, but one can also find the classical sociological, philosophical and *belles lettres* books, written by both Polish and Western authors, which were banned under communist censorship. Access to the periodicals and monographs is provided by alphabetical card catalogs. There is also an interesting collection of *ephemera* which consists of patriotic and satirical stamps, postcards, posters, cartoons and leaflets



Demonstration in Gdańsk, 1 May 1985.

Records of the Polish Unit, Fonds 300 Records of RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

---

17. Historian from Toruń, who used the pseudonym Michał Kołodziej on the radio.

18. There were never more than three people in the staff.

published by underground Solidarity. A special group was created from the *émigré periodicals* published by Solidarity and non-Solidarity exiles.

The staff of the Polish Underground Publications Unit created a separate series of *Subject Files* containing clippings and copies from uncensored publications. There are about 160 thematic groups covering topics such as opposition activities, economy, ecology and the health care system. There are also groups of materials concerning the Polish *political parties* established before 1989, and the *biographical files of dissidents*. In a separate series there is a collection of *documents of the democratic opposition* (*Opozycja demokratyczna w Polsce. Dokumenty*) from the period 1976–1982.

Even before the establishment of the Polish Underground Publications Unit, the staff of the Polish Unit of the RFE/RL Information Resources Department prepared a *Review of Uncensored Polish Publication and Press* (from 1977). Later the Underground Publications Unit published in English *Polish Samizdat Extracts* with translations of the underground press, and the *Polish Independent Press Review* with analytical articles based on the same source. Copies of selected articles from Polish samizdat sources were collected in *Polish Independent Press Summary*.

The materials in the Polish Underground Publications Unit collection are principally in Polish, but documents in English can also be found.

#### References:

*A Survey of the East Europe Research and Analysis Department (EERA). May 1966*, OSA, Central Files: Administration History.

Lechosław Gawlikowski, *Archiwum Radia Wolna Europa – struktura, zasięg i historia*, manuscript, in print.

Marek Łatyński, *Ogród Angielski 1. Wspomnienia z Radia Wolna Europa*, Wydawnictwo UMCS: Lublin 1997.

Krzysztof Pątek, “Archiwum programowe Rozgłośni Polskiej «Radia Wolna Europa» przechowywane w Archiwum Dokumentacji Mechanicznej w Warszawie (przegląd zawartości). ześć I”, *Teki Archiwalne*, seria nowa vol. 2(24), 1997, pp. 289–299.

Kazimierz Zamorski, *Pod anteną Radia Wolna Europa*, Wydawnictwo Wers: Poznań, 1995.

*Records of the Romanian Unit*

In terms of broadcasting, Romania was, from the very beginning, considered an important target country for RFE. Ten days after the Radio had launched its heroic introductory news bloc in 1951, the first Romanian language program went on the air (accidentally or not, on the National Day of France). One month earlier, on 11 June the Romanian Unit (RU) – as part of the then News and Information Department – began operations in support of the Romanian Broadcasting Department (RBD) with background information and analysis.

The main tasks of the RU were to check, process, classify and index all available information on Romania in order to furnish the RBD with documentary material and interpretation, thus assisting in the preparation of its radio programs and commentaries. Additionally, the Unit provided information and analysis on Romania to the policy-making bodies of the Radios and to the other national broadcasting departments (cross-reporting). The Unit was also involved in providing direct assistance to the Central News Room and the dozen RFE Field Offices in Europe. In terms of public relations, the Unit responded to queries and briefed visitors from outside RFE.

During the more than four decades of its existence, the RU – in line with the numerous organizational and structural modifications within RFE – underwent basic administrative changes. Its first and long-time chief, Ion Gheorghe was then the only employee of the RU. In the early 1980s he retired, and the Unit was headed for a few years by George Ciorănescu. When he was, in turn, pensioned in 1984, Anneli Ute Gabanyi became the Unit chief. She resigned in 1988, and Michael Shafir came on board in that same year. He held this position until 1994, when the Research Institute, to which the RU then belonged, was closed down in Munich, and the Open Media Research Institute (OMRI) was established in Prague.

The staff of the RU consisted of analysts, archivists and translators. Because the Unit was a relatively small section (staff numbers varied over time, but it usually had five to ten members), it was difficult to introduce a permanent and clear-cut division of work among the various staff members. Until the establishment of the Research Institute in 1990, when analytical and archival functions were clearly separated, each staff member was engaged in all aspects of the Unit's work, although some were more devoted to analysis and others concentrated more on archival work. Staff members usually focused their attention on particular aspects of Romanian life, but at the same time they had to be up-to-date with the broader contexts of events and developments in Romania and worldwide.

The materials gathered, filed and completed by the staff came from various sources. The most relevant of these was the Romanian press, both printed and electronic, central

and regional. The RU subscribed to a good number of communist dailies, professional journals, and other periodicals – over 50 titles in 1966. Another important source until the early 1970s was the information reports from the Field Offices, which were usually based on anonymous interviews with Romanian travelers or defectors. Press reports from Western journalists and “stories” of tourists visiting Romania were also useful resources.<sup>19</sup>

The tireless activity of the staff resulted in the accumulation of approximately 250 linear meters of materials, which mainly included press clippings, news agency releases, research papers, transcripts of radio broadcasts, *émigré* publications, letters and Items. These altogether give a broad picture of the various aspects of post-war Romanian life in terms of politics, economics, culture and arts, opposition and resistance to the regime, religions, social and military issues. The nature of the sources and of the specific activities within the RU determined the types of series established within these subfonds: *Subject Files*, *Card Files*, *Monitoring Files*, and *Biographical Files*. Apart from these, the RU also had its own publications: *Situation Reports* (summaries of current events and developments in Romania), *Background Reports* (special studies – including research papers and concise interpretations – providing perspectives on current events and trends) and *Press Surveys*.

*Subject Files* are the largest and most encompassing series of this subfonds. It would take much time and space to list all the topics (arranged alphabetically, and thereunder chronologically) covered here. Nevertheless, *Communist Party*, *Propaganda*, *Police and Security*, *Resistance*, *Criticism of the Regime* are among the most interesting subjects. There is an impressive quantity of documents on Romania’s foreign and inter-party relations under *Foreign Relations*. They cover bilateral relations and agreements (with other countries and international organizations such as the Warsaw Pact and the United Nations), treaties, Romanian diplomats abroad, foreign diplomatic corps in Romania, and rifts. The filing system in this series was distinct from other units’ filing procedures in at least one aspect: most of the files contain up to 10 internal subdivisions on the subject (e.g., laws, decrees, VIPs, policy statements, protests etc.). If it was kept up-to-date, this system proved to be very user friendly and had the great advantage of providing a more comprehensive and more detailed picture of a certain subject. This unique system was time-consuming and labor-intensive; it was by no means a standard archiving procedure.

Another body of materials worth mentioning is *Records Relating to the Romanian Opposition and Protest Movement*, which gives a good overview on the history of anti-communist movements, opposition and dissent in Romania, with extensive biographical

---

19. In March 1989, a young Romanian man set himself on fire on one of the slopes of the ski resort Poiana Brasov, in protest against the regime. His deed was soon reported to the (Western) media by two British tourists who witnessed the case.

data on prominent Romanian dissidents. The files also include correspondence between listeners and the Radio. These letters and appeals from Romania are historically valuable because they reflect listeners' opinions not only on national or large-scale issues (e.g. open letters to the Chief Party Secretary on food and fuel shortages on house arrests, spies and agents, and on losing jobs), but also on local problems (e.g., the misdeeds of local party leaders, factory directors, police officers, and shop managers).

The news programs of Radio Bucharest, as well as the releases of the Romanian national news agency, Agerpres (after December 1989 Rompres) were monitored by RFE on a daily basis. The files gained by this activity, transcripts of radio broadcasts, were archived in a chronological series, *Romanian Monitoring*. Occasionally, transcripts of Romanian language programs of Radio Moscow and Radio Beijing were also included. After the fall of the communist regime, news programs of regional radio stations and of Romanian Television were also monitored and transcribed.

*Card Files*<sup>20</sup> are, from the researchers' point of view, essential resources of biographical information about Romanian (and also foreign) political and cultural personalities,



315 Biographical Cards (1949–1989) on Romanian Communist leader Nicolae Ceaușescu.

Photo by András Révész. Romanian Unit, Fonds 205 Records of the Open Media Research Institute, OSA.

---

20. The majority of these cards have been created at the Research Institute. After its closure in 1994, the cards were taken over by OMRI, where they underwent updating or discarding processes. According to the principle of “the last current use”, the standing series of cards now make part of the Records of OMRI.

army men, professional diplomats, and other public figures.<sup>21</sup> To pick the most obvious example: the 315 biographical cards on Nicolae Ceaușescu cover over 40 years of his political activity, and list all his functions, public apparitions, summit meetings, state visits abroad, international titles and distinctions. These cards can be used, together with the numerous volumes of his speeches collected in the Subject Files under *Propaganda*, to produce a sketch – if not a complete image – of a typical communist’s career.

Though small in quantity, the *Radio Free Europe Confidential Reports Regarding Romania* are a peculiar part of the records. This series consists of often strictly confidential reports (analyses, studies and interpretations) from anonymous sources, which usually landed on the RBD director’s desk. (These reports are from the heritage of Noel Bernard, long-time director of the RBD; they had helped him in policy-making and giving guidelines to broadcasters.) The topics discussed in the reports are mainly economic five-year plans, fiscal policy, industrial branches, and foreign trade (especially Franco-Romanian) – but sometimes more sensitive issues are revealed – defection and re-defection, surveillance of foreign visitors, and the state of morale in Romania.

The language of the materials is predominantly Romanian and English, but materials in German, French and Russian can also be found.

### *Albanian Records*

Radio Free Europe (RFE) broadcast to Albania only for a very brief period in 1950.<sup>22</sup> Afterward the Radios employed persons to monitor developments in Albania, and from this activity the Albanian records evolved. The Albanian analyst became part of the Communist Area Analysis Department in the 1970s. The records were accumulated by RFE from 1950 until 1990; however, the records held by OSA only start from 1962.

The *Subject Files* are arranged alphabetically by title according to the Latin alphabet. The series contains press clippings from the Albanian, Western and Kosovar press, news agency releases, occasionally-printed materials, draft research papers, and transcripts of the broadcasts of Radio Tirana.

Politics, economics and cultural issues were the most frequently monitored topics.

The most extensive files cover the Albanian Communist Party, foreign policy and agriculture, as well as foreign relations of Albania with the neighboring countries and Italy.

---

21. In addition to biographical cards, there are subject cards with information about institutions, organizations, state apparatus, culture, politics, industry etc.

22. Irida Tase, who worked at OSA created the first arrangement and description of the Albanian records. The description is partly based on her work.

The records contain information on NATO military manoeuvres, the resumption of diplomatic relations with West Germany, the denunciation of “reactionary” regimes, developments in Kosovo, Mother Theresa’s visit to Albania, Albanian political turmoil, and the standard of living in the country.

The *Biographical Files* contain significant information on Albanian politicians and the political parties in which they were involved.

### *Records of the Yugoslav Section*

During the decades of the Cold War, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) did not broadcast to Yugoslavia, nor was there a Yugoslav desk within the Programming Department. In July 1956, however, some six years after RFE was established, “a small Yugoslav Section” started to operate within the News and Information Service in Munich. It became a part of the Evaluation and Research Unit and belonged to the group of “non-target” desks which collected and filed reports and other information on countries to which the Radios did not broadcast.

The Yugoslav Section became part of the Communist Area Analysis Department during the 1960s through the 1980s. Its basic task was to provide an objective and complete picture in facts and figures concerning the current and the anticipated situation in communist-ruled countries, according to its founder and chief Slobodan Stanković. It concentrated on two areas:

- a) reporting on what the Yugoslav Communists and the Yugoslav press were saying about other communist-ruled countries, and
- b) offering analytical papers dealing with the internal Yugoslav situation and Yugoslavia’s attitude towards other Eastern European countries.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the work of the Yugoslav Section was supported by the Yugoslav Monitoring Section, which monitored radio broadcasts from Yugoslavia until the latter was abolished in December, 1973. Thereafter Yugoslav affairs analysts were forced to depend mostly upon Western news agencies and translations from the Foreign Broadcasting Information Service for news from Yugoslavia. Relying upon these materials, the Yugoslav Section of the Evaluation and Research Department produced many studies, *Background Reports* and monthly round-ups which were first published separately, and later, from December 1984, as the *Yugoslav Situation Report*. The research maintained a balance between RFE/RL broadcasting needs and the needs of its academic, government and media subscribers. The *Subject Files* and *Biographical Files* of the Yugoslav Section include both the analysts’ articles and the materials upon which their work was based.

*Subject Files* (1956–1990) contain press clippings (both Yugoslav and foreign), RFE *Research Reports*, RFE *Background Reports*, *Situation Reports*, Yugoslav Press Survey materials, and occasionally-printed materials.

The issues most frequently monitored were those of politics, economics, culture and social matters, with few of these being elaborated systematically during the 35 years of the Yugoslav Section's activities. Particularly extensive are the files on the Yugoslav Communist Party, the Yugoslav economy, nationality problems in Kosovo, foreign relations and dissidents.

*Biographical Files* (1954–1990) contain news agency information, clippings, translations from the foreign press, and excerpts from Yugoslav radio broadcasting. Individuals included were prominent government and communist party officials, intellectuals and dissidents. Particularly extensive are the files relating to Josip Broz Tito, Stane Dolanc and Milovan Đilas. Although the Biographical Files cover the entire 1954–1990 period, the units from the 1970s and the early 1980s are the most numerous.

Both series are principally in Serbo-Croatian and English, but there are also Slovenian, Macedonian and German language materials.

### *The Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Archives*

The Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Archives (SBE Archives) records deal primarily with topics and personalities related to the former Soviet Union, its successor states, and the Baltic countries.<sup>23</sup> Since the early 1950s for almost 40 years, these records were collected primarily from the Soviet press (predominantly in Russian), but also from the Western press (predominantly in English and German). These were compiled together with other sources, such as Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) radio transcripts, research papers, news wires, and radio and TV monitoring materials.

Historically, SBE Archives records originated from activity of the Research Section of Radio Liberation (later Radio Liberty). The Research Section was created in 1953 as a part of its Information Department, along with Soviet Monitoring and the Library. Assigned to review Soviet and Western newspapers (approximately 40 at that time), members of the section created the first filing system, in which they used to store abstracts of the most significant articles they had prepared, press clippings and related documents.

With time, the number of sources was significantly increased. By 1962, staff of the Soviet Research Department (into which the Information Department was integrated)

---

23. Jennie Anne Levine, an American fellow of OSA in 1996-1997, wrote the first description of SBE Archives and its administrative history. She also processed the records of the Soviet "Red" Archives. This section is based on her description.

screened over 500 news sources, including all available Soviet newspapers, all major Soviet magazines, numerous Soviet professional journals as well as Western newspapers, journals, news wires etc.

In 1976, as result of the merger of RL and RFE, the Soviet Research Department became the Research on Soviet Affairs Department, part of the larger Information Resources Department, and the number of sources reviewed increased to over 600.

As a part of the OSA holdings, SBE Archives consists of three subfonds: Soviet “Red” Archives, Soviet Monitoring, and Samizdat Archives (including a collection of samizdat documents and collections of informal and regional press).

### *The Soviet “Red” Archives*

The name “Red” Archives was chosen, presumably at the end of the 1950s, since the major goal of its creators was to reconstruct the situation in the Soviet Union primarily using the Soviet press sources.

We do not know much about how the Soviet “Red” Archives was arranged at that time, but most likely the first filing system was not very complicated. A new filing system was developed in 1962. It was based on the so-called “old subject code” and included 600 subject categories, in Russian, arranged alphabetically. Some categories also had sub-categories. Periodically modified, this system existed for 30 years.

In 1992, after the break-up of the Soviet Union, the staff of the Soviet “Red” Archives started working on a new classification system with English language subject codes. The idea was to adjust this system to the new political situation in the territory of the former Soviet Union. Thus, they planned to form separate files for each of the former Soviet Union’s 15 republics, using for this purpose a special subject code (New Code Republics Files); files documenting events affecting the Baltic states as a group (Baltic Files); files for subjects pertaining only to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS Files); and files for materials related to the former Soviet Union (All-Union General Files). The project was never finished: only a few items were removed from the previously existing Subject Files (Old Code Subject Files) and filed under the new system.

*Old Code Subject Files* (1953–1994) are the original Subject Files compiled by the Radio staff from 1953. Although in 1992 the old filing system was replaced with a new one, materials continued to be added to the former until 1994.

The series comprises extensive information related to Soviet governmental institutions, military affairs, the Communist Party and its Central Committee, space projects, literary activities, religion, agriculture and industry in the USSR. Of particular interest are records reflecting such crucial events in Soviet history as the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Afghan war, the human rights movement in the former Soviet

Union, discussions during the Perestroika period, and certain aspects of Soviet international politics. There are few items from the 50s and the bulk of materials are from the 70s and 80s. All the other Subject Files of the Soviet “Red” Archives were created in 1993.

*New Code Subject Files* (1954–1994) comprise information related to ecology, economics, mass media and culture, politics, science, security policy and social issues in the former USSR.

*All-Union General Files* (1956–1994) cover topics such as ethnic groups, international organizations and foreign broadcasting in the former Soviet Union.

*CIS Files* (1990–1994) are files on subjects pertaining to the CIS, such as military affairs, the external debt of the former USSR, and cooperation between CIS parliaments

*Baltic Files* (1969–1994) and *New Code Republics Files* (1958–1994) cover topics relating to each of the republics of the former Soviet Union.

Three series of the Soviet “Red” Archives are Biographical Files: Biographical Files (Cyrillic), Biographical Files (Latin) and Kraus Biographical Files.

*Biographical Files (Cyrillic)*, 1953–1994, contain information on prominent Soviet officials, famous dissidents, intellectuals and public figures. Particularly extensive are files relating to Joseph Stalin, Nikita Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev, Mikhail Gorbachev, Eduard Shevardnadze, Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Andrei Sakharov. The files are arranged alphabetically by surname in the Cyrillic alphabet, and thereunder chronologically. Over 25,000 biographic records on key personalities from the Soviet Union were entered into an electronic database; in 1994 the content of this database was published on microfiche by Chadwick-Healey, Ltd. These are available at OSA.

*Biographical Files (Latin)*, 1954–1994, relate to outstanding political figures outside of the former Soviet Union, from Europe, Asia, and America, including Communist leaders from Central and Eastern Europe and China, famous intellectuals, artists and singers from around the world. Of particular interest are files relating to Willy Brandt, Zbigniew Brzeziński, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Milovan Đilas, Richard Nixon, Josip Broz Tito and Raoul Wallenberg.

*Kraus Biographical Files* (formerly known as the Kraus Archives) were named after Herwig Kraus, who worked on the project for thirty years, sometimes with the support of several people. He retired when the RFE/RL Research Institute was closed. Kraus Biographical Files (1958–1994) contain clippings, news agency releases, and excerpts of RFE/RL *Research Reports*. During the early period these were often just short pieces of typed information, usually regarding new appointments, with or without indications of their sources. The strong point of Kraus Biographical Files is the wide range of personalities included, and these files were considered a very important resource during the Cold War period. Records belonging to the earlier period are available on microfiche prepared by Chadwick-Healey, Ltd.

### *Soviet Monitoring*

Soviet Monitoring was founded at the very beginning of Radio Liberty's (RL) activity. Monitoring at RL began with radio and later expanded to television. Conceptually, the monitoring of radio and TV was separate from monitoring of the print press, and it was handled by different staff. The monitoring materials were organized into bulletins, each of which was 30–40 pages long. In the late 70s, Ukrainian Service Monitoring was formed within the Unit, which compiled the bulletins *News and Commentaries Broadcast by Ukrainian Radio*.

At various stages of its existence the Unit employed between 10 and 20 people. Victor Werbitsky was originally head of the Unit, and he was replaced by Alexander Robinovic in the early 90s. In November 1990, the RL Monitoring Unit was integrated into the RFE/RL Research Institute as a part of its Information Resource Department; the Unit continued to support broadcasting as well as the other departments.

By 1991, two radio stations and two television channels from Moscow were being monitored. These activities included the monitoring of regular news programs as well as on-demand monitoring. The Unit transcribed Soviet television and radio broadcasts, and issued bulletins composed of selected radio and TV items together with materials from Soviet news agencies. About four *Soviet Press Surveys* were produced daily: two or three in Russian and one or two in Ukrainian. Additionally, a *Baltic Press Survey* in Russian was issued twice a week.

The Unit was closed on 30 September 1992. The radio and television monitoring and press clippings service were transferred from Munich to a contractor based in Moscow. In accordance with this contract, the information agency *What Papers Say* (WPS) monitored four radio stations and four television channels. WPS faxed press clippings to Munich daily, and radio and TV monitoring transcripts were sent electronically and compiled into three print publications (*CIS Today: Press Survey*, *ITAR-TASS Daily News* and *TV and Radio Monitoring*).<sup>24</sup> The contracts for monitoring Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Latvian press were also signed in the period 1992–1993. Belarusian monitoring materials began to arrive from Minsk on 20 January 1992. A new *Latvian Press Survey*, compiled in Riga and sent daily to Munich by fax was started on 7 September 1993.

In 1993 and 1994, on-demand monitoring was done by the Audiovisual Unit to supplement the scheduled monitoring done by WPS.

As newspapers and journals from Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Transcaucasia were extremely difficult to acquire after the break-up of the Soviet Union, a new system of delivery by courier service was developed.

---

24. RFE/RL Research Institute. *Activity Report No. 12, July – October 1992*, RFE/RL, Administrative History, Central Files, OSA. Electronic files are also available at the Open Society Archives as a series of the Open Media Research Institute (OMRI) records.

The Soviet Monitoring subfonds (1975–1994) contains textual and audiovisual materials relating to economic, political, social, and cultural issues in the USSR, and following its collapse, in the countries of the former Soviet Union. The textual part consists of bulletins containing transcripts of major news programs and special programs of radio and television, news agency materials, and clippings from the central and regional press compiled daily by the Soviet Monitoring staff, and later by the WPS.

The audiovisual part of the Soviet Monitoring materials consists of videotapes containing Moscow television programs broadcast from 1985 to 1994 (see subchapter “Audiovisual materials”). Additionally, the Unit archived selected press and radio/TV monitoring materials on different subjects regarding the USSR, and later the Russian Federation and the countries of the former Soviet Union. That later became part of the Former Soviet Union Archives.

Composed according to a filing plan accepted in 1994, the files formed separate archives – *Russian Monitoring* and *Ukrainian Monitoring*. The work on these files was continued at OMRI.

The materials are principally in Russian, Ukrainian and other major languages of the region.

### *Samizdat Archives*

Samizdat is a Russian word, which from the 1960s meant underground issues (*belles lettres*, political essays, public appeals, letters to the Soviet leadership) which could not be officially published because of censorship and were disseminated secretly, from person to person, very often at a great risk. Samizdat, with Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) as the most active of its propagandists, played a very significant role in the historical development of Soviet society.<sup>25</sup> This explains why the Samizdat Archives is considered a very important part of OSA holdings.

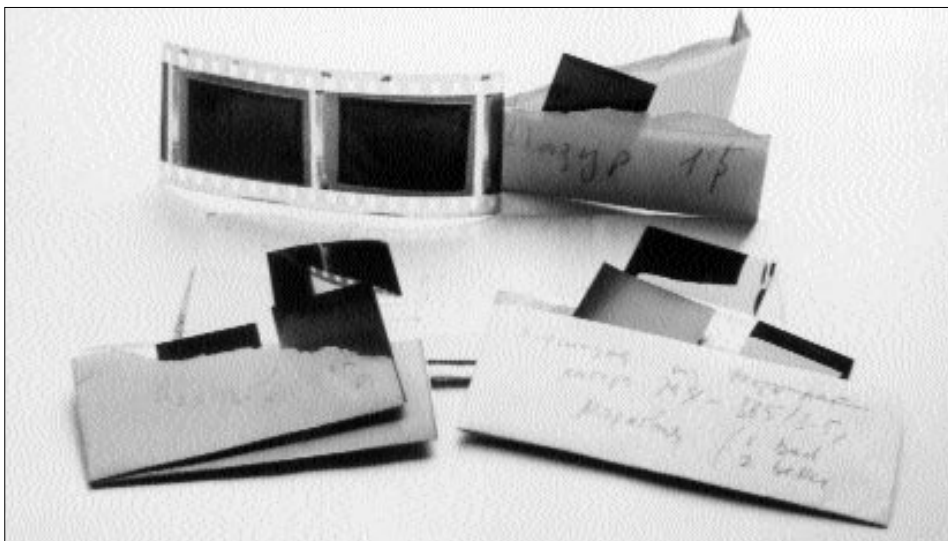
One of the first samizdat items to arrive at RFE/RL was Khrushchev’s “secret speech”. In February 1956, Khrushchev delivered a speech to a closed session of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in which, for the first time in Soviet history, he admitted some of Stalin’s crimes against the Soviet people. Radio Liberation broadcast the text of the speech in Russian for listeners throughout the Soviet Union. During the period from 1957 to 1961, it also aired the texts of other samizdat publications: Boris Pasternak’s *Doctor Zhivago*, Milovan Đilas’ *New Class*, and *Sud Idet* by Abram Terts (Andrei Siniavskii).

---

25. The first description of the Samizdat Archives was prepared by Jennie Anne Levine, an American fellow of OSA in 1996 – 1997. She also interviewed former archivists of the Samizdat Unit, Peter Dornan and Mario Corti as well as staff member, Bedend Wispelway. This description is based on those documents.

In 1966, the writers Iulii Daniel and Andrei Siniavskii were sentenced to terms in a labor camp for having published their satirical stories in the West under pseudonyms. Letters of protest against their trial signaled the beginning of the new era in the history of samizdat: samizdat became a voice of protest against the totalitarian practices of the Soviet authorities. In order to be heard by the people of the Soviet Union the voices of the underground writers needed to be amplified, and for 25 years RFE/RL successfully filled this need.

In the fall of 1968, RL started broadcasting straight readings of samizdat materials on political and social topics. The first show of the kind was *Pisma i dokumenty* (*Letters and Documents*). Other programs on samizdat or samizdat-related questions prepared by the Radio's Russian Service were *Obzor samizdata* (*Samizdat Review*), *Dokumenty nashego vremeni* (*Documents of Our Time*), *Dokumenty i liudi* (*Documents and People*) and *Prava cheloveka* (*Human Rights*). Other Radio services (Ukrainian, Belarusian, Georgian, Armenian etc.) also incorporated samizdat documents into their programs. "It was due to these programs that many Soviet citizens who had no connections with dissident circles became aware of samizdat."<sup>26</sup>



Black and white photo negatives with images of documents. Negatives were cut into as small pieces as possible, and were smuggled out to the West from the Soviet Union.

Photo by András Révész. Samizdat Archive, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

26. [Mario Corti], *The RFE/RL Research Institute's Samizdat Collection*, Russian Samizdat, RFE/RL Administrative History, Central Files, OSA. Mario Corti (who is currently the Acting Director of the Russian service at RFE/RL in Prague) in the 1970s while working in the USSR played a significant role in sending samizdat materials to the West. In 1979, he joined the Samizdat Unit at RFE/RL in Munich (starting in 1988 as its chief), and later became an Assistant Director of the Information Resources Department.

The Samizdat Archives was an important link in the chain that connected samizdat authors with their audience. It was founded by Peter Dornan and Albert Boiter at the end of the 60s, when in light of the increasing flow of samizdat documents from the Soviet Union, they started collecting these on a regular basis. In 1968 they began publishing the Samizdat bulletin circulated by Radio Liberty. This bulletin, which later became the more or less regular in-house bi-weekly *Materialy Samizdata* (*Materials of Samizdat*), contained original texts of samizdat documents.

In 1971, the Samizdat Unit was established (it operated until 30 September 1992). Its staff carefully studied each document received by the Radio and selected some for publication in *Materialy Samizdata*. They were very alert for falsified or fabricated documents. They also took certain precautions to be sure that publicity would not be harmful to samizdat authors still in the Soviet Union.

To make the materials more available to the public, in 1972 the Samizdat Unit began publishing *Sobranie dokumentov Samizdata* (*Collection of Samizdat Documents*), a multi-volume edition distributed to several national and university libraries in Europe and the United States. Altogether 30 volumes were published, 16 of them on particular topics, such as the Russian Orthodox Church, the Crimean Tartars, and *The Chronicle of Current Events*.

Between 1968 and 1991, 6,617 samizdat documents were published in *Materialy Samizdata*; 3,000 were also reproduced in *Sobranie dokumentov Samizdata* between 1972–1977. The documents were listed in several samizdat registers prepared by the Samizdat Unit (1973–1977), and they are the core of the existing samizdat collection documents in the OSA holdings (*Published Samizdat*). A portion of the collection is available on microfiche.

While preparing the samizdat documents for publication, the Samizdat Unit developed numerous reference materials in different formats including *Subject Files*, *Biographical Files* and *card and electronic indexes*.

Those samizdat documents which were not published in *Materialy Samizdata* for various reasons were filed separately as *Unpublished Samizdat*. The number of these files increased considerably during the Perestroika period, when RFE/RL was flooded with materials of different types sent from the former Soviet Union. This part of the samizdat collection has still not been processed.

During the Perestroika period the Samizdat Archives became famous for its *Collections of Informal* and *Regional Press* which were considered to be the best in the West. Though this collection includes a certain number of pre-Perestroika publications, it mostly consists of periodicals from the Perestroika period. Some of these were published by political groups, and some were printed for commercial purposes. Others were created by individuals. Many provincial newspapers were included in the collection as well, because

previously their distribution abroad were prohibited. When all of these publications were put together, they created a perfect illustration of the new horizons opened as a result of *glasnost* and the liberation of the press in the former Soviet Union.

The collection is divided into two parts: *Informal Press* including 6,000 issues of over 1,000 titles; and *Regional Press* with 10,000 issues of 1,400 titles. The publications are mostly in Russian, but there are also some in Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Kazakh and other languages of the former Soviet Union. There are approximately three linear meters of audiovisual materials relating to the samizdat collection. These include open-reel tapes, black-and-white 35mm negatives, color slides, videotapes and audiocassettes. Of particular interest are interviews with Andrei Sakharov, Elena Bonner and Alexander Solzhenitsyn.



Cover page of a Soviet independent political periodical *Saratovskii Vestnik* (Saratov Courier) June-July 1990 issue with the title "The New Generation Will Choose..."

Informal Press, Samizdat Archives, Fonds 300 Records of the RFE/RL Research Institute, OSA.

### The Publications Department

The Publications Department continued the publishing activities of both Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL): the editing, production and distribution of books, periodicals, research bulletins, background reports and other publications in both print and electronic formats. Some of these were published continuously throughout the various reorganizations within the Radios. External distribution of research documents and publications began in the early 1960s.

Publications produced by the Department included:

- newsletters and brochures drawing on the Research Institute's materials
- attitude research data from surveys in Eastern Europe including comparisons with

Western Europe, and data on the rate of listening to RFE (*Audience and Opinion Research*)

- digests of key developments in East European countries and the former Soviet Republics (*RFE/RL Research Report, Report on Eastern Europe, Report on USSR, Daily Report*)
- public opinion polls, material illustrating Radio Free Europe's effectiveness and impact, as well as the effects of the communist regimes' press and radio attacks against RFE (*East European Area and Opinion Research*), and coverage of the listeners' reactions to RFE/RL and other Western radios (*Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research*)
- day-by-day coverage of political, social, economic, and cultural events in "target" and "non-target" countries (*East Europe Weekly Diary*)
- weeklies and monthlies intended for reference use by the Radios' staff (*Ezbenedelnik, Airwaves*)
- journals published by the Research and Publication Service of the National Committee for a Free Europe for the use of RFE (*News from behind the Iron Curtain*, in English, and *Hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang* in German)

The two most important types of publications created by the national units and also by the General Desk, the Office of the Political Advisor and the Analytical Department were *Background Reports* (BR) and *Situation Reports* (SR).

#### Background Reports, (1952) 1959–1989

*Background Reports* were either long studies covering a single subject or short papers of an analytical nature providing an immediate assessment of new information, a sudden development, or the latest development in a running story.

These reports were written on an *ad hoc*, irregular basis and concerned not only the five countries to which RFE broadcast but also Albania, the German Democratic Republic, Yugoslavia, the non-ruling communist parties of the West, East-West political relations, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, East-West trade and finance, the Warsaw Pact and general ideology.

Until 1974 *Background Reports* were also written on the USSR, China, Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Mongolia and the Sino-Soviet dispute.

The OSA's collection of *Background Reports* is divided into a *Country Series*, a *Foreign Relations Series*, a series solely devoted to the *World Communist Movement*, and *Miscellaneous* reports on subjects that do not fit into the other categories.

Of the many publications issued between 1951 and 1955, only a few survived and were copied onto microfiche: these are the *Hungarian Background Reports* from 1952, 1954 and 1955.

### Situation Reports, 1959-1989

Originally published daily, *Situation Reports* were issued on a twice-weekly schedule from 1962, a weekly schedule from 1970, and a bi-weekly schedule from 1979. With the exception of the *Baltic Area SR* covering Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania from December 1984, *Situation Reports* were written separately for each of the countries to which RFE/RL broadcast. The reports covered the latest developments in almost all areas of life in these states. They are mostly descriptive but partly analytical, with the latter element becoming more pronounced over the years. Although RFE/RL did not broadcast to Albania, *Situation Reports* on this country were published irregularly during the 1960s. Beginning in late 1984, *Yugoslav SR* were also introduced.

The majority of the publications were in English, but some were also produced in Russian, Hungarian, German and French.

### RECORDS OF THE OPEN MEDIA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

When in 1994 President Havel offered rental of the recently vacated building of the former Czechoslovak Parliament to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) for just one crown a year, the gesture predetermined the future of the Open Media Research Institute (OMRI): Prague became OMRI's home city.

The decision to close the RFE/RL Research Institute left many questions unresolved. The Institute was a nutrient medium providing the broadcasting services with information; without its support the Radios were cut off from their life breath, the incoming news. The Radio would not be able to survive without its archival resources and analytical support. However, these problems regarding the RFE/RL Research Institute's archives and research facilities were solved in one package: the Open Society Archives (OSA) pledged to maintain the historical part of the Research Institute archives, and OMRI became the daily information provider to the Radios, also housing the most recent records from the Research Institute's archives.

OMRI was created as a non-profit public service enterprise funded jointly by the Open Society Institute and by the United States Board for International Broadcasting. Its principal activities were monitoring events in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, analyzing and spreading information around the region and worldwide, and training journalists and analysts from the region. (*Building Open Societies*, 1995, pp. 175–176)

To pursue this mission OMRI published *Transition* magazine (started as a monthly, it evolved into a bi-weekly) and several electronic publications: *OMRI Daily Digest*, a six-page report of the latest news of the region in English and in Russian, *Economic Digest* (beginning in 1995), *Pursuing Balkan Peace* and *Russian Regional Report* (both begin-

ning in 1996). OMRI also operated an internship program for students from the region; hosted several seminars and professional meetings, including conferences on Roma and the Media; and cooperated with RFE/RL providing it with press surveys, TV, and radio monitoring, program briefs, analytical reports, and other services. OSA holds electronic copies of the OMRI electronic publications.

OMRI's structure was more or less similar to that of the RFE/RL Research Institute. It included the Research and Analysis Department with several clusters of analysts; the Information Services Department including the East European Archives, the Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Archives and the Library; the Operations Department; the Publications Department; the Conferences and Residents Office; and the Audience and Opinion Research Department (which was located in Washington, DC).

Beginning on 1 April 1997, OMRI was significantly restructured and downsized. From then on, OMRI continued to publish its monthly magazine, now entitled *Transitions*, and ceased all other activities. At the end of 1997, OMRI was closed.

OMRI's records became a part of OSA holdings. Its important contribution was that part of the archives of the RFE/RL Research Institute which had been kept in OMRI's custody. The OMRI fonds also contains the administrative records of OMRI, the records of its Research and Analysis Department (including the files of several analysts) and Training Department, and an immense amount of materials collected by its archives.

*The Information Services Department* (ISD) of OMRI was a successor of the Information Resources Department of the RFE/RL Research Institute and had similar functions and a similar structure.

ISD's major mission was to provide information and support services to RFE/RL and OMRI analysts. Its activities included collecting key information on current events in the countries of the former communist bloc, selecting for acquisition the most crucial sources of information from the region in different formats, coordinating the activities of information vendors, building and managing a client-oriented information systems to provide easy access to available information, and developing technical standards sufficient to this task.

ISD responsibilities included operation of a specialized Library with over 125,000 volumes and two archives: the East European Archives and the Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Archives (SBE Archives).

### **East European Archives**

The East European Archives collected information on the following countries: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovakia.

The records of OMRI's East European Archives are the continuation of the files of the RFE/RL Research Institute. However, they cover broader subjects and reflect the changes that took place in the East European countries from 1993 to 1997.

The country subfonds consist of Subject Files, Biographical Files, and chronological series; monitoring of each country's radio and television; news chronologies and press surveys.

The records relate to a wide range of topics and provide information on a large variety of key figures in the social, cultural, and political spheres of the countries.

The *Subject Files* consist of files on culture, the economy, politics, security and social issues including information services, RFE/RL, environmental protection, economic development, monetary policy, foreign relations, justice, local government, political ethics, armed forces, crime, churches, education, minorities, nationalism, religion, trade unions and women's issues.

There is a substantial amount of information relating to the transition period in East European countries and conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. There are also files on political parties, democracy, demonstrations, strikes, law and justice, VIPs, public opinion polls and elections, United Nation Protection Forces, non-governmental organizations, refugees, war crimes and human rights. Records on juvenile delinquency, drug abuse, religious schools, and international treaties and organizations (the Council of Europe, the European Community, NATO, UNESCO etc.) can also be found here.

The *Biographical Files* include biographical documents on politicians, human rights activists and dissidents, artists, intellectuals, sportsmen, scientists, party leaders, artists, physicians, representatives of churches, military officers, historians and university professors.

### **Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Archives**

The primary goal of the SBE Archives was to monitor the countries of the former Soviet Union and to regularly provide the analysts dealing with this region at the Radios and at OMRI with required information.

SBE Archives staff consisted of five people working in OMRI's building and a team of four (the Monitoring Group) working in the building of RFE/RL.

The SBE Archives contracted several agencies, the same ones that RFE/RL in Munich had dealt with, to use them as information sources in the countries of the former Soviet Union (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Latvia). The Russian agency *What Papers Say* (WPS) in Moscow played the most important role, cooperating very closely with the SBE Archives.

WPS monitored Russian radio and television for OMRI. It also reviewed a wide range of periodicals, from many former Soviet countries as well as the Russian regional press, and

clipped the most important materials. Twice a day WPS sent OMRI its daily clippings – the most urgent information from Russian central newspapers – by fax, and, after 1996, electronically. Once a week a courier from Moscow delivered WPS clippings from periodicals in the countries of the former Soviet Union (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) and from the republics of the Russian Federation. These clippings were mostly in national languages. Additionally, WPS compiled topical clippings for OMRI under the headings “Parties and Public Movements in Russian Regions”, “National Policy and Ethnic Conflicts”, “Ecology”, “Russia in Statistics” etc. These were also delivered by courier.

To facilitate access to incoming information, staff members of SBE Archives created two data banks: *Regional Files* comprising information relating to the Russian regions and their political, economic, social and cultural developments; and *Environmental Files* on environmental conditions in the Russian Federation and, to a lesser extent, in the other countries of the former Soviet Union.

As previously mentioned, OMRI was the custodian of the part of the RFE/RL Research Institute archives covering the 1990s. This included the Former Soviet Union Archives (see Russian Monitoring) and Ukrainian Archives. SBE Archives staff continued to file clippings into these archives. When OMRI was closed, the part of the Former Soviet Union Archives was sent to OSA in Budapest. Its part (12 file cabinets) which were filed in Prague, and all of the Ukrainian (4 file cabinets) and Belarusian (2 file cabinets) records were to remain at RFE/RL for a period of three years – they will come to OSA after 1 April 2000.

## References

*Building Open Societies. Soros Foundations 1994*, Open Society Institute: New York, 1995, pp.181–182.

*OMRI Special Directory*, Open Media Research Institute: Prague, 1995.

## SAMIZDAT PUBLICATIONS OF GÁBOR DEMSZKY

The Open Society Archives (OSA) holds one of the largest Polish and Russian/Soviet samizdat collections in the world. Besides these, there are also materials in all of the national series of the former RFE/RL holdings which are related to dissident and clandestine activities within these countries. The original documents on the Hungarian opposition movements were greatly increased by a donation from Gábor Demszky, Mayor of Budapest, who deposited his private Hungarian samizdat archives with OSA at its opening ceremony.

Gábor Demszky was one of the leading figures of the so-called “democratic opposition” in Hungary. He was among the founding members of SZETA (the Fund for Supporting the Poor), and he established and ran AB Független Kiadó, the largest Hungarian samizdat publishing house. AB produced, published, and distributed periodicals, such as *Hírmondó* and *Beszélő*, and approximately 100 books, anthologies and essay collections by both Hungarian and foreign authors.

The history of resistance and of clandestine and opposition activities in Hungary began with the communist takeover, although the earliest period of its history is still almost absolutely hidden under a veil. The resistance apparently culminated during and after the 1956 Revolution, when the first widely known and widely distributed samizdat publications appeared. After the Soviet invasion the regime was able to suppress the weakened opposition by applying the most brutal means. During the consolidation period, from the late 50s until the second half of the 60s, dissident activities in Hungary were almost undetectable.

The repression of the “Prague Spring” by Warsaw Pact troops in 1968 gave a new impetus to the emergence of the dissident movements of a younger generation in Hungary. This event made it clear that the communist regime was not able to accept any reform towards a more democratic regime, and could not tolerate the extension of neither economic nor political liberties. The intervention provoked significant resistance among young intellectuals of both reform-Marxist and non-Marxist origins. Their protests took several forms but were not very well organized. In the following years, two famous books demonstrated that intellectuals had begun to contemplate the theoretical consequences of the intervention on the future perspectives of existing communist regimes: *Is Political Economy Possible?* by Bence-Kis-Márkus and: *The Road of the Intellectuals Towards Class-Rule* by Konrád-Szelényi. Both were prohibited and provoked repressions from the regime. At the beginning of the 1970s two major phenomena marked the gradual emergence of more organized resistance: the conservative “coup” of the party leadership against the 1968 economic reforms, and the launch of sociological research among the most impoverished groups in the country. These interrelated phe-

nomena led to retorsions in the intellectual life and became the direct antecedents of the organized opposition and the appearance of regularly published samizdat periodicals.

The *Charter 77* movement in Czechoslovakia had a fertilizing effect in the region and in Hungary as well. Protests against the repressive measures of the Czechoslovak regime created a framework for dissident activities. The appearance of two famous samizdat publications indicated a sort of breakthrough: *Profil*, edited by János Kenedi, and *Napló*, (*Breviary*). In the next years there were several attempts to establish samizdat periodicals that were able to come out on a regular basis – *Kisúgó*, *Vox Humana*, *Magyar Figyelő*. In 1981, *Beszélő* was established, and for the first time in the history of Hungarian samizdat the editors stepped out of the shadows, making their names and addresses public instead of remaining incognito. In the early 80s, Hungarian samizdat proliferated. New titles appeared on the scene – *Hírmondó* (edited by Gábor Demszky), *Demokrata*, *Magyar Zsidó*, etc. These new periodicals found or created their own audiences, and were able to establish and maintain their own clandestine production mechanisms and distribution networks. A real market for samizdat was starting to emerge.

The end of the story is fairly well-known. The ateliers concentrated around samizdat periodicals became the first cells of political movements which played a crucial role in the



Mimeograph from the mid-1980s, which was donated to Gábor Demszky (currently the Mayor of Budapest) by Hungarian emigrants in France.

Photo by András Révész. Fonds 302 Samizdat Publications of Gábor Demszky, OSA.

political transition at the end of the decade. The private collection accumulated and preserved by Gábor Demszky provides a unique picture of Hungarian opposition activities throughout the 80s. It contains the publications themselves as well as their preparatory materials, manuscripts, designs and galley proofs. Moreover, a collection of equipment used in samizdat production (printing-machines, frames etc.) provides an insight not only into the intellectual history of samizdat, but also into its technical history.

### PERSONAL PAPERS OF GENERAL BÉLA KIRÁLY

Béla Király, Colonel General (four-star), Professor Emeritus of history, former member of Parliament, publisher, conference organizer, and author and editor of numerous books and articles in English and Hungarian, joined the Hungarian Army in 1930. In 1945, he took part in the resistance movement and brought a brigade over to the Allied side. He was sentenced to death in 1951, but his sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. General Király was finally paroled in 1956, and became the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council for National Defense, Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard of Hungary and Commander of Budapest. He was permanent resident of the United States of America from December 1956, and in 1965 he became a US citizen. In June 1989, he returned to Hungary, and the Supreme Court rehabilitated him later that year. From 1990 to 1994 he was member of the Hungarian Parliament and Vice-Chairman of the Defense Committee.

The *Personal Papers of General Béla Király* are one of the most recent acquisitions of the Open Society Archives. The documents (about 15 linear meters in length, and now under processing) cover the various stages and aspects of General Király's manifold public activities and career. The fonds includes his personal papers, diaries, resumes and correspondence, as well as manuscripts, newspaper clippings (including the press campaign against his repatriation) and interviews. An important part of the materials including books, original newspapers and clippings, *émigré* publications, and propaganda materials, deals with the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and Imre Nagy's execution and reburial. Another significant body within the fonds is the material documenting Király's teaching activity at various universities: at the War Academy in Hungary; and in the US, at St. John's University, Columbia University and the Brooklyn College of CUNY. This includes teaching materials, such as slides for overhead projectors thematically focusing on the War of Independence and the two World Wars, articles for scholarly journals, and also records (memos and correspondence) created during the everyday life of a university department. General Király's four years as a member of Parliament are also covered in detail.

The materials are principally in English and Hungarian.

# Human Rights

## RECORDS OF THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW INSTITUTE

On 6 October 1992, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 780 (1992), by which it requested that the Secretary General establish a Commission of Experts to examine and analyze information submitted as evidence of grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and other violations of international humanitarian law committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. In a further resolution on 16 November 1992, the Security Council requested the Commission to actively pursue its investigations on the matter of violations of international humanitarian law committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

On 26 October 1992, the Chairman and four members were appointed (Kalshoven/Bassiouni's Commission). Its first chairman was Frits Kalshoven (Netherlands). In October 1993, following the resignation of Kalshoven, Cherif Bassiouni (Egypt) was appointed as Chairman as well as Rapporteur for the Gathering and Analysis of Facts.

During its existence, from October 1992 through April 1994, the Commission received over 65,000 pages of documentation, as well as printed and audiovisual information. The Commission employed three methods of investigation:

- Collecting and analyzing information sent to or requested by the Commission;
- Undertaking investigative missions in the territory of the former Yugoslavia in order to obtain additional information, take testimony and, as far as possible, verify facts;
- Gathering information on behalf of the Commission by certain governments in different countries.

In December 1992, the Commission set up a database designed to provide a manageable record of all reported alleged war crimes. The database was developed at the International Human Rights Law Institute (IHRLI) of DePaul University in Chicago under the supervision of Cherif Bassiouni, who was simultaneously the Rapporteur for the Gathering and Analysis of Facts, the Chairman of the Commission and the President of the Institute. The information in the database was received from several governments, which made official submissions, as well as from intergovernmental and non-governmental bodies. The database also contained information from open sources and media reports. IHRLI also provided staff and space for the Commission of Experts; first, for evidence-gathering and analysis, and then, when Bassiouni became Chairman, for the general direction of the Commission.

Based on this documentation, the Commission had issued two *Preliminary Reports of the Commission of Experts* containing preliminary conclusions during the summer and fall of 1993. On 14 December 1993, the Commission was informed that, in light of the establishment of the International Tribunal and the appointment of its Prosecutor, the Commission should finalize its report and complete the transfer of its files, documents, and database to the International Tribunal by 30 April 1994. The *Final Report of the Commission of Experts*, including several volumes of *Annexes*, was released on 27 May 1994, and, with the original back-up documentation and the database, transferred to the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Tribunal.<sup>27</sup>

Records of the International Human Rights Law Institute at the Open Society Archives comprise 15 linear meters of documents, 252 videotapes, 23 audiotapes (see subchapter “Audiovisual materials”) and 68 books and journals. These were donated to the Archives by the International Human Rights Law Institute of DePaul University in 1994. The records are open for research with the exception of four boxes to which access is restricted at the donors’ request.

Through their scope and content these records cover all important aspects of the wars in Croatia and Bosnia, providing insight into contemporary political and military events, and offering a comprehensive understanding of the historical background of the crisis.

Though the IHRLI textual records are comprised of 13 series, the whole body of documents can be divided into five general groups, each of which witnesses the multitude of sources and aspects that were used by the UN Commission of Experts in the process of preparing their final report. In addition to the *Final Report* which includes both draft and final versions of the *Annexes* and *Special Reports*, the IHRLI records also contain documentation issued by various UN agencies, the International Red Cross Committee and the International Court of Justice, as well as official submissions of former Yugoslav government.

Even though the records of IHRLI as a whole are dedicated to war crimes and atrocities issues, special attention should be drawn to the separate series of materials regarding the specific phenomenon of “ethnic cleansing”, a term that was coined during the Commission’s investigative work, as well as to those files that deal with the destruction of the cultural property on the territory of Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also worth mentioning is a uniquely complex group of records created by UN military experts in the field relating to the military structures, strategies and tactics of the warring factions.

Full insight into media coverage of the war is accessible through rich, systematically collected Western press reports, including Foreign Broadcasting Information Service

---

27. This chapter is based on the facts given by Charif Bassiouni in: *Final Report of the Commission of Experts Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780 (1992)*, S/1994/647, 27 May 1994 and *Annexes, Volume 1 – Final Report and Annexes I through V, United Nation’s documentation*, 1994, pp. 7-10.

reports on the Dubrovnik crisis, coverage of the Sarajevo siege and reports on the war in Bosnia. All of these are supported by a selected collection of related publications as well as audiovisual materials.

## **RECORDS OF THE INTERNATIONAL HELSINKI FEDERATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF) is a self-governing group of non-governmental, not-for-profit organizations that act to protect human rights throughout Europe, North America and the Central Asian republics. The Federation was formed after the break-up of the Soviet Union. Its primary goal is to promote and monitor compliance of the states participating in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and its Follow-up Documents. The international secretariat established in Vienna supports and provides liaison among 39 Helsinki Committees and represents them at the international political level. The IHF also has direct links with individuals and groups supporting human rights in formerly totalitarian countries by the means of organizing education projects, seminars and international projects.<sup>28</sup>

The IHF has a glorious and heroic past. On 12 May 1976, Dr. Yuri F. Orlov announced the foundation of the Moscow Helsinki Group (MHG). The 11 founders of the MHG sought to monitor the USSR's implementation of the Helsinki commitments. Their watchdog organization was based on a provision of the Helsinki Final Act, Principle VII, which establishes the right of individuals to know and act upon their rights and duties. In the wake of the MHG's appeal, new citizens' groups emerged in other places inside the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries. In January 1977, *Charter 77* was founded in Czechoslovakia, and in September 1979, the Helsinki Watch Group was set up in Poland. These groups continued their activities under the constant persecution of local authorities. Though forced to disband in 1982 (reorganized in 1989), the MHG's pioneering efforts had inspired others to call attention to human rights violations. Similar groups have been founded in Western Europe, Canada and the US.

In 1982, representatives of a number of Helsinki committees held an International Citizens Helsinki Watch Conference. The idea of such a meeting was inspired partly by Dr. Andrei Sakharov's appeal for the creation of a "unified international committee to defend all Helsinki Watch Group members" and to bring their work together. As an outgrowth of the conference, the IHF was founded the following year to provide a structure through which independent Helsinki Committees could support one another.

---

28. See also <<http://www.ihf-hr.org>>

er and strengthen the human rights movements by giving their efforts an international dimension.

The archives of the IHF's international secretariat were partially transferred from Vienna to OSA in 1998, and the materials have not yet been processed. Nevertheless, what can be said about them at first sight is that they generally consist of would-be series such as the alphabetic *Country Files*, including individual and group case reports, press clippings, publications on human rights and minorities, IHF publications and correspondence. The *Administrative Files* and the *Files of the Executive Director* contain materials of more or less the same nature: minutes of meetings (staff, general assembly, national committees, executive committees); financial reports and fundraising materials; memos; materials from workshops, summer schools, conferences, and seminars; correspondence with individuals, national committees<sup>29</sup>, and other human rights monitor groups; the statutes of the IHF; PR materials, press releases and newsletters.

The *CSCE/OSCE Documents* (documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the OSCE) are arranged chronologically according to the dates of conferences. They include – among other conference materials – speeches of delegation leaders and participants, publications, annual activity reports, and correspondence concerning the preparations for conferences. (Part of this series is the documentation of the 1985 Cultural Forum in Budapest, an event that was not welcomed by the Hungarian authorities who forbade the organizers to using public facilities).

The documents are principally in English and German, but there are also



*Twenty-three Years of the International Helsinki Human Rights Movement* – exhibition in Galeria Centralis (June – August 1998). Trudy Huskamp Peterson, then Executive Director of OSA, gives the opening speech at the Press Conference. Photo by Zsuzsanna Fekete. Fonds 206 Records of the Open Society Archives.

29. In the following countries and regions: Albania, Austria, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States of America, Yugoslavia.

materials in Russian, Spanish, Italian and other languages of the respective member countries.

Some of these materials together with others borrowed from the IHF in Vienna – posters, photographs, objects, and historical documents – were displayed by OSA at a 1998 exhibition entitled “Twenty-three Years of the International Helsinki Federation Human Rights Movements”.

## RECORDS OF *INDEX ON CENSORSHIP*

The idea of launching *Index on Censorship* was conceived in 1970, when *The Times* published the desperate letter of the Russian writer, Pavel Litvinov, who sought support from colleagues abroad for his fellow writers sentenced to prison or labor camp for publicly expressing their political views. Sixteen prominent British intellectuals decided to answer this appeal in the form of a telegram, which was broadcast by the BBC. This event marked the establishment of an organization called Writers and Scholars International (WSI), set up to protect freedom of expression. WSI “...resolved to take the following steps: [...] It will publish a regular journal, INDEX ... it will record and analyze all inroads into freedom of expression and examine the censorship situation in individual countries and in relation to various constitutions and legal codes. Examples of censored material (poetry, prose, articles), as well as the results of its findings, will be published in the journal. It will assist the publication of books, pamphlets, articles, etc. that would not otherwise be available to the public because of censorship and other restrictions in their countries of origin. [...] It will keep the public informed about the plight of writers, artists, scholars and intellectuals subjected to censorship, and will keep their names before the public.”<sup>30</sup>

The first issue of *Index on Censorship* was published in 1972, under the editorship of Michael Scammell. In the years that followed the journal underwent basic changes, and today it has become a bimonthly “magazine for free speech” aiming to broaden debates about freedom of expression by involving in discussion many world renowned writers such as Salman Rushdie, Umberto Eco, Vaclav Havel and others. Using interviews, reports, polemics and banned literature, the journal follows how free speech affects the political issues of the moment. In addition to analysis, each issue contains an “*Index Index*”, a “chronicle of events around the world illustrating the various ways in which freedom of expression is being limited or denied.”<sup>31</sup>

The archives of *Index on Censorship*, which are now a valuable part of OSA holdings, were collected by a handful of enthusiastic employees, part-time assistants, volunteers and

29. *Index on Censorship*. Spring 1972. vol. 1, no. 1. p. 3.

30. *ibid.*, p. 81.

researchers. They sought to gather information and background materials for the articles, reports and chronicles to be published in the journal. Their main source was the press, but they also relied on news agency releases, private contacts and collaboration with other organizations sharing an interest in similar matters, such as Article 19, Amnesty International, Asia Watch and RFE/RL.

The arrangement of the materials in this fonds, which is still being processed, correspond more or less with the structure of the journal. The biggest part consists of the *Country Files* or Geographic Files, which served as primary sources for the “*Index Index*”. These files, arranged by continent and then alphabetically by country, provide a unique account of the struggle for freedom of expression in Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union under communism, and in Western Europe (with a special focus on Great Britain), Africa and Asia as well. They are the result of the journal’s meticulous and severe monitoring activity. The most frequently monitored issues were recurring ones: censorship, suppression of freedom of speech, imprisonment and apartheid.

The files of topical interest, a type of *Subject Files*, are of great variety, and they generally relate to particular aspects of human rights violations and freedom of information.

Some of the most important topics are as follows: persecution of dissenters, dissidents, immigrants and refugees; discrimination of minorities (ethnic, religious, and others such as gays and lesbians); political correctness; international terrorism, the Middle East problem and the occupied territories; prison conditions; pornography and violence in the media; protection of privacy; telephone tapping; drug abuse issues; AIDS and animal rights. Included in these files are several rarities as follows: manuscripts (e.g. such as plays by Hungarian playwright Pál Salamon), books, and articles by banned writers and journalists from all regions of Europe.

There is one more portion of these files that should doubtlessly be touted here: the extremely rich and ongoing coverage of the *Salman Rushdie* affair. It contains press clippings dating immediately from the appearance of *The Satanic Verses*, the flabbergasted official statements of the Iranian government, Rushdie’s articles on the issue, reactions from Great Britain and all over the world, letters criticizing, supporting and encouraging the author of the ominous book, and also several lists of signatories of the Rushdie Appeal.

Beside the usual *Administrative Files* (memos and minutes of meetings), there are others which provide insight into how the documents were collected. The files also include the editors’ extensive correspondence with human rights monitors and victims of human rights violations. In the collection of *Publications* there are several less well-known but interesting periodicals which are not found in many other libraries in Hungary: *Index on Censorship*, *Cross Currents* (a yearbook of Central European culture), *Free Press* (jour-

nal of the Campaign for Press & Freedom), *Middle East Times* and *KOSMAS* (journal of Czechoslovak and Central European studies).

The materials are principally in English, but there are also documents in the original languages of some of the countries.



Cover of the gramophone record titled *The Ballad of a Spycatcher* by Leon Rosselson, featuring Billy Bragg and the Oyster Band. The release was sponsored by the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom (5 October 1987).

Fonds 301 Records of the Index on Censorship, OSA.

# Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom

9 Poland St,  
London W1V 3DG  
Telephone 01 437 2795

VAT Reg no: 386 1576 20

PRESS RELEASE

SEPTEMBER 24th 1987.

"SPYCATCHER" RECORD RELEASED BY LEON ROSSELSON WITH BILLY BRAGG AND THE OYSTER BAND.

"The Ballad of a Spycatcher" which contains the main allegations in Peter Wright's banned book, "Spycatcher", has been recorded by Leon Rosselson with Billy Bragg and the Oyster Band. It is sponsored by the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom (C.P.B.F.) and is released on October 5th.

Rosselson's song was inspired by the Government's attempts to prevent press and broadcasting organisations from informing the public of the allegations contained in the book. The record joins the array of sources from which the public can now find out about the allegations. It strikes a blow for Media Freedom and highlights the absurdity of banning information in the U.K. which is freely available elsewhere in the world.

Leon performed the song for the first time at the CPBF's public reading of "Spycatcher" on August 11th. He has now recorded the song with trip singer Billy Bragg and the Oyster Band. The result is a lively, unique, strong sound.

Tony Lennon C.P.B.F. Chair says:

"We believe the government is stamping on Media Freedom in banning the press and broadcasting organisations from publishing the book's allegations.

"We've helped organise major public readings around the country and now we have sponsored a record, which is both good music and an important stand for basic civil liberties. We hope as many radio stations as possible will play it."

Side two has Leon's "Song of the Free Press", a classic Rosselson number which puts the practices and priorities of the Press up for some satirical scrutiny.

Leon Rosselson can be contacted on 01 902 0655.

Copies of the record are available from the CPBF at 9 Poland Street, London, W1V 3DG, 01 437 2795 at £2 each + 50p for p&p

Contact Tom O'Malley on 01-437-2795 or Simon Collings 0865-56777 x 2200

"Ballad of a Spycatcher" Leon Rosselson, Billy Bragg and the Oyster Band. Upside Down Records, U.P.D.D. 007.

ENDS

Press announcement (24 September 1987) about the release of the record titled *The Ballad of a Spycatcher* by Leon Rosselson, which was inspired by the British Government's efforts to prevent the media from informing the public of the main allegations in Peter Wright's banned book "Spycatcher". The record tentatively shed a light on the absurdity of banning information in the U.K.

Fonds 301 Records of the Index on Censorship, OSA.

## **ON ESTABLISHING AN INTERNATIONAL REPOSITORY OF DOCUMENTS RELATED TO WAR CRIMES AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS**

Preserving memory is a fundamental tool in preventing human rights violations and crimes against humanity from recurring. Documents created and collected by various national and international bodies – truth commissions, tribunals, even civil organizations – contain facts, data, evaluation and analyses of events and procedures, all of which are of vital importance to preserving memory and exposing the past. These textual and non-textual documents also constitute a valuable source for historical research. However, if these documents are dispersed, are in various states of processing, or are subject to differing access regulations, reliable comparative research becomes very difficult and sometimes nearly impossible.

Establishing an international repository for preserving both important and typical documents on this subject, and making them available for comparative analysis and historical research would significantly enhance the work of human rights organizations, as well as promote scholarly research and education. We believe that the Open Society Archives (OSA) in Budapest, a research and education base equipped with long-term and secure storage facilities and high-level expertise, would be an ideal site for such a repository.

The main sources of documents in such a repository would be truth commissions, tribunals, committees of experts at the national and international level; international organizations and their branches; and international, national or local human rights organizations.

If an important document collection is in danger of being destroyed, disarranged or dispersed, the repository should be able to take the collection over in its entirety. However, the repository does not intend to acquire any document which constitutes an integral part of a given country's history only if it has a long-term, secure storage place with adequate provisions for preservation, processing and research by outsiders. Therefore, this repository would mainly be composed of copies of individual documents and samples of distributed or printed material.

Documents in the repository could cover the following areas:

- laws, resolutions, agreements and other legal papers documenting the establishment of institutions set up to investigate war crimes and human rights violations;
- documents describing any debates and arguments preceding the adoption of such laws and resolutions;

- documents describing the actual founding processes of these institutions;
- internal documents about the work of such institutions;
- drafts and final reports, analyses and statistical data about their activities;
- documents sent by the institution to international organizations;
- publications about the work and findings of the institutions;
- typical cases and procedures.

The creators or owners of the original records would judge the importance of the documents, deciding which ones should be copied and sent to the repository.

While advocating and practicing easy access and openness, OSA has instituted a restriction policy aimed at honoring the wishes of donors and depositors, and maintaining personal privacy, among other considerations. For example, in the case of the materials of International Human Rights Law Institute received from Cherif Bassiouni, Chairman of the Commission of Experts and Rapporteur for the Gathering and Analysis of Facts, the donor decided which documents should be available for research and which documents should be temporarily closed. Naturally, OSA is ready to follow the express restriction requirements of any donor organization in the area of the proposed repository.

In January 1999, an official proposal (see Appendix) describing the above principles was sent to several organizations, officials, scholars and advocates in order to establish cooperation, including the Commission for Historical Clarification, Guatemala, the Committee on the Administration of Justice, Northern Ireland and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa.

OSA has received a number of enthusiastic responses to the proposal from around the globe. We are prepared to launch projects in cooperation with these organizations as soon as they select the relevant material and agree on the conditions of sending it to Budapest.

# Soros Foundations Network

## The corporate memory of the Soros foundations network

The Soros foundations network was founded by philanthropist George Soros, who was born in Budapest, Hungary in 1930.<sup>32</sup> In 1947 he emigrated to England, where he graduated from the London School of Economics. He moved to the United States in 1956 and began to accumulate a large fortune through his investment activities there. He has written many articles on the political and economic changes in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and is also the author of *The Alchemy of Finance* (1987), *Opening the Soviet System* (1990), *Underwriting Democracy* (1991), *Soros on Soros: Staying Ahead of the Curve* (1995) and *The Crisis of Global Capitalism* (1998).

The Soros foundations network is a decentralized association of nonprofit organizations which share a common mission: their goal is to transform closed societies into open societies and to protect and expand the values of existing open societies. George Soros' philanthropic activity is deeply influenced by the concept of open society which is characterized by the rule of law; respect for human rights; minorities and minority opinion; the division of power; and a market economy. Its message can be summarized on the recognition that nobody has a monopoly on the truth, that different people have different views and interests, and that there is a need for institutions to protect the rights of all people to allow them to live together in peace. (The term "open society" was used by the philosopher Karl Popper in his 1945 book *Open Society and its Enemies*.)

Over the past two decades George Soros has established foundations in more than 30 countries, principally in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, but also in Guatemala, Haiti, Mongolia and Southern Africa. These organizations work to achieve their goals by funding and operating an array of activities concerned with arts and culture, children and youth, civil society development, economic reform, education at all levels, legal reform and public administration, media and communications, publishing and health care.

The Open Society Institute (OSI) established in 1993 is based in New York City. Together with its Hungary-based affiliate, the Open Society Institute Budapest, it assists the national Soros foundations by providing administrative, financial and technical support, as well as by establishing "network programs" to address certain issues on a regional or network-wide basis.

OSI programs fall into three main categories. *Network programs* are the Arts and Culture Program, the Economic and Business Development Program, Children and

32. The section written on the administrative history of the Soros foundations network is based on the 1998 annual report of the network *Building Open Societies* published by the Open Society Institute in 1999, New York.

Youth Programs, the English Language Programs, the Internet Program, the Medical and Health Program, the Network Scholarship Programs and the Network Women's Program based in New York; and the Constitutional and Legal Policy Institute, the East East Program, the Institute for Educational Policy, the Higher Education Support Program, the International Fellowship Program, the Network Library Program, the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, the Network Media Program, the Publishing Center and the Roma Participation Program, based in Budapest.

*International initiatives* include the Burma Project, the Forced Migration Projects, the Soros Documentary Fund and the Landmines Project. They are all based in the US.

*Programs that focus on the United States* are the Center on Crime, Communities & Culture, the Emma Lazarus Fund, the Lindesmith Center, the Open Society Fellowship Program, the Program on Law and Society and the Project on Death in America.

OSA has a rapidly growing holding which relates to the activities of the Soros foundations network. This holding documents the corporate memory of the organizations which make up the network, and contains information about George Soros and the genesis of the Soros network.

Several interesting fonds within the holding deserve separate mention, even though some Soros documents are not yet open to the public:

### **Belarusian Soros Foundation**

In certain Central and Eastern European countries, where the authorities have not welcomed the concept of "open society", the establishment and operation of institutions affiliated with the Soros foundations network have faced serious obstacles. Among other cases such as the Fund for an Open Society Yugoslavia, which has repeatedly had its offices closed, the case of the Belarusian Soros Foundation (BSF) is a preeminent example.

The BSF was established in Minsk in January 1993, and its activities concentrated primarily on education, youth, arts and culture, mass media and publishing, science and environment, civil society, public administration, medicine and health care. It also provided funding for national organizations and individuals supporting the creation of an open society in Belarus. The BSF carried out its activities – through national and regional programs as well as grants – until 3 September 1997, when the OSI – New York Board of Trustees decided to close it down, officially for financial reasons. The end of the BSF did not surprise those who were closely following its peculiar history. (Some of the events preceding the closure: in March 1997, returning from a board meeting, the Executive Director of the BSF was not allowed to enter Belarus, and he was finally expelled from the country; and the end of April brought a decision by the Belarusian tax authorities, who imposed a penalty of \$2.8 million for alleged violations of the Belarusian tax law.)

Following the closure, the documentation of the BSF was split into several parts, one of which has entered the holdings of OSA. (Strangely, another part was given to the National Archives of Belarus.) The materials which by far outnumber the files deposited by other Soros foundations, include a great variety of documents: administrative files relating to programs, projects and grants; foreign and domestic correspondence including letters of protest to and from various Belarusian authorities; the Statutes of the Foundation; minutes of its Executive Board meetings; annual activity reports; publications of the BSF's numerous programs; and conferences and workshops materials. The records also contain public relations materials, including press releases and press clippings covering the Foundation's activities.

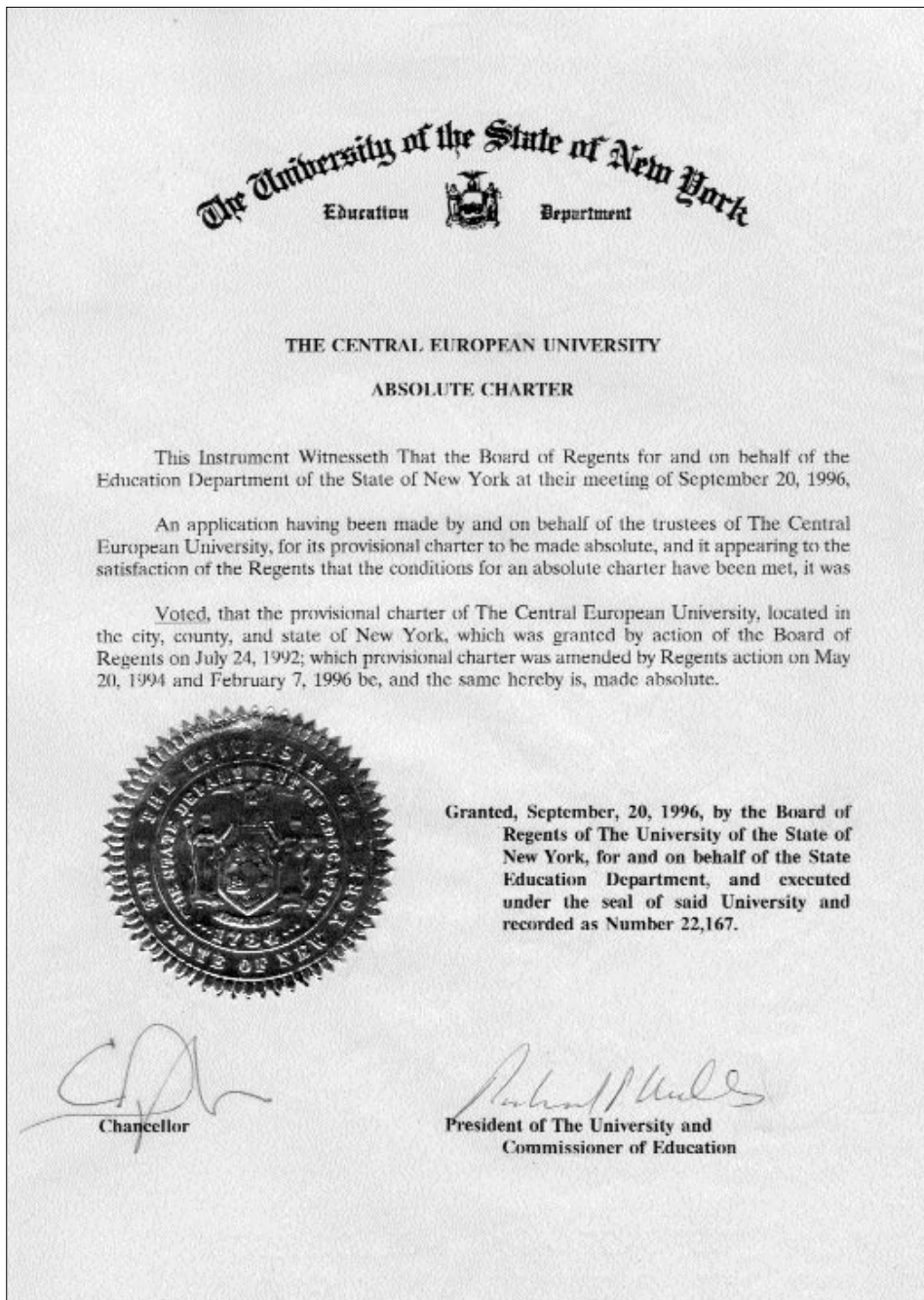
There is a significant number of videotapes (with approximately 70 hours of footage) from the Mass Media Center, an independent institution sponsored by the BSF. (For a detailed description of these, see subchapter "Archival materials".)

### **Center for the Study of Constitutionalism in Eastern Europe**

The Legal Studies Department of Central European University (CEU) has always cooperated closely with prestigious American and Hungarian law faculties. The establishment of educational cooperation with the University of Chicago Law School during the Department's early years was a major achievement. In 1994 the Chicago Law Program (CLP) was established at CEU, and the University of Chicago Law School's Center for the Study of Constitutionalism in Eastern Europe created a second depository of its archives at the Legal Studies Department. The deposited documents were mostly used by CEU students because the collection contained background information, reports and publications relevant to the studies in comparative constitutional law.

When the CLP was closed in January 1996 and the documents were transferred to OSI's Constitutional and Legislative Policy Institute (COLPI), which was later renamed Constitutional and Legal Policy Institute. COLPI staff members continued to develop the collection, especially after COLPI, CEU and the Center for the Study of Constitutionalism in Eastern Europe agreed in 1996 to begin jointly publishing the periodical *East European Constitutional Review*, which had correspondents in each country of the region who periodically submitted reports on constitutional changes to the editorial board.

The collection also contains copies of the recent constitutions of each East European country, as well as amendments, with special emphasis on human and minority rights issues. These records provide a unique overview of the constitutional changes which occurred in the region until 1998, and they offer researchers the opportunity to compare the publications of Western experts with the reports of East European correspondents. COLPI donated the collection to OSA in July 1999.



This record documents a historical moment in the life of Central European University when, on 20 September 1996, the Absolute Charter replaced the Provisional Charter, granted on 24 June 1992, by the Board of Regents of the State of New York.

From the Office of the Executive Vice-President, Central European University.

## Central European University

The Open Society Archives as an institution affiliated with Central European University, continuously acquires records from the university. CEU was established in 1991, but the concept of an independent international university was born in Dubrovnik, in April 1989, during a workshop held at the Inter-University Centre. The 10-year history of the “first regional university of its kind in the world” coincides with the exceptional years of intellectual, political, cultural and economic transformation in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

In 1998 CEU donated the files of Ann Lonsdale, its former Secretary General, to the Archives. Lonsdale, former Director of the External Relations office at Oxford University, took up her position at CEU in 1994 and contributed to the consolidation of the university. Her files document the dynamic academic development of CEU: inter-university agreements, pilot seminars, the CEU Summer University and the beginning of the university’s academic recognition as the first accreditation was achieved in the spring of 1994.

Before the Archives received the files of Ann Lonsdale, another important CEU-related accession occurred: in 1997 a remarkable amount of files was donated to OSA by William Newton-Smith, who was sitting on CEU’s Academic Planning Committee and also chaired its Executive Committee. The *Office of Bill Newton-Smith* at Oxford University played a key role in the establishment of CEU, and it accumulated valuable documentation of the discussions over the location, size and structure of the university.<sup>33</sup> Newton-Smith’s correspondence files, including both official and personal letters, substantially contribute to the informal history of the university.

---

33. Records of the Office of Bill Newton-Smith contains also files on the Sarajevo Project and the Science Support Scheme for Bosnia-Herzegovina Project launched by the Office.