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**Europe in the Airwaves**  
**The intimate relationship between ideas about Europe and  
the construction of broadcasting infrastructures, 1925-1989**

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# Europe in the Airwaves: The intimate relationship between ideas about Europe and the construction of broadcasting infrastructures, 1925-1989

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# 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Since the earliest days of broadcasting there has been a rich interconnection between circulating ideas about 'Europe' and the act of transmitting radio signals across national borders. This interconnection is clearly exemplified by the opening quote of a speech which Secretary-General A. R. Burrows of the International Broadcasting Union (IBU)<sup>2</sup> gave at the Pan-European conference in Vienna the 18<sup>th</sup> of May 1935:

*'Je considère comme un grand honneur d'avoir été invité à me prononcer sur l'attitude de la radio-diffusion vis-à-vis de l'idée de Pan-Europe. Il n'y a en effet pas de doute qu'une grande idée qui veut se faire jour et réussir ne peut pas passer négligemment à côté d'un puissant instrument de propagande comme l'est la radio-diffusion, mais tâchera au contraire de l'utiliser de toutes ses forces. – Je me permettrai donc de démontrer quelles voies devraient être choisies pour s'assurer de la collaboration de la radio-diffusion européenne.'*<sup>3</sup>

The Pan-European Movement was the most notable of many movements that were established during the Interbellum to pursue a united Europe.<sup>4</sup> Significantly, Burrows not only expressed to this group his visions on the strategic role that broadcasting infrastructures could play in building Europe, he also informed them which of their approaches to achieving this project could count on the support of the IBU. The IBU had their own visions of a united Europe and their own (limited) possibilities to

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<sup>1</sup> This project forms part of the larger 'Transnational Infrastructures and the Rise of Contemporary Europe'-project, under the auspices of prof. dr. Johan Schot. The project is funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) in September 2002, Dossier number: 277-53-001. For further information please see [www.tie-project.nl](http://www.tie-project.nl), where you can find a summary of the project J.W. Schot, *Transnational infrastructures and the rise of contemporary Europe*, Working document no. 1, [www.tie-project.nl](http://www.tie-project.nl): 2003. This research design has been discussed at the Tensions of Europe Summer School 'Integrating and fragmenting Europe: The role of infrastructures, 1850-2000', Bordeaux, September 18-22, 2006, as well as at the ESTER Research Design Course, Amsterdam, October 9-11, 2006.

<sup>2</sup> In 1925 the IBU was established as the International Union of Radiophony. Its name changed into International Broadcasting Union in 1929. The IBU was the first international organisation of national public broadcasters that regulated international programme exchange and allocated frequencies, first only of radio, but later from the early 1950s onward of television as well.

<sup>3</sup> International Broadcasting Union (IBU), Box 74 Propagande de l'UIR et des membres, File II général 1932-1936, L'idée de Pan-Europe et la Radio-diffusion, p.1.

<sup>4</sup> In 1923 Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi established the Pan-European Movement, an international pressure group, to pursue his programme for a united Europe. The Pan-European Movement has been the most influential of all pressure groups throughout the Interbellum period.

pursue this mutual goal. Therefore, later in his speech Burrows stated that even though the IBU, just as the Pan-European Movement, had the creation of an *union d'Europe* at heart, their first and foremost aim was to create mutual understanding and rapprochement between the people of the various nation-states.<sup>5</sup> It seems that the IBU did not strive for a supranational Europe, but for a Europe of cooperating nation-states.

The above quote is one of many examples that shows that broadcasters recognized the merit of radio for the purpose of peace, rapprochement between peoples and identity-building on a European level. Due to its specific character, radio could serve the above mentioned purposes through both its programmes and its technology. Programme contents might have specifically been directed towards achieving the above aims, whereas cross-border technical connections between peoples and places have been built in order to transmit various programmes. Organisations such as the IBU hence viewed radio also to be a means to link 'Europe' technologically. Furthermore, the above passage suggests that various ideas about Europe have played an important role in constructing broadcasting infrastructures.

Despite the widespread recognition of the importance of broadcasting to connect peoples and places on the national level,<sup>6</sup> there is very little research in the fields of broadcasting history, European history and the history of ideas of Europe that actually addresses technological developments on an international level. Many people do not even seem to be aware of these cross-border technical interconnections. As a result, there appears to be a lack of understanding of the various manners in which cross-border broadcasting infrastructures have been constructed and possibly have contributed to the building Europe as we nowadays know it.

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<sup>5</sup> IBU, Box 74 Propagande de l'UIR et des membres, Map II général, L'idée de Pan-Europe, p.5.

<sup>6</sup> In the Netherlands for instance, radio and television have contributed considerably to the opening-up of regional communities and hence to the creation of a national society. H. Knippenberg & B. de Pater, *De eenwording van Nederland: Schaalvergroting en integratie sinds 1800* (Nijmegen 1988) 74.

## 2. Europe and broadcasting infrastructures

What then does the existing historiography say about the construction process of broadcasting infrastructures in Europe and the influence of ideas of Europe on these processes? It was not until 1999 that a project was established that relates European history to the history of technology.<sup>7</sup> Within this project, broadcasting infrastructures, both radio and television, have received relatively little attention. As a result, embedding this study historiographically requires us to consult literature from European history, the history of ideas of Europe, history of technology and key studies from media and cultural studies. The following section provides some basic historiography and establishes definitions of Europe, infrastructures and broadcasting for the purposes of this study.

### *§2.1 European history and history of technology in general*

The various and often voluminous attempts to write histories of Europe pay relatively scant attention both to infrastructures and to defining 'Europe'.<sup>8</sup> Though these histories consider infrastructures of importance for the history of Europe, they seem not to focus on the technological processes and negotiations behind the material linking of Europe, but concentrate instead on the applications of the infrastructures.<sup>9</sup> Yet such processes have formed an important part of European history. Already in 1925 broadcasters initiated international cooperation by establishing the IBU. They aimed to create an integrated international broadcasting infrastructure that would optimize their working conditions. The IBU was supposed to play only a coordinating and monitoring role, leaving the national broadcasters to develop international connections on their own. At present it is unclear to what extent this international initiative has remained a matter of internationalism, (national broadcasting organisations who cooperate with each other for their mutual benefits instead of damaging each other's interests by not cooperating), and/or became transnational in

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<sup>7</sup> In 1999 *Tensions of Europe* originated within the European Science Foundation Network. Its main aim is to write a new history of Europe in which technological developments play a prominent role. For further information please see [www.histech.nl/tensions/](http://www.histech.nl/tensions/)

<sup>8</sup> For a historiographical overview I refer to: E.B.A. van der Vleuten & A. Kaijser, 'Networking Europe', *History and Technology* 21, nr.1 (2005) 26-28.

<sup>9</sup> Sidney Pollard, for instance, concentrates on the employment of infrastructures for economic purposes and integration. S. Pollard, *European economic integration 1815-1970* (London 1974)

scope ('representing transnational cultural forces and contribut[ing] to creating networks of shared interests').<sup>10</sup> This project will contribute to European history studies by shedding light on the construction of cross-border broadcasting infrastructures in Europe.

In contrast to European history, the history of ideas of Europe explores several politically-charged ideologies. With the emergence of the perception of 'a European culture' as an idea itself at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, ideas of Europe started to flourish in political debates. Histories of ideas of Europe that focus on the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century study the various ideas about a future Europe that individuals, movements and nations have (had) as well as their translation into actual projects for Europe.<sup>11</sup> There are two public debates, that according to Van der Vleuten have rarely been combined and that will here be applied to the process of building infrastructures.<sup>12</sup> According to one ideology, the ideology of circulation, the construction of infrastructures would reduce distances between peoples and places and would lead to increased communication and circulation of information. The result would be enhanced understanding between peoples that would serve peace amongst nations, democracy and joint progress. In this tradition the League of Nations aimed to establish Radio Nations in the 1930s.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, ideas of Europe might also be put forth out of self-interest. Political elites then use the construction of infrastructures in service of their own economic and political agenda. According to Armand Matellart, telecommunication technologies for instance, cannot be attributed the great power of unifying peoples, nations and cultures because they have been used as instruments of power in the battles of the First, Second and Cold War.<sup>14</sup>

Van der Vleuten considers these public debates to co-exist. By not recognising this co-existence the debate about what purposes the various ideas of Europe served

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<sup>10</sup> A. Kaijser & E.B.A. van der Vleuten, 'Introduction: Transnational networks and the shaping of contemporary Europe', in: A. Kaijser & E.B.A. van der Vleuten eds., *Networking Europe* (Canton: forthcoming 2006) 3, and A. Iriye, "'Transnational history'", *Contemporary European History* 13, nr.2 (2004) 217.

<sup>11</sup> See amongst others: K. Wilson & J. van der Dussen eds, *The history of the idea of Europe* (London 1993); H. Mikkeli, *Europe as an idea and an identity* (London 1998); M. af Malmberg & B. Strath, *Introduction. The meaning of Europe: Variety and contention within and among nations* (Oxford 2002).

<sup>12</sup> E.B.A. van der Vleuten, 'Infrastructures and societal change: A view from the Large Technical System field', *Technology Analysis & Strategic Management* 16, nr.3 (2004) 395-398.

<sup>13</sup> A. Fleury, 'La Suisse et Radio Nations', in: *The League of Nations in retrospect: Proceedings of the symposium* (Berlin 1983) 196.

<sup>14</sup> A. Matellart, *Networking the world 1800-2000* (Minneapolis 2000).

has become deadlocked.<sup>15</sup> Preliminary archive research regarding building broadcasting infrastructures seems to endorse Van der Vleuten's point that both public debates seem to hold. Furthermore, even though infrastructures have been considered important means of pursuing various ideas of Europe, the histories of ideas of Europe appear not to examine how they have materialised into the infrastructures, and hence how Europe has been imagined through infrastructures. This project will show how ideas of Europe have formed part and parcel of the often contested negotiations in broadcasting infrastructure building in Europe.

History of technology studies and histories of broadcasting infrastructures are highly fragmented. Studies in the history of technology rarely examine cross-border broadcasting infrastructures. They are often framed around the nation-state and hardly ever take a long-term perspective with a focus on both transmitter and receiver technology.<sup>16</sup> There are many studies that deal with international broadcasting, but they are mostly based on the nation state or focus on one broadcasting organisation.<sup>17</sup> At present, research to enhance understanding about broadcasting infrastructures in Europe is on the rise. In Sweden Nina Cyrén-Wormbs concentrates on the social contextualisation of the process of frequency allocation in Europe, 1925-1984 and in the Netherlands, Andreas Fickers examines the contents and contexts of early television broadcasts as well as the promotion of the technology across Europe.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> E.B.A. van der Vleuten, 'Infrastructures and societal change: A view from the Large Technical System field', *Technology Analysis & Strategic Management* 16, nr.3 (2004) 395-398.

<sup>16</sup> A positive exception on the level of the nation-state is: O. de Wit ed., 'Communicatie', in: *Techniek in Nederland in de Twintigste Eeuw* (Eindhoven 2002).. For the early years in Portugal please see: A.P. Silva, 'Shaping the Portuguese empire in the Twentieth Century: The telegraph and the radio', *ICON: Journal of the International Committee for the History of Technology* 7 (2001) 106-122. In contrast to broadcasting infrastructures considerable studies address international telecommunication infrastructures, such as telegraphy and telephony. Please see: D.R. Headrick, *The invisible weapon: Telecommunications and international politics, 1855-1945* (New York 1991). P.J. Hugill, *Global communications since 1844: Geopolitics and technology* (Baltimore 1999). L. Laborie, *Impossible America: Building-up a European telephone network during the interwar period*, Paper presented at the International TIE-Workshop 20-23 April 2006, Rolduc Abbey, Heerlen, the Netherlands. They all end with the outbreak of World War II.

<sup>17</sup> Some examples are: L. d'Haenens & F. Saeys eds., *Western broadcasting at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century* (Berlin 2001). D.R. Browne, *International radio broadcasting* (New York 1982). J. Wood, *History of International Broadcasting* (London 1992). B. Paulu, *Radio and television broadcasting on the European continent* (Minneapolis 1967).

<sup>18</sup> N. Wormbs, *Behind a veil of technology: Policy and culture in the frequency allocations for broadcasting in Europe*, Research proposal as approved by the Swedish Science Foundation; A. Fickers, *Television as a "conservative revolution"? A comparative study in the history of media in Europe (1945-1975)*, The project is funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) 2004.

Most transnational historiography to date has been based around single institutions.<sup>19</sup> These studies are complemented by some studies of the EBU's Eurovision programming network<sup>20</sup> as well as by studies on the allocation of frequencies.<sup>21</sup> All of the network and frequency studies mentioned only cover the post-World War II period.

### §2.2 Defining 'Europe'

European history studies rarely seem to extensively discuss how to define Europe, whereas histories of ideas of Europe above all focus on what Europe should become. According to Hugh Seton-Watson the word Europe has been interpreted and misinterpreted in numerous ways. As a result '[t]here have been and are many Europes (...).'<sup>22</sup> Europe is often viewed as a geographical entity defined by present-day economic and political institutions. Some people consider the area covered by the EU as being Europe, while others also include the European states that are not in the EU. From a geographical viewpoint, Europe is often called 'tidal Europe' in light of the changing definition of its (particularly eastern) boundary.<sup>23</sup> Conversely, others might view Europe as a technological entity, which refers to a more artificial process of bounding Europe. These people often form part of international communities of engineers who work on cross-border (infrastructure) projects. This project concentrates on infrastructures that lie within the boundaries of the European Broadcasting Area.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Some key references are: on the British Broadcasting Corporation (Briggs, 1961-1995); on the International Telecommunication Union: (Coddling 1952, Coddling & Rutkowski 1982, Smith 1969, Tomlinson 1938); on the European Broadcasting Union (legalist approach Brack 1976; Zeller 1999).

<sup>20</sup> W. Degenhardt & E. Strautz, *Auf der Suche nach dem europäischen Programm: Die Eurovision 1954-1970* (Baden-Baden 1999); W. Degenhardt *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der europäischen Partnerschaft im Fernsehbereich 1950-1970: Zur historischen Betrachtung eines komplexen Sensemaking-Prozesses*, Online publication of the Library of the University of Siegen 2002; E. Eugster, *Television programming across national boundaries: The EBU and OIRT experience* (Dedham MA 1983); and Ch. Henrich-Franke, 'Die >>EBU Screening Sessions<<: Wandlungen des europäischen Markts für Fernsehprogramme 1963- 1985', *Rundfunk und Geschichte* 31 (2005).

<sup>21</sup> Ch. Henrich-Franke, *Globale Regulierungsproblematiken in historischer Perspektive: Der Fall des Funkfrequenzspektrums 1945-1988* (2006)

<sup>22</sup> K. Wilson & J. van der Dussen eds., *The history of the idea of Europe* (London 1993) 8.

<sup>23</sup> N. Davies, *Europe: A history* (London 1997) 9.

<sup>24</sup> The European Broadcasting Area, also known as Region 1, is defined according to the Radio Regulations of the International Telecommunication Union at the European Broadcasting Convention in Torquay (1950) and entails not only continental Europe, but also North Africa and those Middle East States bordering on the Mediterranean. The Western boundary is a line that is drawn West of Iceland, the Eastern boundary the meridian 40° East of Greenwich and on the South by the parallel 30°. H. Brack, *The evolution of the EBU through its statutes from 1950 to 1976* (Geneva 1976) 9.

Since the project focuses in particular on the role of ideas of Europe in building broadcasting infrastructures, 'Europe' in these discussions is defined as an actor category. Europe can be defined, for example, as a united, federal Europe or as a Europe which is a mosaic of nation-states. Ideas and visions in general relate directly to individuals and groups of people. According to Davies, 'Europe' has never been devoid of political content. People always, consciously or unconsciously, attach political meaning to the way they use Europe. Examining Europe as an actor category provides insight into commonalities and differences in ideas (and thus the various intentions) that drove individuals and groups, as well as the way in which these ideas influenced the construction processes. By studying these processes over time, the project also shows how ideas of Europe changed.<sup>25</sup>

### *§2.3 Defining infrastructures and broadcasting*

Opinions vary on what infrastructures are.<sup>26</sup> This project will define infrastructures as both the technical connections between peoples and places as well as the social, political, economic and cultural private and (non)governmental structures that make these interconnections work.<sup>27</sup> This definition integrates the large organisational aspect of broadcasting infrastructures, not only the broadcasting transmission and receiving industries but also the governmental and nongovernmental organisations on the local, national and international level.

Broadcasting is a point-to-mass technology and refers to radio as well as to television. It can hence be defined as the act of transmitting a mixture of speech, music and/or images to a mass of people whether the signal is transmitted by wire, cable, satellite and/or wireless. Because it focuses on broadcasting infrastructures, the other telecommunication infrastructures, such as telegraphy, telephony and radiotelephony, are outside the scope of this project. Furthermore, this project

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<sup>25</sup> Examples of other projects that consider Europe to be an actor category are: F. Schipper, 'The drive for peace? Road planning and the European project during the Interbellum', Paper presented at the SHOT 2005 Conference, Minneapolis, USA, November 3-6, 2005. Working document no. 12, [www.tie-project.nl](http://www.tie-project.nl); and J.W. Schot, 'Imagining and living Europe', Paper presented at the First Plenary Conference Tensions of Europe, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, 20 March 2004. Working document no. 3, [www.tie-project.nl](http://www.tie-project.nl).

<sup>26</sup> For a historical examination of the definition of 'infrastructures' please see: D. van Laak, '„Infrastruktur“ und was er vor seiner Erfindung besagte', *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 41 (1999) 208

<sup>27</sup> In contrast to other infrastructures as electricity, roads and railways, broadcasting infrastructures do not exist of purely physical connections. The signals that are sent by wireless travel through the air in all directions by means of electromagnetic waves. Hence, the technology 'channels nature' in order to connect peoples and places.

concentrates solely on public service broadcasting, excluding its most important 'other', the private broadcasting organisations. The main difference between both is one of philosophy in which the former sees broadcasting as a public good and treats advertising alike programming, whereas private broadcasters provide a service to companies or individuals who pay them for advertising time. Though through the years there have been a number of private broadcasters the majority of these organisations have only mushroomed from the early 1980s onward.<sup>28</sup> This project centres around political developments throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and from its early days public service broadcasters more than private broadcasters have been actively involved here.

Transmitted signals do not stop at national boundaries. What then is meant by national and international broadcasting? National broadcasts refer to those that have an intended audience within the nation in which the broadcast is transmitted, whereas international broadcasts are intentionally aimed abroad. Since international broadcasting often aims at foreign audiences (as opposed to national populations abroad), these broadcasts frequently happen in other languages than the mother tongue of the broadcasting organisation. In general broadcasting serves informative and entertainment purposes. Yet, when information is transmitted which is 'deemed harmful to the authorities in power, then broadcasting becomes propaganda.'<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Radio Luxembourg has been by far the most well-known private broadcaster with a large listening audience across Europe since its first test transmissions as early as 1933.

<sup>29</sup> Eugster, *Television programming across national boundaries*, 4.

### 3. Research question

The originality of the project stems from at least four new lines of approach. Not only will an interdisciplinary perspective integrate European history and history of technology as well as key insights from media and cultural studies, the examination of developments over the long term will allow for profound insights into (dis)continuities in building broadcasting infrastructures over time. 'Co-operation can best be understood in a historical context. Frequently the roots of agreement lie in an earlier history of disagreement.'<sup>30</sup> The project will hence cover both the pre- and post-World War II era. Furthermore, the project takes an international perspective, making use of mainly international archives which until today have largely been ignored. Finally, the project intends to include broadcasting industries to the extent that they have been directly involved in the case studies under examination and will come forth out of the archives under examination.

The project focuses on the question: *How have various transnational broadcasting infrastructures been built in Europe in the period 1925-1989, and what role have ideas of Europe played in these projects?* The research starts in 1925, when national broadcasting organisations founded the IBU to turn the perceived chaos in the airwaves into regulated usage, and runs until the end of the Cold War.<sup>31</sup> The aim is to construct a coherent contextual and dynamic narrative of long-term broadcasting infrastructure developments in which the following sub-questions are addressed:

- ✚ What types of international broadcasting infrastructures have been constructed throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and what purposes did they serve?
- ✚ What visions of Europe did the various actors have, to what extent did they pursue these visions out of national self-interest and/or out of ideological goals such as democracy, peace or progress and how did these visions influence the construction process?
- ✚ (How) have tensions played out between infrastructures designed for interconnecting national infrastructures and those nationally owned infrastructures designed for broadcasting directly over borders? Or did these simply co-exist?

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<sup>30</sup> P. Clavin, 'Introduction: Defining Transnationalism', *Contemporary European History* 14, nr.4 (2005) 428.

<sup>31</sup> The end date is subject to further definition as the project proceeds.

## 4. Research approach

How can one accurately and feasibly approach this broad topic in a way that sheds light on developments in building broadcasting infrastructures? Since the topic is largely unexplored, the research area needs to be carefully defined.

### §4.1 Methodology

The project examines the construction of the infrastructures within their social, economic, political and cultural context, with special attention given to the role of ideas of Europe within society. In general there is a considerable degree of interdependency between societal and infrastructural developments. Previous and ongoing studies, amongst others within the TIE-project, have proven that the histories of Europe and infrastructures are also considerably interrelated.<sup>32</sup> One might even suggest that Europe and infrastructures have been co-constructed. The building of the one influences the building of the other, and vice versa. Hence, in examining the construction of broadcasting infrastructures in Europe the societal context needs to be fully addressed.

The present state of the art of the project leans towards a social constructivist approach that emphasises the societal influence on and the materialisation of views of Europe within the various broadcasting infrastructures. The way in which the technology, the broadcasting infrastructures, influence societal developments largely falls beyond the reach of the project in its current form. Both Europe-wide audience tracking and the textual analyses of programming contents would be nearly impossible in a project of this scale. They require time-consuming efforts and excellent anthropological and (Eastern European) language skills. An option might be to examine what programmes have been broadcast through the various broadcasting infrastructures and why.<sup>33</sup> The examination of programme lists and discussions about

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<sup>32</sup> E.B.A. van der Vleuten, I. Anastasiadou, V. Lagendijk & F. Schipper, *Europe's System Builders: Cases from road, rail and electricity history*, Paper presented at the International TIE-Workshop 20-23 April 2006, Rolduc Abbey, Heerlen, the Netherlands; A.W. Badenoch, *Touring between war and peace: Symbolizing the Transcontinental Motorway 1930-1950*, Working document no.13, [www.tie-project.nl](http://www.tie-project.nl): 2005.

<sup>33</sup> The decision whether to examine what programmes have been broadcast and why will be taken within half a year, after a first impression of how quick the archive research is advancing.

the creation of certain types of programmes, such as the European concerts<sup>34</sup>, could enhance understanding of the extent to which the infrastructures have been used to broadcast local, national, regional and/or 'European' programmes.

The study of international radio infrastructures stands at the forefront of this inquiry since, in contrast to television infrastructures, they have received scant attention in historiography. Developments in radio will then be placed against the background of building television infrastructures. For the latter considerable secondary literature is available, above all studies that account for the Eurovision and Intervision infrastructures. The secondary literature will be studied in concordance with results derived from statistical research. Conversely, the reconstruction of radio infrastructures in the Interbellum and Cold War period still requires ample investigation. There is less secondary literature available for radio than for television, and substantial investigation of primary sources added with quantitative data analysis is necessary.<sup>35</sup>

The study of the industries that are directly related to the transmission and reception sides of broadcasting is rather comprehensive and diverse. These industries include not only production, but operation and transport as well. A first exploration seems to suggest that throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century there only has been sporadic contact between the various receiver setmaker industries and such international organisations as the IBU, EBU and OIRT. It appears that the setmakers only looked to these organisations for international standards, and then independently decided whether to adopt them. Only in the last twenty years does there seem to have been a watershed in these relations.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the amount of available secondary literature on the topic is negligible. As a result of its magnitude this project will in particular focus on those industries that have been actively involved in the cases under examination.

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<sup>34</sup> In the different countries of the member organisations of the IBU, radio symphony orchestras were established. The concerts that these orchestras gave were transferred as programmes to the IBU who in turn relayed the programmes to the other IBU members.

<sup>35</sup> This project extensively examines international archives that until present have been underexposed. Though this approach will facilitate useful new insights into building international broadcasting infrastructures, it is important to realise that they reflect a particular focal point as national archives largely will be neglected.

<sup>36</sup> This hypothesis is based on exploratory archive research in the IBU, EBU and OIRT archives as well as on an interview with engineer Edgar Wilson, employed at the Technical Department of the EBU, 28 June 2006.

The next two sections will enhance understanding of the developments of the physical infrastructures as well as the way in which the materialisation of ideas of Europe within them might be examined.

#### §4.1.1 Physical infrastructures

For starters, the examination of the physical infrastructural developments will shed light on their modes of diffusion, their operations as well as their purposes.

Embedded into the construction process of broadcasting infrastructures throughout Europe lie processes of linking, delinking and non-linking peoples and places. Scholars in transnational history are not unfamiliar with these processes. According to Clavin, transnationalism is 'about people: the social space they inhabit, the networks they form and the ideas they exchange.'<sup>37</sup> Transnational network building is all about relations. Building cross-border infrastructures requires international or transnational cooperation. As a result of this cooperation material connections are set up, which together create an area that the actors include in their definition of Europe. These connections are particularly important since processes of linking might lead to group identities among the people who experience the infrastructures and appropriate them in their daily lives, whereas non-linking or delinking can lead to a sense of 'otherness' among the people who are not connected to the infrastructure.<sup>38</sup> Physical infrastructural connections cannot easily be changed and might influence future opportunities to realise ideas about Europe practically. Technological innovations and inventions open up new opportunities in the process of linking and delinking Europe materially.

The realisation of specific programmes have had repercussions for the above described processes of linking, delinking and nonlinking. Some programmes have had profound technological repercussions and necessitated technological efforts by people. For instance, according to EBU engineer David Wood, a true watershed in international television broadcasting has been the world-wide simultaneous broadcast of *Notre Monde* in 1967, both as a broadcast as well as a technological achievement. For a moment the whole world seemed connected and engineers discovered that

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<sup>37</sup> Clavin, 'Introduction', 422.

<sup>38</sup> For a critical discussion of 'the other' I refer to: R. Patnode, "'What these people need is radio": New technology, the press, and Otherness in 1920s America', *Technology and Culture* 44, nr.2 (2003) 285-289.

technically everything was possible.<sup>39</sup> Afterwards the question arose: 'What can we do now, since we've done the impossible?'<sup>40</sup> The realisation of one special programme required the construction of a world-wide infrastructure. Yet nobody had considered what to do with it after *Notre Monde* had been broadcast. In this inquiry the influence of these specific programmes on the construction of the factual infrastructures will be taken into account.

#### §4.1.2 Europe's system builders<sup>41</sup>

Examining the manner in which the various actors employ ideas about Europe in the negotiation processes will bring the above research agenda one step further by providing information about the actual intentions underneath the factual construction of the broadcasting infrastructures. Here, the idea of European System Builders might provide an interesting research perspective since it enables both a long-term approach and a focus on transnational developments that include a large number of countries.

Erik van der Vleuten defines European system builders as 'historical actors dedicated to infrastructural integration in Europe (...) as organizers of a material interconnectedness and interdependency.'<sup>42</sup> These system builders can be individuals as much as organisations. Within transnationalist history literature a great deal of attention lately has gone to the study of international organisations, mostly the non-governmental ones, which often focus on peace, mutual understanding and human rights.<sup>43</sup> Organisations that deal with international technical cooperation have been mentioned, but not extensively examined.<sup>44</sup> At the international level, these technical organisation have 'inspired, monitored and coordinated such processes, but left financing and construction to companies and state actors.'<sup>45</sup> Organisations such as the

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<sup>39</sup> In reality South-America, most parts of Africa, China and Eastern Europe were exempt from the broadcast.

<sup>40</sup> Lunch meeting with EBU engineer David Wood, Geneva, 20 June 2006.

<sup>41</sup> Originally, the concept has been coined by Thomas Hughes. See: T. Hughes, *Networks of power*, 1983; T. Hughes, *American genesis* (Viking 1989); and T. Hughes, *Rescuing Prometheus* (1999). Erik van der Vleuten has further elaborated the concept in E.B.A. van der Vleuten, *Europe's System Builders*, Paper presented at the SHOT 2005 Conference, Minneapolis, USA, November 3-6, 2005. Working document no. 14, [www.tie-project.nl](http://www.tie-project.nl); and Van der Vleuten et al., *Europe's System Builders* (2006).

<sup>42</sup> Van der Vleuten et al., *Europe's System Builders*, 3.

<sup>43</sup> Examples of transnationalist studies are Clavin, 'Introduction'; and A. Iriye, *Global community: The role of international organizations in the making of the Contemporary world* (Berkeley 2002).

<sup>44</sup> The TIE-project is currently working to fill this void. All projects pay ample attention to these organisations.

<sup>45</sup> Van der Vleuten et al., *Europe's System Builders*, 6.

EBU and ITU have been involved in the construction of broadcasting infrastructures on the international level and seem to fit the pattern.<sup>46</sup>

International organisations such as the EBU often are international meeting places for national members. On the one hand, the EBU can act as a single entity to the outside world, while on the other hand, internally it is a meeting place for national members to pursue their national self-interests. The rhetorical usage of Europe can be traced both in the external and internal dynamics of the organisation. Especially with respect to the internal dynamics it seems that nationalism forms an important counterweight to the transnational interests. In contrast to the outward activities, the internal cooperation and contestation seems to be underexposed in the most recent paper of Van der Vleuten et al.. In the conceptual part Van der Vleuten does 'suggest that studying Europe's system builders, (...) historians get access to cooperation as well as conflict, success as well as failure; tensions between the national and the international (...), or between international alliances (...).' He remains vague, however, as to whether he is referring to the organisations acting as one group or if he includes the internal organisational dynamics as well. In general the examination of the internal dynamics depends heavily on the organisational structure of the international organisation and on the available archive material. With respect to the EBU and the ITU ample archive material enables us to examine the rhetorical use of Europe in both the internal and outward dynamics of the organisations.

The application of the European system builder concept will enhance our understanding of the actors' viewpoints on building Europe technologically through broadcasting infrastructures. In examining the system builders one can find out what ideas lay behind the various technological constructions and were or were not pursued in the construction process. Were these motives of self-interest or did the motives serve a greater cause, such as peace or democracy?

#### *§4.2 Structure*

The structure is partially chronological and partially thematic. After a first introductory chapter, chapter two serves as a general and descriptive chapter that examines the technological developments of various infrastructures, their operations and purposes. The long-term historical development of the EBU infrastructure will

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<sup>46</sup> Ibidem. Quote p.7-8.

serve as a case-study in order to better comprehend cross-border infrastructure developments. Chapters three and four focus on the role of ideas about Europe in specific construction projects for 'Europe'. Chapter three focuses on an infrastructure designed for cooperation, whereas chapter four concentrates on an American infrastructure designed for propaganda purposes. The last chapter will as a result also enhance understanding of how a non-European nation-state pursued visions of Europe. Furthermore, chapter three and four also serve to examine the co-existence and/or tensions between infrastructures designed for cooperation and/or those designed for propaganda purposes. Both chapters will start with a description of the historical context in which the infrastructures were built, whereas the case-studies will deal with a specific project or situation. All chapters stand in service of the main research question and each individual chapter could easily be transformed into an article.

The preliminary table of contents can be read as follows:

1. Table of contents
2. Chapter 1: Introduction (research question, historiography, theoretical framework, composition dissertation)
3. Chapter 2: The evolution of broadcasting infrastructures: mapping, operations and purposes
4. Chapter 3: An IBU and League of Nations' cooperation: Questions of illicit propaganda and broadcasting for peace purposes in the 1920s and 1930s.
5. Chapter 4: Battles over Europe: The role of ideas about Europe in building broadcasting infrastructures during the cold war
6. Chapter 5: Conclusion
7. Bibliography

## 5. The evolution of broadcasting infrastructures

Chapter two needs to enhance our understanding of the diffusion, functioning and aims of different types of broadcasting infrastructures. What did these infrastructures look like? And what purposes did they serve? After sketching out these structural developments, the chapter will continue with an exploratory case study that examines more specifically the infrastructural developments of the EBU on the transnational level. Since available information about building broadcasting infrastructures on the international and transnational level is scarce, except for the study of television networks after World War II<sup>47</sup>, this chapter intends to provide the basis for the following two chapters.

### *§5.1 Diffusion, operations and purposes*

An examination of the diffusion and operations of broadcasting infrastructures will enhance insight into the developments of multiple types of broadcasting infrastructures. Their level of technology and organisation between various systems may have differed considerably. Furthermore, the materialisation of ideas about Europe in the various infrastructures might have been different as well, as will be addressed in further detail in the next chapters. Moreover, since there are and have been a great number of broadcasting infrastructures, chapter 2 concentrates solely on those infrastructures that form the subject of the various cases. These are the IBU, EBU and OIRT radio and television infrastructures as well as the nationally owned international broadcasting infrastructures, Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL). The first three were intended to pursue cooperation, whereas the other two American infrastructures, aimed at the fall of communism.

In 'In search of the networked nation', Erik van der Vleuten shows that various infrastructures followed different routes of diffusion. He defines two main patterns of diffusion. On the one hand, diffusion may follow a process of scale increase, where local and national infrastructures become increasingly connected on greater regional and transnational levels. Conversely, the diffusion pattern might be a pattern of branching, where transnational infrastructures branch out on national and local

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<sup>47</sup> Degenhardt, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der europäischen Partnerschaft*.

scales.<sup>48</sup> The diffusion pattern of many broadcasting infrastructures has not yet been examined. These patterns might reveal interesting insights into their factual differences as well as into approaches towards their construction.

It is highly probable that various types of broadcasting infrastructures have diffused along differing lines. For instance, international broadcasting infrastructures that were built by national broadcasters in the mid 1920s to send broadcasts to their colonies and to broadcast propaganda to other nations, might have been based on fewer, though much more powerful transmitters, than for instance the broadcasting infrastructure of the International Broadcasting Union. Since the IBU infrastructure actually consisted of the interconnection of national broadcasting infrastructures, it consisted of many more, though possibly less powerful, transmitters than the international infrastructures of national organisations.

These two types of infrastructure worked differently and required different kinds of organisation. International broadcasting relays were transmitted directly by national broadcasters in all directions. To receive these transmissions required listening audiences not only actively to tune in a radio frequency other than their national one, but also to possess a radio receiver that was capable of receiving the necessary type of signal, be it short wave, medium wave or long wave.<sup>49</sup> Conversely, the IBU enabled members to share transmissions mostly by either exchanging gramophone records or through direct connections between members. Programmes were then relayed to the listening audiences by means of the national broadcasting networks. The main idea behind this construction was to keep the citizens 'at home' in the airwaves.

### *§5.2 International versus European infrastructures: The case of the EBU*

This section is intended to enhance understanding of processes of cross-border infrastructure developments over time as well as to shed light on the extent to which an infrastructure can be defined as international or transnational in nature, and perhaps

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<sup>48</sup> E.B.A. van der Vleuten, 'In search of the networked nation: Transforming technology, society and nature in the Netherlands in the 20<sup>th</sup> century', *European Review of History* 10 (2003) 77.

<sup>49</sup> National broadcasts mostly concerned medium and long wave transmissions, whereas propaganda broadcasts often concerned short wave transmissions. Short wave transmissions could travel further than the long and medium wave ones. The earliest broadcasts applied long and medium wave broadcasts, and receiver sets were constructed in order to receive these. Yet, when short wave was discovered throughout the 1920s most of the existing receiver sets could not receive short wave transmissions. For a while there were separate radio sets to receive short wave transmissions.

even be termed 'European'. The historical development of the EBU will serve as an exploratory case study, since its history and that of its forerunners, the IBU and OIRT go back to the start of international cooperation in the field of broadcasting in Europe.<sup>50</sup>

The section will work along two lines. On the one hand, the factual development and diffusion of the infrastructure will clarify which areas the EBU decided to link or not link and thus to include or exclude from their 'Europe'. On the other hand, the examination of EBU's long-term corporate identity developments will shed light on how they viewed themselves. Did they consider themselves to be above all an international meeting place of national broadcasting organisations or did they consider themselves to be exceeding the level of the nation-state, being a transnational organisation?

### *§5.3 Approach*

This chapter will draw on both primary and secondary sources, statistical data and on a number of interviews. As part of the larger TIE-project, I will be working on the collection of statistical data for both radio and television. By means of these results the project aims to provide details on the diffusion pattern of the IBU, EBU, OIRT, RFE and RL infrastructures in order to gain insight into the factual infrastructure developments that have resulted from the often contested negotiation processes. The statistics will provide information on both transmitter and receiver technology. These will include the number, if possible, the location and power of the transmitters. On the receiver side the data will include numbers of radio and television receivers, if possible the type of receiver, and ideally their regional diffusion as well. Furthermore, listening statistics and data about receiver licences will complete the overview. In addition to statistical data, collected maps will enhance further understanding of the infrastructures and their developments. The statistical data and the maps will form the basis of this chapter.

Then, to get an understanding of the organisation and the purposes of the infrastructures in the first section, information is derived from publications, such as anniversary booklets and institutional histories, in addition to primary sources.

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<sup>50</sup> For reasons of time-management the focus lies on an exploratory case study into the IBU, EBU and OIRT, since together they have regulated international broadcasting during the entire 20<sup>th</sup> century.

All information with regard to the second section about the EBU case study will be derived from an exploratory article that I will be writing together with Alec Badenoch. We intend to examine long-term corporate identity developments of the EBU amongst others by studying anniversary booklets and their quarterly magazine *Diffusion*. Furthermore, in the article we intend to critically apply the Europe's system builder concept, as laid out in section §4.1.2.

### §5.3.1 Interesting archives

- ✚ Library and Archives of the International Telecommunication Institute, Geneva
- ✚ Archives of the International Broadcasting Union, including those of the Brussels monitoring station (1925-1949), Geneva
- ✚ Archives of the European Broadcasting Union (1950<), Geneva
- ✚ Archives of the International Organisation for Radio and Television, Geneva
- ✚ Archives of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the Hoover Institute, Stanford

## 6. Ideas about Europe: broadcasting in the interest of peace

Chapter three will enhance understanding of whether, what and how ideas of Europe have been employed in the negotiation processes surrounding the construction of broadcasting infrastructures. It sheds light on the contested process of building an infrastructure that was intended for international co-operation. The chapter will start with a general introduction to the historical contexts and the-state-of-the-art of broadcasting technology. The chapter then continues with a case-study that examines the use of ideas about Europe specifically within the IBU and League of Nations' cooperative effort to use broadcasting in the interest of peace. In a short conclusion, the case-study results will be drawn on to answer such questions as *Which ideas about Europe did the various actors employ? Were these ideas similar? With what intentions did the actors pursue these ideas? What was the role of technology? How have the ideas of Europe influenced the construction process of the broadcasting infrastructure?*

### §6.1 Historical framework

World War I had rudely interrupted days of economic prosperity and welfare. Intellectuals, academics and policy-makers sensed that the nation-state had destroyed European civilisation. In the Interbellum period, various individuals and groups of people felt the need to turn peoples' minds in directions other than warfare, to create democracy, peace and mutual understanding. Some people dreamt of an *Union d'Europe*, whereas others wanted Europe to be a patchwork of nation-states. Broadcasting was seen as an important means to pursue these goals and technological developments opened up new opportunities to spread such ideas.

In the early 1920s national broadcasting organisations decided together to establish the International Broadcasting Union. The part of the radio spectrum that the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) had assigned to broadcasting was overcrowded.<sup>51</sup> Transmitted signals regularly caused interference since different

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<sup>51</sup> The ITU (1932) is an intergovernmental organisation that has been established through a merger between the International Telegraph Union (1865) and the International Radiotelegraphic Union

people were broadcasting on the same frequency bands, jamming each other's broadcasts. The IBU fulfilled a coordinating and monitoring role with the aim of providing optimal operating circumstances for their national members. The two primary technical tasks of the IBU were to allocate the frequencies for broadcasting on the one hand and on the other hand to control and monitor the usage of the radio spectrum. Furthermore, the IBU assigned itself the task of fighting illicit propaganda. '[T]he IBU viewed propaganda to be harmful to international relations, [and therefore] it was actively resolving disputes between members and adopting anti-propaganda resolutions.'<sup>52</sup> The IBU worked in the interest of the national members to create good working conditions on the one hand, while on the other hand, in the area of propaganda, it also worked against national interests for the cause of maintaining an efficient international broadcasting infrastructure. Because the IBU was a non-governmental organisation, as it repeatedly stressed, it could not oblige the national broadcasters to refrain from transmitting harmful information about other governments' policies. From 1925 onward they repeatedly lobbied at the League of Nations for international government control.

### *§6.2 The fight against illicit propaganda*

Already in 1926 the IBU had recognized as their task the creation of mutual understanding amongst the peoples in Europe after World War I and established the *Commission de Rapprochement, Intellectuel, Artistique et Social*. In 1931 the League of Nations assigned the *Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle* in Paris to study the question of illicit propaganda and the use of broadcasting in the interest of peace. Throughout the 1930s the committees of the IBU and the League of Nations cooperated intensely to create a mutual project with respect to the use of radio in the interest of peace. They communicated their ideas to the national member organizations of the IBU as well as to various Pan-European Movements of which the opening quote forms part. Both the IBU and the League of Nations used ideas about Europe in to pursue their aims. Yet what were these aims? Peace and mutual understanding? A united Europe? Fighting propaganda? Or did these aims co-exist? In 1936, co-operation resulted in the signing of the International Convention Concerning

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(1906). The ITU mainly allocates frequencies among the various users of the spectrum, for instance, air navigation, military usages, ship-to-coast communication, telegraph, telephony and broadcasting.

<sup>52</sup> Eugster, *Television programming across national boundaries*, 35.

the Uses of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace, under the auspices of the League.<sup>53</sup> It seems, however, that this convention made no difference. Illicit propaganda continued and worsened in the years that followed.

Technological developments have influenced the process of building broadcasting infrastructures for peace purposes. In 1925 the IBU was supposed to produce frequency plans for long and medium wave transmission when their national members (and other broadcasters), began to expand their infrastructures abroad after radio amateurs had discovered the possibilities of long-range transmission via the short wave band. Most nations did this at first to transmit to their colonies or their citizens who lived abroad and soon also to send harmful information to other nation-states. The IBU had to cope with these developments and, (as far as I know at present) at least from 1936 tried to regulate frequencies in the short-wave band as well. They were not very successful in their effort.

Probably, one of the main technological opportunities for the IBU to create an integrated infrastructure (whether transnational or not) was their effort to create international standards. Though radio transmission and reception industries have played an important role in building broadcasting infrastructures, first exploratory archive research suggests that these industries were not directly involved in the discussions between the IBU and the League. Furthermore, throughout the whole period there only seems to have been minor contact between the receiver set industry and the IBU. The receiver set industry, above all, appears just to have relied on the international standards for transmission as laid down by the IBU.

### *§6.3 Approach*

The chapter draws on both secondary and primary sources as well as on insights gained from the second chapter. The case-study will rely almost entirely on primary sources since there is almost no literature available that deals with the topic. There is ample archive material available about the co-operation between the IBU and the League of Nations. The radio industry will be addressed to the extent that they have been involved in the project. During the Interbellum period, television technology was still in its infancy. Nevertheless, throughout the 1930s initiatives were set up to construct television networks. These initiatives will be included in the historical

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<sup>53</sup> At present it is still unclear exactly who have signed the Convention. Further research is needed.

framework with which the chapter will commence, but because the IBU did not deal with television during the Interbellum, it will not form part of the main case-study.

### §6.3.1 Interesting archives

- ✚ Archives of the International Broadcasting Union (1925-1949), Geneva
- ✚ Archives of the League of Nations, Geneva

## 7. Cold War propaganda and ideas about Europe

In continuance of the previous chapter, chapter four also aims to shed light on the role of ideas about Europe in building broadcasting infrastructures. Unlike the previous chapter, this chapter examines an infrastructure that was designed specifically for propaganda warfare. The Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty infrastructures will serve as a case study. They are American broadcasting infrastructures especially designed to send illicit propaganda through the Iron Curtain into Eastern Europe to combat communism. This chapter intends to provide detailed information on how a nationally-owned international broadcasting infrastructure has been built throughout Europe. Furthermore, the case study sheds light on non-European influences in the construction processes as well as on non-European visions of Europe.

### *§7.1 Historical framework*

After World War II television was introduced and quickly conquered the world. The technology had already been developed earlier, but the outbreak of World War II prevented its massive diffusion. Many people thought television was the future and radio would disappear. Radio broadcasting became increasingly localised and all but disappeared from the Western European international arena.

As a result of disagreement and rising tensions in the aftermath of the war, the IBU continued with a limited number of members, whereas a considerable part of the former IBU-members established the International Broadcasting Organisation (OIRT).<sup>54</sup> In 1950 the Western European nation-states left the OIRT because of irresolvable disagreements and together with the IBU-members established the (Western) European Broadcasting Union (EBU). The IBU was dissolved. The EBU seems to have concentrated on television activities mainly, as television was generally regarded to be the medium of the future and the new window to the world.<sup>55</sup> In 1954 the EBU initiated the construction of Eurovision, a television infrastructure

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<sup>54</sup> The name with which the Eastern European organisation started was OIR. The T was only added when they started to deal with television as well.

<sup>55</sup> In 1953 the EBU established a Programme Committee that mostly dealt with television, even though they were also charged with radio matters. 'The committee did set up a study group to examine the problems of radio amidst television's rapid expansion.' H.A. Fischer, 'The EBU: Model for regional cooperation', *Journalism Monographs* 68 (May 1980) 31. Currently, it is still unclear to me to what extent EBU relayed radio programmes in the period 1950-1964.

that spread all over Western Europe. Two years later the OIRT created Intervision, the Eastern European counterpart of Eurovision. Already within one year both organisations started cooperation efforts, whereby the EBU was actively involved in the establishment of Intervision. The images for the first programme transmission of Intervision, for instance, were provided by the EBU. Only in the early 1960s did the EBU understand that radio was not going to disappear, but that both radio and television technology actually co-existed. In 1964 the EBU established their Sound Broadcasting Committee, which has been in charge of radio programme exchange ever since. The Sound Broadcasting Committee in the end used the sound network of Eurovision, an infrastructure that has developed independently from the earlier constructed radio infrastructure. As well as in the field of television there seems to have been co-operation between the EBU and the OIRT.

The idea that radio became completely localised and a relatively unimportant broadcasting infrastructure during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century seems to be reflected in the historiographical literature. Though there are some studies that focus on cross-border radio infrastructure building in the 1950s and 1960s, most studies that examine the post-World War II period concentrate on television.<sup>56</sup> Yet, exactly in this period radio became the medium *par excellence* to send propaganda broadcasts through the Iron Curtain. Though there was television propaganda, in contrast to radio, television technology was more costly and television signals were, until the development of satellite technology, less capable of travelling long distances. Radio, in these years, was the actual window to the world.

### *§7.2 Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*

The case-study concentrates on the Radio Free Europe (1949) and Radio Liberty (1950) broadcasting infrastructures, which began separately but merged in 1975. During the Cold War both broadcasting organisations were known for the highly propagandist nature of their broadcasts. As a result, the broadcasts of these two organisations were continuously jammed by the communist regimes in Eastern Europe. In Moscow, for instance, there seems to have been a considerably large jamming infrastructure. The other American propaganda broadcasting organisation,

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<sup>56</sup> H. Brack, *The evolution of the EBU through its statutes from 1950 to 1976* (Geneva 1976), and L. Wallenhorn, 'From IBU to EBU', *EBU-Review* (Jan/March 1978)25-34 and 22-30.

the Voice of America, transmitted less compromising programmes and hence their programmes were only jammed at times when international relations deteriorated.

During the Cold War radio proved a suitable and relatively simple technology. Radio signals could travel far into Communist territory and radio receiver sets, unlike television sets, could easily be built with only little equipment. The people east of the Iron Curtain could thus build legal or illegal receiver sets if they wished. A preliminary scanning of the topic suggests that the construction process of the RFE/RL infrastructures was a contested process. RFE/RL used existing transmitters of other broadcasting organisations. Time to transmit broadcasts via these various Western European transmitters had to be negotiated and also the frequency space that the Americans wanted to use caused disputes among the Western European countries.

There were many technological developments during the Cold War period that possibly have influenced the construction process. Some examples are: FM-radio, the transistor, television and satellite. For instance, the portable radio, the transistor, enabled people to listen to their programmes wherever they wanted and satellite opened up a whole new range of bandwidths that could be used additionally to the terrestrial network.

### *§7.3 Approach*

The intention of this chapter is not so much to cover the whole Cold War period but to examine one specific project or dilemma regarding the RFE/RL infrastructures. The case-study can enhance insight into the way in which ideas about Europe were used in the negotiations of propaganda broadcasting infrastructure building. The case-study will be outlined in greater detail throughout the dissertation process after further consultation of archive material.

The chapter's basis will be laid in chapter two, which gives information on the diffusion as well as on the organisation of the RFE/RL infrastructures and probably also on the construction of jamming networks that were built in the communist areas.

#### §7.3.1 Interesting archives

- 🚩 Archives of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the Hoover Institute, Stanford, CA USA
- 🚩 U.S. National archives & Record Administration, Washington D.C., USA

- ✚ Open Society Archives, Budapest, Hungary
- ✚ Archives of the European Broadcasting Union (1950<), Geneva
- ✚ Archives of the International Organisation for Radio and Television, Geneva
- ✚ Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, (Wiesbaden and Potsdam, Germany)

## 8. Planning

2006	aug	Literature research / Research Design Posthumus
	sept	Tensions of Europe summer school: Infrastructures/ case-study one archive material
	oct	Posthumus seminar III
	autumn	Archive research, a.o. statistics database
	dec	RDC-Overdracht Posthumus / examination and reflection archive material
2007	jan-apr	Archive research: a.o. collection statistics database / write book chapter for <i>Transnational Technologies: Material Infrastructures and the Shaping of Europe in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century</i>
	may-june	Examine archive material and reflection / presentation paper at Tensions of Europe Conference, the Netherlands.
	oct-nov	Archive research / Article Europe's System Builder concept
2008	jan-apr	Archive research
	july-dec	Writing dissertation
2009	jan-apr	Continue writing dissertation.
	may-july	Finish dissertation, preparation defence and future

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