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Alternative to Partition (Magnum-Hill Publishers: 1965)

and in stimulating it anew. The communist leaders, especially Khrushchev, have done this in their trips to the West; there is no reason for Western leaders to be more reticent than they in appealing directly to the people.

This leads to a sensitive but important question concerning the utility of Radio Free Europe (RFE). RFE has played a major role in keeping the East Europeans informed of developments in the world and, more importantly, in their own countries. Indeed, in many respects the "thaw" of the fifties was prompted by various revelations concerning internal communist politics broadcast by RFE. In more recent times, RFE has kept East Europeans informed about the developing Sino-Soviet dispute and it has helped counteract the rather unpleasant and intense communist campaign designed to portray the assassination of President Kennedy as a right-wing conspiracy, allegedly protected from exposure with the complicity of the U.S. government.* Indeed, by its mere existence RFE limits the ability of the communist governments to select and distort the news, lest the Radio gain a wider listening audience.⁵

RFE's semiofficial status permits it to comment more freely on the internal developments in the East European states than is the case with the necessarily blander and more cautious VOA broadcasts. Since the maintenance of a critical public opinion is essential to the further evolution of the communist governments, this division of labor between RFE and VOA ought to be maintained. The same considerations apply to the differing roles performed by Radio Liberty and VOA broadcasts to Russia. Moreover, it is important that RFE

* For example, the Polish government went out of its way to facilitate the distribution in Poland of the J. Buchanan book, *Who Killed Kennedy*, while Polish journalists stationed in the U.S. fed the Polish public a steady diet of slanted interpretations, designed to reinforce the plot theory. The other communist states were also equally active in this regard. For a tasteless commentary on the assassination, including the observation that murder is a "quite frequent" method of removing political opponents in the U.S., see M. Rakowski, *Amerika Wladciatorowa* (Warsaw, 1963), a book of impressions written by the author after having been invited to visit the U.S.

broadcasts be sensitive to the national interests of the listening audiences. The Warsaw government has been able to embarrass RFE because for a long time the broadcasts beamed to Poland ignored the Polish view on the Oder-Neisse question. Any curtailment of the freedom of such institutions as RFE or Radio Liberty to criticize internal communist affairs could only be contemplated in the face of evidence that a free press and radio have begun to function in the East. Short of that, the West would be depriving itself of a useful and indirect means of influencing the outlook of millions of East Europeans and even Russians:

⑤ To promote multilateral ties with West Europe and East Europe. As direct Soviet control wanes, as East European nationalism, even under communist leadership, reasserts itself, as the East-West dichotomy becomes less sharp, it should be an explicit goal of American policy to promote multilateral political and economic relations, lest East Europe—and even all of Europe—become Balkanized.

Closer multilateral European ties would eventually render untenable the present semiautitarian East European regimes which thrive on isolation; involvement in all-European undertakings would dilute their ideology and would inhibit the tendency for some of them to become more autonomous national-communist technocratic dictatorships. A Rumanian-style external independence with a semi-Stalinist dictatorship at home is not enough; a Hungarian-style internal liberalization with almost complete external dependence on the Soviet Union is also not enough. The two processes should be linked, but the West cannot encourage that to happen from the positions of the cold war. That is why economic assistance should be employed, but with a long-range goal in mind. Had more of an effort been made in the early fifties to draw Yugoslavia into all-European activities, perhaps some of its recent drift toward more regimentation at home and closer identification with the communist world abroad might have been averted. Therefore, in subsequent relations with states that have