REPORT

drawn up on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee
on jamming stations in Europe

Rapporteur: Mr O. von HABSBURG
At its meeting of 12 December 1984 the European Parliament referred:

- the motion for a resolution by Mr I. FRIEDRICH and others on jamming stations in Europe (Doc. 2-1072/84),

- the motion for a resolution by Mr PEARCE on freedom of access to press and radio (Doc. 2-1116/84),

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure, to the Political Affairs Committee as the committee responsible and to the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport for its opinion.

At its meeting of 23 January 1985, the Political Affairs Committee decided to draw up a report; it appointed Mr von HABSBURG rapporteur at its meeting of 22 March 1985.

The committee considered the draft report at its meetings of 21 June and 22 September 1985. At the latter meeting the committee adopted the motion for a resolution unanimously.

The following took part in the vote: Mr FORMIGONI, chairman; Lord DOURO, vice-chairman; Mr HABSBURG, rapporteur; Mr ADAMOU (deputizing for Mr Ephremidis), Mr CHRISTIANSEN (deputizing for Mr Amadei), Mrs CHARZAT, Mr COSTE-FLORET, Mr DANKERT (deputizing for Mr Hansch), Lady ELLES, Mrs van den HEUVEL, Mr KLEPSCH, Mr POETTERING, Mr SEEFELD and Mr WEDEKIND (deputizing for Mr Blumenfeld).

The opinion of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport is attached.

The report was tabled on 27 September 1985.

The deadline for tabling amendments to this report will be indicated in the draft agenda for the part-session at which it will be debated.
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The Political Affairs Committee hereby submits to the European Parliament the following motion for a resolution, together with explanatory statement:

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on jamming stations in Europe

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr I. FRIEDRICH and others on jamming stations in Europe (Doc. 2-1072/84),
- having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr PEARCE on freedom of access to press and radio (Doc. 2-1116/84),
- having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee and the opinion of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport (Doc. A-103/85),

A. mindful of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 1948,

B. having regard to the many resolutions of the UN, and particularly the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966,

C. having regard to Article 48 of the Montreux International Telecommunications Convention,

D. having regard to the Final Act of the CSCE Conference, of which the free exchange of information is a cornerstone,

E. whereas the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland systematically jam Western radio broadcasts, thereby not only depriving their own peoples of information and comment but also, on occasion, causing considerable disruption to reception in areas near their frontiers,

F. whereas freedom of information is not only an essential feature of democracy, but also an indispensable element of any genuine peace policy,

1. Protests against the continued use of jamming stations by the governments of the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, which make it extremely difficult and often impossible for the people of Central and Eastern Europe to receive Western radio broadcasts;

2. Condemns these measures as a clear breach of human rights, as incompatible with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference and as an extension of the Cold War which is inimical to détente;

3. Welcomes the efforts of numerous Western broadcasting organizations to provide people deprived of free access to information by their governments, where possible, with news and opinions to assist them to make their own judgments on political matters;
4. Expects the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to make immediate representations to the governments of the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland urging them to dismantle these jamming stations in accordance with their obligations in international law;

5. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation and to the governments which signed the Final Act of the CSCE Helsinki Conference.
EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

I. The Legal position

1. Totalitarian and dictatorial regimes have consistently sought to isolate their citizens from news from other countries in order to preserve their monopoly of information and thus consolidate their political position. It was understandable, therefore, that at the end of the Second World War, with the example of Hitler's and Stalin's dictatorships foremost in their minds, the nations were determined to demand the free flow of information throughout the world as a prerequisite for the restoration of democracy.

2. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 1948 stated: 'Everyone has the right of freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.'

3. After the Soviet Union set up jamming stations in February 1948, the UN General Assembly denounced this interference in December 1950 as: 'a denial of the right of all persons to be fully informed concerning news, opinions and ideas, regardless of frontiers.'

4. In 1966 the UN adopted the Convention on Civil and Political Rights, which states: 'Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.'

5. Ten years ago, in 1975, the Helsinki Final Act stated: 'Participating states shall act in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The signatories would make it their aim to facilitate the freer and wider dissemination of information of all kinds.' It also stated that: 'the participating states note the expansion in the dissemination of information broadcast by radio and express the hope for the continuation of this process, so as to meet the interests of mutual understanding among peoples.'

6. Finally, Article 48 of the Montreux International Telecommunications Convention states: 'All stations, whatever their purpose, must be established and operated in such a manner as not to cause harmful interference to the radio services or communications of other members or of recognized private operating agencies, which carry on radio service and which operate in accordance with the provisions of the Radio Regulations.'
II. Brief history of jamming stations

7. Despite the unequivocal provisions of international law, in February 1948 the Soviet Union began to jam the Russian-language broadcasts of the Voice of America. In 1950, Russian-language broadcasts by the BBC were also disrupted. From 1951 onwards, all Western broadcasts to Central and Eastern Europe were subject to interference from over 1,000 jamming stations. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were subject to particularly severe disruption from 1951 and 1953 respectively. In addition to jamming of the BBC, Radio France International and Deutsche Welle, there is also systematic jamming on a massive scale of broadcasts from Israel, not only programmes in languages spoken in the Soviet Union, but also those broadcast in Hebrew - despite the fact that Hebrew is Israel's national language.

8. Subsequently, Romania and Hungary discontinued their jamming operations. In the regions along the Soviet border, however, Hungarian-language broadcasts from the West are still subject to interference, apparently from jamming stations in the Soviet Union intended to prevent people from listening to such broadcasts in the area which was formerly Carpatho-Ukraine, where remnants of the Hungarian population and Hungarian-speaking Jews still live.

9. Some of the jamming stations for Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia are situated in the Soviet Union; both states contribute to the cost of these jamming operations.

10. It should also be mentioned that at present over 80 states broadcast programmes in foreign languages. By far the most active in this area is the Soviet Union, which broadcasts 300 hours daily in over 60 languages, and broadcasts in English round the clock. With one exception, the Soviet broadcasts are not jammed: the exception is the Soviet Union's Chinese-language broadcasts to China.

III. Technical aspects of jamming

11. At present there are two types of jamming transmitters: firstly, powerful transmitters which bounce rays off the ionosphere to intercept the target transmitter's signal. These are effective but do not function in the evening, when the sun has already set in the USSR but not in the West. Ground wave transmitters are much more common. Their disadvantage is that they only cover a small area with their interference; their main advantage is that they use less energy. Experts estimate that the total number of Soviet jamming stations is at present between 2,500 and 3,000, of which the 'sky ray' transmitters are greatly outnumbered by the ground wave stations.

12. Attention should be drawn to the high cost of jamming stations, which greatly exceeds the cost of normal radio transmitters. This is particularly true with regard to energy consumption. At present some 1,000 million kilowatt-hours are needed for jamming operations. It has been calculated that this energy would be sufficient to produce 375,000 lorries, 500,000 tractors or 11 million tonnes of cement. This is a heavy burden for the economies of the Communist states, given their severe economic difficulties.
13. The transmitters which bounce waves off the ionosphere also affect frequencies in the proximity of the target signal. This applies particularly in frontier regions, where domestic broadcasts are occasionally subject to disruption.

IV. Conclusions

14. When in 1940 the Hitler régime was jamming British radio broadcasts, the BBC was widely requested to do the same to the broadcasts from the Axis States. On that occasion, the BBC answered: 'Jamming is an admission of a bad cause. The jammer has a bad conscience. He is afraid of the influence of truth. In our country we have no such fears.' This should still apply today for the free world. At any rate it should be recognized that jamming foreign broadcasts is an unmistakable sign of insecurity and hence of tension. It would be a sign of détente if the jamming stations were dismantled. It would also be a significant confidence building measure along the lines envisaged in the Helsinki Final Act. It therefore accords with the main lines of the European Community's policy to attempt to achieve such a gesture on the part of the USSR and her allies, quite apart from the fact that the European Community, and particularly the European Parliament, feels a responsibility for all Europeans and their rights.
MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (Doc. 1-1072/85)
tabled by Mr I. FRIEDRICH, Mr ZAHORKA, Mr PIRKL, Mr WEDEKIND, Mr AIGNER,
Mr HABSBURG and Mr SPATH,
pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure,
on jamming stations in Europe

The European Parliament,

A. having regard to the spirit of the Final Act of the CSCE Conference, of which the free exchange of information and opinions forms a cornerstone,

B. whereas the freedom to disseminate information across frontiers is essential for genuine peace between peoples,

C. having regard to its responsibility towards the Europeans behind the Iron Curtain, whose rulers systematically deny them the freedom of opinion and information,

1. Protests against the jamming stations set up in the Eastern bloc countries, which are designed to make it impossible for the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe to receive radio broadcasts from the West;

2. Condemns these measures as an act of aggression aimed at suppressing understanding between peoples;

3. Stresses the importance of transmitters such as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty for achieving the aims of the CSCE Final Act;

4. Calls for the immediate dismantling of jamming stations in the East;

5. Calls on the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to submit a report on the steps it has taken to encourage the Communist regimes to dismantle these jamming stations, since they are bound by international law to do so;

6. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Foreign Ministers meeting in EPC and to the governments which signed the Final Act of the CSCE Conference.
MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION (Doc. 2-1116/85)
tabled by Mr PEARCE,
pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure,
on freedom of access to press and radio

The European Parliament,

Recalling that the final act of the 1975 Helsinki conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which the Soviet Union signed, committed signatory countries to freedom of access to press and radio,

1. Condemns the Soviet Union for continuing to jam broadcasts by the BBC, the Voice of America and the Deutsche Welle;

2. Instructs its President to send this resolution to the Soviet authorities.
OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE ON YOUTH, CULTURE, EDUCATION, INFORMATION AND SPORT

Letter from the chairman of the committee to Mr Roberto Formigoni, chairman of the Political Affairs Committee

Luxembourg, 24 May 1985

Subject: Opinion of the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport on jamming stations in Europe (Doc. 2-1072/84) and on freedom of access to press and radio (Doc. 2-1116/84)

Dear Mr Formigoni,

At its meeting of 22 and 23 May 1985, the committee of which I am chairman considered the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Ingo FRIEDRICH and others on jamming stations in Europe (Doc. 2-1072/84) and the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr PEARCE on freedom of access to press and radio (Doc. 2-1116/84).

At the end of its discussion, the committee adopted\(^1\) the following text:

'The Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport:

1. Recalls the provisions concerning information contained in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE):

- "The participating States .........................

  Recognizing the importance of the dissemination of information from the other participating States and of a better acquaintance with such information,

  Emphasizing therefore the essential and influential role of the press, radio, television, cinema and news agencies and of the journalists working in these fields,

Make it their aim to facilitate the freer and wider dissemination of information of all kinds, to encourage cooperation in the field of information and the exchange of information with other countries, and to improve the conditions under which journalists from one participating State exercise their profession in another participating State".

\(^1\) The following took part in the vote: Mr Fajardie, acting chairman; Mr Baget Bozzo (deputizing for Mr Pelikan), Mr Brok (deputizing for Mr Munch), Mr Elliott, Mr Hahn, Mr Howell, Mr McMillan-Scott, Mr Peus and Mrs Seibel-Emmerling