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HUMAN EVENTS

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The Assault on Radio Liberty

By RUSS BRALEY

was recruiting spies.

President Reagan, a former sports-caster who still likes to broadcast, gives a high priority to extending the American broadcasting reach. A key facility is Radio Liberty in Munich. Since its nadir under the Carter Administration, the station has experienced a renaissance, with growing listener attention and higher staff morale.

Now the 30-month party is over. Press attacks on Radio Liberty have made some in Congress suggest taking an ax to the whole radio buildup in a time of budget austerity.

More than a year ago, Radio Liberty's director, George Bailey, submitted a letter of resignation to the president of Radio Liberty-Radio Free Europe in Munich, James Buckley, to be picked up if ever a scapegoat might be needed to get the budget through. Recently Bailey's resignation was picked up.

It should not surprise that the coalition that got Bailey included Communist publicists in the East and liberal Western publicists, or that the weapon was slander.

When Reagan became President, calling the Evil Empire by name, he upset American media commentators and caused consternation in the Carter-era management at Radio Liberty.

The President's remarks had a healthy effect in the Soviet Union. I know Russians there who are aware that they are hated in the nations they have colonized. Alexander Solzhenitsyn recalled wartime rape and looting in his *Prussian Nights*:

"We have become universally hated,

"Everywhere we shall be crucified.

"They will slaughter us on the Vistula,

"And in China build us funeral pyres."

In 1982 the holdover radio bureaucracy opposed the nomination of Bailey, because Bailey had been liaison-editor of *Kontinent*, the emigre magazine financed by the West German anti-Communist publisher Axel Springer. The editor of *Kontinent*, Vladimir Maksimov, had written an open letter to President Carter charging the radio

The first press attack on Bailey came from halfway between East and West. *Die Wahrheit*, published in West Berlin by East Germany's Socialist Unity (Communist) party, on March 12, 1983, called Bailey a "Springer buddy." Communists will not forgive Springer his generosity in creating the only market for Eastern emigres writing in their own languages.

The first heavy attack in the United States appeared in the *Washington Post* of Sept. 25, 1983. The article, headlined, "How America Backs Critics of Freedom/Our Propaganda Isn't Always Democratic," was written by Josef Joffe and Dimitri Simes.

It charged Radio Liberty broadcasts speeches portraying the United States as a decadent power and an unreliable ally. The authors were outraged that Solzhenitsyn's Taiwan speech was broadcast "in full" (would censored be OK?). Solzhenitsyn had condemned a trend in Congress of demanding of allies "total adherence to democracy...all the way up to decadence, treason, the right to destroy the state."

Simes and Joffe demanded Congress look into Radio Liberty programming, and Congress did as it was told.

Bailey said some of Simes' free-lance offerings to Radio Liberty had been unsuitable, so his contributions were reduced to around once a month, and Simes stopped contributing. His father, an educator, continued contributing, however.

Simes lent weight to the *Post* article by citing support from Harvard Prof. Richard Pipes, a scholar on the Soviet Union and a well-known anti-Communist. I telephoned Pipes to inquire. He conceded he did not often agree with Simes, but he confirmed he opposed Bailey's appointment as director.

I asked if he knew Bailey. No, but Pipes opposed anyone who was a friend of Solzhenitsyn, a dangerous nationalist. He cited the novel, *August 1914*. I told him my copy of *August 1914* read almost as though a German nationalist had written it, contrasting neat, clean and competent Germans as opposed to backward Russians.

Ah, said Pipes, but I should see the Russian-language parts not translated into English. (Note that his emphasis was on dangerous nationalism. Later, it would switch to the virulent charge of anti-Semitism.)

Fortunately, the new biography, *Solzhenitsyn*, by Michael Scammell, explains Pipes' fury. Pipes was proud of his vocal anti-communism, and when Solzhenitsyn was expelled from the Soviet Union to the West, Pipes could have expected Solzhenitsyn to speak well of him. Instead, Solzhenitsyn, speaking off the cuff at the Hoover Institution, referred to an American scholar who published a "pseudo-academic book" full of mistakes, exaggerations and perhaps premeditated distortions." Scammell said (page 953) the book was Pipes' *Russia Under the Old Regime*.

Solzhenitsyn was angry at Pipes for allegedly suggesting a natural continuity between Old Russia and the Soviet Union.

Now, a decade later, Pipes was getting even. He was joining with Simes to get at Bailey, largely because of Bailey's Solzhenitsyn sympathies.

It's too bad, really, for Bailey knows Russians and other Soviet nationals as well as any native-born American, and he was the right man for Radio Liberty.

A gifted linguist, who used to call with a bullhorn for Germans to surrender in World War II, Bailey also hurriedly translated into Russian the draft of the surrender document, and interpreted in two languages for Gen. Bedell Smith.

For several years after the war (interrupted by a stay at Magdalen College at Oxford), he dealt with Soviet personnel. He was a liaison officer with the Soviet army. Then as an Army Department civilian he interviewed Soviet deserters before being attached to the Berlin provost marshal. His job was police department liaison with Soviets in Karlshorst, usually over GI mishaps.

No American has more friends in Europe, ranging from the late Konrad Adenauer and Artur Rubinstein to Gypsies in Rumania who put Bailey up

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when the hotels are full. Adenauer made it possible for Bailey to write the introduction to Reinhard Gehlen's autobiography.

Bailey made some changes at Radio Liberty; for example, expanding the orphan Ukrainian desk. He promoted desk chiefs from the various nationals who had chafed under the tutelage of "American" (more often, Australian or Canadian) desk editors.

The inexperienced Ukrainians broadcast an unfortunate celebration of national day, which occurred under the Nazis, and Bailey was obliged to apologize to B'nai B'rith and to Simon Wiesenthal.

Jews never have had a better goyish friend than Bailey. He learned Hebrew while studying at Columbia and serving as a *shabbas-goy* at New York's Jewish Theological Seminary. He is proud of a certificate a colleague from Camp Ritchie gave him naming him an "Honorary Jew." He knows more Jewish history than most rabbis. His wife is half-Jewish, so his daughter qualifies for disposal under Hitler's Nuremberg decrees.

Simes arrived in the United States from the Soviet Union during the Nixon-Kissinger detente. He came to public notice by telling a congressional aide (Herbert Romerstein) that the Pentagon Papers had been at Moscow institutes before the New York *Times* published them.

When I called him to check on this almost a decade later, Simes said he had not actually seen such documents in Moscow. He appeared to regret having brought the matter up. But the information he had volunteered in Washington gave the impression he was an anti-Communist. Since then, the "MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour" gave him recognition as a television authority on the Soviet Union.

Early last year the East German magazine *Horizont* published an attack that was unintentionally amusing, "Habits of a Crusader," by Wassili Viktorow. It attributed to Bailey all the crimes of Mackie Messer, and then some.

According to *Horizont*, Bailey is a CIA man and embezzler who poisoned his wife's uncle, Karl Ullstein, so Axel Springer could seize his publishing company. Bailey also interpreted for Hungarian counter-revolutionaries torturing to death a Soviet soldier (of Armenian extraction) in 1956, and in Berlin, lured the fascinating translator Tamara Rusiew-Preis to the West,

then stole the black pearl ring off her dead finger.

The *Horizont* article is a collector's item, and it was imitated, poorly, in *New Times*, the Soviet all-languages magazine under the headline "Sinful George."

Meanwhile, the Simes-Joffe piece in the *Washington Post* took effect.

Joel Brinkley reported in the *New York Times* of Feb. 22, 1984, that Geryld B. Christianson, the Democrats' staff director for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, attacked the managers of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. He said they "have so weakened the controls over program content that commentators hostile to the United States are allowed to broadcast to Soviet bloc audiences."

If the *Times* had named Solzhenitsyn, readers would have seen the fraud, but editors had cut out his name. The newspaper apologized in an Editor's Note on February 23, supplying the names of the hostile miscreants: Solzhenitsyn and Vladimir Maksimov.

Last June 10 the *Times* returned to the attack with a story from Munich by Bonn correspondent James M. Markham, headlined, "At Radio Free Europe, a Few Changes of Pace."

Markham identified Bailey as "an American who had worked for the right-wing Springer press group in West Germany." (Most Western correspondents in Bonn consider Springer conservative, in the manner of his *Die Welt*, not right-wing.)

Markham reported that the changes appeared to have bolstered morale among many of the two stations' 1,674 polyglot staffers. "But for others, the advent of a conservative, ideologically activist management closely tied to the Reagan Administration has caused concern that the stations are losing their cast, when jamming might make a listener lose some words, would have been irresponsible.)

Markham's story reminded readers that in the early 1970s the two stations were demoralized by the revelation that the CIA had been financing them. Markham then identified Bailey as "a gregarious American linguist and former CIA officer."

Now, there is nothing wrong with someone having been a CIA officer, but Bailey never was, except in Soviet literature. Put in the context of CIA demoralizing the stations, right after Radio Moscow charged Bailey was a spy, the mistake had a malicious appearance.

The rest of Markham's story concentrated on "unrest" among the staffers of RFE/RL. His theme, in general terms, was the same as *Izvestia's*, just as *Izvestia's* sunburned Iowan quote was borrowed from Markham's earlier story.

Markham's emphasis on "professionalism" was galling. He appeared to go out of his way to avoid saying Bailey had won the Overseas Press Club 1959 award for foreign reporting, was a well-known ABC commentator, had been chief editor of *The Reporter* magazine and wrote three books, including a candid autobiography, *Germans* (World, 1972). To say Bailey is a CIA man but not a professional journalist is not two mistakes, it is two old-fashioned untruths.

All the initial attacks were purely ideological, intended to force Solzhenitsyn off the air because he condemns liberals, and to clear the airwaves of anything upsetting to the Soviets.

So far, the attacks had been easily demolished by virtue of their falsity and triviality. Solzhenitsyn's themes—that the West does not fight communism with conviction and makes irresponsible use of its freedom—are shared by many, including France's Jean Francois Revel and Britain's Paul Johnson.

But now a killer attack was mounted, one that seldom fails. In the *New Republic* of Feb. 4, 1985, Radio Liberty was charged with broadcasting anti-Semitism in the form of a literary analysis of a new passage in *August 1914*. The magazine implied that Solzhenitsyn and "an emigre named George Bailey" are both anti-Semites.

The magazine printed a reply by Frank Shakespeare and Ben Wattenberg, but declined to take anything back except the misidentification of Bailey. It cited a memo from James Buckley, president of Radio Liberty, to Bailey, telling him to pay more attention to words used in reference to Jews. Bailey said he did not know who sent the magazine his memo.

Simultaneously with the *New Republic*, the *Washington Post* on February 4 published a half-page article charging Solzhenitsyn with anti-Semitism, in this case in a broadcast on the Voice of America.

The story, by Joanne Omang, described the arcane dispute between Russian emigres and experts over several paragraphs in Solzhenitsyn's new addition to *August 1914*—some saying they

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found anti-Semitism in them, others calling the charge nonsense.

Richard Pipes, unfortunately, lent himself to the inflammatory project. Pipes was quoted as saying that, while Solzhenitsyn did not write anything overtly anti-Semitic, he wrote subtly, and audiences in Russia would receive an anti-Semitic message.

On the authority of Pipes' statement, a *Post* headline said, "Parts of 'August 1914' Viewed as Being Subtly Anti-Semitic." (No headline noted, "Some Say 'Nonsense.'")

The *Post* also pretended to enlist a powerful authority on anti-Semitism, Norman Podhoretz, quoting his article in *Commentary* in such a way that a reader would conclude that Solzhenitsyn had no sympathy for Jews and was a poor writer: "August 1914 is dead from beginning to end."

The sentence out of context was a total misrepresentation of Podhoretz's views. The thrust of his article in *Commentary* was the opposite: "Solzhenitsyn's two major nonfiction works, *The Gulag Archipelago* and *The Oak and the Calf*, are among the very greatest books of the age. . . . *The Gulag Archipelago* will stand forever as one of the majestic achievements in the history of literature."

On the heels of the Washington *Post* attack, Dimitri Simes resurfaced on the opinion page of the *Christian Science Monitor* of February 13, and then again in two articles in the same newspaper by Elizabeth Pond, who quoted Simes as her chief expert on disinformation. (She concluded that "one man's disinformation may be another man's free press," and Simes agreed disinformation has been overblown).

In his opinion piece, headlined, "The Destruction of Liberty," (whose?) Simes charged Soviet listeners were hearing "anti-Western, antidemocratic polemics, suppression of unpleasant news, extremist nationalism and anti-Semitism." Simes wrote that a top Radio Liberty editor asked rhetorically during an interview in Bailey's presence, "And who has established that anti-Semitism is wrong?" Simes said the "competent chief of the Russian service and its chief of research have resigned."

Bailey said he is dumbfounded that a newspaper with the reputation of the *Monitor* would publish such blatant falsehoods. He said the quotation is false, that the two chiefs did not resign, and neither he nor Solzhenitsyn are anti-Semites.

When Bailey was in Washington early in 1985, he mentioned to the Board of International Broadcasting that he was writing to New York *Daily News* columnist Lars-Eric Nelson, pointing out mistakes in a column about him. Almost immediately, he said, he received a call from Nelson asking if Bailey had indeed written him. Bailey said he did not know who on the board informed Nelson so quickly.

Nelson's column was picked up in the Miami *Herald* under the irresponsible full-page headline, "Radio Liberty Specializes in Anti-Semitism." Nelson echoed all the charges, but the article omitted the name "Solzhenitsyn" and the book, *August 1914*, the basis of the story, facts that might have left the readers doubting the veracity of the accusation. He cited as his authority—you have guessed it—"Soviet emigre scholar Dimitri Simes."

Solzhenitsyn writes of Jews as he does of anyone. Like Bailey, Solzhenitsyn has a half-Jewish wife. In *August 1914*, the most positive character is the Jewish engineer Ilya Arkhangorodsky, taken from a real person. In *Lenin in Zurich*, the most negative character is Lenin, not Israil Lazarevich Helphand (Parvus). When Solzhenitsyn first rose to prominence, the KGB spread the word he was a Jew.

Solzhenitsyn has been a world celebrity for more than two decades, writing all-out, a force of nature, like a volcano, earthquake or tidal wave. He reveals everything about himself. He could not be a secret, or subtle, anti-Semite because anti-Semitism is alien to every word he has written.

Jews should be enraged. There are anti-Semites around, and false charges trivialize what should be a deadly serious subject. The charge is made by midgets, over whom Solzhenitsyn towers like a Colossus.

But they have won. George Bailey resigned just after his 65th birthday because a handful of his and Solzhenitsyn's enemies orchestrated a slanderous attack just at budget time. A few perplexed Israelis have asked assurances that anti-Semitism will not be broadcast over a Voice of America transmitter, if one is built in Israel—although many other Israelis remember Bailey; he covered the Six Day War for *The Reporter*.

The KGB could not prevent Solzhenitsyn from broadcasting to the

Soviet Union. But Dimitri Simes and Richard Pipes, using their access to the media, may have silenced him, with the resignation of Bailey, who was too ideally suited for the post of Radio Liberty director. ■

Mr. Brulev, a foreign correspondent for the New York Daily News for 20 years, is the author of Bad News: The Foreign Policy of the New York Times (Reener Gateway, 1984)