Airy Curtains in the European Ether: Introduction

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In a key scene in Wolfgang Becker's well-known 2003 film *Goodbye, Lenin!,* the protagonist Alex sits in an apartment in West Berlin with his half-siblings, watching the East German *Sandmännchen* (little sandman)*,* the puppet character that was a key part of the bedtime ritual on East German television since 1959. Most German viewers of the film were well aware that there was also a West German *Sandmännchen* in a similar role and time slot, and the scene served in part as a moment of hope in what Eric Rentschler calls the "Postwall Cinema of Consensus" where the two sides would eventually be able to appreciate each other's experience.[1] In fact, anthropologist Daphne Berdahl noted that, if asked, "there are few Eastern Germans who will not mention with pride that 'our' sandman prevailed."[2] While the divided sandmen point to a cultural overlap (and indeed dialogue of sorts) in the film and the memories that surround it, the East German sandman is one more piece of "insider knowledge" that supports a popular understanding of both a country and a continent as fundamentally isolated spaces of communication. Without wanting to dispute directly the experience of isolation, such memories might have been complicated had Alex discovered that a number of the Eastern children's programmes he knew were also popular in much of Western Europe.[3]

During the Cold War, the mental model of two separate communication blocs was prevalent, but not without its challenges. When the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), the federation of (then) Western broadcasters, was preparing new plans for exchange of news via satellite in the closing years of the Cold War, it drew up a glossy folder with a portrayal on its cover of the satellite's footprint. The footprint of the satellite ECS II was of course not so easily contained by national borders, so to avoid any misunderstandings, the makers of the pamphlet carefully blacked out the territories of their neighbours in the Organisation Internationale de Radiodiffusion et Télévision (OIRT) to the East (map 1). While it did reflect the aims of the satellite service, this polite political gesture belied the

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1   Rentschler, Eric, 'From New German Cinema to Postwall Cinema of Consensus', in Mette Hjort, Scott MacKenzie (eds.), *Cinema and Nation* (London: Routledge 2000) pp. 260-277.

2   Berdahl, Daphne, '*Goodbye, Lenin!* Auf Wiedersehen GDR: On the Social Life of Socialism', in Maria Todorova, Zsuzsa Gille (eds), *Post-Communist Nostalgia* (Oxford: Berghahn 2012).

3   See Christian Henrich-Franke and Regina Immel's chapter in this volume.

fact that the two organizations had been news and sport coverage between their terrestrial networks since 1960.[4]

Map 1: European Communications Satellite (ECS)

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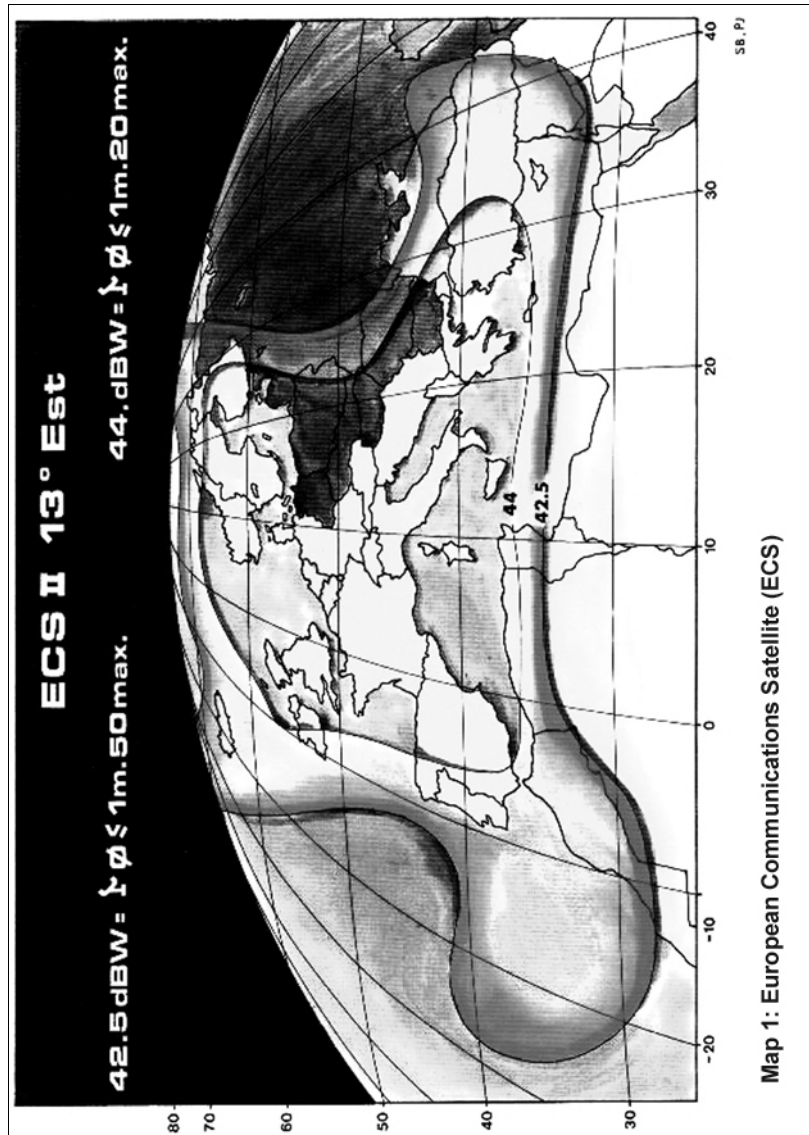
4   Ernest Eugster, *Television Programming across National Boundaries: The EBU and OIRT Experience* (Dedham, MA: Artech House 1983).

These are just two short examples among a number of complex and often contra-dictory ways in which broadcasting both united and divided the Cold War blocs. Both show that while ideological antagonism and attempted isolation were in-deed key dynamics that marked these relationships between 1945 and 1990, they were also accompanied by processes of communication and co-operation. It is a mental commonplace that electromagnetic waves cross borders as lightly as if they were made of air, but if we look more closely, broadcasting is no more or less 'solid' than the interwoven sets of material, institutional and symbolic re-gimes that demarcate national boundaries. We need to grasp the contradictory dynamics of both if we are to understanding broadcasting in the Cold War.

I. State of the Art

Like popular memory, Cold War history has for a long time been dominated by political narratives, presenting the United States and the Soviet Union as self-contained 'super-power' blocs, which due to regime competition only cooperated on a limited number of occasions.[5] In such traditional and post-revisionist ap-proaches, exchanges, cooperation or mutual influences in the fields of culture, economy or politics hardly occurred. Yet this traditional narrative of the Cold War is increasingly being contested.[6] A number of studies have "*raised the cur-tain*"[7] and underlined the many forms of interaction and cooperation between the two 'blocs', demonstrating that earlier concepts and histories of the Cold War rather reflected ideological presuppositions than historical reality. Initiated by an overwhelming interest of the historical research on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) historians emphasized that "*the relations between East and West were based not exclusively on confrontation or unceasing mutual distrust, but also on collaboration*".[8] Economic and industrial coopera-tion could turn out to be mutually beneficial especially for the smaller countries of Europe.[9] The field of cultural diplomacy[10] provides us with many examples of

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5   White, Timothy, 'Cold War Historiography: New Evidence Behind Traditional Typog-raphies', *International Social Science Review* 1 (2000), pp. 27-62.

6   Dülffer, Jost, *Europa im Ost-West-Konflikt 1945 – 1991* (München: Oldenbourg, 2004); Pfeil, Ulrich, *Die DDR und der Westen. Transnationale Beziehungen 1949 – 1989*, (Berlin: Links, 2001).

7   Richmond, Yale, *Cultural Exchange & the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain* (Penn-sylvania: State University Press, 2003).

8   Autio-Sarasmo, Sari; Katalin Miklóssy (eds.), *Reassessing Cold War Europe* (Abing-don: Routhledge, 2011).

9   Greiner, Bernd; Christian Müller, Claudia Weber (eds.), *Ökonomie im Kalten Krieg* (Hamburg: Hamburger ed., 2010).

'peaceful' yet symbolically highly charged competition between 'Western' and communist or socialist ideologies, turning specific arenas (such as large exhibitions or World Fairs), media (for example film, radio, or television) or cultural products and practices (such as music, literature or sport) into "*zones of convergence*"[11] rather then ideological battlefields.[12] The transnational nature of radio wave propagation made broadcasting a primary target of cultural politics right from the start. Yet the transnational potential of radio as a means for peaceful communication across political or ideological borders remained rather untapped as the medium soon turned into a favourite instrument of nation building.[13]

It is not surprising that the historiography of broadcasting (both radio and television) has been – and still remains – a favourite object of national historical narratives, emphasizing the crucial role of broadcasting in the construction or stabilization of the nation as an imagined community.[14] Even volumes that claim to deal with European broadcasting history often turn out to be a collection of nationally focused studies.[15] Yet an emerging body of transnational historical research on media significantly complicates this (albeit deliberately exaggerated) picture.[16] This still limited number of studies often deals with isolated aspects of transnational broadcasting history in Europe like the Eurovision Songs Contest[17]

10   Hogan, Michael; Paterson, Thomas (eds.), *Culture and International History* (Oxford: University Press, 2003); Gienow-Hecht, Jessica; Mark Donfried (eds.), *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy*, (New York: Berghahn, 2010).

11   Reid, Susan, 'The Soviet Pavilion at Brussels '58: Convergence, Conversion, Critical Assimilation, or Transculturation?', Online at: http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/ default/files/WP62_Reid_web_V3sm.pdf Accessed 17 August, 2011.

12   Gienow-Hecht, Jessica, *Sound Diplomacy. Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Prevots, Naima, *Dance for Export: Cultural Diplomacy and the Cold War* (Hanover: Wesleyan, 1999); Nilsen, Sarah, *Projecting America, 1958: Film and Cultural Diplomacy at the Brussels World's Fair* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2011).

13   Scannell, Paddy; David Cardiff, *A social history of British broadcasting. Vol. 1, 1922-1939 Serving the nation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991).

14   Thompson, John B., *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media* (Cambridge: Polity Press 1995).

15   Daniel, Ute; Axel Schildt (eds.), Massenmedien im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts (Köln: Böhlau-Verlag, 2010).

16   Fickers, Andreas; Catherine Johnson (eds.), *Transnational Television History: A Comparative Aproach* (New York: Routledge 2012); Lommers, Suzanne, *Europe – On Air. Interwar Projects for Radio Broadcasting* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012); Bignell, Jonathan; Andreas Fickers (eds.), *A European Television History*, (Malden/Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009); Mattelard, Tristan, *Le cheval de Troie audiovisual. Le rideau de fer à l'épreuve des radios et télévisions transfrontières* (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1995).

17   Pajala, Mari, *Finlande: zero points?: der Eurovision Song Contest in den finnischen Medien* (Köln: Saxa Verlag, 2007).

or the European Boadcasting Union.[18] However, the focus is mostly put on Western Europe while the transnational or East-West dimension is hardly taken up.[19]

This biased and Western-dominated perspective is certainly a strong characteristic of most Cold War broadcasting literature, which has emphasized the ideological competition in a rhetoric dominated by "war" and "battle"-metaphors.[20] This is especially true of the many first-hand historical accounts by American contributors to Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty or Voice of America. [21]

While studies on the ideological efforts in political broadcasting of Eastern and Central European countries and by the Soviet Union during the Cold War remain rare,[22] recent scholarship on the two Germanies as the primary arena and target of ideological competition shows that radio and television broadcasts from West to East or East to West were by no means one-way communication acts, but rather followed a logic of delayed mediated interaction.[23] Very often, news or other information transmitted from one side of the Wall was picked up by the other side and then commented on in a program directed back to the other side. Such a 'ping-pong' model of interactive communication (with active senders *and*

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18   Henrich-Franke, Christian, 'Creating transnationality through an international organization? The European Broadcasting Union's (EBU) television programme activities', *Media History* 1 (2010) , pp. 74-91; Bourdon, Jerome, 'Unhappy Engineers of the European Soul. The EBU and the Woes of Pan-European Television', *The International Communication Gazette* 69 (2007), pp. 265-280; Degenhardt, Wolfgang; Elisabeth Strautz, *Auf der Suche nach dem europäischen Programm. Die Eurovision 1954-1970* (Baden-Baden: Nomos 1999).

19   Eugster, Ernest, *Television Programming Across National Boundaries: The EBU and OIRT Experience* (Dedham: Artech House, 1983).

20   Nelson, Michael, *War of the Black Heavens. The Battles of Western Broadcasting in the Cold War* (Syracuse: University Press, 1997); Hendershot, Heather, What's fair *on the* air?*: Cold War right-wing broadcasting and the public interest* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2011).

21   Cummings, Richard, Cold War radio: the dangerous history of American broadcasting in Europe, 1950-1989 (Jefferson: McFarland 2009); Cummings, Richard, Radio Free Europe's "Crusade for freedom": rallying Americans behind Cold War broadcasting, 1950-1960 (Jefferson: McFarland, 2010); Johnson, Ross; Eugene Parta (eds.): Cold War Broadcasting. Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010).

22   Roth-Ey, Kristin, *Moscow prime time : how the Soviet Union built the media empire that lost the cultural Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); Mustata, Dana, *The Power of Television. Including the Historicizing of the Live Romanian Revolution*, (PhD dissertation Utrecht University 2011); Mertelsmann, Olaf (eds.), *Central and Eastern European media under dictatorial rule and in the early Cold War* (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2011).

23   Stahl, Heiner, *Jugendradio im kalten Ätherkrieg. Berlin als eine Klanglandschaft des Pop 1962-1973* (Berlin: Landbeck-Verlag, 2010); Dittmar, Claudia, *Feindliches Fernsehen : das DDR-Fernsehen und seine Strategien im Umgang mit dem westdeutschen Fernsehen* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2010).

active receivers) probably comes much closer to the realities of Cold War broadcasting than the linear model that has dominated the political science discourse on propaganda effects of Cold War broadcasting.[24] This volume seeks to contribute to recent scholarship that analyzes and interprets European Cold War cultures as a result of complex processes of circulation, appropriation and rejection.[25] We will confront the reader with many examples of peaceful forms of transborder cooperation and – albeit subversive – practices of civilian use of broadcasting.

II. Concept of the volume

(1) *Aim and objectives*: This book seeks to emphasize the important role of broadcasting as a central actor in creating a transnational and European communication space during the period of the Cold War. Its methodological design aims to link the study of the circulation and appropriation of cultural performances with an awareness of the crucial role played by broadcast technologies as mediators and catalysts of cultural transfer. We study Europe as a Cold War broadcasting space by describing and analyzing different transmission and reception technologies and by questioning their specific contribution to the medial construction of a transnational communication space in constantly changing political and cultural environments. In so doing, we hope to enlarge our understanding of the role of civil and institutional actors in creating transnational communities and European networks.

This volume makes a strong case for an innovative - and integrative - approach to both Cold War and European history. It addresses media historians as well as historians of international relations, especially those concerned with the Cold War and European integration. We believe that a better historical understanding of the ways in which European citizens and institutions have envisioned, used and instrumentalized broadcasting technologies for creating, controlling or circumventing of transnational flows of cultural (and political) performances during the Cold War will be of great value for a cultural history of the European communication space. It highlights the complex relationship between culture and technology in a transnational perspective, investigates strategies and tactics of official and subversive practices of transmission and/or obstruction of

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24   Baran, Stanley; Dennis Davis, *Mass communication theory: foundations, ferment, and future* (Belmont: Wadsworth, 2012).

25   Kuznick, Peter (eds.), *Rethinking Cold War culture* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2010); Vowinckel, Annette; Marcus M. Payk; Thomas Lindenberger (eds.), *Cold War Cultures: Perspectives on Eastern and Western European Societies* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

cultural performances such as music or television images. In so doing, it addresses one of the key challenges of the project of Europeanization as such: to assess the symbolic power of European broadcast events (and contents) in creating shared European experiences across the Iron Curtain.

(2) *Methodological design*: Exploring the Cold War European broadcasting space does more than allow us to revise our understanding of a past ideological conflict. It also sheds light on the enduring material structures, institutions and cultural meanings that continue to help shape European spaces of communication. Regulatory spaces such as the European Broadcasting Area (International Telecommunication Union region 1) (map 2) continue to hold relevance for a range of new broadcasting technologies. Similarly, though much of the technological basis for programme exchange between the (then-Western) television network Eurovision and the Eastern Intervision network has changed with the advent of satellites, many of the cultural practices surrounding them (such as the Eurovision song festival and news exchange) have endured. In retracing the different modes of broadcast transmission (short- and medium-wave radio, FM radio, UHF television, satellites) and reception, we will link the development of different broadcast technologies and programmes to the shaping of changing European broadcasting spaces and their role as mediators of transnational communication experiences during the Cold War. The geographical scope varies according to individual chapters, but clearly focuses on the importance of broadcasting for East/West-relations. All chapters pay attention to the changing political geographies of Europe caused by major military and/or ideological confrontations in the "age of extremes".[26] Therefore, the impact of the political tensions in Europe as a contested space in the struggle for global hegemony on the shaping of broadcasting technologies, institutions and programmes merits our special attention. The need to embed "Europe" as a discursive construction into changing material, legal, institutional and political geographies demands a wider contextualization, paying attention to the global processes of economic, political and cultural change. Here again, the very nature of radio broadcasting as a transnational or transborder phenomenon with its inevitable spill-over effects challenges the classic ways of mapping Europe.

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26   Hobsbawm, Erik, *Age of Extremes* (London: Abacus, 2002).

Map 2: International Telecommunication Union (ITU): Regions
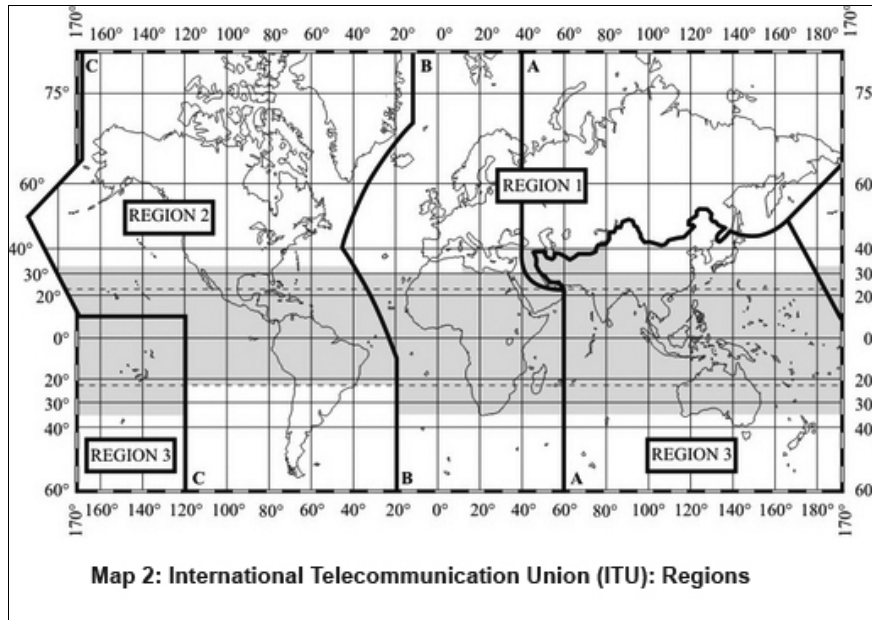
Our examination of the circulation of culture and the persistent (re)shaping of European communication spaces by different transmission and reception technologies consciously places the concept of space at the core of this volume. We use the term 'communication space' to refer to the space defined by the circulation (both transmission and reception) of communicative products. Such spaces are by definition heterogeneous and overlapping. With a similar motivation, Marsha Siefert retrofits the term 'European audiovisual space' from EU policy to help capture the overlap between various screen industries in Europe, and in particular to grasp the 'unruliness' of media technologies with regard to borders.[27] By applying such notions to the realm of radio and television broadcasting, we map out the Cold War European broadcasting space in a more detailed way and show how they subverted or supported other Cold War realms. The 'Airy Curtains' demarcating communication spaces in Cold War Europe differed considerably from the material borderlines that subdivided Europe by dint of barbed wires, walls and gun installations into blocs and nations. These different broadcasting spaces in Europe existed side by side, changed constantly in their geographic extension and density, and multiplied with each technological innovation in either transmitting or receiving.

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27   Siefert, Marsha "Twentieth Century Culture, 'Americanization' and European Audiovisual Space" in Konrad Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger, (eds.) *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn 2007).

The shared *methodological design* for all chapters of the book is laid out in the graphic above. It reflects the double dynamics of the tensions between the transmission and reception of European broadcasts (portrayed here as horizontal dynamics) and the tensions between different ways Europe is represented in the circulation of broadcast media: their material, the institutional and the discursive dimensions (vertical dynamics).
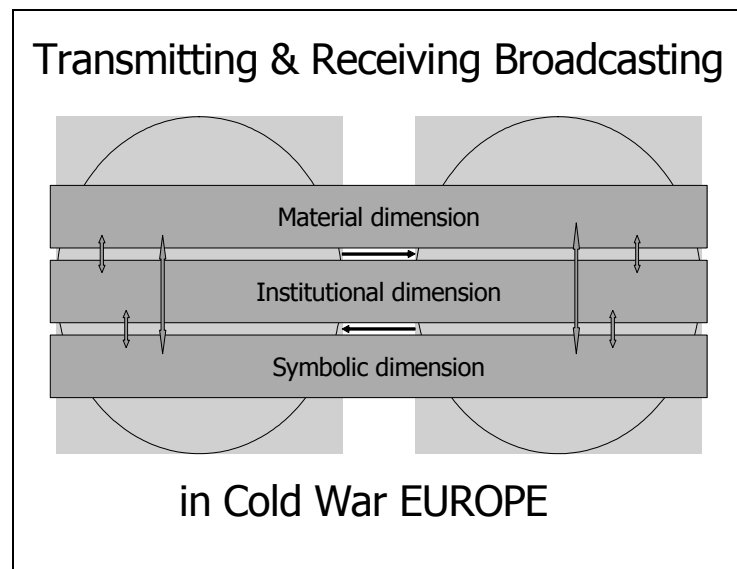
(a) In the *material dimension*, the technical infrastructure for broadcasting transmissions (networks of relay stations, cables and satellites) as well as receiving and recording devices (radio sets, tape recorders) are evidence of Europe as a technically connected or fragmented communication space.

In this dimension we explore a range of questions: How did technology shape the creation of European broadcasting spaces? How were transmissions across the Iron Curtain stopped or enabled by means of technology (eg. jamming)? How did new technologies (for example the introduction of colour television or satellites) challenge regimes of transnational regulation and governance of the European broadcasting space across the Iron Curtain? To what extent did technologies enable or inaugurate subversive listening or viewing practices that undermined the authority of nationally-controlled broadcasting systems?

(b) On the *institutional dimension*, European broadcasting institutions (like the EBU, OIRT and the ITU) have functioned as crucial gateways for transnational interaction, both on the technical and juridical level as well as on the level of

intercultural communication. The *institutional dimension* stands for Cold War Europe as a social space. Beyond their function as gateways, such institutional actors can be analyzed as mediators of changing discourses about the role of broadcast media as agents of cultural and political change. We are especially interested in how (and which) institutional actors established technical and/or juridical regimes during the Cold War and how such regulatory regimes shaped concrete practices of East-West cooperation in radio and television matters.

(c) In combining the material and institutional approach with the *discursive dimension* of the transmitted and received contents of programmes, this book seeks to investigate the tensions between the intent of transmitting sounds and images in Cold War Europe and their individual or collective appropriation or rejection. By studying practices and circuits of mediated participation in transborder communication, we analyze how European citizens have given meaning to ideas of a transnational European communication spaces when the continent was split ideologically. Here we will investigate what kind of content was most successfully transmitted across the Iron Curtain and to what extent such broadcasts were intended to undermine political systems or ideologies in both the East and the West. Although historical reception analysis is a tricky business, we are also interested in how specific broadcast programmes were received, appropriated and decoded on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

As visualized in the conceptual scheme, these different dimensions 'interact' in various forms. While political conceptions of Cold War Europe as a community of sovereign but legally interdependent nations have influenced the construction of an Eastern (OIRT) and Western European broadcasting space (EBU), broadcast technologies have challenged the politicization of the ether (both in East and West) and offered unexpected possibilities for civilian appropriations of radio transmissions.

The multi-level approach allows us to link our research to a number of relevant disciplines like cultural history, history of technology, media and journalism studies, science and technology studies, cultural anthropology, sociology of institutions, nationalism / transnationalism studies, border studies, and European studies. In addition, it offers a coherent approach to the study of broadcasting and communication technologies during the Cold War – a coherence that has so far been lacking in Cold War and European history books with special interest in media.[28]

The combination of methodologies and in exploring the dynamics between the different levels of 'Europe in the making' in the material, institutional, and symbolic dimensions allows us to conceptualize the emergence of different vi-

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28   Lindenberger, Thomas (eds.), *Massenmedien im Kalten Krieg* (Köln: Böhlau, 2006).

sions of Cold War Europe as a result of complex technological, social and cultural performances. Some initiatives were clearly aimed at building a transnational European communication space via technical regulation and control, institutionalized exchange of programmes or definiting a shared European cultural heritage; others were driven by exactly the opposite motivation: either to prevent the transnational spread of undesirable information or entertainment (for example though jamming) or to circumvent the political or ideological control of the airwaves via subversive listening tactics or transmissions of commercially-run 'pirate' stations. All of these activities were driven by specific communities and peer groups who deliberately acted on a transborder or European level by sharing their tacit knowledge and experiences. In studying the practices, aims, visions, successes and failures of such communities, (themselves often generated by the use of specific broadcasting technologies or additional technical equipment), this volume can offer a valuable contribution to the better understanding of the emergence, functioning and historical importance of such communities in a European communication space. At the same time, we can gain new insights into the often paradoxical dynamics of the ideological conflict in its localized dimensions, and how various actors were able to mobilize its forces to a range of ends. We further begin to see an emerging European communication space that is largely the result of these official and unofficial, legal and illegal, state controlled and subversive, national and transnational initiatives and experiments in European broadcasting.

While all chapters presented in this book share the common conceptual framework of the three-level approach, they vary in their sources, analysis and theoretical discussions according to the specific research questions, theoretical tools and methodological approaches. The individual chapters are based on a variety of different sources ranging from archival documents, interviews, films, tapes and broadcasts, up to Radio Free Europe's answering machine on which listeners placed their views and contribute to the creation of broadcast transmissions.

By offering this interdisciplinary and integrative research design as a conceptual innovation to broadcasting history in general, this volume opens new perspectives for European and Cold War historiography in particular. By paying close attention to the specific configurations of European broadcasting spaces, characterized by a - shifting - proliferation of national borders, language groups, as well as regulatory institutions and regional alliances, we are able more precisely to describe the 'European' dimension of an ultimately global conflict. We emphasize the tensions between the integrative and splitting forces of a transnational medium in a period of geopolitical division of the European continent by paying attention both to the efforts of transnational transmission, national control and civilian circumventing of broadcast cultural performances. We both show

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the uneven nature of the East-West division while also showing the strongly heterogeneous spaces within each bloc. In approaching Cold War broadcasting – both as a technology and as a medium – as a mediating interface between transmitted visions of the world in general and of Europe specifically and their individual appropriation, this book offers an innovative historical contribution to the theoretical discussion on media and society on a European as well as global level.[29]

The research presented in this volume demands that we re-evaluate the function of broadcasting technologies as primarily being media of nation-building in its formative years, as well as the historical narrative that insists that European broadcasting only became transnational with the emergence of commercial services in the 1980s.[30] This volume aims precisely to question these common assumptions in media historiography by offering alternative perspectives on the complex processes of transnational circulation and national or regional appropriation of the 'floating signifiers' that characterize – in the words of Arjun Appadurai – the "*space of flows*" of our mediascape.[31] In paying special attention to the role of broadcasting technologies and their geopolitical importance in European and global communications we want to emphasize the crucial relationship between technology and culture in the age of mass media.[32] In analyzing the spatial dimension of mediated cultural flows in their material dimension (technology), institutional manifestation (transnational organisations) and symbolic meaning (broadcasting as ear/eye to the world) we hope to significantly enlarge classical perspectives on broadcasting and communication and to add important historical insights to the emerging field of media geography.[33]

29 Gripsrud, Jostein, 'Television, broadcasting, flow: key metaphors in TV theory', in: Christine Geraghty, David Lusted (eds.) *The Television Studies Book* (London: Arnold 1998), pp. 17-32; Thompson, John B., *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).

30 Chalaby, Jean K., Transnational television in Europe: *reconfiguring global communications networks* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009).

31 Appadurai, Arjun, *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

32 Hugill, Peter J., *Global Communications since 1844. Geopolitics and Technology* (Baltimaore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

33 Adams, Paul C., *Geographies of Media and Communication* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

III. Structure and Contributions

From its methodological design, this book covers the whole of Europe, but thematically focuses on the problematic relationship between the Western and Eastern parts of Europe throughout the Cold War. The expertise brought together in this edited volume mirrors a well-balanced combination of specialists on Western and Eastern European broadcast history, and nearly all individual research projects have a comparative European dimension.

This volume is subdivided into four sections:
- Regulation and Control of Broadcasting in Cold War Europe,
- The European Communication Space and the Subversive Circulation of Culture,
- Connections and Spill-Overs: Europe as a United Communication Space,
- Disconnections and Fragmentations: Europe as a Jamming Session.

Regulation and Control of Broadcasting in Cold War Europe: The chapters in section 1 focus on the regulation and control of broadcasting in the Cold War. Special attention is paid to regulatory regimes and to the activities of transnational institutions like the International Broadcasting Union (IBU), the EBU or the OIRT. They defined the normative and legal framework for international programme flows or transnational receptions, standardized technologies and distributed the frequencies to transmit programme in Europe. Regimes and institutions function as gateways for the flow of technologies, knowledge, persons or programmes across the Iron Curtain and within the blocs. These international and/or European organizations were driven by the ambition to overcome the manifold geophysical, political, legal or cultural borders and barriers of the European communication space.

Threat or Beacon? Recasting International Broadcasting in Europe after World War II: Jennifer Spohrer takes up the discussions on the rights to transmit and receive programmes across state borders by analyzing the politically charged doctrine of 'free flow of information'. She argues that the power of Cold War (political) broadcast from the West to the East was as much socially and politically constructed as it was technically. The right to seek information through any media was accepted as a fundamental and universal human right. This right was not enforceable, especially for transmissions across the Iron Curtain, but it soon gained a high normative value.

Undermining a Dictatorship: International Broadcasts to Portugal, 1945-1974:
Nelson Rebeiro's chapter shows the ways in which the European Cold War in the airwaves overlapped with both with the Second World War and the global Cold War by looking from the perspective of Portugal under the Salazar regime. Particularly in the absence of the a strong radio presence from Salazar and the Estado Novo, the Portuguese airwaves were anything but territorialized, but were rather an ongoing battleground for foreign broadcasts. This had begun already during the Second World War and continued into the first decades of the Cold War. The case of Portugal highlights the incomplete picture presented by the standard 'West-to-East' model of information flow normally associated with the Cold War in the airwaves. As the Salazar regime was integrated into NATO and the West, broadcasting from Radio Moscow, as well as exile stations in Romania and Algeria became regular presences in Portugal's airwaves. As Ribeiro's chapter shows, these stations particularly brought the stuggles in Portugal's African colonies back 'home' to audiences, helping to fuel the opposition to the regime.

Cold War techno-diplomacy. Selling French Colour Television to the Eastern Bloc: The third chapter of the section by Andreas Fickers investigates the phenomenon of French Cold War techno-political diplomacy. By taking up the example of colour television he describes and analyzes the techno-political strategies and tactics of French industry and politics to sell their SECAM system to the Soviet Union and its Eastern and Central Europen satellites. The Gaullist promotion of the SECAM system as "Franco-Russian Concorde" offers an interesting example of techno-political diplomacy in a phase of drastic reorientation of French foreign policy.

The European Communication Space and the Subversive Circulation of Culture: Section 2 shifts focus from the global to the local scale by exploring the how the transnational ideological struggle in Europe played out in the arenas of use. It focuses on a range of listening and viewing practices, and the ways in which people on both sides of the Cold War divide used broadcasting content to imagine themselves as part of a broader space beyond their national boundaries. These chapters take the use of broadcast material as anything but a one-way communication process, showing the various ways in which users sought to use channels of feedback - from Radio Free Europe's answering machine to their own personal tape recorders. They show how technologies of broadcasting were intimately linked with technologies of surveillance and highlight the ambivalent nature of 'being heard' as a member of a transnational community.

Eavesdropping on Europe: The tape recorder and East-West relations among European recording amateurs in the Cold War era: Demonstrating the way

broadcasting was interwoven with a range of other technologies of audiovisual circulation, Karin Bijsterveld looks at an active - and generally overlooked - community of listeners: the amateur sound recorders in the International Federation of Sound Hunters. Particularly related to 'high' cultural programmes on the third radio programmes that began to emerge throughout Europe in the 1960s, amateur sound recording was a popular hobby in many parts of Europe. Structured around the federation's 1972 meeting in Prague, Bijsterveld's chapter shows both how the exchange of amateur recordings was envisioned as a way of overcoming barriers between East and West, as well as how the presence of recording equipment also served as repressive force, reminding Eastern delegates that their behaviour was not only being heard but recorded.

Calling Out to Tune in: Radio Free Europe in Czechoslovakia: Trever Hagen similarly looks at a location of East-West exchange through practices of reception and feedback by delving into the answering machine messages left for Radio Free Europe by listeners in Czechoslovakia. He uses the close analysis of the messages as an entry for reconstructing the reception of RFE as part of a dense ensemble of everyday (media) practices including phone calls, letter-writing, tuning in and defying jamming and surveillance. He shows through his analysis how listeners used Radio Free Europe to imagine and perform participation in a transnational community built through these often lonely or isolated practices.

Geographies of Power: The case of foreign broadcasting in dictatorial Romania: Dana Mustata provides a dark mirror image to Hagen's portrayal of RFE's listening to listeners in her account of the Romanian broadcasters' surveillance of their own television viewers. She shows how the apparent openness of the regime to transnational listening was carefully interwoven with a range of surveillance apparatuses to allow the regime to penetrate further into the everyday private practices and routines of listeners. She shows how, even to the point of neglecting full television coverage for the whole nation, the Romanian Securitate launched a number of initiatives designed to monitor all forms of dissent connected to broadcasting.

Connections and Spill-Overs: Europe as a United Communication Space: Section 3 moves from aspects of clandestine listening and viewing (whether as participation or surveillance) to address moments of overt deliberate cultural exchange in broadcasting across the supposedly 'Iron' Curtain. They look at the various institutional patterns and cultural repertoires that informed the forging of material broadcasting links - along with a range of cultural connections and disconnections that resulted.

Making holes in the Iron Curtain? – The Television Programme Exchange across the Iron Curtain in the 1960s and 1970s: Christian Henrich-Franke and Regina Immel begin the section with an account of how and what television programmes were exchanged between East and West. Starting in the early 1960s and continuing throughout much of the Cold War, a relatively small but steady exchange took place between They explore the complex interaction between institutional, economic, legal, technical and cultural factors that allowed such exchanges to come about at all, and follows these developments through the end of the 1970s. Looking at both multi-lateral (via the EBU and OIRT) and bilateral exchanges (using the West German WDR as a case study), they show both gateways (such as the supposedly non-political nature of children's programmes) and barriers (particularly copyright fees) to a number of forms of television exchange.

Intervision song contests and Finnish television between East and West: Mari Pajala sheds light on the particular case of Finland as a 'neutral' point of exchange between the broadcasting blocs. Alone among broadcasters in being a member of both the Western EBU and Eastern OIRT, Finland both was a frequent mediator between the two organizations, as well as a consumer of programmes from both. In Pajala's chapter, she adopts the lens of popular music competitions, the renowned (or infamous) Eurovision Song Contest (ESC) and its Eastern counterpart, the Intervision Song Contest (ISC) held in Sopot, to explore the ways in which commentators in the Finnish press constructed their nation's position between East and West. She shows that while Finnish broadcaster YLE attempted to treat both festivals equally, commentators shifted from at first idealizing Eastern competitions as free from the West's commercial decadence to reorient toward the ESC as a way of seeing Finland as integrated within a 'Europe' to which the ESC made ever-increasing claims.

To control the world's information flows – Soviet Cold War broadcasting: While Western international broadcasters such as Radio Free Europe have long been synonymous with Cold War broadcasting, their main rival, the Soviet Union's international radio broadcasts, have remained a sorely-neglected topic in broadcasting history. In his chapter, Simo Mikkonen begins to redress this balance with an account of the way Radio Moscow and a number of lesser-known Soviet international services intertwined with Soviet foreign policy goals and general propaganda campaigns. Drawing on both Western as well as Soviet and Russian sources, he points both to long-standing traditions within the service (it was, after all, the oldest international broadcaster) as well as its transformations, particularly in the Khrushchev era as it sought to project the Soviet Union's presence onto the world stage. Careful to place the USSR's international services within

their global reach and aims, he shows how the services targeted Europe in particular and adapted to a range of perceived threats and opportunities there.

'Removing Some of the Romantic Aura of Distance and Throwing Merciless Light on the Weaknesses of American Life': Tensions of Telstar, 1961-1963: James Schwoch rounds out the section by looking at the launching of the first US communications satellite Telstar. Exploring the event from the point of view of US policy both in Europe and globally, he shows how the message of the event quickly defied ready control. Both revealing tensions between the British and French allies, and also generating a genuine sense of ambivalence among receivers at the 'shrinking' world, Telstar seemed to embody many paradoxes of the Cold War. Particularly in running afoul of the continuing US nuclear weapons programme, Telstar was quickly silenced and overshadowed by the conflict it sought to downplay 'softly'.

Disconnections and Fragmentations: Europe as a Jamming Session: The uncontrollable spill over of signals into the well-protected territories of the nation states was a constant thread or challenge for those regimes who tried to isolate their citizens from the world abroad, or, to view it another way, maintain sovereign control of their broadcasting territory. In this 'war of the airwaves' Europe became one of the most prominent battlefields, especially during the Cold War, and the highly constructed nature of the national territorial regimes of broadcasting became apparent. This struggle for world hegemony had deep impacts on both the development of broadcast technologies (jamming, satellites, eavesdropping) and on the use of radio signals for propaganda – on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Dealing with broadcasting in such a perspective necessitates a conceptualization of Europe that transgresses the geographical definition of the European continent, taking into account the global spread of both the radio signals and of the attempts to control or manipulate them.

Between Rock and Roll and a Hard Place: 'Pirate' Radio and the Problems of Territory in Cold War Europe: Alexander Badenoch explores the impact of the Cold War on broadcasting spaces in Western Europe by looking at the emergence of 'pirate' broadcasters in the North Sea in the 1960s. Recasting what have normally been national narratives, he shows how the so-called 'pirates' operated in cracks in European regulatory regimes that were revealed by Cold War tensions - and in particular the actions of the USA in Western Europe. Faced with this situation at the international institutional level, broadcasters used the fear of an ungovernable propaganda war to urge action against the offshore stations. At the same time, as governments moved against them, the 'pirate' broadcasters forced

governments and public broadcasters into the discursive positions of their Eastern counterparts as those who would limit the freedom of information.

Jamming the RIAS. Technical Measures against Western Broadcasting in East Germany (GDR) 1945 – 1989: Christoph Classen looks at the 'front lines' of both the physical and broadcast Cold War in Europe: divided Germany. He examines the repertoires developed by the authorities of the German Democratic Republic to exert control over their (broadcasting) territory. He points to the development of jamming technologies as growing out of the paradoxical insistence on blocking RIAS on the one hand, but the need to maintain legitimacy - and thereby conceal all jamming activities from their population. He shows, finally, how ideological, technological and ultimately also economic factors combined both in establishing, and removing jamming activities.

Interfering with Auntie: An Uncomfortable Reception – Jamming the BBC: Andy O'Dwyer, finally, looks at the BBC's long history of dealing with the jamming of its broadcasts. He looks both to the technological means of monitoring jamming, beginning with the Second World War and then moving into the Cold War era. He also shows both the technological and legal means the corporation explored as they developed their own role on the world stage.

In a final concluding chapter, we revisit the results of the chapters assembled here to examine their implications for our current understandings of broadcasting and the Cold War, and suggest new pathways for further study. In keeping with this volume's central attention to the spaces of the Cold War, we draw conclusions about what sorts of communication spaces we can discern in the material, institutional and discursive dimensions of the transnational broadcasting structures explored. Besides space, we also attend to the historical questions of time - and in particular the issue of how we can periodize the Cold War as we follow the paths of broadcasting. Taking these on board, we can begin to develop an nuanced geography of the numerous 'airy curtains' that structured the broadcast experience of the Cold War.