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Work carried out by the Special Committee to watch over the interests of European Nations not represented in the Council of Europe

Communication
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1. In the third year of its existence the Special Committee believes that its activities and achievements call for a review and examination. Accordingly, it has the honour to submit to the Assembly the following Progress Report, which was considered at a meeting held in Paris on 20th and 21st July, 1953 and approved by 8 votes to none, with one abstention, that of Mr. Ross.

2. During the period under review (September, 1952, to the present time) the Special Committee has held eight meetings under the chairmanship of Major Tufton Beamish, M. C , M. P. The officers of the Committee have remained the same, with M. Wistrand and M. Pezet as Vice-Chairmen. But the number of members has been increased from 9 to 11 b y the addition of a Danish and a Netherlands representative. By decision of the Assembly, taken on 9th May, 1953 on the proposal of the Bureau the members, of the Special Committee will henceforth be elected by the Assembly itself and no longer by the Bureau.

Terms of reference

3. The policy of the Special Committee has been in conformity with the words of the Resolution adopted by the Assembly on 28th August, 1950 : " The Assembly, Recognising that certain nations which are precluded from participating in the work of the Council of Europe, nevertheless, form an integral part of Europe, Decides to instruct the Standing Committee to constitute a Special Committee whose duty it would be to ensure that the interests of these nations shall be considered in every proposal which may be formulated by the Assembly or its Committees. This Committee may request the advice of Experts belonging to these nations; it shall be kept informed of the work of the other Committees of the Assembly and shall be authorised to offer them its observations for the achievement of its purpose as defined above. "

4. The Committee attaches great importance to this principal function, and it is for this reason that, in a letter dated 12th May, 1952, it respectfully reminded the President of the Assembly of the terms of the Resolution whereby it was constituted. The President agreed in July, 1952, that the letter sent to him by the Chairman should be sent to all the Representatives of the Assembly. In this way, all the members of the Assembly have been reminded of the decision which they took in approving the Resolution containing the fundamental terms of reference of the Committee. In addition, a letter in broadly similar terms was addressed to the Chairmen of all the Assembly Committees. In this, it was emphasised that great importance was attached to this expression of the Assembly's policy. For this reason the Committee derived considerable encouragement from the replies of the Committee on General Affairs, the Committee on Legal and Administrative Questions, the Committee on Economic Questions and the Committee on Cultural and Scientific Questions, all of which unanimously pledged their continued co-operation.

European Political Community.

5. It was in accordance with these terms of reference that the Special Committee decided to place the report of the Constitutional Committee and the Directives of the Ad Hoc Assembly on its Agenda, with the ultimate object of expressing its views, should it find it desirable to do so, on the membership provisions of the Treaty instituting the European Political Community. M. Wistrand who was an observer in the Ad Hoc Assembly kepi. I.lie Special Committee informed of developments in that Assembly. So far the Committee has had no comments to make, but it reserves the right to intervene as and when further reports on the negotiation of the European Political Community are transmitted to the Consultative Assembly.

Abolition of visas for travel to certain non-Member countries

6. In the same way, the Special Committee, on being informed that the Sub-Committee on the Simplification of Frontier Formalities for Travellers were proposing to consider the possible abolition of visas for travel within the Member States of the Council of Europe, instructed its Chairman to write to the Chairman of the Sub-Committee concerned and request him to consider the possibility of recommending the abolition of visas for travel to certain non-Member States of the Council of Eiirope. The Special Committee records with pleasure that after examining this problem the Sub-Committee was able to include two paragraphs on these matters in its Report to the Committee on Legal and Administrative Questions, which will be submitted in due course to the Assembly for onward transmission and action by the Committee of Ministers.

7. These paragraphs were worded as follows : " 24. Finally, the Sub-Committee wishes formally to propose the abolition of the visa requirements for normal tourist and business travel to certain European States which are not Members of the Council of Europe. In the case of Switzerland this has already been done. Finland has concluded agreements with her Scandinavian neighbours, with Belgium (March, 1950), and with Luxembourg. Portugal has agreed with Belgium (1st August, 1951) and with France to abolish visa requirements. Austria has an agreement with the Netherlands (1st August, 1951). It is, in the view of the Sub-Committee, desirable that these examples should be followed by the other Member States.

8. 25. The Sub-Committee recalls that the Consultative Assembly passed a resolution at its Fourth Ordinary Session re-affirming its faith in the unity of the whole of Europe. The abolition of visas with certain non- Member States appears to be a step in accordance with the spirit of this resolution, for it could not fail to lead to greater intercourse with these states and to a greater possibility of making known the ideals of the Council of Europe. "

Council of Europe Research Fellowships

9. The Committee has learnt with pleasure of the creation of Fellowships which have been awarded to nationals of Members of the Council of Europe in order to enable them to do research work on subjects connected with European unity and integration. It is strongly felt, however, that this is a question on which the Committee should have been invited to give its opinion, in accordance with the terms of the Resolution of 28th August, 1950, for this proposal could only have gained by being extended in such a way as to take the interests of non-Member countries into account. The problems of European integration, as has often been stated, are of immediate concern to many countries beyond the geographical frontiers of the Fifteen. The Committee therefore regrets that it was not consulted. It proposes, however, to submit a recommendation to the Assembly requesting the Committee of Ministers to allow nationals of non-Member countries, including exiles from these countries, to compete for the award of these fellowships and to amend the regulations for these awards accordingly.

European Television

10. The Special Committee also expressed great interest in Mr. Peter Smithers's memorandum on the subject of European television. In this connection, the Chairman wrote a letter to him requesting that careful consideration be given to the part that European countries which are not Members of the Council of Europe could play in the formation of a European television network and all that this would imply. The Special Committee is happy to report that Mr. Christopher Hollis, Rapporteur of the Committee on Cultural and Scientific Questions, has undertaken to see that this point is fully covered in the Report which will eventually be tabled in the Assembly.

Policy towards non-Member countries

11. The Committee has not believed that it was its duty to frame in any detail a new policy towards Eastern and Central Europe. The Committee was aware of the views expressed by the Committee of Ministers in its Message to the Fourth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, " that the door should be left open to sincere

negotiations for an honourable settlement. " In this connection, it has watched the growing strength of Western Europe and believes that this provides increasing hope for an honourable settlement of Europe's problems.

12. The Committee is aware that its terms of reference do not make it possible at this stage to discuss the precise form which this settlement should take. It has, however, always been anxious to attract the attention of the Assembly to the need for new thinking on this subject. It was partly for this reason that the Special Committee sponsored in the Assembly, in September, 1952, a Resolution re-affirming the Assembly's faith in the unity of the whole of Europe. In this resolution, the Assembly unanimously stated that it " looked forward to the day when all the countries of Europe would feel able or would be free to join the Council of Europe, the clay when all those now subject to foreign constraint might enjoy the liberties enshrined in the Convention on Human Rights and thus be eligible through their freely elected representatives to become Members of the Council of Europe, as foreseen by the preamble of the Statute and by Articles 1, 3 and 4, and to work together with unity of purpose for the maintenance of peace and the promotion of the wellbeing of all Europe. " The Assembly added that it would welcome the adoption of any peaceful measures which would hasten that clay.

13. Recent developments have rightly or wrongly given rise to new hopes, and the Committee reiterates its often expressed view that the independence of the Central and Eastern European nations is a goal never to be lost sight of as well as affirming once again its hostility to tyranny or aggression wherever they are to be found. It is clear that years of oppression have failed to extinguish the spirit of freedom behind the Iron Curtain.

Publicity for the work of the Council of Europe in non-member countries

14. The Special Committee has been eager to demonstrate in a specific way the interest which the West has in the fate of satellite countries. It believes that TIO opportunity should be missed of telling the peoples of these countries that we are vitally interested in their future. These considerations prompted Recommendation 39 on ways and means of giving publicity to the work of the Council of Europe in European non-Member States, which was unanimously agreed to by the Assembly during the second part of the Fourth Ordinary Session. This Recommendation has a twofold purpose : in the first place it suggests that the aims, activities and achievements of the Council of Europe should be made as widely known as possible in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe. In the second place, it expresses the view that the best policy to follow is not to speak rashly of liberation but to tell Eastern Europeans the truth about ourselves and our activities. The Committee believes that the Council of Europe can play its part by telling the non-member nations about our belief and faith in democracy, in the democratic way of life, in the dignity of the individual and our respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. This, of course, applies particularly to the satellite countries which are continually subjected to the blast of Soviet propaganda and which are deliberately cut off from all contact with the free countries

European Cultural Fund for Exiles

15. The Committee also believed that it was its duty to preserve and strengthen the cultural heritage and traditions oi' Central and Eastern Europe, which are part of our common patrimony. It was its view that this grave duty would best be carried out by giving financial assistance to exiles, so that they might continue to teach the young generation their national culture, and so that the intellectual élite among them might establish a nucleus of Central and Eastern European culture in exile, thus preserving the cultural links between East and West. It was in this spirit that Recommendation 40 for the creation of a European Cultural Fund for Exiles was conceived, and it will be recalled that the proposal was unanimously endorsed by the Assembly on two successive occasions. The Committee wishes to stress that it is anxious to have the assistance of the Committee on Cultural and Scientific Questions in this task, in accordance with the terms of Resolution 4 (1951), and it looks forward to continued fruitful co-operation with that Committee.

16. The Committee is, however, considerably disturbed at the rejection by the Committee of Ministers of Recommendation 40, on. the creation of a European Cultural Fund for Exiles and by the delay on their part in implementing Recommendation 39 on ways and means of giving publicity to the Council of Europe in European non-Member States. It had looked forward to an early and favourable decision on both questions, in view of their psychological and practical value. Deliberate and careful scrutiny had preceded their adoption, and it was with the utmost confidence that the Committee had come to the conclusion that they were desirable. Their unanimous adoption b y the Assembly naturally reinforced this view. The Committee cannot believe that there are deep-rooted or widespread objections to either proposal and therefore expresses the strong hope that both will be approved as xiseful attempts to further the aims of the Council of Europe. For this reason, the Committee recalls with pleasure that since last May it has received two valuable promises of

support in its efforts to persuade the Committee of Ministers to reconsider their unfortunate decision: one from the Belgian Foreign Minister, M. van Zeeland, who spoke in his personal capacity in the debate in the Assembly on 8th May, 1953, and the other from the German Federal Minister of Finance, Heer Schaffer, who, alter a unanimous vote in the Foreign Affairs Committee and an overwhelming majority in the Bundestag itself, stated in the Bundestag on 26th June, 1953 that " he was only too willing to make it possible for the German representatives at Strasbourg to conduct negotiations, in the full knowledge that the financial means will be available from the moment they are needed, as soon as the Cultural Fund has been established ".

Participation of Exiles in the Olympic Games

17. Apart from these two principal measures, the Special Committee has concerned itself with the question of the participation of exiles in the Olympic Games, and the possible employment of exiles in European International Organisations. The Committee considered these questions as part of its general mandate to do what it can in favour of the nationals of countries who are at present under Soviet domination. Neither has great political significance, and the Committee does not wish to give to these minor points more importance than they deserve. Nevertheless, the efforts of the Committee in these two spheres bear witness to the sympathy which the Assembly has continually manifested towards the problems affecting refuges and exiles. In the case of the participation of exiles in the Olympic Games, the enquiries of the Committee have come to an end. They are the subject of a separate report which has been submitted to and approved by the Assembly. The results are not as satisfactory as the Assembly would have wished them to be. But account had to be taken of the difficulties confronting the International Olympic Committee, and the Special Committee was satisfied that every effort had been made to find a way of giving satisfaction to the exiles. The Assembly was invited to endorse the suggestion of the Committee that its request be circulated to the refugees' organisations with which the Committee is in contact, as a small token of the concern of the Assembly for the countries of Eastern and Central Europe. This has now been done, and the Committee is happy to inform the Assembly that the Chancellor of the International Olympic Committee has undertaken to circulate the Report to all the national Olympic organisations as well as to the members of his Committee. Numerous letters of thanks have also been received b y the Secretary-General from organisations of exiles expressing appreciation for the work of the Special Committee on their behalf.

Possible Employment of Exiles in the Secretariat of the Council of Europe and other international organisations

18. The question of the employment of exiles in the Secretariats of the Council of Europe and other international organisations raises delicate points. It was introduced by Major Tufton Beamish as a result of representations made to him by the Chairman of the Hungarian National Committee of the European Movement. The investigations which the Secretary-General was requested to make included an enquiry from the 0. E. E. C. and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration. Whilst there was a general inclination to be as helpful as possible towards exiles, it was clear from the replies of the international organisations concerned that the question was a difficult one. The normal practice is to recruit staff in such a way as to ensure a proper balance between the nationalities concerned, having regard to their respective contributions to the Budget of the organisations and subject, of course, to the normal requirements — in particular, that the persons recruited should bo of the highest ability and integrity. This does not prevent international organisations from recruiting occasionally and for a specific purpose nationals of non-member countries with qualifications which could not be found amongst candidates who presented themselves from member countries. Such instances, however, are rare, and there appears to be no immediate prospect of their increasing to any substantial extent. The Special Committee believes that it woxild be wrong to give the impression that it will be possible in the future to alter this state of affairs. The best that can be said is that it has occasionally been found possible in the past to afford temporary employment for exiles in minor capacities —notably during sessions of the Consultative Assembly. This process will continue; but it is small in scale and seems .unlikely to expand.

List of organisations competent to study the problems of European States cut off from the West

19. In, accordance with the terms of Resolution 4 (1951) the Special Committee has compiled a complete list of organisations which are competent to study and report on the international problems of the States cut off from the Western world. It exchanges information with them from time to time.

American National Committee for a Free Europe

20. In February, 1953 the Committee invited the American National Committee for a.Free Europe to nominate a senior representative who would address the Special Committee on the activities and objectives of the National Committee. Mr. Royall Tyler (whose death was announced shortly afterwards) who was then senior Representative in Western Europe of the National Committee, accordingly reviewed the progress of his organisation at a meeting of the Special Committee held on 18th February, 1953. A summary of his talk is appended to this document for the information of Representatives.

College of Free Europe at Strasbourg-Robertsau

21. In May, this year, the Committee accepted an invitation from Dr. Tyson, President of the Free Europe University in Exile, to visit the College of Free Europe at Strasbourg-Robertsau. The Committee was impressed by the organisation of the College, material facilities at the disposal of students and the general standard of achievement of the College. It was interested to learn that 1084 applications were received this year from nationals of Central and Eastern Europe for the fifty vacancies which the College was able to offer. The Committee has been asked to say that Representatives to the Assembly are always welcome to visit the College.

Other organisations whose activities are related to those of the Committee

22. The Special Committee hopes to hear in the near future a spokesman of the Central and Eastern European Commission which, as Representatives will know, is affiHated to the European Movement. Its Chairman is the Rt. Hon. Richard Law, M. P., and it is a significant and representative body, having its headquarters in the United Kingdom, to which many distinguished exiles and several Representatives to the Assembly belong. The Special Committee may also approach other organisations whose activities are related to those of the Committee. It is believed that the Assembly will derive benefit from the knowledge and experience which the Special Committee is thus acquiring and which places it in a better position to give the Assembly the leadership which it is entitled to expect in these matters.

23. With the same object in mind, the Committee has considered ways and means of securing better information on the nations whose interests it is watching. The Secretariat- General has compiled a list of international organisations, societies and institutions which produce summaries and other information reports relating to conditions in these countries. The Committee has requested some of these organisations to place the members of the Committee on their mailing list. It is very much hoped that this will be a substantial contribution towards improving the standard of the information which the Committee is able to give the Assembly when suitable opportunities occur.

Associate membership agreements

24. The Special Committee has welcomed the declaration of the Committee of Ministers contained in its Message to the Consultative Assembly on the occasion of the Fifth Ordinary Session that the Committee is " ready to conclude with European countries which arc not Members of the Council and would like to be associated with certain of the Council's activities, agreements governing ways and means of such association " . The Special Committee agrees with the Committee of Ministers that it is desirable to facilitate participation of those European countries which are not members of the Council of Europe in certain of the Council's activities. On the instructions of the Assembly, it will submit a report on this question in due course.

Conclusions

25. The Special Committee hopes that this Progress Report, gives a clear account of the efforts which it has made to carry out its obligations to the Assembly, strictly within its terms of reference. It regards itself as a manifestation of the faith of the Assembly in the eventual freedom of all European countries and as a guarantee that the problems of all the non-member countries are always in the Assembly's mind in all its work.

Appendix APPENDIX

Summary of the talk given by the late Mr. Royall Tyler to the Special Committee on 18th February, 19S3

The late Mr. Royall Tyler, then Senior Representative in Western Europe of the American National Committee for a Free Europe, addressed the Special Committee at a meeting held on 18th February, 1953 on the aims, activities and achievements of the National Committee. The following is a summary of his speech, which, it has been thought, would be of interest to the Representatives.

Mr. Royall Tyler informed the Special Committee that the National Committee for a free Europe was founded in 1949 as a private venture by a strong group of American citizens. The present Chairman is Ambassador Grew, and the President is Mr. Whitney H. Shepardson. He emphasised that the organisation is entirely free of governmental control. It derives its income from contributions from the American public collected by the Crusade for Freedom which arranges lectures and drives all over the U.S.A. and also from other funds and foundations.

The objectives of the National Committee are to serve the cause of European unity by giving help, support and encouragement to nationals, both in exile and at home, of the satellite states of Central and Eastern Europe. This is done in a number of ways:

First, it seems highly desirable to the National Committee that the many intellectual and political leaders from the satellite countries at present in the United States should be helped in order that they should not be absorbed completely by the cares of daily life but should, on the contrary, be able to carry on the same kind of activities as they did at home. These leaders are now at work on the many economic, social, financial and demographic problems arising in their countries. The work which they have done constitutes a valuable repository of information on Central and Eastern Europe and is collected in the Research and Information Section of the National Committee in New York.

As regards the/upolitical/.workjof the Committee for a Free.Europe, its policy kas.been to help the various national exiles' committees, whenever they are, broadly speaking, representative of the political parties of their countries. Mr. Royall Tyler added that at present the Committee for a Free Europe recognises national committees for all but four of the satellite countries (Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania, and Jugoslavia). There is no question of imposing particular solutions on them. The Committee for a Free Europe merely hopes that the various national committees will get together and work for the future of their countries and their neighbours.

Thirdly, the National Committee for a Free Europe set up Radio Free Europe in 1950. It is a subsidiary of the National Committee but in practice it enjoys a great deal of autonomy and has a director of its own. Mr. Royall Tyler emphasised a big difference with the Voice of America. The Voice of America is the United States speaking to other countries; Radio Free Europe is the nationals of those countries talking to their own fellow-countrymen at home.

Radio Free Europe in Munich employs upwards of 1,200 persons, rather more than half of whom are German engineers, electricians and technical specialists. Americans are only about 10 % of the whole number. Broadcasts to Czechoslavakia go on for 18 hours a day, to Poland 17 hours and to Hungary 16 1/2 hours. These arc the three biggest and most important sections of Radio Free Europe. The object in view is invariably to give the people behind the Iron Curtain a feeling that they are not being forgotten and that the free world thinks of them the whole time. It is to give them such a substitute as it may be possible to put on the air for the free exchange of ideas, the press, the radio, the theatre, public meetings and artistic manifestations which can be enjoyedin the Western world but are severely curtailed in the East. There is no truth in the malicious assertions of the Communists that Radio Free Europe is in any way connected with sabotage activities. In a sentence, Radio Free Europe seeks to act as a responsible national opposition newspaper would act.

Another main line of operation of the National Committee for a Free Europe is the Free Europe University in Exile. This includes the College of Free Europe at Strasbourg-Robertsau which houses approximately two hundred students. These students attend the courses of the University of Strasbourg but, in addition to caring for their material needs, the College employs a number of tutors of university attainments who are themselves exiles and who give the students courses on the past achievements of their countries and organise discussions on subjects of common interest to these countries. Mr. Tyler stressed that in the choice of students no attempt is made to set up quotas based on nationality. Nor are any strings attached to the admission of students. The College merely hopes that they will do their best to make use of their opportunities

and that the day may come when they can make a valuable contribution to rebuilding their own countries. To make them valuable citizens of their countries one day and meanwhile valuable members of whatever community they happen to be in is the aim of the College.

Finally, and although it has never been the policy of the National Committee for a Free Europe to undertake relief operations, the Committee has recently decided to give such financial help as it can to various national and international agencies who have established centres where refugees are given advice, helped to comply with regulations in their countries of temporary residence, put in touch with possibilities of work, and helped to find relatives for whom they may have been looking, in the course of their migration. Mr. Tyler said, however, that this is a recent departure which is still being developed.