

**HISTORY OF
BROADCASTING:**



**RADIO TO
TELEVISION**

**THE POLITICAL USE
OF THE RADIO**

by

THOMAS GRANDIN

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The Political Use of the Radio

THOMAS GRANDIN

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**HISTORY OF
BROADCASTING:
RADIO TO
TELEVISION**

HISTORY OF BROADCASTING: Radio to Television

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PREFACE

Hardly more than a decade ago, there was no such thing as broadcasting. Radio consisted of dots and dashes. Today, the ether is crowded, in addition to music, with voices. Broadcasts leap to the farthest hemispheres and can be heard by millions of persons of differing race and nationality. Our planet, potentially, has become an open forum, where a frank exchange of ideas could take place, on a scale never known before.

The plain fact, however, is that broadcasting, instead of developing into an agency for peace and better international understanding, serves often to incite hatred throughout the world, and is often used, for motives which obviously are not disinterested, and by men in conflict, to dominate, rather than to enlighten, the public mind. Science once again has made a gigantic stride forward, with the result that relations between nations are becoming more embittered. Since little exact or impartial information exists concerning the many claims and counter-claims which are daily sent out, it is the purpose of this pamphlet to examine political transmissions in an objective spirit and to compare such programmes for the underlying trends and policies which they may reveal.

Verbal warfare in the ether is particularly significant today, not only because it has received too little sober attention, but also because radio differs very notably from other methods of moulding public opinion. Broadcast material reaches groups of people who cannot read. It spreads with the speed of light. It can penetrate easily beyond most national frontiers, whereas the entry of newspapers upon such soil is frequently prohibited. The voices of the ether are striking testimony of our times, freer from convention than printed sources, more directly personal, more full of human energy and subtlety, and more concise. They cannot be ignored as a potent factor in both national and international affairs.

The first three chapters of this pamphlet deal with radio according to the public upon which transmissions exert an influence—*i.e.*, listeners within the country that is broadcasting, the continental public outside the borders of the transmitting nation, and intercontinental audiences. Programmes are classified under these three headings according to the nations from which they originate. In Chapter IV the effect of such political transmissions is gauged. Chapter V is an evaluation of efforts made to limit the use of radio as a political instrument.

The information which follows has been taken partly from printed sources, in which case numbered references will be found, but much of the material has been collected by the actual process of listening in. Working under the auspices of the Geneva Research Centre, the author has devoted over a year to the investigation. With a sensitive receiving set, he has listened to broadcasts in more than half a dozen languages from more than a dozen transmitting countries. The data collected in so short a time—and without the advantage of regular secretarial help for transcriptions—must of necessity be incomplete. Before a thoroughly scholarly work on this subject can be produced, more source material must be gathered. It is to be hoped that the following pages will serve as groundwork, and as an incentive for a more detailed and extensive undertaking in the future.

The author particularly wishes to express his gratitude to Professor John B. Whitton, without whose encouragement and criticism these pages could not have been written.

CHAPTER I

BROADCASTING FOR NATIONAL CONSUMPTION

Within a mere decade, radio has grown to be of unequivocal importance throughout the world in national politics. Even in America, where broadcasting facilities are neither owned nor operated by the Government, as is usually the case in Europe, President Roosevelt's "fireside chats" have been criticised severely on the ground that they are "an instrument of political power".¹ In Europe the political influence of radio is even more striking, particularly as it is used by the governments of the so-called totalitarian States. The transmissions of these nations form a vital link between the leaders and their people. In the hands of dictators, writes Mr. Saerchinger, "the radio has become the most powerful political weapon the world has ever seen. Used with superlative showmanship, with complete intolerance of opposition, with ruthless disregard for truth, and inspired by the fervent belief that every act and thought must be made subservient to the national purpose, it suffuses all forms of political, social, cultural and educational activity in the land . . ."²

1) *In the Soviet Union.*

Particularly in the vast area of Russia, where a large proportion of the populace is illiterate, radio is an ideal vehicle for influencing opinion. The European part of the Union, in 1928, contained more than 18,000,000 persons unable to read and write;³ the number of illiterates in Asiatic Russia was even

¹ Report of the committee on radio of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, cf. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Apr. 28, 1938.

² Saerchinger, César, "Radio as a Political Instrument", *Foreign Affairs*, 16 : Jan., 1938, p. 250.

³ Maxwell, B.W., "Political Propaganda in Soviet Russia", in *Propaganda and Dictatorship*, Princeton University Press, 1936 p. 69.

higher. ¹ That the Government at Moscow perceived the importance of communicating its will to this widely scattered element of the population is evidenced by the amazing growth of broadcasting facilities. The number of transmitters increased from 4 in 1926 to 50 in 1928, whereas during the same period in the rest of Europe, the number little more than doubled. ²

Arrangements have been made, also, whereby these State programmes may be heard by a progressively larger audience. In 1927 there were only 213,000 receiving points in the U.S.S.R.; there were 3,760,400 in 1936; ³ there are even more today. Though relatively few radio receiving sets are privately owned, factories, army barracks, club-rooms and apartments are provided with loud speakers. Regional committees encourage and organise listening. One-third of the *Soviet Radio Yearbook* 1936, is devoted to the activities of these regional committees—a token of the importance attributed by the authorities to such work.

Radio in Russia is completely controlled by the State. The transmissions are formulated in policy and conducted by the All-Union Commission on Radiofication and Broadcasting, which is directly connected with the Council of People's Commissars. ⁴ Propaganda campaigns inaugurated by this commission, in addition to ordinary official programmes intended for the general public, include the following :

- a) radio education for would-be functionaries who receive work-sheets from the Government and send their exercises to appropriate agencies for correction ;
- b) friendly rivalry and co-operation between workers in various parts of the Union stimulated by means of broadcasts announcing the latest production figures of specific factories or Kolkhoses and by means of talks

¹ Whereas in 1927-1928 illiteracy in the U.S.S.R. was stated in official reports to be 44%, the proportion in 1934/1935 was said, however, to have fallen to 8%. King, Beatrice, *Changing Man: The Education System of the U.S.S.R.*, p. 269.

² From the publications of the International Broadcasting Union.

³ Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 74 ; Union Internationale de Radiodiffusion, Développement de la Radiodiffusion, Genève, mai 1938.

⁴ Ziglin, Rose, in *Radio: The Fifth Estate*, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, Jan., 1935, p. 70.

describing the latest improvements in technique due to individual initiative ;

- c) programmes containing agro-technical education and dealing with questions of life on the farm ;¹
- d) transmissions for the Red Army ;²
- e) broadcasts for constituent nationalities conducted in the specific language of the locality ;³
- f) for young people transmissions emphasising the problems of the new Soviet ethics ;⁴
- g) adult education in a vast variety of subjects.⁵

As the above list suggests, the appeal to personal ambition is the salient, new trend in Soviet transmissions. The old and well-established policy for all listeners continues to be constructive emphasis upon Communist principles as they should be applied in the daily economic life of the people. The necessity of fighting against counter-revolution is always heavily underlined. The programmes contain very little music or entertainment. Slogans are shouted persistently into the microphone. The listeners, if perhaps bored by reiterated oratory concerning Soviet principles, pay close attention, it is said, to any sort of information on foreign policy or foreign affairs.

2) *In the Third Reich.*

“What we usually signify by the phrase ‘public opinion’,” wrote Herr Hitler, in *Mein Kampf*, “rests only to a small degree on individual experience of knowledge, but chiefly on what is told to the people through the presentation of a continuous penetrating and persistent kind of so-called ‘enlightenment . . .’”⁶ Nazi leadership, indeed, has not been slow to recognize the political importance of broadcasting.

Forty-three days after coming to power, the Führer established by decree his Ministry for Public Enlightenment and

¹ Ziglin, Rose, in *Radio: The Fifth Estate*, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, Jan., 1935, p. 67.

² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁶ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, vol. I, p. 87.

Propaganda, headed by Josef Goebbels. ¹ "It is to form the vital contact," Dr. Goebbels explained, "between the national government, as the expression of the popular will, and the people themselves". ² On September 22, 1933, a decree was promulgated establishing the National Culture Chamber and empowering Dr. Goebbels to consolidate into national guilds all persons and activities connected with writing, the press, the theatre, music, the fine arts and radio. ³ Newspapers were required to cover important broadcasts as completely as possible, and radio publicity in newspapers came under regulation. ⁴ In the same year the German Radio Chamber was founded ⁵, and broadcasting was put to work for the Government even more efficiently, as Professor Riegel says, than in Russia. ⁶

The Nazi radio as a political instrument, asserts Herr Hadamowsky, Director of Transmissions, became "a model for the entire world". ⁷ Governmental proclamations, military music, lectures on military subjects, racial doctrines, talks on history from the Nazi point of view, were sent out energetically and constantly. Dances, popular songs, folklore, patriotic celebrations and glowing descriptions of the German countryside were used in order to inspire the public with ardent national sentiments. ⁸ Nothing was neglected that would create a collective feeling of happiness and impress upon the individual the spirit and the force of the new Reich.

Radio was put to a particularly imposing use on November 10, 1933, two days before the people were asked to indorse the Chancellor's foreign policy. A special appeal was made to

¹ Larson, "The German Press Chamber", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1 : Oct., 1937, p. 57.

² *Völkischer Beobachter*, Mar. 16, 1933.

³ *Reichsgesetzblatt*, Teil I, Nr. 105, Sept. 26, 1933, pp. 666 f.

⁴ Schrieber, ed., *Das Recht der Reichskulturkammer*, Berlin, 1935, Bd. II, pp. 106 f.

⁵ Dressler-Andress, *Die Reichsrundfunkkammer . . .* Berlin, 1935, p. 7.

⁶ Riegel, O.W., *Mobilising for Chaos*, Yale University Press, 1934, p. 98.

⁷ Cited by Franck, W., "La T.S.F. national-socialiste", *Europe Nouvelle*, 17 : Feb. 10, 1934, p. 155.

⁸ Franck, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

labour. The transmission originated in the Siemens electrical plant at Berlin. Sirens shrieked into the ether. While machinery buzzed in the great halls of the factory, Dr. Goebbels made an introductory statement. Then the Führer, standing on a dynamo and surrounded by workmen, spoke to the nation for forty-five minutes. ¹

Prior to the dramatic days of National Socialism, "radio programmes expressed the entire disunity of the liberal-parliamentary period", according to Herr Dressler-Andress, President of the *Reichsrundfunkkammer*. ² An objective spirit ruled. Both sides of questions generally were given. With the advent of the new party, however, a very different concept of radio came into being. "The National Socialist State", explains the author, "recognizes nothing that is unpolitical; it feels everything that happens, puts everything in the service of Nazi ideals . . ." ³ "The innermost motives of human action and thought", he continues, "must be perceived in their subtle relationship to the national community, and they must be made fruitful, in an all-inclusive national union . . ." ⁴ Herr Hadamowsky's organisation has come to dominate everything, indeed, that has to do with radio—not only broadcasting, but also listeners' associations, the radio manufacturing industry, and even radio retailing. ⁵ Transmissions can thus exert the maximum influence upon the public and convince the nation that it actually wants what it gets. The process of *Gleichschaltung*—which, in the American sense, might be called the standardisation of human beings—can be carried to a point near absolute perfection.

The only recourse left to the recalcitrant individualist in Germany is to close his ears. Herr Hitler and his helpers, however, as the interpreters *sine die* of the national will, cannot tolerate a lack of interest in official programmes. Listening has been made compulsory in a variety of ways. Special broadcasts have been evolved for factory workmen

¹ *New York Times*, Dec. 3, 1933.

² Dressler-Andress, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

who, at noon, are diverted and instructed while they eat. In the first eight months of 1937 there were 297 of these so-called *Werkpausenkonzerte*.¹ Listening on a larger scale has not been neglected. Each of the 39 *Gaue* (party regions) has a *Gaufunkwart*; each of the 1,000 districts has another radio official; and there is the so-called *Funkwart* in every Nazi locality.² It is the duty of these men to organise reception; they must see that every school and public square, coffee house, theatre, and factory is fitted with the receivers and amplifiers which make community reception possible.³ At times of important broadcasts, all work is stopped. Shops are closed. The flow of traffic, which might create interference, ceases. It has been estimated that about 75% of the population hears the official transmissions upon such occasions.⁴

Reception in the home is encouraged likewise. The Government claims to have obliged the manufacturers to produce a "People's Set", widely sold at a recent retail price of 65 Reichsmark.⁵ For an equivalent sum of money in France, it is possible to buy equipment which will receive a variety of foreign stations, whereas the German *Volksempfänger* is intended and serves primarily to enable the listener to pick up two principal German transmitters: one, local to the region where the set is installed; and the other, the national station, known as the *Deutschlandsender*. The purchase of this popular apparatus is stimulated by a system permitting part-time payments.⁶

Though Germany levies an annual license fee of about \$10 upon every owner of a radio set, the number of receivers in use has more than doubled since the advent of the Führer; the increase has been from 4,307,700 in 1933⁷ to 9,087,454 in

¹ Franck, W., *Der Nationalsozialistische Rundfunk*.

² Hanighen, F.C., "Propaganda on the Air", *Current History*, 44: June, 1936, p. 46.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1937.

⁶ A still smaller set was being sold in November, 1938, at a price of 35 Reichsmarks.

⁷ *New York Times*, July 31, 1937: Announcement by Dr. Goebbels.

1938,¹ and 11,503,019 today excluding Czechoslovakia.² There are now more radios in the Third Reich than in England;³ these two countries lead Europe in quantity of receiving equipment.⁴

3) *In Italy.*

The Italian people possess only about one million sets,⁵ but radio forges national unity no less than in Germany and Russia. The *Ente Italiano per le Audizioni Radiofoniche*, a corporation controlled by the Government at Rome, has charge of broadcasting.⁶ The State, as in other totalitarian countries, enjoys a complete monopoly of propaganda apparatus.⁷

The Italian propaganda office has been said to issue to the press such instructions as these which likewise would be valid, in all probability, to the radio as well: "Begin and continue a strong campaign against Czechoslovakia", "Insist on the eventuality of Eden's leaving the Foreign Office", "Reproduce and amplify the news of the Stefani agency—how desirous it would be to burn the contagious quarter of London, unworthy of a civilised age", etc.⁸ The stage in Italy is always set for the maximum effect in favour of the Government. Even when a squadron of Italian seaplanes crossed the South Atlantic, the Fascist populace was given twenty-four hours in which

¹ Union Internationale de Radiodiffusion, *Développement de la Radio-diffusion*, Genève, mai, 1938.

² *World Radio*, London, Apr. 14, 1939; statistics supplied by the International Broadcasting Union.

³ In 1938 England was ahead of Germany in the proportion of licenses to population. However, according to the latest figures in *World Radio*, July 7, 1939, Denmark now holds first place in Europe for the number of licenses in proportion to population.

⁴ Union Internationale de Radiodiffusion, *Développement de la Radio-diffusion*, Genève, mai, 1938.

⁵ *World Radio*, London, Apr. 14, 1939; statistics supplied by the International Broadcasting Union.

⁶ Huth, *La Radiodiffusion: Puissance mondiale*, Paris, Gallimard, 1937, p. 137.

⁷ Zurcher, Arnold J., "State Propaganda in Italy", in *Propaganda and Dictatorship*, already cited, p. 35, 39.

⁸ Statement by Lieut.-Comdr. Fletcher in the British House of Commons on Dec. 23, 1937, *The Times*, London, Dec. 24, 1937, p. 17.

to celebrate the news so gratifying to national pride before any mention was made of the fact that five fliers were killed, three planes lost and one disabled.¹

Fascist devotion, reflected in radio programmes, is to heroism, violence, colonial power, and Italian hegemony in the Mediterranean, whereas the Treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations, freemasonry, democracy, capitalism, and above all communism, are constantly disparaged. News reports, which often manage to evoke these aims and animosities, have a predominant place in the Italian schedules; as early as 1935, broadcasts of this sort took up more than one-fifth of the total hours of transmission.² The famous "Fascist Chronicle", a no less effective method of creating public opinion, is radiated three times a week at 8:20 P.M. (Central European Time). It consists of polemical and often violent talks by political, military, industrial and artistic leaders.³

An especially resolute effort has been made by the Government at Rome to keep in contact with the agricultural districts of the peninsula. The *Ente Radio Rurale* exists for this specific purpose. The institution sends out three kinds of programmes to farmers :

- a) military and political, consisting of broadcasts from airports, army barracks and battleships;
- b) educational transmissions, complementing instruction received in rural primary schools; and
- c) agricultural talks which supply technical and other useful information to the peasants.⁴

Similar periodical transmissions have been inaugurated for the benefit of factory workers. The heads of the Fascist corporations speak on new legislation, political questions, technological problems and current events.⁵ The men are brought together at such times in the plants, in the headquarters of the unions, or in other public places.⁶ A new feature

¹ Berchtold, "The World Propaganda War", *North American Review*, Nov., 1934, p. 424.

² Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 140 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁶ *Ibid.*

recently introduced, called "Social Hour", is a tri-weekly transmission for workers—partly entertainment and partly educational—put on the air during lunch intervals.¹ All other organized listening is equally encouraged by the Italian Government. Thousands of receiving sets with amplifying apparatus have been set up in cafés, schools and public squares.²

4) *In France.*

French broadcasting is under the control of the Government, although only about one-half of the stations in France are operated by the State. The privately owned transmitters,³ as in America, are on a profit-making basis; their revenue is derived from advertising. Private stations are authorized to transmit only under a revocable license,⁴ and their news reports must be verified, ahead of time, by a State official appointed to do this work.⁵ Their programmes are generally light and gay, being intended to attract a large audience. Government programmes are often more serious.

The *Conseil Supérieur des Emissions*, composed of outstanding French persons grouped into four sections—musical, literary, scientific and "general information"⁶—formulates broadcasting policy from an artistic and intellectual point of view for all State stations.⁷ A permanent committee on general information, headed by an official at the *Présidence du Conseil* under the authority of the Premier, has an important part in regulating and co-ordinating transmissions.⁸ The Postal Ministry, in principle, has final authority in all matters of radio,⁹

¹ *World Radio*, London, May 5, 1939.

² Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

³ Three such companies are owned by or closely associated with newspapers.

⁴ Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁵ *Journal Officiel*, Sept. 25, 1938.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1939.

⁷ Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁸ *Radio Magazine*, Paris, Feb. 19, 1939.

⁹ Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

though both the *Présidence du Conseil*, as indicated above, and the Quai d'Orsay, take a very active interest in broadcasting. ¹

An unusual feature of French radio is the right enjoyed by listeners of electing representatives to the *Conseils de Gérance*. These organizations, under the jurisdiction of the Postal Ministry, handle the fiscal affairs and programmes of State stations principally in the provinces. ² One third of the membership of the *Conseils* is composed of technical men named by the Postal Ministry, the second third comprises persons representing professional organizations in France, and the remaining members are representatives of the listeners; these last named are elected by ballot by the listeners themselves. ³ Elections take place in each of the 12 districts corresponding to twelve State radio stations. ⁴ The voting is usually along political lines according to party, ⁵ but not generally more than about 200,000 persons exercise this right. ⁶ In February, 1937, however, because of the political significance of the elections, more than 1,500,000 people voted. ⁷ Listeners also have formed regional associations which are represented in the *Fédération Nationale de la Radiodiffusion* with headquarters in Paris. ⁸ A number of radio clubs largely interested in reducing the cause of mechanical interference, ⁹ and organizations promoted by the privately owned stations, according to the example set by the Government, ¹⁰ go to make up the remainder of the associated audience in France.

¹ *Le Populaire*. Paris, June 10, 1939. According to an article in *Le Populaire*, socialist newspaper, a project has been submitted to the *Présidence du Conseil* for the reorganization of French radio. This project would put the *Présidence* in full control, and the Postal Ministry's only powers would be in technical matters.

² Huth, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 and 108.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁴ *New York Times*, Mar. 4, 1937, p. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

The State levies an annual license fee upon owners of receiving sets.¹ The results of a poll, taken during the Blum régime, showed that many radio tax payers objected to a pronounced party bias in broadcast news reports; they felt that there were too many talks of a political nature.² French radio news, indeed, whether coming from governmental or privately owned transmitters, presents a national version of the facts. The programmes, though concise, well-stated, straightforward and objective, do not criticize the ministry in power.

5) *In England.*

The British Broadcasting Corporation is not nominally a branch of the Government, but has been always under its influence.³ This is due to the fact, as Mr. H. V. Kaltenborn points out, that there is a clause in the BBC license which allows "the politically minded Postmaster General to order the Corporation to do or not to do a specific thing. Sir John Reith, Director of the British Broadcasting Corporation, tells me", continues Mr. Kaltenborn, "that a friendly telephone conversation between himself and the Postmaster General has sufficed to clear every issue that has arisen. This may be so, but it is evident that the mere threat of government interference has made the Corporation a very conservative organization".⁴ Mr. Kaltenborn was writing in 1935. Since June, 1939, all news, before transmission by stations of the BBC, has had to be submitted to Governmental authorities.⁵

The corporation's income is derived largely from an annual licence fee levied upon the owners of radio sets.⁶ Twenty-five percent of this revenue is retained every year by the British Treasury.⁷ The corporation is entitled, if the needs of the

¹ Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

² *New York Times*, Mar. 4, 1937.

³ *News Review*, London, Jan. 6, 1938.

⁴ Kaltenborn, H. V., "An American View of European Broadcasting", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Jan. 1935, pp. 72-80.

⁵ *Matin*, Paris, Apr. 22, 1939.

⁶ *BBC Handbook*, 1938, p. 55.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

broadcasting service require it, to apply at any time for a part of the sum that has been put aside.¹ Such application was made and granted in 1937.² The money was spent for television which is being widely featured by the British, and in order to construct underground studios, bombproof and gasproof, to be used in case of war.³

No paid advertising is allowed in British broadcasts.⁴ The programmes are inspired by twenty or so advisory councils and committees of the British Broadcasting Corporation.⁵ Transmissions of news are impartial and perhaps more exhaustive than those of any other country; they have won a reputation for honesty, though they are subject, it is believed, to an astute system of control whereby information which cannot expediently be mentioned is sometimes eliminated. Censorship of this sort is accomplished in an extremely gentle way, and the suppression does not, in any case, include facts which might merely be prejudicial to Empire prestige. Strikes or political demonstrations, wherever they may be, are designated. The British Broadcasting Corporation even seeks out contradictory interpretation of facts, believing that as many different aspects as possible of any given problem should be freely aired.

6) *In Czechoslovakia.*

Prior to the Munich Agreement, Czech transmissions were imbued with a strongly objective, democratic spirit.⁶ Broadcasting facilities were controlled by the Government, though an Advisory Committee composed of representatives from intellectual, scientific and artistic groups, as well as delegates from listeners' associations and radio clubs, had the privilege of discussing general programme policy and of making sugges-

¹ *BBC Handbook*, 1938, p. 56.

² *Ibid.*

³ *New York Times*, Jan. 5, 1937.

⁴ Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁵ Cf. *BBC Handbook*, 1938, pp. 58-72.

⁶ Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

tions to the radio executives. ¹ The revenue derived from a tax on receiving sets was allotted as follows : about 64% went to the Postal Ministry for construction of stations and maintenance of technical equipment ; 36% was devoted to administrative expense and the cost of programme. ²

In 1938 the transmitter at Melnik, which had been supplied with more powerful apparatus, served nominally as the mouthpiece of the Sudeten minority and broadcast in the German language, ³ but the director of the station was an anti-National Socialist, and many talks appeared to be devised for the purpose of bringing the Germanic minority of Czechoslovakia into the national sphere. As the political situation became more grave and the necessity for cession of territory was foreshadowed, the tone of the broadcasts changed. It is probable that the radio played a part of some importance in keeping the people calm during the occupation.

7) *In Spain.*

The end of the civil war in Spain necessitated the complete reorganization of broadcasting. More powerful transmitters are to be installed. Madrid-I will be 120 kilowatts, Barcelona 50 kilowatts, Saragossa 30 kilowatts, Seville 7 kilowatts, and fifteen small transmitters will be put into service as relay stations. ⁴ A new short-wave plant is in the course of construction ; its purpose will be to maintain contact with Spanish colonies and the Spanish-speaking population of South America. ⁵

The official plan envisages free distribution of receiving sets to schools, public institutions, and meeting places of the Falangists, so that broadcasts may be heard even in the most remote Spanish village. ⁶ The Government hopes to establish a national radio industry capable of turning out a standard

¹ Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

² *Ibid.*

³ *World Radio*, London, June 3, 1938.

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 26, 1939.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

receiver, in order to encourage communal listening.¹ The licence taxes instituted by a Nationalist decree dated December 5, 1939, effective in the territory which already had been conquered, now becomes applicable throughout the country.² The total revenue from these taxes not being sufficient to cover the expense of broadcasting, General Franco's Government maintains radio advertising and gives even a certain preference to commercially sponsored concerts.³

¹ *World Radio*, May, 26, 1939.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER II

BROADCASTING FOR EUROPEAN CONSUMPTION

Radio forges national unity in most cases because broadcasting is controlled or influenced by governments. The policies of individual countries, however, vary and their transmissions in Europe clash—inevitably. The scientific explanation of this fact has been given by Major C. F. Atkinson :

- “a) ‘Bands of frequencies’—*i.e.*, block allocations of waves—are made internationally according to services and not according to countries ;
- “b) waves adjacent to each other in the scale of frequencies cannot be used by stations adjacent to each other geographically ;
- “c) the power used by stations is increasing at a very rapid rate.

“The result of (a) and (b) is that over the waveband used by radiodiffusion, stations of different countries are intimately intermingled, so that the immediate neighbours of any station not only may be, but always are, foreign.

“The result of (c) is not only an increase in the local areas served by the ‘direct ray’ of such stations, but a considerable extension of the possibilities of their being heard by distant listeners even on a simple and cheap apparatus.”¹

Radio news, as distinct from articles in the press, is not subject to regulation or censorship abroad. Although a given government may prohibit the entry of foreign newspapers into the national territory, it is often very difficult, if not impossible, to prevent individuals from listening to foreign broadcasts. In such States as Soviet Russia, where very few receiving sets are in the hands of individuals, transmissions originating beyond the borders may have little effect, but in the rest of

¹ Cf. League of Nations, International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Broadcasting and Peace, Paris, 1933, pp. 70 *et seq.*

Europe, and even on other continents, radio has come to be a powerful instrument in the development of international goodwill or international hostility.

1) *From the Soviet Union.*

Being more or less immune to radio counter-attacks, the Government at Moscow for many years has sent out, in many languages, programmes obviously intended for foreign ears. In the early days of Russian radio, broadcasts of this sort contained a generous amount of invective. Soviet transmissions exhorted foreign populations to strike off their chains and insulted bourgeois nations. As an increasing number of governments recognised the Union, however, the Russians became less explosive. "They dwelt upon the successes and the triumphs of the communist experiment, upon its aims and aspirations, even upon its humours and picturesque features".¹ Though programmes from the U.S.S.R. still are violent in their denunciation of Fascism, the emphasis today is rather upon the *advantages* of the Soviet system than upon the terrible *disadvantages* of capitalism in democratic countries.

The Reich has long taken objection to certain Russian broadcasts which, in the German language, are intended presumably for the people of Russia's Volga German Republic. The transmissions are clearly audible beyond the borders of the Soviet State. The Moscow station, indeed, has the most powerful long-wave equipment in Europe : 500 kilowatts. The Russians maintain that the vast area of the Union necessitates the use of such a transmitter.²

Though the German Government cannot dissuade Moscow from sending out such programmes, it is possible to prevent the disagreeable words from being clearly heard in Germany. This end can be accomplished by a method known as jamming —*i.e.*, intentional interference with the foreign transmission. Jamming may take several forms : mechanical Morse code ; another voice, just behind the first, which renders the broadcast

¹ Irwin, Will, *Propaganda and the News*, New York, Whittlesey House, 1936, p. 36, and pp. 255 *et seq.*

² Cf. Saerchinger, *op. cit.*

unintelligible ; and even artificial static ; or a variety of alarming noises, such as sirens, bangings, bells, etc. The last-named system is most frequently resorted to by Germany, the purpose being to enable conscientious National Socialists to denounce their subversive brethren : the noises issuing suddenly from the loud speaker should in principle discover the unpatriotic listener to his neighbours and even to the police. Tuning in on a foreign station, indeed, may be punishable in Germany by a prison sentence. Terms lasting from two to six years have been given because defendants gathered in small groups to hear the programmes from Moscow. ¹ The accused persons, alleged the German Government, "plotted to overturn the Constitution by trying to strengthen their Communistic faith . . ." ² A defendant startled the Court, in one case, by maintaining that people not only heard the Russian broadcasts but even enjoyed them. ⁴ "Up to five years imprisonment and/or punishment for the preparation of high treason", writes a correspondent of *World Radio*, "is the penalty for communicating to a third party detrimental information picked up from a foreign broadcast. If the information is 'passed on' in public, the punishment is more severe". ⁵ The severity of these punishments is an indication of the effect which Russian broadcasts, along with transmissions in the German language from France and England ⁶, may be having upon certain elements in the Reich.

2) *From the Third Reich.*

The Nazis have tried to undermine such prestige as Russia may have in Germany by presenting nightly a programme entitled, "Here Speaks Moscow!" Clippings from Soviet newspapers, exposing the less savoury aspect of conditions in the Union, are read and commented upon. Particular attention

¹ *New York Times*, May 13, 1937.

² *The Times*, London, Dec. 11, 1937.

³ It is said that since the annexation of Bohemia and Moravia many Czechoslovaks listen to broadcasts from Russia for news.

⁴ *The Times*, London, Dec. 11, 1937.

⁵ *World Radio*, London, Apr. 14, 1939.

⁶ Cf. pp. 32-35.

is called to the names of Jewish or supposedly Jewish officials in Russia. After every name the speaker emits a "loud, raucous and somewhat melodramatic 'Ha, ha!'"¹

Perhaps for fear of increasing the number of unfriendly transmissions from abroad, German stations have not until recently sent out retaliatory broadcasts in foreign tongues. During the period of international tensions in September, 1938, Leipzig, Breslau and Vienna talked in the Czech, Slovak and Ukrainian languages; Hamburg and Cologne used the English tongue² and programmes in French were sent out by Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Cologne and Saarbrücken.³ These bulletins, according to Ministerialrat Berndt, writing in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, served as counter-offensives against broadcasting in German from Luxembourg, Berömünster, Prague II, Mährisch-Ostrau, Strasbourg and a large number of other French as well as British stations. At that time "The aggregate of National Socialist news service was intended", declares the author, "less for internal consumption than for audiences abroad . . . The bulk of the people in Germany awaited with quiet and unshakable resolution the Führer's orders . . ." though "here and there a listener, who all too zealously had tuned in to Strasbourg or to Prague . . . wrote an ill-mannered letter" to the authorities.⁴

The Reich concentrates particularly upon expressing a violent hatred of Communism and admiration for all Teutonic things, in unadulterated German. These consistently assertive broadcasts are not intended, however, solely for people living within the national territory. Herr Hitler's plainly defined solicitude is for Germanic minorities abroad and, apparently as well, for such other groups as may be persuaded to come into his orbit. Thus it is that Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia are daily sprayed with programmes in German, which serve frequently to counterbalance and even to overweigh the rival influence of other stations.⁵

¹ *New York Times*, Apr. 4, 1937.

² And likewise from the end of March, 1939.

³ *Völkischer Beobachter*, Nov. 18, 1938.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Bent, Silas, "International Broadcasting", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, July, 1937, p. 118.

The first definite instance of Nazi aggression by radio was in 1933 when the Munich station attacked the Dollfuss Government.¹ Vienna jammed.² Nevertheless, the transmissions from Munich in no small measure precipitated the abortive revolution of 1934 in Austria.³ Another case in point is that of Memel. Stations in Lithuania had been radiating anti-National Socialist talks. Königsberg replied so well that German members of the Memel Diet withdrew their support of the Government and brought about a political crisis.⁴ In 1938 German transmitters were even more frenzied than the Nazi press in criticising the status of the Sudetens under the Czechoslovakian régime.⁵

It is to be noted that the German radio in March, 1939, made appeals to the Walloon elements of Southern Belgium. *Vingtième Siècle*, Belgian Catholic newspaper, protested in these terms: "We heard the German announcer declare that the Walloons belong to the German race and that the German heart beats on Saint Nicolas Square at Eupen. That is intolerable interference in our affairs".⁶ According to *Die Front*, Zurich newspaper, German radio stations described the request by the Swiss Government for 190 million francs in military credits as "the fruit of provocative propaganda, in Switzerland, by international finance." The newspaper protested against "the inexactitude, the awkwardness and the lack of tact shown by the Reich radio in this case".⁷

¹ Hanighen, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

² *Ibid.*

³ Cf. Saerchinger, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁴ Hanighen, *op. cit.*

⁵ In this connection, it is interesting to note Herr Henlein's appeal, by radio from Germany, on the night of the Czech mobilisation. "You, my fellow citizens", he asserted, "remember what this mobilisation order amounts to. Not a single German will shoot at other Germans, not a single Hungarian will shoot at other Hungarians, not a single Pole will shoot at other Poles. Benès has no right to force you into this horrible assassination of your brothers, not a single German will submit to the order of mobilisation. In a short time, you will be free". *Le Temps*, Paris, Sept. 25, 1938.

⁶ *Le Temps*, Mar. 28, 1939.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Apr. 14, 1939.

The so-called *Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtum* in Europe, together with the population of Germany, before the annexation of Austria, was evaluated at about 82,000,000 souls.¹ As distinguished from Teutons living abroad, the concept of the true German, according to M. Lévy's scholarly analysis of voluminous sources, is fourfold in character : it comprises nationality in the political sense, race, the language, and the will to be German.² One or more of these essential elements may be lacking in the case of Germanic minorities beyond the frontiers of the Reich, but such lack does not disqualify *Auslandsdeutsche* from being considered an important part of the great Nazi community. Alsatians, according to the Teutonic view, lack the required nationality and the will to Germanism above-mentioned, but use the language and are of the race.³ Their allegiance, therefore, may be expected. The same is applied to the German-speaking population of Switzerland. Certain other groups may have the will to be German, but not the racial strain or the language.⁴ There is, indeed, "in everything that touches the notion of Germanism", according to M. Lévy, "a terrible and intangible maelstrom of psychological, political, historical and ethnical elements."⁵ For practical purposes, anyone who may remember his German extraction and who can speak the language of the Fatherland is considered to be German.⁶ "The maintenance of the language is the basis for the preservation of nationality in every case", reads the motto of *Der Auslandsdeutsche*, a pan-Germanistic magazine.⁷

The Nazi radio serves admirably to keep the German tongue alive abroad and, according to Herr Hitler's original dictum in the national socialist party programme, "by the right of all peoples to self-determination . . ." the Reich demands "the new union of all Germans in a greater Germany". For

¹ Cf. comparative figures, Lévy, *Le Germanisme à l'Etranger*, Comité Alsacien d'Etudes et d'Informations. Strasbourg, 1933.

² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

the realization of this end, Breslau, Munich and Leipzig make eloquent appeals. *Deutschlandsender* and Vienna, every Tuesday night, radiate a carefully written review of the press which can be heard by National Socialist sympathizers in foreign lands. Nightly, Saarbrücken and Stuttgart contradict much of what is broadcast from Luxembourg,¹ Strasbourg and Lyon, in German.

The effect abroad of programmes from the Reich is probably considerable. It is thought that some Alsations prefer German music and the National Socialist interpretation of life, as expressed by radio, and tune in frequently. It is certain that transmissions from Germany have an influence upon minorities in Poland, Hungary and Rumania, if not in Yugoslavia.

Germany is increasing the power of her stations so as to be sure that broadcasts will not be drowned out either in or outside Germany. According to the director of the Stuttgart station (which competes for listeners with Strasbourg), the power of his plant is being continually increased and will reach a nominal figure of 150 kilowatts.² As anti-fading antennae have already been added, the power in actuality will come to about 200 kilowatts.³ The improvement of the Stuttgart equipment is also intended as a measure against Swiss stations⁴ which, as well as Strasbourg, Luxembourg and Lyon, can be heard easily in the west and in the south of Germany.⁵

The new *Deutschlandsender* transmitting station, moved to Herzberg in Saxony, and opened on May 19, 1939, is designed to transmit at a power of 150 kilowatts, instead of 60 kilowatts, as before, and it is expected that the power will be increased to 200 kilowatts by March, 1940.⁶

¹ International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

² *Le Radio*, Lausanne, Mar. 18, 1938, p. 410.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Since the *Anschluss* Swiss transmissions have become somewhat noncommittal.

⁵ *Le Radio*, Lausanne, Mar. 18, 1938, p. 410.

⁶ *World Radio*, May 26, 1939. (N.B. A recent report on the radio warfare between Germany and Poland stated that beginning July 5, 1939, all the German broadcasting stations along the Polish frontier and in eastern Prussia would pursue an anti-Polish offensive. In response to this announcement, Poland inaugurated,

3) *From Italy.*

Whereas the Nazi treatment of a given subject by radio is generally standard German version to all listeners wherever they may be living, the tenor and the content of Italian broadcasts are devised to fit the tastes of the public for whom they are radiated. Rome II, for instance, working on a wave length of 245.5 meters, sends out a news programme in English at 7:20 P.M. but at 8:15 P.M., another broadcast, in French, gives a different interpretation of the same events. Sometimes the variation is attained merely by an inflection of the speaker's voice ; sometimes the choice of the material is altered. In all cases Italian transmissions are exceptionally adroit from a psychological point of view.

This fact becomes even more apparent to anyone who may adjust his dial, in the evening, for the wave lengths of Florence or Milan. The announcement regularly is made that *Radio Verdad*, nominally a Spanish (Nationalist) station, is broadcasting. The programmes, in the Catalan and Spanish tongues and of a violent nature, were of undoubted benefit to General Franco who had no powerful radio equipment in the territory which he has conquered. The transmissions are being continued even after the Nationalist victory. It is thought, indeed, that the two above-mentioned Italian transmitters, among several others, devote a certain amount of their time every night to radiating this information which would appear to originate from the anti-Communist part of Spain, and thus to be authentically the voice of General Franco's Spanish supporters.

Another method employed by Italy to extend the Fascist ideology abroad takes the interesting and useful form of Italian lessons by radio, presented in a variety of foreign languages. *Il Duce's* speeches are read out as texts for the dictation. The student may send his work to Rome for correction. When the exercises are returned, programme announcements and Fascist data are enclosed. Brochures of this sort have been sent out to more than 35,000 people. ¹

on the following evening, daily programs in the German language. *L'Excelsior*, July 7, 1939.)

¹ Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

On Good Friday, 1939, while Italian forces were annexing Albania, the frantic pleas sent out in many languages by Radio-Tirana were jammed. King Zog spoke to his people in Albanian and immediately afterward in Italian.¹ The King's appeal was then broadcast in Greek by a woman whose voice was broken by sobs, in English, as well as in French, Italian, German and other languages.² Bulletins on the warfare were continued until 9.30 P.M. (G.M.T.)³ A French privately owned station rebroadcast one of these reports while it was being jammed.⁴ It was announced that for technical reasons the programme would be continued an hour later on the 49 meter band, but listeners tried in vain to pick up the transmission at the appointed time.⁵

On April 10th, the President of the Albanian Administrative Committee made the following proclamation, which was relayed by all Italian stations, from Radio-Tirana : "The Albanian people know me and I am sure that the Italian people will understand me as well. My words are sincere and come from my heart. We have had a bad administration in Albania for twenty-five years and we have proved that we are incapable of governing ourselves. This state of affairs brought us into danger—that of division in Albania. Our only hope lay in the beloved person of the *Duce*, who has made moral and material sacrifices for us and who . . . has liberated Albania from the danger with which she was face to face . . ."⁶

Many broadcasts from Italy have been distinctly anti-French. Particularly during the late summer and the autumn of 1938, Italian stations denounced the French people and the French Government with great vehemence. The violence of these transmissions was abruptly halted, however, when it was announced from Paris that M. François-Poncet would be appointed French Ambassador to Rome. Subsequently the attitude of Italy again became hostile. An incident which

¹ *World Radio*, Apr. 14, 1939.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Heard by the author.

⁵ *World Radio*, Apr. 14, 1939.

⁶ *Le Temps*, Apr. 11, 1939.

took place on April 20, 1939, is perhaps worthy of note in this connection. Rome announced : "At Tunis, in the moving picture theatre known as the *Rialto*, rather serious trouble broke out between Mohammedans and Jews during the showing of a news-events film. The Jews took the liberty of hissing our *Duce*, and hearing the hisses, the Mohammedans, who were numerous in the theatre, reacted by applauding Mr. Mussolini and shouting, 'Long live Italy!' At the theatre exit, the Mohammedans fell upon the Jews and administered a stinging defeat upon them." The French radio and press pointed out that no incident of this sort took place. "The news transmitted by the Italian radio", declared the Fournier Agency, "caused even more surprised amusement in France than it might have ordinarily, in view of the fact that the *Rialto* theatre was torn down several years ago and has been replaced by a garage".¹

4) *From France.*

Since most broadcasts from Italy can be heard by Italian immigrants living in French North Africa or in the south of France, the Paris Government has inaugurated a regular nightly programme which is radiated in the Italian language from Nice. The reaction of the Italian Government to these programmes, which include a translation of the usual news bulletins of the *Radio Journal de France* broadcast by all French State stations, is evidenced by the jamming in Morse code which takes place.² Beginning July 6, 1939, the following French stations have been broadcasting, twice nightly, news reports in foreign languages : *English*: Lille, Radio-37, Radio-Cité, Radio-Normandie ; *German*: Paris-P.T.T., Rennes-P.T.T., Radio-Strasbourg, Nîmes, Ile-de-France ; *Spanish*: Toulouse-Pyrénées, Bordeaux-Lafayette, Limoges, Bordeaux-Sud-Ouest, Radio-Agen ; *Italian*: Tour-Eiffel, Nice-P.T.T., Grenoble, Radio-Méditerranée, Poste-Parisien ; *Serbo-Croatian*: Lyon P.T.T., Radio-Lyon ; *Arabian*: Paris-Mondial, Marseille-

¹ *L'Œuvre*, Paris, Apr. 21, 1939.

² It is even stated that Italy jams all other radio information coming from France. *Semaine Radiophonique*, Paris, Feb. 19, 1939.

P.T.T.¹ Luxembourg, which likewise sends out news reports in German, is under French control although owned by an international syndicate.²

The broadcasts in German are very unpopular with Nazi leaders—almost as much so as the programmes from Moscow. The French transmissions are put on the air for the population of Alsace but, of course, they are plainly audible in the Reich. They contain much information not given out by the Führer's stations and yet of definite interest to Germans. Due perhaps to the growth of international tension, the bulletins from France have been jammed for the past two years. The effect of the interference is local to the territory of the Reich.

France, meanwhile, has constructed more highly powered transmitting apparatus at Allouis, 14 kilometres from Bourges in the centre of the nation, to replace the equipment in use by Radio-Paris hitherto the key French station.^{3 4} The circuits which connect with various studios in Paris and the provinces take advantage of underground cables to the Allouis transmitter.⁵ Devices to reduce fading in the long wavelength used by Radio-Paris are stated to be the most effective yet known.⁶

5) *From England.*

Germany and France are not the only nations to have increased the number of kilowatts in use for broadcasts.

¹ *L'Œuvre*, Paris, July 6, 1939. (According to the Belgrade correspondent of the Daily Telegraph, broadcasts from Lyon in the Serbian language have met with great success in Yugoslavia. *Daily Telegraph*, London, May 11, 1939.)

² The popularity of these transmissions is attributed to the fact that the news is presented in a way which would not be allowed in the Yugoslav newspapers; because of an agreement made by Yugoslavia with Italy and Germany, they cannot print material detrimental to the latter two countries.

³ *Radio Magazine*, May 7, 1939.

⁴ One reason given for this change of location is that transmissions from Paris might reveal the city to attacking airplanes in wartime. *Figaro*, Paris, June 8, 1938.

⁵ *World Radio*, May 26, 1938.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Power competition¹ in Europe has been general and Great Britain, without showing signs of faltering, has joined in the *fortissimo*. The "home services" of the British Broadcasting Corporation strike normally 400 miles into Europe for eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. On the night of September 27, 1938, when the international situation was so critical, the translations of Mr. Chamberlain's important speech were radiated by Britain, according to reliable authority, with double the usual power—that is to say, the strength of the transmission was stepped up to about 300 kilowatts. England actually can blanket continental nations with talks in their own particular languages if the occasion arises. Though British long and medium wave stations, prior to the September crisis broadcast only in English, news bulletins in French, German and Italian are now being sent out regularly.² "There is not the slightest doubt that B.B.C. bulletins are widely heard and appreciated in Germany", writes Mr. L. Marsland Gander, Radio Correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph*.³ "In blocks of flats so many residents are listening to them that Nazi officials have given up the task of reporting listeners to the authorities, for fear of incurring personal unpopularity", the writer adds.⁴ On the other hand, including the acquisition of Czechoslovakia, Germany has ten 100-kilowatt stations in the medium wave band, whereas the B.B.C. has only one 100-kilowatt transmitter and six stations working on a power of 70 kilowatts.⁵ Thus Britain has decided to increase the B.B.C. facilities. Eight medium-wave stations will be raised to a power of 120 kilowatts, and Droitwich, the long-wave transmitter, will be raised from 150 to 200 kilowatts.⁶ It is interesting to note that according to the new Montreux plan⁷ the immediate neighbour of Droitwich on the long-wave band will be *Deutschlandsender*

¹ Cf. Annex I. The total sum of kilowatts in use by European long and medium wave transmitters has grown from 116 in 1926 to 8,000 in 1938. *New York Times*, February 20, 1938.

² *The Times*, London, October 28, 1938.

³ *The Daily Telegraph*, London, April 15, 1939.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Cf. p. 89.

which, as above stated, is expected to be working on 200 kilowatt power by March, 1940.

6) *From Spain.*

Transmissions from both camps, in the Spanish Revolution, afforded an illuminating example of what radio can be in wartime. Madrid and Barcelona, as opposed to the Nationalist stations of lesser power, notably Seville, sprayed neutrals from the outbreak of hostilities with conflicting versions of the facts and issues of the war.¹ Other countries became involved in this dispute by radio. Italian and German stations espoused the cause of General Franco, while England and France tended to radiate interpretations of events favourable to the Loyalists.²

As a result, Spanish transmissions were violent in their denunciation of the rival blocs of nations—democratic or Fascist, as the case might be. Seville, Saragossa and Tetuan sent out programmes, in foreign languages, which were full of bitterness particularly against the French, whereas the broadcasts from the Loyalists were no less critical of the *Duce* and the *Führer*. These talks probably had effect abroad, but the transmitters were weak in kilowatts, and jamming was indulged in so freely, by both sides in the dispute, that many programmes were poorly heard.

The belligerents did not only appeal for help and for sympathy from abroad, but of course they also tried to influence each other. During the attack on Barcelona, a radio message addressed by General Franco especially to Catalans was broadcast by Nationalist stations.³ Dating the message January 16, 1939, when Tarragona was captured, and transmitting it the following day, the *Caudillo* announced the "early liberation" of Catalans; he spoke of "pardon and peace".⁴ "Today, our victories in Calalonia put the defeated forces of the enemy at our disposal", he continued, "and yet the vain and criminal

¹ Riegel, "Press Radio and the Spanish Civil War", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, January, 1937, p. 134.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Paris Soir*, Jan. 18, 1939.

⁴ *Ibid.*

effort to resist goes on. If, when you had everything and we almost nothing, you were unable to win, today, you are totally defeated and without hope, and each passing day makes your predicament worse. Recognize the facts, all you who didn't want to see the truth! Those who were misled have nothing to fear because they took up arms. 270,000 prisoners in Nationalist Spain testify that we have no hatred and desire no vengeance. We are forging a new Spain for all who will love and serve her".¹ Italian stations participated in this Nationalist effort to break the spirit of the Republicans.² Prime Minister Negrin's decree banning the use of radio receivers by Republican civilians until the end of the war is some evidence of the effect which the Nationalist transmissions must have had.³ On January 19, 1939, General Rojo, chief of the Catalan army, made a special broadcast to the Insurgents. He urged them to realize that "united Spain, one for all, and all for one, is in danger of perishing under the mailed fist of foreigners who have fomented this discord among us to further their own ends".⁴ He declared that the Spanish people would ward off, "with courage and decision . . . the latest criminal attempts to place Spain under foreign domination".⁵

As Barcelona fell, a Nationalist soldier took over the microphone at the studio of the Radio Association of Catalonia; he immediately made an appeal for a phonograph record of the Nationalist anthem and asked for a Nationalist flag.⁶

At about the time that Union-Radio at Madrid was broadcasting the news that the Defense Junta replacing the Negrin Government had been constituted⁷, Radio-Nacional argued: "You lost the war long ago. Our crushing defeat of Catalonia convinced the most incredulous. Nothing but the criminal will of Negrin and Dei Vayo, who serve Russia, can still prolong the useless loss of blood. All nations have recognized Natio-

¹ *Paris Soir*, Jan. 18, 1939.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Herald Tribune*, Paris, Jan. 19, 1939.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1939.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 27, 1939.

⁷ *Le Temps*, March 7, 1939.

nalist Spain and her victory. It's only a question of days before the Nationalist Army will swarm over your lines and everthing will crumble. Carthagena has revolted and has joined the Nationalists. The Red Fleet has fled to a foreign shore. Any opposition to surrender and any violence against what may be done in a humanitarian or patriotic spirit is an offense against the Mother Country and strict account will be taken of it".¹ Foreign Minister Besteiro's radio message to General Franco, on March 18, 1939, asking for an "honorable peace",² brought no reply. Shortly after noon, on March 28th, Señor Besteiro, speaking from the Union-Radio transmitter, commented on the surrender and requested all inhabitants of Madrid to maintain their dignity and public order.³ Colonel Pradas, chief of the Central Army, followed Señor Besteiro at the microphone, but he spoke only a few words before being interrupted and displaced by one of General Franco's agents, who acclaimed the *Caudillo* and declared that in a few instants Nationalist troops would be entering Madrid.⁴

7) *From Other Countries.*

Long before the Spanish Civil War or the September mobilisations of 1938 which so nearly ended in a general European conflict, Prague increased the strength of its transmitter, for the purpose of drowning out radio propoganda from Hungary.⁵ Budapest, in turn, increased its power⁶ and sent out programmes to the Hungarians in the eastern end of Czechoslovakia, urging them to agitate for the revision of the Treaty of Trianon.⁷ Hungary still broadcasts to the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia as well.⁸ Belgrade has retaliated by building a station designed to "penetrate everywhere where southern Slavs live

¹ *Le Temps*, March 7, 1939.

² *Herald Tribune*, Paris, March 20, 1939.

³ *Le Temps*, March 29, 1939.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Hanighen, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

and drown out Hungarian revisionist propaganda", not to mention "propaganda from across the Adriatic"—that was to say, from Rome and Milan. ¹ ²

During the critical days of September, 1938, Czech broadcasts increased in number and in eloquence. Prague, Melnik, Bratislava and Podebrady ³ gave the world what obviously appeared to be among the most authoritative versions of events in the disputed territory. The furious charges sprayed abroad by National Socialist stations were answered promptly. The German language, as well as Czech, frequently was used. Appeals were made for a wider and a better understanding of the tangled issues. With the increasing difficulties encountered by the nation, the voices of the Czechoslovak speakers changed. Though sobriety and reasoned vigilance were demanded the tone of the broadcasts, as might be expected, was far from being dispassionate.

After the signing of the Munich agreement, programmes from the dismembered State became somewhat stiffly discreet and remained so, even in March, 1939, when Vienna, transmitting in German and Czech, accused the federation of being a dangerous Bolshevist abcess in the body of Europe. ⁴ On March 15th, 1939, the Prague transmitter broadcast the following statements: "The rumours that the German Army is going to occupy Bohemia and Moravia are true. Everyone is to be calm and to go about his daily business". ⁵ Subsequently Czech stations began to give the National Socialist story concerning the annexation. On the following day in a broadcast, the German Foreign Minister, Herr von Ribbentrop, proclaimed the laws by which Bohemia and Moravia were henceforth to be governed. ⁶

¹ Hanighen, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 f.

² It is to be noted that during the autumn of 1938 Italian stations favoured Hungary's claims upon Czechoslovakia, whereas German transmitters did not do so.

³ Short-wave transmitters which since the summer of 1936 had been radiating information in a variety of tongues.

⁴ *Le Temps*, April 4, 1939.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Paris Soir*, March 17, 1939.

It was subsequently announced that the administrative organisation of the German Protector in Prague had created a department of broadcasting attached to the Office for Cultural-Political Affairs.¹ A former official of the Berlin Propaganda Ministry is in charge, and his duties consist of supervising the preparation of Czech programmes² broadcast from Prague, Moravská-Ostrava and Brno, and the control of the German programmes from Melnik and Brno.³

After the proclamation of the independence of the Slovak State, broadcasting from this region, with headquarters in Bratislava, became autonomous at least in principle.⁴ Slovak stations transmit news every evening at 10.30 P.M. (Central European Time) in foreign languages: Sunday in German, Monday in Hungarian, Tuesday in Italian, Wednesday in English, Thursday in French, Friday in Polish, and Saturday in Serbo-Croat.⁵

8) *Illegal Transmitters.*

The conflict between recognized stations that are separated by national boundaries is at times supplemented in Europe today by radio struggles in which one of the transmitters may be an unauthorized station broadcasting actually from the territory of the country in question, or just across the border. Programmes of this sort are devised, of course, as attacks upon the existing government. The most famous of these clandestine transmitters, known as the *Deutscher Freiheitssender*, is thought to have been mounted on a moving truck so as to prevent German jamming from taking the full effect. This system of a mobile unit was used because, if the jamming is to drown out unwelcome words, the engineers in charge of producing the interference must ascertain the

¹ *World Radio*, April, 7 1939.

² The Katowice station in Poland began broadcasting in the Czech language on June 5, 1939. This measure is destined to supplement talks from Russia (see footnote p. 25) and present former Czech citizens with "straight" news. *The Daily Telegraph*, London, June 6, 1939.

³ *World Radio*, May 19, 1939.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, April 14, 1939.

exact location of the unfriendly transmitter. The disturbance must be radiated, moreover, near the station to be jammed and must be sent out at an equal power in kilowatts, if the effect of the interference is to be complete, everywhere. Less power is needed, when the unpleasant noises have their origin at a distance from the speaker, but the effect then is local to the area where the counter-measures take place. It is to be noted that German attempts to jam transmissions issuing from the truck were not often thoroughly effective until the latter part of the summer of 1938.

The ever-shifting station broadcast every night at 10 o'clock (Central European Time) on a wavelength of 29.8 meters, primarily for German listeners who had been Socialists or Communists before the advent of Herr Hitler and whose courage, it was thought, could be maintained by means of radio. "Hallo! Hallo! This is the secret transmitter of the German Communist Party calling", came the announcement, one night in January, 1937.¹ "If this station should be traced and ourselves captured", the announcer said, "all arrangements have been made for broadcasts from another place."² He was thinking, perhaps, of a man named Wormys who, after having sent out strongly anti-National Socialist talks with clandestine apparatus in Czechoslovakia across the border from the Reich, had been murdered mysteriously on January 24, 1935.³ Attempts to jam the programme began on May 23, 1937.⁴ "Achtung! Achtung!" the announcer used to say. "Turn your dial a fraction of an inch. . . . Find us near this wavelength. We're changing our frequency very slightly so as to eliminate the jamming".⁵ On August 30th, the announcer said: "We have good reason for talking to you today, because we know that you were an opponent of Hitler before he came to power. You voted Left at the elections. You belonged to a trade union. You used to read the workers'

¹ Jones, F. Elwyn, *The Defence of Democracy*, New York, Dutton, 1938, p. 250.

² *New York Times*, Mar. 30, 1937.

³ Cf. Hanighen, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 f.

⁴ Elwyn, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

⁵ Heard by author.

papers. You may or may not have belonged to the Socialist or Communist Parties. When Hitler came to power and destroyed all working-class organizations, you resigned yourself and thought : 'We can't do anything. We've just got to wait'. You have now waited for four years. In your heart you have remained an enemy of the Brown Dictatorship. It was only under pressure that you raised your hand in the *Heil Hitler* greeting. During these four years you have toiled in your factory and with anger in your heart have seen what the Brown Dictatorship has been doing to the German people. But you kept on saying : 'We can't do anything, we must wait and see'. We ask you today : 'What are you waiting for ?' Because if anything is to happen, if what you are waiting for is to come about, then it depends on you and all the others like you. You must stop waiting. It is time you started taking your place in the struggle against the Brown Dictatorship . . ."¹ Distinguished Germans in exile wrote talks to be broadcast by this *Freiheitssender*.² The announcer made frequent reference to unrest among the workers due to low wage scales and the high cost of living.³ On May 16, 1938, he said that neither Germans nor foreigners wanted war, but only Hitler did, and needed it in order to distract attention from the extent of suffering within the country.⁴

Meanwhile, agents of the National-Socialist Government were making a desperate search for the station. It was reported at one time that the transmitter had been discovered at Minsk near the Soviet-Polish border.⁵ Again there was an announcement that the station had been found in Luxembourg.⁶ The broadcasts continued. Belgium, Barcelona, South Germany were rumoured to be places where the *Freiheitssender* might be located. It was not until late in 1938 that the broadcasts stopped. The discovery and confiscation of the pirate station mounted on a cleverly camouflaged truck, according to the

¹ Elwyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 351 f.

² *Ibid.*

³ *New York Times*, Mar. 30, 1937.

⁴ Heard by the author.

⁵ Elwyn, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

⁶ *Ibid.*

New York Herald Tribune, ¹ led to the trial of Ernst Niekisch which began on January 3, 1939. He and twenty of his comrades were accused of high treason for having operated the transmitter, for having organized anti-National-Socialist groups within the Reich, and for having distributed subversive literature. ² Niekisch, who had been an extreme militarist and nationalist in favour of a German alliance with Russia, had become a bitter opponent of Hitler's foreign policy, ³ and he was sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labour. ⁴

Other countries, as well, have been troubled by clandestine transmitters. After weeks of inactivity, which led to the assumption that it had been destroyed by the GPU, the anti-Stalin pirate station returned to the air on December 30, 1938 with virulent attacks upon the Soviets. ⁵ The announcer, who was a woman, declared: "Much can be attained here among us by murder and terror. In fact much has been attained, for the whole people has been offered up to hunger and misery. Soviet economy is ruined and so are the farmers. Down with Stalin and the Red overlords! Long live the League of Libertators". ⁶ It was asserted that the League's membership was swelling rapidly. Attempts to jam the programme did not disrupt it. ⁷ The secret station had been moved farther eastward in the Union, the announcer said. ⁸ The programme closed with the "Internationale". ⁹

A transmitter operating on 31 meters under the name of "Libertad Milan" at one time made ardent appeals to Italian anti-Fascists. ¹⁰ This pirate station gave long news bulletins from Paris and London and played the *Marseillaise*. ¹¹ Early in 1939 "Radio-Corse Libre" operated in French, on a varying

¹ *Herald Tribune*, Paris, Jan. 4, 1939.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1939.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1939.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1939.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *New York Times*, Apr. 15, 1937.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

wavelength, at 8 P.M. (G.M.T.)¹ The Government at Paris was violently criticized in talks from this transmitter¹ which, by its very name, suggested that dissatisfied Corsicans were anxious for some change in the international status of the island.

According to Brigadier General John W. Mahan, an unauthorized and unlicensed radio station emitting Japanese propaganda was discovered during the year 1938 in the western part of the United States and was closed down.²

Speaking over a pirate transmitter on May 29, 1939, James J. Kelly, Irish Republican Army chief, asserted from a place in Loyalist Ulster that the military intervention of the I.R.A. in England was nearing its final stages and that threatening measures would be pushed forward with still more vigour than in the past.³ The United Press report of this broadcast follows :

Belfast, May 29.

Kelly announced that the I. R. A. tonight had publicly burned thousands of British gas masks which he described as "Imperial propaganda". He added "these gas masks are supplied by England to wean us over to her side if she happens to be involved in a conflict. Ireland's only enemy always has been England and these gas masks are only a form of propaganda and should be ignored by the people."

Kelly's broadcast also called for unity between Protestants and Catholics to rid Ireland of the "English invader". A statement reported to come from the headquarters of the Belfast brigade of the I. R. A. alleged that *agents provocateurs* of the British government recently had been active in Ulster and by means of explosions and other methods had endeavored to cause strife between Catholics and Protestants in the city.

Kelly further alleged there was a veritable reign of terror existing in northeast Ulster because of the operations of the Special Powers Act, under which homes had been raided and ransacked at all hours of the night and free speech had been forbidden in an effort to put down the I. R. A. The pirate broadcast, which lasted for fifteen minutes on a medium wave band of about 460 meters, concluded with the "Soldier Song", the I. R. A. hymn.³

¹ *Paris Soir*, Jan. 28, 1939.

² *Herald Tribune*, Paris, Aug. 5, 1938.

³ *Ibid.*, May 30, 1939.

CHAPTER III

INTERCONTINENTAL BROADCASTING

Radio battles of this sort are not confined exclusively to any continent. Nations are reaching into other hemispheres. Just as governments, ten years ago, began to step up the power of their transmitters, so as to spread their influence across frontiers in Europe, now many countries, including the United States, are competing, with various versions of the truth, all around the globe. These attempts to captivate the public on distant continents can be effective when so-called short wavelengths are employed.

In 1930, there were only 3 short-wave transmitters used in Europe for purposes of broadcasting, whereas, today, there are over 40 powerful ones, and more are being constructed.¹ Short waves require proportionately less power to project them than the long or medium waves, and, instead of having a range of hundreds of miles, they can penetrate to the farthest corners of the earth. Especially with the most modern equipment, such as directional antennae, anti-fading devices, etc., a European transmitter can make itself heard in North or South America as clearly as a station local to the region of reception.² The countries which lead the world, from a technical point of view, in short-wave broadcasting, are England, Germany and Italy. The station at Rome is now claimed to be the most powerful in the world and at Addis Ababa the Italians have constructed the largest short-wave broadcasting station on the African continent.³

Inevitable and increasing interference results from the development of new transmitters in frequency bands which

¹ Saerchinger, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

² Dunlap, *New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1937.

³ *Herald-Tribune*, Paris, Feb. 16, 1939.

are already overcrowded. Intercontinental programmes may become quite unintelligible, "unless, before it is too late", writes Professor Braillard, "urgent measures demanded by the situation, on the basis of world-wide technical collaboration, are adopted".¹ Though the Cairo Conference, which considered this question early in 1938, extended the scope of short-wave frequencies for broadcasting, the action thus taken cannot be considered to be adequate. A research group appointed by the conference is still studying the short-wave situation. There are about 350 short-wave stations of world importance, but there is ample room for only about 200 of them in the bands allotted.² A suggestion has been made that wavelengths be shared by various stations, which could transmit at different hours of day or night, but technicians see, with consternation, that effective regulation of short-wave broadcasting is far from possible at the present time.³ The reason is that governments are in no mood to make concessions to each other; they are intent upon winning public approval in the Americas, in Africa, in the Near East, and even in the Far East, regardless of the difficulties which they mutually are obliged to meet; they press forward with grim determination.

1) *From the Soviet Union.*

Russia broadcasts in 62 languages and dialects.⁴ Short-wave transmissions from Moscow, in German, Spanish and Italian, are often disturbed.⁵ A typical broadcast, in German, on May 17, 1938 (no jamming perceptible to the listener in Western Europe), told of many possibilities open in the Soviet Union to intellectuals, whereas the barbarism of the Third Reich was labelled as patent. "A great and holy hatred of

¹ Braillard, "L'Avenir de la radiodiffusion sur ondes courtes. . ." *Radiodiffusion*, 5: Nov., 1937, pp. 13-20.

² Statement by a well-known radio expert, delegate to many telecommunications conferences. Cf. also Minutes of the Cairo Conference.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

⁵ It is to be noted that a talk, in Italian, on May 16, 1938, directed against the League of Nations, however, was not interfered with.

capitalism is necessary", the speaker declared. Preparations for war in Germany, the broadcaster continued, had greatly harmed the populace. There was a very serious shortage of bread. Especially in Russia, both bread and butter were of superior quality and very plentiful, whereas according to the speaker, the most vital means of subsistence in Germany were lacking. He proceeded with details concerning the Nazi "terror" in Vienna. The speaker discussed an address by Mr. Woodring, American Secretary of War, and, in conclusion, passed the microphone over to an orchestra which played the *Communist International*.

Russian radio programmes, in English, to the United States, are less apt to be violent. Moscow features curious and lovely music from remote parts of the Union. Readings have been given from the diary of the North Pole explorers. News has been combined with talks on cosmic rays. The tone and the content of these broadcasts, however, is not by any means essentially disinterested.

2) *From the Third Reich.*

Generally more violent than similar transmissions from other countries, German short-wave talks can be heard well everywhere. Whereas the Soviet appeal is made principally to workers and peasants, the German radio seeks support abroad among bourgeois elements.¹ Though the broadcasts from Zeesen give usually a single authorised version of events to all continents and listeners, the schedules as a whole are differentiated according to the public for whom they are intended. Programmes sent out daily to all sections of the globe, in five or more languages, are noteworthy for the excellent music which is a German specialty. "Music must first bring the listener to the loud speaker and relax him", writes Herr Hadamowsky.² Following upon this first-class entertainment, the assumption is that information of a political nature will be acceptable.

The German short-wave staff takes a very continuous, personal interest in the members of its audience and works

¹ *Epoque*, Paris, May 27, 1939, de Kerillis, "La Propagande Allemande".

² Cited by Franck, *Der Nationalsozialistische Rundfunk*.

in close co-operation with the *Auslandorganisation*, which has a card catalogue of over 45,000 Germans living in "enemy territory".¹ Community reception in these foreign lands, assured by means of special German short-wave sets manufactured for the purpose, is carefully organized by agents whenever and wherever possible.² Personal greetings to Germans, or to people of German extraction resident abroad, are an important feature of the broadcasts. Many such individuals who may be on a trip to Germany are brought before the microphones at Zeesen. With tears and sentimental joy, they send messages to the loved-ones far away at home. They leave the air with a "Heil Hitler". References to the quality of German furniture may be frequent throughout a transmission of this sort, or there may be a talk about new German ways of planting trees. The seventy-fifth anniversary of the German sewing machine may be featured, or, for South America there may be a talk entitled: "*Hombres illustres de la independencia americana*".

Short-wave programmes to the United States may be like this: "Hans, do you know that the German Reichstag has its eyes on you? Here is a message from your grandmother . . . Listen, Hans, to a song of your home!"³ Or in another instance, the speaker may proclaim: "In no other historic empire have there been so many murders as in the British Empire; nobody has shed as much blood as the English people . . ." ⁴

"While the German concept of space is ethnic and consequently brings with it the creative use of land", writes Dr. Springer, a National Socialist scholar, "the imperial concept of the British Empire exhausts the soil, for profit, and has no spiritual meaning, but springs from commercial aims".⁵

¹ Cited by Franck, *Der Nationalsozialistische Rundfunk*.

² *Ibid.*, and Dressler-Andress, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

³ Cited by Professor Lyman-Bryson, of Teachers College, in a lecture on Dec. 11, 1937, *New York Times*, Dec. 12, 1937.

⁴ A Broadcast from Zeesen, in English, directed specifically to the United States, 2:15 A.M. (Central European Time), July 27, 1938.

⁵ Springer, "Rundfunk und Geopolitik", *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, 13 : Aug., 1936, p. 552.

Thus the station at Zeesen stresses the spiritual bond uniting Germans, wherever they may be on the face of the earth, as colonists or as foreigners. "Radio does not recognize the frontiers created by Nature or by men . . ." and "slips into the territory of other peoples . . ." declares Herr Dressler-Andress. Fortunately, "due to the German short-wave station, the German settler in South America is no farther away (from the Fatherland) than the herdsman in Bavaria . . ." ¹

The number of these Germans resident in North and South America, according to M. Lévy's corrective study of the German figures, is interesting : 7,500,000 persons of whom the Reich demands allegiance have settled in the United States, 600,000 are in Brazil, and 150,000 live in the Argentine ². They need, first, information, then German music and recreation, and finally they must feel themselves united proudly with the Fatherland in its actions, purposes and accomplishments, explains the director of the German short-wave station. ³ That Dr. Schroeder has correctly gauged the requirements of this vast potential audience across the Atlantic, as well as the desires of Germans on other continents, is plain by reference to the number of letters from listeners received by Zeesen, as compared with those received by the British short-wave transmitter : ⁴

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1st 8 months, 1937
Germany	3,000	9,987	28,252	45,252	18,000 ⁵
England		13,500	24,000	15,500	5,300

Perhaps the most notable success of German short-wave radio has been in making arrangements abroad whereby the local stations relay the talks from Zeesen. In 1937, the transmitters of Argentina rebroadcast 235 such programmes. ⁶

¹ Dressler-Andress, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 f.

² Lévy, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

³ Quoted, *New York Times*, Apr. 5, 1937.

⁴ Franck, *Der Nationalsozialistische Rundfunk*.

⁵ Only 28% of these letters were in the German language. About one-half of the communications received by Daventry come from the United States.

⁶ The number had risen from 89 in 1934. *New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1938.

It is said that German representatives offered a great deal of this material free of charge to the director of the Buenos Aires station. Brazil and Chile also have re-radiated many transmissions from the Reich. It is reported that the German public relations system managed to secure over 200 rebroadcasts as compared with only one obtained by the British¹, although, since the abortive *coups d'état* in Chile and Brazil, Latin American countries have looked with less favour upon German programmes, and they have allowed many such relay arrangements with Zeesen to lapse.²

The Nazi broadcasts continue, however, in German, Spanish, Portuguese, English, Arabic and Afrikaans,³ for the benefit of all who can listen. There can be no doubt that the reiterated words have effect, and at least in proportion as they may be repeated in the newspapers. Dean Carl W. Ackerman, of the Columbia School of Journalism, during a visit to South America at the end of 1937, discovered that Nazi and Fascist philosophies were being popularized widely in the press. "As I studied the daily political news", he indicated, "I learned that its effect upon the state of mind of the nation was to raise doubt in regard to the efficacy of democratic institutions in the face of internal disorder and the external pressure of undeclared wars".⁴ In some Latin American countries there is no direct news service at all from England. The most important service goes out by radio from Zeesen, is translated by German agents in the countries of reception, and each evening regularly is placed upon the editors' desks.^{5 6} Some Central

¹ *New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1938.

² It was announced in June, 1938, that a station at Rio de Janeiro, moreover, was relaying British programmes regularly. Cf. page 57.

³ The service in the two last-mentioned languages was introduced at the end of April, 1939. The programmes in Arabic include verses from the Koran and news reports, interspersed with recordings of native Arab music. *World Radio*.

⁴ *New York Times*, Jan. 3, 1938.

⁵ *New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1938.

⁶ According to a Havas Agency report, dated January 30, 1939, German agents in Ecuador offered a local newspaper the official German news service "at very low rates", and in addition, agreed to install "practically free", in competition with an American group, a broadcasting station which would be even more powerful

American newspapers, a few months ago, carried such an array of foreign news, without subscribing to any press service whatsoever, that there was cause for astonishment. Investigation indicated that this news came directly from the Third Reich. A similar broadcast from Zeesen reaches New York at 3 A.M., local time, an hour when only the most ardent short-wave fans would be listening, and it reaches San Francisco at midnight, when, likewise, most persons are apt to have retired. It has been suggested that this transmission is intended largely for North American newspapers of a Germanic bias.

3) *From Italy.*

The Government of Germany and the Vatican have not always been on the best of terms, and this is due in part to the existence of HVJ, the Vatican short-wave station, which has a power of 25 kilowatts and which broadcasts daily in a large number of languages, including latin. ¹ These programmes include Church news, a study club, an economic review, talks on Christian Doctrine, and sacred music. ² The Vatican station, in 1938, criticized Cardinal Innitzer's statement at the time of the *Anschluss* as being too favorable to National Socialism, and, though later the announcement was diplomatically disowned by Vatican officials, German newspapers have perio-

than the one proposed by the American representatives. According to Mr. F. Elwyn Jones, Germany hopes to influence broadcasting in other countries than the Reich by building transmitters for foreign governments. "In 1937 the Berlin firm, *Telefunken*", writes Mr. Jones, "managed to obtain orders to construct as many as fourteen broadcasting stations in foreign countries". The station constructed in Athens was described as "the most powerful broadcasting station in the Near East". Another German station was commissioned in Bulgaria, another in the Belgian Congo, a fourth in the Argentine, another in Afghanistan, three in Siam, three in Portuguese Guinea, and three stations in China. Nazi technicians are employed at these stations and Goebbels plans to use them to influence the subsequent broadcasting. "The *Telefunken* succeeded in securing this chain of orders", continues the author, "by submitting tenders far below those of competing firms from England and America. To make this undercutting possible the Nazi Government granted ample subsidies to the *Telefunken* Company." Jones, F. Elwyn. *op. cit.*, p. 818.

¹ *World Radio*, London, May 19, 1939.

² *Ibid.*

dically attacked HVJ for allegedly coloring the news and propagandizing.¹ German stations did not relay broadcasts in German from the Vatican at the time of the election of Pope Pius XII, nor at the time of the new Pope's coronation.² An agreement between the Holy See and Italy, on the other hand, was signed in April, 1939, providing for retransmission of Vatican broadcasts by stations of the EIAR, the State radio monopoly.³

Rome 2RO, the Italian short-wave station, which beams programmes in 19 languages, twenty-two hours out of the twenty-four⁴, sends forth talks in generous doses nightly to both North and Latin America. An Italian publication, the *Corriere Diplomatico e Consolare*—presumably not without official approval—asserted in February, 1938, that as many as "seven Latin America countries are proceeding decisively toward stabilisation upon the principles laid down by Premier Benito Mussolini's Fascism".⁵

The short-wave news from Rome is always contrived, like talks for Europe, to suit the psychology and the interests of specific audiences. Two broadcasts on the night of May 14, 1938—one to the United States, and the other to South America—will make this difference clear. In describing Premier Mussolini's visit to Genoa, where he dedicated the launching of a ship, Rome talked in Spanish to Latin Americans about the many flowers strewn upon the street in front of the *Duce's* automobile. Suddenly, the dictator perceived an old woman who was holding a child. He left from his vehicle and embraced the deserving mother. Seven-eighths of the programme that evening were devoted to the ceremony of the Rome-Berlin axis, and repercussions abroad of Signor Mussolini's recent speech. The United States was mentioned in passing with a slight sneer. Approximately one-eighth of the news of the day had to do with Argentina and Belgium, and then the broadcast was ended.

¹ *Herald Tribune*, Paris, March 9, 1939.

² *Ibid.*

³ *World Radio*, London, April 14, 1939.

⁴ *Herald Tribune*, Paris, March 23, 1939.

⁵ *New York Times*, February 9, 1939.

Nothing was said to North American listeners of the deserving mother nor of the flowers. The bulletin to the Nordic audience emphasised the quality of steel used in the construction of the ship and dwelt at some length upon the technical details. The *Duce's* speech was mentioned in passing only, for it was necessary quickly to maintain that the final victory of the Spanish Nationalists was being left to a future date. Rome characterised the leaders at Barcelona as "thieves, assassins and demagogues", and shouted : "The League has received another pick-ax blow at its mouldering roots. Venezuela will follow Chile in leaving . . . Peru has added itself to the long list of countries which have recognised the Italian Empire". The speaker told of the international congress of chemistry meeting in Rome, and mentioned the names of American moving-picture actresses who were visiting Italy. The programme was continued with Italian music, and, for the special benefit of a young American woman, who was named, Beethoven's *Coriolanus*.

These Fascist programmes, interesting and colourful as they are, have not yet caused the sensation which Italian talks for the Arabs of North Africa created in the latter part of 1937. Broadcasts in the Arabic language are still sent out every day from Rome, on short wavelengths, and from Bari or Milan on middle frequencies ; they have been, in Mr. Saerchinger's words, "effective incitements to rebellion".¹ The Arabic transmissions were radiated by Italy, despite the passage dealing with propaganda in the first Anglo-Italian "Gentlemen's Agreement".² Italy claims to be the defender of Islam, but, like England, has promised also to help the Jews in Palestine.³ The programmes consist of Arabic music and poetry readings, cleverly interspersed with amusing tales and political talks.

England began by protesting to the Italian Government against these broadcasts, but there was "clearly no action open to his Majesty's Government which can put a stop to this practice", according to Lord Granborne, speaking in the House

¹ Saerchinger, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

² *The Times*, London, Mar. 27, 1937.

³ *New York Times*, Jan. 2, 1938.

of Commons.¹ On December 21st, Mr. Eden declared in the House of Commons: "I recently informed the Italian Ambassador that His Majesty's Government was well aware of this propaganda, and added that unless it could be brought to an end, it would be impossible to create an atmosphere necessary to the prosecution of successful conversations designed to improve our mutual relations".² Such protests from London had no noticeable effect.

The Italians harped upon the decline of England. "The Empire of the British is decadent", Italy told the Arabs, "the British fleet is a museum piece, and Eden is a clown in the hands of the Freemasons".³ All news indicating trouble or conflict or poverty in England was emphasised. At one time Bari announced a "seething revolt" in the Transjordan section of Palestine, though market produce regularly reaching the exterior, from that region, gave every evidence that no serious disturbances existed.⁴ It was alleged from Bari, upon another occasion, that poison gas had been used by British airmen on Arab tribes near Aden.⁵ "Let England be careful, for her policy in Palestine makes the whole Moslem world unfriendly to her", was the threat sent out in another broadcast.⁶ Bari persistently asserted that Britain regarded the "Gentlemen's Agreement" as "vain words for childish amusement".⁷ According to a statement by Lieut.-Comdr. Fletcher, Labourite, in the House of Commons, Italian agents sold receiving sets at gift prices to cafés where Arabs sit every night, in order to make sure that the Fascist broadcasts would be heard.⁸ It is reported that these sets were so constructed that they could pick up Italian transmissions and none other.

England retaliated, by inaugurated her own programmes, in Arabic, on January 3, 1938⁹. The announcement of this

¹ *The Times*, London, June 25, 1937.

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 22, 1937.

³ *New York Times*, Jan. 2, 1938.

⁴ *The Times*, London, Nov. 9, 1937.

⁵ *New York Times*, Oct. 30, 1937.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1938.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *The Times*, London, Dec. 24, 1937.

⁹ *New York Times*, Jan. 4, 1938.

decision called forth sarcastic comment in the Italian press. Signor Gayda, in the *Giornale d'Italia*, admitted that Italian propaganda against England had existed during the Abyssinian war as a legitimate measure of Fascist defense. England had been attacking Italy, Signor Gayda maintained, not only with propaganda, but also with sanctions. Fascist propaganda of more recent date did not exist, according to the leading Italian journalist. He labelled the British broadcasts in Arabic as an antagonistic initiative and warned that there would be a "due and timely rejoinder from Italy", if the British news might prove to contain provocation or agitation.¹

The Daventry programmes were sent out on a wavelength of 31.32 meters, which was dangerously near the 31.26 meters used by Rome and for which the tuning condensers of Italian sets, given to the Arabs, had been fixed.² The British, in their turn, it is rumoured, distributed locked sets to the Arabs, so that the new service would be certain to be heard. The Arabic speakers for Daventry were chosen with great care, and instead of attempting to attack Italy, England, presented programmes of a conservative nature, considered by some to be, at moments, even slightly tedious.

Nevertheless, with the introduction of the broadcasts from Daventry in Arabic, Fascist transmissions became less critical of England. The Minister of Popular Culture, Signor Dino Alfieri, even found occasion to assert that the Italian programmes during 1937 had been "of a serene and elevated nature, without bitterness or polemical violence".³ If the British did not necessarily have occasion to agree, there was no need to make further diplomatic representations, for the question was closed, temporarily at least, with the signing, on April 16, 1938, of the Anglo-Italian Pact, which contained a promise that hostile propaganda would be discontinued.⁴ The ether remained calm, as far as these Arabic broadcasts were concerned, until the September crisis of 1938, when Italy attacked the British with redoubled fury.

¹ *The Times*, London, Dec. 29, 1937.

² *News Review*, London, Jan. 6, 1938.

³ *Herald-Tribune*, Paris, Mar. 23, 1938.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Apr. 17, 1938.

After the Munich Agreement calm reigned again, but only for a short period. At the end of 1938, Italian stations turned their anger against France, and in 1939, they¹ were joined by Germany in this anti-French campaign.² A daily broadcast from Zeesen begins at 4.45 P.M. and continues until 5.10; Bari takes over the argument until 5.45, when Radio Tripoli follows up for the rest of the evening.³

4) *From France.*

In order to counterbalance talks from Germany and Italy to the Arabs, the Government of France has constructed a new transmitter at Tunis.⁴ The present power of the station is being raised from 20 kilowatts to 120 kilowatts⁵ and Tunis is expected to blanket North Africa⁶, in conjunction with stations at Algiers and Rabat.⁷ Until recently Algiers did not try to counteract the talks from other countries by arguments, but now it replies immediately, point by point, to the allegations made by Italy and Germany.⁸ When the Axis stations commented bitterly about local elections, Algiers replied : "It is at least recognized by the Italian and German broadcasting stations that there are Moslem elections in Algeria, for Algeria is in France, and France is free. On the other hand, in Libya and Abyssinia, there are no native elections. It is unnecessary to tell you the reason why".⁹

France has also attempted to defend herself, by putting into service a new short-wave station, known as *Paris-Mondial*. The Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, when the equipment was inaugurated, declared : "Finally we are going to be able

¹ With the addition of Tripoli working on 50 kilowatts. *Radio Magazine*, Paris, May 28, 1939.

² *The Daily Telegraph*, London, June 6, 1939.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Herald-Tribune*, Paris, Oct. 15, 1938.

⁷ 11.5 and 30 kilowatts respectively. *Radio Magazine*, Paris, May 28, 1939.

⁸ *Daily Telegraph*, London, June 6, 1939.

⁹ *Ibid.*

to speak the language of all humanity to the people of North Africa''.¹ The Paris programmes in Arabic, however, have been criticised on the ground that they are too subtle, too intellectual, to have effect upon the natives in the colonies.

Short-wave transmissions from France are deficient in several other respects. Though the news bulletins in Russian, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German² and English, among other languages³, are objective and well-written, last-minute events are not always included. For instance, when Howard Hughes, the American aviator, flew from Paris to Moscow, both the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia System relayed programmes to America from the plane as it was flying over German territory, but an hour and one-half later, in a special transmission to the United States, *Paris-Mondial* was ignorant of the fact that the plane already had left Le Bourget airport.

French broadcasts have been ineffective in still another way. *Paris-Mondial* is still being disturbed by Zeesen, which, using a nearby frequency and possessing greater power, sometimes makes programmes from France unpleasant to listen to. The Germans devote considerable sums of money to their short-wave services. The French Government, in a commensurate degree, has only just begun to do so. An important programme of new construction was inaugurated in December, 1938. A new transmitter of 100 kilowatts should be in operation at Allouis in 1939.⁴ Eight other transmitters of the same power, four at Allouis and four at Issoudon, are expected to be ready by 1940, as well as a emergency power plant in each centre.⁵ The installation will be completed by a short-wave receiving station provided with anti-fading devices and facilities for rebroadcasts.⁶

¹ *Le Haut Parleur* 14 : Avril 3, 1938.

² Intended for Germans in North and Latin America.

³ Cf. République Française, Ministère des P.T.T., Direction de la Radiodiffusion, *Programme de Paris Mondial*, Sept. 1938.

⁴ *Radio Magazine*, Paris, May 7, 1938.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

5) *From England.*

Britain, on the other hand, early in 1938 began to take the matter of intercontinental programmes no less seriously than the Third Reich. Prior to 1938 England transmitted only in English to her colonies. ¹ Since January of that year, as before mentioned, Daventry has been broadcasting every evening in Arabic to the Near East. The antennae, with 25 arrays, are directed so that the programmes can be clearly heard in Aden, Egypt, Hadramaut, Iraq, Palestine, the Persian Gulf, Saudi Arabia, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Transjordan, and Yemen, comprising a total population of about 40,000,000. ²

In March, 1938, the station at Daventry began to transmit for the 70,000,000 Spanish-speaking people and the 40,000,000 Portuguese-speaking people of Latin America. ³ One news bulletin lasting fifteen minutes, in each language, is radiated daily, and the rest of the programme consists of music or entertainment. ⁴ The British consider this to be only a beginning. Two new transmitters, of high power, have been ordered for the service, and it is hoped that the equipment will be in operation in 1939. ⁵ Meanwhile, programmes from Daventry are being relayed regularly from Rio de Janeiro by the medium-wave station, Radio Sociedade Guanabara PRC-8. ⁶

The sources of British broadcast news are Reuter, Press Association, Exchange Telegraph, and Central News. ⁷ The British Broadcasting Corporation relies upon these agencies for the accuracy of the information supplied, but is itself responsible for the impartial presentation. ⁸ The aim of Daventry "is not to meet propaganda with counter-propaganda, but to secure a wider audience for a broadcast news service which has, in English, won a high reputation in all parts of

¹ *BBC Handbook*, 1938, p. 91.

² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁶ *World Radio*, June 3, 1938.

⁷ *The Times*, London, Feb. 9, 1937.

⁸ *Ibid.*

the world for fairness and impartiality. ¹ Though the U.S.S.R., France, Holland, Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain and the United States all entered the foreign language field before Great Britain, ² Daventry now can equal any of the other national services in the power of its voice.

The schedule of the BBC's news transmissions for overseas listeners, from April 30, 1939 ³ is as follows :

¹ *BBC Handbook*, 1938, p. 52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³ *World Radio*, London, Apr. 28, 1939.

BBC NEWS BULLETINS : SCHEDULE OF TRANSMISSIONS FROM APRIL 30, 1939

ENGLISH

	* 06.25	† 06.30	† 13.15	† 16.00	17.00	18.00	* 19.50	20.00	* 21.05	21.30	21.45	22.50	* 00.30	00.45
(metres)	19.66 25.53	19.66 25.53	13.93 16.84	13.97 16.86	203.5* 233.5*	16.86† 25.53†	203.5 233.5	261.1 1500	19.60 19.76	19.60 19.76	203.5 233.5	261.1 1500	(metres) 25.29 25.53 31.55	(metres) 25.29 25.53 31.55
	19.66 25.53	19.66 25.53	13.93 16.84	13.97 16.86	203.5* 233.5*	16.86† 25.53†	203.5 233.5	261.1 1500	19.60 19.76	19.60 19.76	203.5 233.5	261.1 1500	(metres) 25.29 25.53 31.55	(metres) 25.29 25.53 31.55
	19.66 25.53	19.66 25.53	13.93 16.84	13.97 16.86	203.5* 233.5*	16.86† 25.53†	203.5 233.5	261.1 1500	19.60 19.76	19.60 19.76	203.5 233.5	261.1 1500	(metres) 25.29 25.53 31.55	(metres) 25.29 25.53 31.55

FRENCH		GERMAN		ITALIAN		SPANISH		PORTUGUESE		ARABIC		ALL TIMES ARE IN G.M.T. on the "24-hour-clock" system.	
† 19.15- 19.30	21.00- 21.15	† 19.30- 19.45	21.15- 21.45	† 19.45- 20.00	† 19.45- 20.00	† 01.30	† 00.00	† 18.00	† 18.00	† 18.00	† 18.00	† 18.00	† 18.00
(metres) 31.25 49.59	(metres) 31.25 49.59	(metres) 31.25 49.59	(metres) 31.25 49.59	(metres) 31.25 49.59	(metres) 31.25 49.59	(metres) 31.55	(metres) 25.29	(metres) 19.60	(metres) 19.60	(metres) 19.60	(metres) 19.60	(metres) 19.60	(metres) 19.60
267.4 286.7	267.4 286.7	267.4 286.7	267.4 286.7	267.4 286.7	267.4 286.7	31.55	25.29	19.60	19.60	19.60	19.60	19.60	19.60
296.2 342.1	296.2 342.1	296.2 342.1	296.2 342.1	296.2 342.1	296.2 342.1	31.55	25.29	19.60	19.60	19.60	19.60	19.60	19.60
449.1	449.1	449.1	449.1	449.1	449.1	31.55	25.29	19.60	19.60	19.60	19.60	19.60	19.60

* Sundays only.
 † Sundays and weekdays.
 § Not Saturdays.
 News Bulletins are also broadcast in the Television Service from Alexandra Palace on the "sound" wavelength of 7.23 m. at 19.50 on Sundays and at the end of the evening transmission on weekdays.

6) *From Spain.*

Madrid, the leading Spanish short-wave transmitter, heard in the United States no less clearly than the strongest American stations, ¹ nightly painted, between 1936 and 1939, a striking verbal picture of the tragedy of war. Appeals were made for hose and other apparatus "to protect the mothers and children of invincible Madrid from the fires set by enemy bombs". ² The Loyalists are fighting foreigners who wish to invade the country, the speaker declared. The Republicans are defending freedom and democracy, first for the sake of Spain, and then, indirectly but inevitably, for the rest of the world. "Asia, Africa and Europe are aflame", the author heard. ³ "Czechoslovakia is the Sarajevo of today. The activities of Fascists in North and South America threaten peace. There are German spies in Mexico, in Canada, and in the United States." The democratic powers must make a stand for peace; their force is greater than the strength of Fascism, the announcer said. But Spain and China alone, cannot turn back the great aggression, he added, unless they receive some help. He declared that courage, in war, was not enough. Armaments were necessary. The fate of the democracies, he insisted, was being decided on the battlefields of Spain.

An Italian plane had arrived at a Republican airport in the afternoon, Madrid went on. ⁴ The flier had said that he wanted to join the Loyalist forces. Madrid thought the fact very interesting, inasmuch as it was a new example of demoralisation in the Fascist camp—not only among the civil population, but also among the fighting forces, and even among the foreign mercenaries. Though the Fascists spoke of victory, demoralisation grew, according to Madrid. The reason was said to be plain. The people of Fascist Spain were Spanish; victories which were nominally theirs were in reality those of the foreign invader. Also the Fascist losses were very great,

¹ *New York Times*, Mar. 28, 1937.

² *Ibid.*

³ Broadcast to the United States, May 18, 1938.

⁴ *Ibid.*, July 25, 1938.

Madrid declared. The task of the Italian fliers was far from agreeable, and, at least for the more humane of them, the business of killing women and children was not considered fit work for soldiers.

Transmitting in Spanish and Portuguese to Latin America, Madrid asserted that the schools, closed since July, 1937, because of bombardments, had been opened again. The teachers showed a "magnificent spirit of sacrifice", and the children, following this example, went to their studies regardless of danger.¹ Both Protestants and Catholics in the Spanish capital had complete freedom of worship, it was declared, all false reports to the contrary. Though, according to Salamanca, the war had been over more than a month ago, the fighting still went on, said Madrid. *Radio Nacional* was accused of transmitting lies continually. Nationalist Spain was described as being under Mussolini's orders. At the Republican front, the broadcaster concluded, where visiting members of British co-operative societies expected to note a spirit of dejection, they found quite the opposite to be true. The Englishmen went back home certain that the Loyalists would win.

So spoke Madrid. The Nationalists nightly contradicted such statements, but General Franco was handicapped by a lack of power in kilowatts. Transmissions from *Radio Nacional* and other anti-Loyalist stations were not clearly heard, and often they were jammed. Nevertheless, a persistent effort was made, in many languages, to disclaim responsibility for the catastrophe which had befallen Spain, and to give military information showing that General Franco's forces were already victorious.

7) *From Japan and China.*

Like both factions in the Spanish civil war, Japan tries, by radio, to convince the world of the righteousness of its cause. Tokio claims that the Japanese have a mission in China, namely : to bring order out of chaos. The struggle of the Nipponese is not so much against Communism—for there is, according to Tokio, as heard by the author, a serious lack of

¹ Broadcast to the United States, May 18, 1938.

cohesion between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang. The real battle is against the forces of disorder. The whole territory must be cleaned up. That this is being done, a list of Japanese victories generally testifies. The programme then is apt to continue with less spectacular announcements, such as news of the arrival of Italian emissaries, or the statement that "Animal Protection Week" has just begun in all Japan. "Japan is a nation really considerate of animals".¹

Though the broadcasts from Tokio are somewhat difficult to understand, because of the peculiar accents of the speakers, the station is very powerful; it is clearly audible in Europe; it sends information into South America; the transmissions reach California easily.² Programmes in Japanese and English are radiated for the benefit of persons of Japanese extraction who live abroad. It is thought that broadcasts of this sort may have a considerable effect upon the population of Hawaii, where there are more than 100 sets per 1,000 inhabitants,³ and where 38% of the population has Japanese blood.⁴

It is believed that receiving apparatus has been distributed *gratis* in the recently occupied areas of China. A powerful transmitter has been built in Manchukuo, and, since then, the number of loud speakers in the territory has increased tremendously.⁵ Transmitters, at Tokio, Nazaki, Dairen, and Shinkio, among others, spray programmes over the whole of the Orient including Siam, French Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies.⁶ In all of the regions under Japanese control, listening to any but the official Government stations is strictly prohibited, for the Nipponese radio is as thoroughly controlled and as nationalistic as in other totalitarian countries.⁷

Due to the Japanese advance in China, stations which had existed there previously had to be moved away, or were

¹ Broadcast from Tokio, May 23, 1938.

² *New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1937.

³ Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

⁴ Blakeslee, George H., "Hawaii: Racial Problem and Naval Base", *Foreign Affairs*, XVII, Oct., 1938, p. 90.

⁵ Huth, *op. cit.*

⁶ *Paris Soir*, Jan. 28, 1939.

⁷ Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

destroyed. Early in 1939, the Chinese Government began broadcasting for Europe and America from Chungking. The announcer is generally a woman. Her English is considerably better than that of the Tokio speakers, and in appearance, at least, the content of the programmes is objective.

8) *From the United States.*

a) *To Latin America.*

The increasing quantity and the growing violence of inter-continental broadcasts have been remarked in the United States with some alarm. Particularly certain transmissions beamed to Latin America in Portuguese and Spanish have made the North Americans take notice. Programmes to the southern continent are being radiated by several transmitters in the United States in the hope of correcting false impressions. Among these services are those of the N.B.C., from Bound Brook, N.J., those from stations W2XE and W3XAU of the Columbia System, and those from W1XAL, at Boston, which works with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation.¹ The last-named transmitter broadcasts cultural and educational programmes. The N.B.C. and the C.B.S. stations send out ten to twenty-five percent especially prepared material, with announcements in Portuguese and Spanish; the rest of the time is devoted to regular American shows.²

Along with special broadcasts, the regular schedule to South America of W3XAU, for example, includes religious talks and music; U.S. agricultural news of interest to South America; light popular music with parallel comment and announcements in Spanish; Kaltenborn's comments and special guest speakers. Altogether W3XAU carries 15 news periods a week in Spanish, including latest reports from the New York Stock Exchange.³

These transmitters in the United States are operating at about one-sixth the power of Zeesen. According to Mr. John H. Payne, chief of the Electrical Division in the Department of Commerce, North American broadcasts to the southern

¹ *New York Times*, July 27, 1937, and Aug. 15, 1937.

² *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1938.

³ From the Columbia Broadcasting System, May 19, 1939.

continent are received less clearly at their destination than the transmissions from England and Germany.¹ For this reason, perhaps, among others, there have been before Congress several proposals envisaging a governmental radio service. Representative Celler of New York, in 1937, submitted a bill which would authorise the Secretary of the Navy to build and maintain a short-wave station designed especially to "promote a better understanding among the republics of the American continents".² An expenditure of \$750,000 for equipment and \$100,000 annually for its operation was suggested.³ The plan had the backing of the Federal Communications Commission⁴ and was supported, as well, by President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull and Secretary Swanson, according to Mr. Celler's statement when the hearings began.⁵ "Subtle, damnable, designing programmes destroy liberty and undermine democracy", the Congressman declared. "The strongest point for the skullduggery is South America . . . Fascist nations are growing bolder. The world is poisoned by propaganda".⁶

Mr. Ethridge, President of the National Association of Broadcasters, a position corresponding approximately to that held by Mr. Will Hays in the motion picture industry, told the House Naval Affairs Committee that the entire radio industry of the United States was strongly opposed to the establishment of any broadcasting station by the Government.⁷ He assailed the measure as "suggesting the Nazi philosophy", and pointed out that the privately-owned facilities would always be at the disposal of the Administration.⁸ Representatives of the General Electric Company, the Westinghouse Company and the Columbia Broadcasting Company also expressed their disfavour.⁹ On May 17, 1938, the Committee indefinitely

¹ *New York Times*, Nov. 8, 1937.

² *Ibid.*, Mar. 7, 1937.

³ *Herald-Tribune*, Paris, May 17, 1938.

⁴ *New York Times*, June 17, 1937.

⁵ *Herald-Tribune*, Paris, May 17, 1938.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *New York Times*, May 18, 1938.

postponed any further hearings on the bill.¹ Though apparently the proposal died, Representative Celler declared that the fight for enactment would go on.²

This question of broadcasts to be undertaken by the Government created a considerable amount of controversy at Washington. In February, 1938, the State Department, while surveying the problem, had a transcript made of all broadcasts to South America during a single week.³ It was discovered that the Fascist campaign, in one case, at least, took the form of direct verbal assaults upon the Government of the United States.⁴ Many of the transmissions obviously were designed to convert South Americans to Fascist doctrines and to alienate the listeners from democracy.⁵ The Celler proposal having been shelved, and another project, envisaging the creation of a \$3,000,000 government transmitter at San Diego, California, for the purpose of creating good will between the United States and Latin America, likewise having met with serious opposition⁶, the American State Department, on July 28, 1938, established a special division in order to develop better cultural relations with the southern continent.⁷ By means of radio programmes, it was indicated, among other methods, an attempt would be made to offset the anti-American broadcasts from Germany, Italy and Japan.⁸ A series of interchange broadcasts between the United States and Brazil, inaugurated May 8, 1939, may be considered as indirectly one result of this initiative. Programmes from Brazil, carried by the network of the Columbia Broadcasting System,⁹ include a speech by Chancellor Oswaldo Aranha, music by the Rio de Janeiro Municipal Theatre orchestra, with parallel commentaries on the music and composers of Brazil, a talk on the Brazilian

¹ *New York Times*, May 18, 1938.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Washington Information Service*, May 15, 1938.

⁴ *New York Times*, Feb. 12, 1938.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1938.

⁶ *Herald Tribune*, Paris, May 11, 1938.

⁷ *Ibid.*, July 29, 1938.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ From the Columbia Broadcasting System, May 10, 1939.

capital as one of the world's most cosmopolitan cities, commerce and industry of Brazil and potentialities of interchange with North America, art and literature of the southern country, typical Brazilian dance music, folklore, and a talk on Brazil's scientific institutions—from Manguinhos Institute to a snake farm. ¹ Return programmes, include a talk on American artists, authors, and museum activities; highlights on the World's Fair; music and guest speakers; and latest developments in the U.S. business, manufacturing and agricultural world of interest to South American countries. "One broadcast will be devoted to serious music and science of America, one to dance music and Hollywood news. The closing will be a gala broadcast with guest speakers and singers from the World's Fair. CBS friendship programs will be broadcast through Brazil's longwave stations and its shortwave stations, PSH and PRA 8." ²

It is reported that the State Department, in a further effort to reduce the effect abroad of anti-American radio programmes, will take over a powerful short-wave station intended to propagandize the San Francisco World's Fair. ³ It is thought that the transmitter will broadcast in English, Spanish, Portuguese, Japanese and Chinese on 200 kilowatts power and will act as a permanent non-commercial station after the Fair ends. ⁴ Meanwhile, the Federal Communications Commission has adopted a rule calculated to prevent United States short-wave stations from sending out partisan broadcasts which might arouse resentment against America. ⁵ All such programmes must promote good will. ⁶ The Federal Communications Commission is itself the judge of what constitutes the proper type of broadcast, and any station not complying with the standard is liable to have its licence revoked. ⁷

¹ From the Columbia Broadcasting System, May 10, 1939.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Herald-Tribune*, Paris, Jan. 19, 1939.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, London, May 25, 1939.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

b) *To Europe.*

Criticism of American short-wave transmissions to Europe, in French, German, Italian and English, has been based primarily on the fact that the technical quality is poor; the programmes cannot be heard as well, abroad, as European short-wave broadcasts to the United States.¹ It has also been said that the foreign language speakers have not always been well qualified for the work demanded of them—one European radio official, in a conversation with the author, referred to “school-boy German” which was used in the summer of 1938.

The National Broadcasting Company started foreign language news service from its short-wave stations W3XL and W3XAL in May, 1938.² A fifteen-minute report is given in Italian at 7 P.M. (Central European Time), in German at 8 P.M. (Central European Time) and in French at 9 P.M. (Central European Time). Addition of French, German and Italian news bulletins to the regular service in Spanish and Portuguese was made, beginning May 15, 1939, by the Columbia Broadcasting System on its short-wave station W2XE.³ These programmes last ten minutes each and are radiated six times a week from 10 to 10.30 P.M. (Central European Time).⁴

Though, hitherto, the fourteen international short-wave stations of the United States were prohibited from carrying sponsored programmes, they were authorized, in 1939, by the Federal Communications Commission, to advertize American goods and services.⁵ The only restriction in the new regulations is that “commercial programme continuities give no more than the name of the sponsor of the programme and the name and the general character of the commodity, utility or service, or attraction advertised”.⁶ It is understood that this step was taken by the FCC in order to encourage American transmissions to foreign countries, by affording broadcasters of the

¹ Report from the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg by Consul George P. Waller, *New York Times*, April 5, 1937.

² *World Radio*, London, May 19, 1939.

³ From the Columbia Broadcasting System, May 15, 1939.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *World Radio*, London, June 2, 1939.

⁶ *Ibid.*

United States an opportunity to derive compensation from their short-wave broadcasts,¹ previously radiated as a public service, and also so as to stimulate the sale abroad of American goods.²

c) *Objective News Roundups for Americans.*

If, indeed, American radio has not yet distinguished itself in the international struggle to influence foreign populations, it has done outstanding work in informing the people of the United States concerning international affairs. This, a relatively new development, was largely made possible by improvements in the technique of international broadcasting. Radio programmes to America from other continents, beginning in about 1930 and up until 1938, were irregular and more or less what might be called "stunt" broadcasts. In 1938, complete news coverage of European events began. "The European news service which we rendered showed as never before", writes William S. Paley, President of the Columbia Broadcasting System,³ "how a population can be given immediate understanding of events distant in space, breathless in speed, and of ultimate effect on the life and thought of almost every American . . . Many who are on the European scene are not so well informed about the meaning of current events as the American people thousands of miles away . . . Radio's performance last year (1938) as a factual, unbiased and uncensored reporter of startling and significant international events has stimulated people to a more vigilant attitude toward developments . . . During the three weeks of the European crisis last September (1938)", Mr. Paley continues, "Columbia gave its listeners 471 broadcasts from 18 cities, informing them rapidly and comprehensively of the news of the moment and its significance—whether it occurred in Vienna, Prague, Berlin, Berchtesgaden, Godesberg, London, Paris, Rome, Geneva,

¹ It still remains a question whether American or foreign advertisers will buy this time.

² *World Radio*, London, June 2, 1939.

³ Paley, William S., *Twelve Months: Comments on a Year of Broadcasting*, Columbia Broadcasting System, Mar. 31, 1939.

Warsaw, Budapest, Munich or Washington. Other international events covered extensively by Columbia", the writer adds, "included the Spanish civil war and the Japanese invasion of China.¹ There is no country in the world in which public opinion to-day is more interested in foreign affairs and more universally informed by radio and press than the United States", asserted the Marquess of Lothian after having returned from a trip to the United States in 1939.² "The amount of news which reached the United States from Europe is greater", the writer continues, "than that which reaches any other country".³ "In the far western states, quite removed from the populous centres", said Mr. Edward Murrow, European Director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, in an interview with the *Herald Tribune*, Paris, "I found business men who bought extra radios for their offices and even for their bath-rooms, so they could be in constant touch with news developments as they broke over here".⁴ Mr. Murrow had just returned to Europe from a three-month lecture tour of the United States.⁵ During the political events of March and April, 1939, a still more complete system of trans-Atlantic broadcasting was developed. This type of transmission provided an international round-table for widely separated commentators. Space was annihilated, in the sense that speakers in Chicago, London, Paris and Prague participated in a discussion of the complex European issues involved, just as if they had been sitting together in a single room. Reports from listeners indicated that reception was as clear as if the conversation were not taking place between widely separated capitals but actually in the home of any one of the Americans gathered around a loud-speaker.⁶

¹ Paley, William S., *Twelve Months: Comments on a Year of Broadcasting*, Columbia Broadcasting System, Mar. 31, 1939.

² Marquess of Lothian. "The United States and Europe", *International Affairs*, XVIII, May-June, 1939, p. 325.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Herald-Tribune*, Paris, Feb. 7, 1939.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Columbia Broadcasting System, "CBS Fan-Way Roundup Links Hemispheres", Mar. 20, 1939.

d) *Other news for Americans.*

Programmes of this sort, transmitted on the short waves from Europe or Asia and relayed by American radio networks, served to dull the effect of broadcasts from Europe to the United States, which, under the guise of entertainment, appeared to be devised for the specific purpose of winning sympathy or even practical help for the transmitting nations. In 1938, more than forty so-called intercontinental newscasts were aimed every day through directional antennae at the United States.¹ Though such programmes cannot be picked up, except by persons possessing short-wave sets, the dials of almost all receiving apparatus manufactured in America during the past three or four years have a short-wave band. Moreover, the quality of the music and other entertainment radiated from Europe is very high. The mere quantity of foreign news broadcasts in English, combined with such entertainment, has grown to somewhat startling proportions, as the following table² testifies :

SHORT WAVES

(Daily except where otherwise stated)

COUNTRY	STATION	CALL-SIGN	TIME CENTRAL EUROPEAN	FRE- QUENCY (Mc/s)	WAVE- LENGTH (m.)	REMARKS
China	Chungking	XGOX	03.15	17.8	16.85	
		XGOY	00.00	11.9	25.21	
France	Paris- Mondial	TPA3	04.00	11.88	25.24	
		TPA4	04.00	11.72	25.6	
		TPB6	09.15	15.13	19.83	
		TPA3	09.15	11.88	25.24	
		TPA2	12.00	15.24	19.68	
		TPA3	20.00	11.88	25.24	
		TPB	20.00	7.28	41.21	
Germany	Zeesen	DJB	02.15, 04.30	15.2	19.74	Daily ex. Sun.
		DJD	02.15, 04.30	11.77	25.49	Daily ex. Sun.
	Vienna	DJZ	02.15, 04.30	11.8	25.42	Daily ex. Sun.
		DJM	02.15, 04.30	6.08	49.35	Daily ex. Sun.
	Zeesen	DJA	08.00	9.56	31.38	Daily
		DJN	08.00	9.54	31.45	
		DJR	08.00	15.34	19.66	
		DJQ	08.00	15.28	19.63	

¹ *Radio News*, New York, May, 1938, p. 14.

² *World Radio*, London, May 19, 1939.

COUNTRY	STATION	CALL-SIGN	TIME	FRE-	WAVE-	REMARKS		
			CENTRAL EUROPEAN	QUENCY (Mc/s)	LENGTH (m.)			
Germany	Zeeseu	DJE	08.00	17.76	16.89			
		DJS	08.00	21.45	13.99			
		DJA	13.00	9.56	31.38			
		DJN	13.00	9.54	31.45			
		DJR	13.00	15.34	19.56			
		DJQ	13.00	15.28	19.63			
		DJN	15.00	9.54	31.45			
		DJR	15.00	15.34	19.56			
		DJC	20.00	6.02	49.83	Daily		
		DJX	20.00	9.67	31.02	Sun., Mon., Wed.		
		DJD	20.00	11.77	25.49	Daily		
		DJA	20.15	9.56	31.38			
		DJC	22.00 (appr.)	6.02	49.83			
		DJX	22.00 (appr.)	9.67	31.02			
		DJD	22.00 (appr.)	11.77	25.49			
		DJB	23.45 (appr.)	15.2	19.74			
		DJD	23.45 (appr.)	11.77	25.49			
		DJZ	00.00	11.80	25.42			
		Vienna	Zeeseu	DJZ	23.45	11.8	25.42	
				DJM	23.45	6.08	49.35	
India	Delhi	VUD2	13.30, 16.45	9.59	31.28	Sun., 17.00 only.		
		VUD2	13.30, 16.45	4.96	60.49	Sun., 17.00 only		
Iraq	Baghdad	HNF	19.00	9.85	30.5			
Italy	Rome	I2R09	00.16	9.67	31.02			
		I2R06	01.30	15.3	19.61			
		I2R04	01.30	11.81	25.4			
		I2R03	01.30	9.63	31.15			
		I2R06	10.15	15.3	19.61			
		I2R04	12.00	11.81	25.4			
		I2R08	12.00	17.82	16.84			
		I2R04	Between	11.81	25.4			
		I2R06	16.00 & 17.00	15.3	19.61			
		I2R03	19.18	9.63	31.15			
I2R04	19.18	11.81	25.4					
Japan	Tokio	JLG	02.00, 20.30	11.70	25.63			
		JLT	02.00, 20.30	9.64	31.1			
		JLU3	02.00, 20.30	15.14	19.82			
Poland	Warsaw	SPW	00.45	13.63	22.00			
U.S.S.R.	Moscow	RW96	01.00	9.6	31.25	News Talks		
		RW96	01.00	15.18	19.76	News Talks		
		RNE	06.15	12.0	25.0	News Talks		
		RW96	09.00	15.18	19.76	News Talks		
		RNE	12.00	12.0	25.0	Sun. only		
						News Talks		
		RIA	22.00	11.69	25.66	Sun., Mon. only		
						News Talks		
RK1	22.00	15.08	19.89	Sun., Mon. only				
				News Talks				
RW96	23.00	9.52	31.51	Sat. only				

e) *Foreign Radio news concerning America.*

In broadcasts of news about the United States, on the other hand, European stations have given frequently a not entirely correct image of events and conditions in the America. It is not the purpose of the author to maintain that the distortion, which is plainly noticeable, may be intentional. A single news item does not always represent the whole truth and cannot invariably do so. A favorite method of the compilers of radiated bulletins, indeed, is to comb newspapers and cabled reports and to quote certain selected extracts. A recent news item from Zeesen mentioned a broadcast given by "the well-known American publisher, Randolph Hearst"—a sharp attack on the Roosevelt administration.¹ Mr. Hearst, it was said, took particular exception to the statement that it was the duty of the United States to defend democracy and treaty loyalty all over the world. Mr. Hearst asked whether Mr. Roosevelt intended to convert Soviet Russia to Christianity or how he reconciled his humanitarian arguments with the brutal oppression of three hundred million Indians and the slaughter of many innocent inhabitants of that country. Similar sentiments, continued the announcer, had been expressed by Senator Walsh and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt.² No mention was made of any other trend of opinion in the United States.

Zeesen, in German, as heard on March 24, 1938, explained that *all* the moving picture theatres of New York were showing under the title, "How History is Made", a film depicting the arrival of the Nazis at Vienna. "In a large moving picture theatre of Broadway, the film was spontaneously acclaimed by the public", said the speaker. "The picture is so persuasive and shows so clearly that the Germans were greeted with enthusiasm in Vienna that even the Jews and other enemies of Germany have not dared make any sort of demonstration", he concluded. This and the following broadcasts were heard by the author or his assistant. Cologne, on the following day, announced that the "Jewish-Communist rabble plundered the

¹ From an article by L. Marsland Gander, Radio Correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph*, London. *Current History*, May, 1939, p. 50.

² *Ibid.*

headquarters of the German Association in Philadelphia, when the members of this group wanted to commemorate the *Anschluss*'. No more was said in this broadcast concerning the United States. The severity of the depression in America was underlined in other transmissions. News of armaments was given invariably. Ridiculous aspects of the situation in the United States were emphasised. On May 11th Cologne played up a "great scandal" which was making a deep impression upon American opinion. "A former Communist candidate for Congress, Mr. Simon Jerson, a Jew, failed to pay his rent. He was sentenced on this account in court. However, the Judge falsified the record, and, in order to help this Jew, changed the defendant's name; he admitted having been instigated to do this by friends of the Jew Jerson, that is to say—probably by the Jews and Communists of New York". Zeesen, on May 27th, made much of street fighting which took place in Detroit between strikers and the police. "Barricades were erected and the police used tear gas. Fifty strikers and twenty policemen were injured".

Italian stations, as heard by the author's assistant, likewise had a way of distorting American news. According to Rome 2RO, in Italian, on March 9, 1938, Mr. Hull stated that he had "no sympathy" with an economic conference of the kind proposed by M. van Zeeland. President Roosevelt, in matters of foreign policy, was reported to be assuming dictatorial powers. On March 22nd, "a wave of panic" was said to have spread over all Americans living in Mexico. Rome declared on April 3rd that London and Washington were in litigation concerning the right to occupy Canton Island. No more was said in this broadcast concerning the United States. In a transmission on April 13th from Rome, the only American news had to do with a report from a correspondent of the *New York Times*, according to which large quantities of war material were being delivered by France to Red Spain. In English, on April 23rd, Rome announced laconically that all hope had been abandoned of rescuing the workmen who had been buried by a terrible explosion in a mine of Virginia. The rapid decline of American business was described by Signor Delione, in the *Fascist Chronicle*, on April 27th. It was asserted, on a later date, that the Italian press considered Secretary

Woodring's speech¹ to be "ridiculous". Rome II, in German, on May 12th, declared: "It is announced from London that there is a serious difference of views between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull concerning the Anglo-Italian Accord". The next day from Rome 2RO: "It is stated from Washington that Mr. Hull has energetically denied the story according to which he would resign, because of a *very keen argument between Mr. Roosevelt and himself* concerning the Anglo-Italian Agreement". On May 16th, Rome indicated that the *Duce's* speech, in answer to Secretary Woodring's address, was a warning to democracies not to start a war of ideologies, if they did not wish to be confronted by a bloc of Fascist nations. According to an American straw ballot, said Rome, three days later, Mussolini was given first place among the men who had had the greatest influence upon their times.

These sample transmissions, which were heard, testify that radio does not always fairly reflect conditions, opinion and events. Indeed, even with the best of intentions, it is difficult in news bulletins to state the whole truth accurately, for the reason that broadcast information, being less complete than an entire newspaper, practically demands a preliminary process of selection. "I have listened at many different times to programmes originating in every country of Europe", Mr. David Sarnoff, President of the Radio Corporation of America, has declared.² "They have given me a great deal

¹ Made on May 5 before the National Chamber of Commerce. It was to have been on "National Defense" but Mr. Woodring went far enough afield to discuss the international situation. The Secretary of War said in part, that the democracies were all peaceful at the time, but that they had not always been so and might not be so in the future, that it was "essential to stop aggression before things got out of hand". He referred to the development of the present situation from treaty relations, beginning with Japan in Manchuria, German rearmament, and he added that Italy, in attacking Ethiopia, had been a violator of the League of Nations Covenant which she had signed. "We are forced to arm to make peace more secure", he declared. "The foundation of a nation's military strength is its economic strength. In economic strength the democracies are stronger than the autocracies". He concluded with an appeal to the citizens of the United States to compose their differences in order to present a strong and efficient united country to the world.

² Lecture delivered at Cambridge, Mass., *New York Times*, Dec. 12, 1937.

of excellent music. But many of them have also given me statements glorifying or condemning political and economic philosophies, creeds and personages . . . They have presented, as news, statements contrary to fact or discoloured by partisanship, and they have omitted from what purported to be news, facts of essential importance. By any definition, a good deal of this broadcasting is propaganda, and some of it is highly objectionable propaganda”.

Mr. Sarnoff's opinion is not shared by all radio experts throughout the world. Some wireless officials consider the American system of commercialized broadcasting¹ open to criticism. It is not the purpose of this author to weigh pros and cons in the matter. The fact remains that there is hardly a more ironical reflection of the world today than the growing Babel in the ether. On the long and medium wave bands of Europe, as well as on the international short wavelengths, the bewildered listener finds, perhaps separated only by a hair's breadth of dialing, a German station talking English, a British station talking German, a French station using Serbian, a Russian transmitter radiating in French, an Italian station talking Arabic, and a Japanese station using Portuguese. “Broadcasts by one country in the language of another are not in themselves hostile acts”, writes Mr. Gander. “Language is, after all, the only path to understanding among men and nations. But it is also the path to misunderstanding . . .”²

Misunderstanding is possible because the great majority of radio listeners do not have critical minds. “Broadcasting is often, and sometimes rightly”, declares the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, “accused of developing that intellectual passiveness that has already taken root among the masses and of inducing people to accept ready-made opinions as they would Gospel truths . . . It appears only to the sense of hearing and therefore encourages listeners to relapse into a state of purely receptive activity”.³ It can

¹ American advertisers spend about \$115,000,000 annually in sponsored radio programmes. *World Radio*, London, May 26, 1939.

² From an article by L. Marsland Gander, Radio Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, London, *Current History*, May, 1939, p. 50.

³ International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, *The Educational Role of Broadcasting*, Paris, 1935, p. 14.

instill ideas by repetition, and it can utilise the persuasiveness of the human voice. Indeed, as Professor Riegel writes, radio "is not subject to the reconsideration and after-study which occur when ideas are published in cold print".¹ Broadcasting is, therefore, a real political force in the modern world. Exactly how its political influence works upon various elements of the public, where it is stronger or less strong, and in what degree, according to conditions at a given moment—these are questions which experts are still anxiously attempting to determine with some sort of scientific accuracy.

¹ Riegel, *Mobilizing for Chaos. op. cit.*, p. 107.

CHAPTER IV

THE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL TRANSMISSIONS UPON THE PUBLIC

1) *Number of Listeners.*

There is no exact way of knowing how many people hear political transmissions. It is thought that there is a total audience of about 250,000,000 persons in 130 countries.¹ According to studies made by the International Broadcasting Union, there are about 70,500,000 receiving sets in existence.² About 35,000,000 are in Europe, 27,500,000 in the United States and Canada, and a balance of about 8,000,000 are thought to be elsewhere.³ Little is known of listening habits. The Princeton School of Public and International Affairs is making a study, under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, of the psychological, cultural and social effects of broadcasting.⁴ The field of this research is limited, of course, to the United States.⁵ The scope of such investigation should be expanded to include a wider public, if the reaction of listeners on an international plane is ever to be described in a thorough and scientific way. At present, data obviously are inadequate.

2) *Other Criteria of Effect.*

Perhaps the least doubtful criterion of radio's political influence is still to be seen in the letters which listeners write to the transmitting stations. The method of judgment is

¹ Huth, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 *et seq.*

² Union Internationale de Radiodiffusion, *Développement de la Radiodiffusion*, already cited.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *New York Times*, Oct. 20, 1937.

⁵ Where listeners' time at their radios is estimated at 5.4 hours a day, and where, according to the results of a survey sponsored by the Columbia Broadcasting System and by the National Broadcasting Company, 69% of all American rural homes are radio equipped. *Annual Report of the Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., for the Fiscal Year Ended December 31, 1939.*

unsatisfactory, however, in proportion as people who have heard a programme do *not* take the trouble—and they are known to be the vast majority—to express an opinion in writing. Sales of a product *advertised* by radio can be ascertained, before and after the publicity has been put on the air. *Political* transmissions are more difficult to gauge, because the results are visible less frequently—in elections, revolutions, war, for instance—and the exact part played by the voices of the ether cannot be distinguished readily from other types of pressure.

A lack of definite or strictly scientific data, on the other hand, does not prove, by any means, that political transmissions are inconsequential. The wealth or power of the members of the audience may be a decisive factor. A sheik in Arabia who is impressed by statements coming through the ether, or a leader, let us say, in South America, may be the equivalent of many other persons who have listened in. Programmes amplified by loud speakers in cafés, or broadcasts relayed by local stations in the country of reception, reach an unknown and probably large number of people.

The effect of short-wave broadcasts which must be picked up by individual listeners possessing short-wave sets, has without question been grossly exaggerated. It is only within the last few years that ordinary commercial receiving apparatus has been supplied with a short-wave dial. Transmissions of this sort are particularly subject to static, and fading has not been entirely eliminated. The average listener, moreover, cannot single out a specific station, except with considerable concentration of mind, because of the fact that transmitters are to be found on a commercial short-wave dial so close to each other. It is also to be noted that the wavelengths used vary according to season and to time of day or night. Probably few listeners living where local stations exist tune in to far-distant transmitters, except as a way of exercising their ingenuity, or unless they are already disposed to seek out music and news bulletins of a certain sort. It is possible that many short-wave programmes have a larger importance in solidifying already existing opinion than in altering opinion.

Long or medium wave broadcasts have a much greater influence upon the public mind, because they are easier to

find on the dial and technically more perfect. In the United States, objective news reports by American commentators and organisations from all parts of the world are relayed by local stations. In Europe, geographical conditions produce a very different situation. Transmitters clearly heard with an ordinary receiving set may be of foreign origin and may radiate with the definite purpose of attacking the government of an audience in its own language. The criteria of the effect of radio in Europe must be considered with this factor clearly in mind.

3) *Increasing Importance of Radio.*

In 1938, the average percentage increase of listeners over the year 1937, in the European zone, was just under 17.¹ Bulgaria and Greece, included in the European category, had increases of 37% and 30%². Turkey, not included under this European heading, had twice as many listeners.³

The following table⁴ gives the figures for each country in detail :

INCREASES IN EUROPEAN LISTENERS

	DEC. 31 1937	DEC. 31 1938	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE	FREE LICENCES
Germany	9,087,454	11,503,019	26.58	708,653
Great Britain	8,479,500	8,908,366	5.06	51,872
France	4,163,692	4,705,859	13.02	—
Sweden	1,074,473	1,226,858	14.18	—
Belgium	1,018,108	1,126,218	10.61	16,541
Holland	1,071,869	1,108,625	3.43	—
Poland	861,256	1,016,473	18.02	2,459
Italy	795,000	995,500	25.22	—
Czecho-Slovakia . . .	1,044,382	764,076	— 26.84	5,978
Denmark	704,062	762,711	8.33	—
Switzerland	504,132	548,533	8.81	—
Hungary	383,274	419,215	9.37	2,722
Norway	304,913	364,548	19.56	—
Finland	231,696	293,790	26.80	—
Rumania	215,808	270,000	25.11	—
Eire	112,192	148,811	32.64	—
Yugoslavia	112,918	135,169	19.70	—

¹ *World Radio*, London, Apr. 14, 1939, statistics supplied by the International Broadcasting Union.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

	DEC. 31 1937	DEC. 31 1938	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE	FREE LICENCES
Latvia	114,305	134,970	18.08	3,099
Algiers	74,445	90,903	22.10	697
Portugal	69,102	81,171	17.46	—
Egypt	67,923	79,717	17.36	—
Estonia	48,949	66,268	35.38	—
Lithuania	45,437	59,527	31.01	—
Bulgaria	34,000	46,600	37.06	1,000
Turkey	22,000	46,244	110.20	—
Danzig	36,848	44,430	20.57	—
Morocco	34,240	38,714	13.06	3,000
Palestine	28,515	35,708	25.22	—
Luxembourg	30,000	35,000	16.66	—
Greece	17,964	23,375	30.12	—
Tunis	17,684	22,367	26.48	—
Iceland	14,407	15,479	7.44	159
Syria and Levant	9,291	11,204	20.59	—

There are eight nations in Europe possessing more than a million sets, namely, Germany, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Sweden, the Netherlands, Poland and Italy.¹ It is certainly improbable that the political influence of broadcasting, as shown by these figures, will decline in the future. Quite the contrary trend is to be expected. This growth also can be clearly foreseen in the less populated sections of the world, such as Latin America, Africa, the Near East, and the Far East, where distances from urban centers put news and entertainment at a premium.

4) *Significance of Government Expenditures.*

People in many countries are paying annually large sums of money to their governments in the form of licence fees on receiving sets, and the governments devote this money to defray the mounting cost of broadcasting. Though many national radio enterprises prefer to keep their debit balances secret, several examples can be given. The cost of broadcasting in Britain, for instance, came to £2,172,000 in 1936.² Tax receipts of the French Government in the same year, on receiving sets and tubes, amounted to 190,000,000 francs.³

¹ *World Radio*, London, Apr. 14, 1939, statistics supplied by the International Broadcasting Union.

² Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

Germany is expected to have an income for radio well over 250,000,000 Reichsmarks in 1939. ¹

From the size of these sums it is apparent that transmissions of a political nature are not taken lightly by authorities, but with the utmost seriousness. Due to the stiff competition between nations for a hearing in the ether, equipment rapidly grows obsolete and must be replaced. The total assets of the British Broadcasting Corporation alone, were carried at £4,227,833 in 1937. ² Jamming also is an expensive process requiring the services of many technicians. Jamming, as already indicated, is indulged in freely by a number of countries. Large amounts of money are devoted annually to intelligence work, including notices sent free of charge to persons of all nationalities. Mr. Malcolm Frost, BBC Director of Overseas Intelligence, has built up an elaborate organisation for the purpose of publicizing programmes from England and to study the effect of transmissions. ³ A thousand British observers, widely scattered throughout the world, report on reception and reactions to programme material. ⁴ Every comment in a foreign newspaper on the BBC broadcasts is noted and filed at Broadcasting House. ⁵ Many governments have listening centres where foreign broadcasts are taken down in shorthand, translated and studied. Later, if necessary, radiated news from abroad is corrected, or contradicted, likewise by radio. This work is shrouded in secrecy because of its political importance. Governments are becoming constantly more aware of the ether as an essential element of power over men's minds, and more particularly so today than ever before.

5) *Periods of Tension.*

a) *Elections and Revolutions.*

During periods of political tension the actual and potential influence of radio becomes most clearly apparent. For example, in the United States the transmitting companies give time,

¹ *World Radio*, London, Apr. 7, 1939.

² *BBC Handbook*, 1938, p. 79.

³ Gander, L. Marsland, *The Daily Telegraph*, London, Apr. 15, 1939.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

free of charge, to all the accepted sections of opinion until just before elections. Then the air becomes a medium for those who can pay for the time spent in trying to get out the vote by radio appeals. ¹ Radio strategy plays an even more decisive role in revolutions. As early as 1932, the National Socialists, for example, succeeded in transforming the German listeners group, the *Reichsverband Deutscher Funkteilnehmer*, into a party group. Little by little, the government allowed the members of the National Socialist faction to express their views more frequently by radio. When, on January 30 and 31, 1933, a group of experts managed secretly to get control of the ether, they were able to announce Herr Hitler's advent to power. Continuing in control, they were able to discourage opposition. ²

b) *Anschluss*.

At the time of the *Anschluss*, radio also had a significant part in the course of events. On the night of March 11, 1938 Austrian stations transmitted, to the astonishment of many persons, National Socialist speeches, demonstrations and military marches. This material, in the form of discs, had been prepared well ahead of time so that it might be put on the air at the psychological moment. It is thought that this trick, which had such a telling effect, was managed by Herr Max Lange, who had been an employee of the Austrian radio monopoly during the previous ten years. ³ As soon as the Führer obtained control of his homeland, the Propaganda Ministry sent 25,000 receiving sets to Austria, for the benefit of the poor who otherwise might not have been able to hear the newly inaugurated official programmes. ⁴

c) *Czech Crisis in May, 1938*.

Radio was hardly less influential in May, 1938, when the Sudeten-Czech dispute came into the open. A few of the

¹ Huth, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

² The facts are given in detail by Hadamowsky, *Dein Rundfunk*, Eher, München, 1934.

³ *Le Haut Parleur*, 14: Apr. 3, 1938, p. 658, and *Mon Programme*, Sept. 3, 1938.

⁴ *Herald-Tribune*, Paris, Mar. 19, 1938.

contentions of the various countries, on the 22nd of the month, as heard by the author, are given below.

Moscow, on a wavelength of 25 meters, in German (not jammed), at 6:15 P.M., declared that Great Britain had made every effort to solve the problem. Paris was ready for important events. Berlin believed, according to the speaker from Russia, that the Sudeten difficulties would become more acute. London was said to consider German troop movements as a provocation. In all the Sudeten districts, according to information received by Moscow from Czechoslovakia, the Social-Democrats and the Communists were in perfect agreement. There was an unquestionable danger of war, the speaker continued, though there was dissatisfaction among the people of Germany and Italy. Three letters from anti-Nazi German workers were said to have been received by the Czechoslovakian Minister at Berlin. These letters, expressing sympathy with the workers of Czechoslovakia, were thought to represent the true voice of the German people against "bestial Fascism".

Zeesen, one-half an hour later, in German, on 25.42 meters, asserted that the Government at Prague was using power politics, in order to impress the western nations—and this, definitely, at the cost of the Sudetens. Czechoslovakia was said to have given an unsatisfactory explanation of the killing of two Sudetens. There was a great deal of astonishment in Berlin because of the persistent questions put forward by the British Ambassador. Zeesen maintained that Prague must guarantee security of life in Czechoslovakia, for the calling out of reserves had created both fear and great uncertainty.

Rome, at 7:20 P.M., in English, on 25.34 meters, warned listeners of the danger that Prague might too long delay and haggle. Czechoslovakia was labelled a "patchwork state". Riots throughout the country were reported. The frontiers were closed. Rome considered the situation to be grave. It was announced that Lord Halifax had returned hastily to London and that the alarm was even deeper in Paris.

The Tour Eiffel, in Paris, with M. Brossolette as speaker, at half past seven announced that England was preoccupied in trying to prevent Germany from making the same tragic error in the interpretation of British policy which had been made by the Kaiser's Government in 1914. A certain *détente*

was reported, due to a conversation in London between Lord Halifax and the representative of Germany.

Prague, at 9:15 P.M., in English, on 25.50 meters, attributed disturbance in the capital to the distribution of leaflets, in the Czech language, but obviously of foreign origin. The reserves had been called out, it was asserted, because of arms which had been introduced into the country. "There is peace in our country and that peace will not be disturbed", the speaker concluded.

d) *Czech Crisis in September, 1938.*

It is hardly necessary to indicate that the battle of the ether was even fiercer during the fortnight which preceded the conference at Munich a few months later. Things happened so rapidly and unexpectedly during those dramatic days that the newspapers could hardly keep up with events. Radio reports were sent out at four-hour intervals in most of Europe, for last-minute information was at a premium. As might be expected, most of the radiated news was biased, and in certain cases, facts were suppressed. It is well known that the Germans were not informed of the mobilisation of the British fleet.¹ The translation of Mr. Chamberlain's speech, on September 27th, broadcast by British stations and relayed in France, omitted, in reference to precautionary measures taken by His Majesty's Government, the following statement by the Premier: "It does not mean that we have determined on war or that war is imminent".²

The potency of radio, particularly in such periods of crisis, is hardly open to question. The more tense the international situation may be, the more partisan radio becomes, and the greater the effect which broadcasting is apt to have upon the listeners. Radio played a two-fold part during the critical days of September, 1938, declares *The Listener*, journal of the British Broadcasting Corporation: "firstly, in informing the public both of the facts and of the atmosphere of the problems facing the nation; and, secondly, in giving directions and

¹ *L'Intransigeant*, Paris, Oct. 1, 1938.

² *Ibid.*

guidance as to what to do, and so maintaining the spirit of unity and self-discipline.”¹ State transmissions mould opinion and maintain the morale of the people in each country,² as no other agency of government can do. Even despite jamming which may take place during the crisis,⁴ the effect upon the populace of radio announcements may be fateful.

e) *In Wartime.*

Though, if a general European war were to break out, there would be propaganda and counter-propaganda, jamming and counter jamming, “experience shows,” according to Mr. Gander, Radio Correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph*, “that while it is easy to spoil the entertainment value of a broadcast by jamming, it is more difficult to make speech unintelligible. Usually something can be heard”, he continues, “through the din of interference, if the sending station is near and powerful enough”.³ It is said that transmitting aerials can be destroyed by attacking airplanes without great difficulty. Nations would press into service for propaganda purposes, however, all available transmitters now used for telephonic communications. In England, for example, the resources of the great station at Rugby might be thrown into balance, were other facilities destroyed. There are thirteen transmitters at Rugby, and one of them, the most powerful in the world, works on 1,000 kilowatts.⁶ The British Government, which has already built underground studios, is proposing to develop a land-line relay system by which broadcasting can be distri-

¹ Cited in *New York Times*, Oct. 16, 1938.

² The author, being otherwise engaged during the crisis, was unable to transcribe broadcasts *in extenso*.

³ In times of emergency an audience, even in a country of individualists, like France, does not consider problems of internal politics to have the importance of foreign affairs, and thus protests like those made by French radio listeners during the Blum régime (cf. p. 19) against partisanship are extremely rare, if not non-existent.

⁴ Russia, it is thought, effectively disturbed many German and Italian broadcasts in September and October, 1938.

⁵ Gander, L. Marsland, *The Daily Telegraph*, London, Apr. 15, 1939.

⁶ *Ibid.*

buted to listeners without the possibility of interference by an enemy.¹ The seven-metre band, now used in England for television, might also be turned over to broadcasters for transmission of instructions, news, and even entertainment.² The range of such ultra-short wavelengths being limited to about thirty-five miles, it would be difficult for an enemy beyond the national frontiers to produce effective interference.³ In the event of war, it is probable that theatres and cinemas in cities would be closed, due to the danger of having people congregate. This policy of dispersion being essential, it is nevertheless recognized that in periods of tension entertainment becomes a national necessity. In the third year of the World War more theatres were open in London than during peacetime; the theatres of Madrid remained open throughout the recent Civil War.⁴ Radio, therefore, would become of primary importance and governments would be obliged to transmit, in one way or another, with redoubled energy.

In the meantime, "as long . . . as radio operates according to principles of liberty conducive to truth . . . one may rest assured", Ambassador de Laboulaye has said, "that . . . (it) has . . . almost miraculous possibilities as an instrument of greater welfare, of better understanding, and of international peace".⁵ On the other hand, Communications are "one of the greatest, if not the greatest, aid in the accomplishment of national ends", writes Professor Riegel. "If world experience means anything, it has shown that the stifling of the free exchange of ideas and opinions by censorship and propaganda almost invariably leads to catastrophe in the form of war or insurrection".⁶

Between the potentialities of broadcasting, as an instrument for peace, and its all too frequent use in the service of misunderstanding, there is a conspicuous disparity which has not

¹ Gander, L. Marsland, *The Daily Telegraph*, London, Apr. 15, 1939.

² *The Times*, London, Apr. 30, 1939.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Marsh, ed., *Educational Broadcasting in 1936*, University of Chicago Press, 1937, p. 129.

⁶ Riegel, *Mobilising for Chaos*, already cited, pp. 210 f.

failed to call forth international comment and even to produce corrective measures. The persistent, laboured efforts which have been made, by statesmen and by broadcasters, to control antagonism in the ether, afford perhaps the most conclusive indication that the political effect of radio upon the public mind is real, even if it has not yet been measured scientifically. Indeed the problem has been plainly recognized as one of primary importance in international affairs, requiring a careful but immediate solution by some sort of concerted action.

CHAPTER V

EFFORTS TO CONTROL THE POLITICAL USES OF RADIO

1. *Technical Difficulties.*

A very complete and scholarly volume, entitled *The International Control of Radio Communications*, recently has been prepared by Professor Tomlinson, Fellow of the Carnegie Endowment. It would be useless to attempt a detailed treatment of this subject here. Suffice it merely to indicate the nature and the complexity of the problems involved.¹

In Europe, the total number of wavelengths allotted to broadcasting is hardly over one hundred, in the medium-wave band, while the long-wave band provides space for only about twelve stations.² The number of transmitters far exceeds the available supply of these wavelengths; for technical reasons their quantity is strictly limited. It is necessary, consequently, for stations to share the ether. This they can do if they use restricted power and if they are separated by a distance of at least one thousand miles.³ If they did not co-operate in this manner, they would interfere with each other's broadcasts to such a degree that many programmes would be unintelligible to listeners. As a matter of absolute necessity, the nations in conclave have agreed to various allocations of frequencies.

The first of these telecommunications conferences to deal in a fundamental sense with broadcasting was held at

¹ For Professor Tomlinson's illustrations of the combination of political and technical difficulties to be found in international broadcasting, cf. *The International Control of Radio Communications*, Geneva, 1938, pp. 221-227.

² *BBC Handbook*, 1938, pp. 82f.

³ *Ibid.*

Washington, D.C., in 1927.¹ The distribution of wavelengths was revised at Madrid, in 1932, and again, at Cairo, in 1938.²

The radio conference which sat for seven weeks at Montreux in 1939 re-allocated wavelengths for European broadcasting and other forms of radio communication.³ The accord was signed on April 15th by 31 governments.⁴ Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Turkey and Soviet Russia were not signatories, but they indicated or implied that they would not obstruct the application of the plan, which comprises a thorough revision, to be put into effect on March 4, 1940, of wavelengths used by European transmitters since 1934.⁵ The conference had to fit 400 stations into 139 available wavelengths—a truly difficult task, if unintentional interference was to be prevented.⁶ Such accords as these, on the other hand, as Professor Riegel points out, unfortunately serve to make “the propaganda more systematic and orderly”.⁷

2. *The International Broadcasting Union.*

The only constantly active, specialised international agency in the field of radio, the International Broadcasting Union, exists according to its Statutes :

- a. To establish relations between the various European and non-European organisations operating broadcasting services which have adhered to the present provisions ;
- b. To promote the interest of broadcasting in every domain ;
- c. To centralise the study of all questions of general interest which have arisen or may hereafter arise out of the development of broadcasting.
- d. To work for the realisation of any scheme of a nature to promote such development.

¹ International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, *Broadcasting and Peace*, already cited, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³ *Petit Parisien*, Apr. 18, 1939.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Lecture by M. Braillard, cf. *Radio Magazine*, Paris, May 28, 1939.

⁷ Riegel, *Mobilising for Chaos*, already cited, p. 101.

The Union has had a prominent role in organising the technique of transmission¹. Representing, as it does, the national broadcasting enterprises,² the Union measures frequencies, publishes important documents, and acts in a general advisory capacity.³ Its function is essentially to study, indeed, for the mutual benefit of its members, the specific, practical application of the technical agreements previously entered into at the telecommunications conferences. It has also striven since its earliest days to make broadcasting an instrument for *rapprochement* by organising regular European concerts, World Concerts and other manifestations of an international order, and stimulating the freest possible exchange of programmes of a high cultural or humanistic order. 2737 international relays were made by organisations members of the I.B.U. in 1937. The Union in the year of its foundation (1925) passed resolutions appealing to broadcasters and Governments to take every precaution against the use of the microphone in a manner calculated to prejudice good international relations. These resolutions were reinforced by the conclusion of a "Gentlemen's Agreement" amongst its members. In recent years, however, the Union has not occupied itself with the political aspects of broadcasting—this being regarded as the affair of Governments.

3. *Bilateral Anti-Propaganda Agreements.*

Perhaps anti-propaganda agreements between governments can do more than anything else to regulate radio hostilities. The most notable example of such an accord was the radio non-aggression pact⁴ signed by Germany and Poland in 1931.⁵

¹ International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, *Broadcasting and Peace*, pp. 12 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, pp. 123 f.

³ League of Nations, *Handbook of International Organisations*, Geneva, 1938, p. 373.

⁴ This pact was concluded after a broadcast of jokes by two clowns in a German circus, which led to an official protest from the Polish Government to the Government of the Reich, cf. Tomlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

⁵ International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, *Broadcasting and Peace*, p. 129.

According to the terms of the treaty, the signatories clearly recognize the mutual benefit to be derived by excluding unfriendly talks :

“The two Contracting Parties undertake in the future to do everything in their power to ensure that matter—whether political, religious, economic, intellectual or artistic—broadcast from their stations shall not compromise in any way the spirit of co-operation and good understanding which is necessary if broadcasting is to fulfil its mission of drawing nations together.

“Each Contracting Party reserves the right to carry on a certain amount of positive propaganda in regard to its national activities in their various spheres, while undertaking to see that the matter broadcast does not in any way offend the national sentiment of listeners who are subjects of the other Contracting Party.

“Each Contracting Party expressly undertakes to give its special attention to the matter broadcast by it in the language of the other Contracting Party, so that such matter may strictly conform to the principles set forth above . . .”¹

This pact between Germany and Poland became a model for other regional agreements in Europe and South America,² but unfortunately bilateral accords have not yet been sufficient in number to produce an effective check upon the aggregate of political transmissions.

4. *International Conventions concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace.*

Action or understanding of a more inclusive nature, has been sought, in several instances. Among these efforts, the following are noteworthy :

- a) The International Parliamentary Conference of Commerce, at Berlin, in 1929, and at Brussels, in 1930, considered the question of broadcasting from the wider point of view of general co-operation.
- b) The Polish Government submitted a memorandum to the Disarmament Conference in 1931 concerning radio

¹ International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, *Broadcasting and Peace*, p. 129.

² Saerchinger, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

and moral disarmament. Studies were carried out by the Political Commission of the Conference and by its Special Committee for Moral Disarmament.¹ These studies met the same fate as the Conference itself, as far as practical results were concerned.

- c) The League of Nations, in September 1936, organised an inter-governmental conference for the conclusion of the now well-known *International Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace*.² The Convention, signed on May 1, 1937, came into force on April 1, 1938.³ It has been ratified by the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia, India, Brazil, Denmark, Luxembourg and France.⁴ It is a weak convention, but it does contain well stated criteria, from an international point of view, of what is and what is *not* the right kind of broadcasting.

The Conference recommends that, among other things,

1) "the High Contracting Parties, in taking measures to ensure that transmissions shall not be contrary to the provisions of the Convention, shall show *particular vigilance in regard to transmissions in a language other than the language or languages usually employed for the listeners of the country of transmission* ;

2) ". . . reserve in their programmes broadcast in their respective territories *a place for transmissions of such a character as to promote a better knowledge of the civilisation and the conditions of life of other peoples* . . .

3) ". . . lend one another *mutual support in detecting and abolishing clandestine transmitting stations*".⁵

The Convention itself embodies agreement to the following provisions, among others :

Article 1.

"The High Contracting Parties mutually undertake to prohibit and, if occasion arise, *to stop without delay the broadcasting within their respective territories of any transmission which to the detriment of good international under-*

¹ Cf. *Co-opération Intellectuelle*, 1931. No. 17-18, pp. 969 *et seq.*, No. 20-21, "Plan of Work", 1933, pp. 1071-2, and pp. 1086-1102.

² League of Nations, C.399(a).M.252(a).1936.XII.

³ *New York Times*, Apr. 2, 1938.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ League of Nations, C.399(a).M.252(a).1936.XII, p. 8.

standing is of such a character as to incite the population of any territory to acts incompatible with the internal order or the security of a territory of a High Contracting Party.

Article 2.

“The High Contracting Parties mutually undertake to ensure that *transmissions from stations within their respective territories shall not constitute an incitement either to war against another High Contracting Party or to acts likely to lead thereto.*

Article 3.

“The High Contracting Parties mutually undertake to prohibit and, if occasion arises, *to stop without delay within their respective territories any transmissions likely to harm good international understanding by statements the incorrectness of which is or ought to be known to the persons responsible for the broadcast.*

“They further mutually undertake to ensure that any transmission likely to harm good international understanding by *incorrect statements shall be rectified at the earliest possible moment* by the most effective means, even if the incorrectness has become apparent only after the broadcast has taken place.

Article 4.

“The High Contracting Parties mutually undertake to ensure, *especially in time of crisis, that stations within their respective territories shall broadcast information concerning international relations the accuracy of which shall have been verified*—and that by all means within their power—by the persons responsible for broadcasting the information.”¹

That the above recommendations and provisions are not always observed by the transmitting countries has been shown in the first three chapters of this report. That the impact of radio propaganda upon the public is considerable has been pointed out in Chapter IV. Attempts to solve the complex problem, until now, plainly have been unsuccessful. The reason obviously is that governments, which in many parts of the world control radio, are in no mood today for compromise. Another world war is being prepared in the ether, as well as in the armaments factories.

¹ League of Nations, C.399(1).M.252(1).1936.XII, pp. 5f.

CONCLUSION

It would be vain to suggest that there exists a ready remedy for the problems raised by the political use of radio. If philosophical intelligence and well-directed energy gave good results infallibly, the world might not be troubled by quite so much violence. Though legal instruments and international parleys hardly interrupt the hostilities which radio expresses, it must be hoped that some other solution may be found before a catastrophe in the form of actual, generalized conflict among the nations descends upon us. The most effective contribution now can come perhaps from the listeners themselves; it is they who can control the voices of the ether. No one else, no other agency, can so directly exert an influence. Bulletins tolerated by the public multiply. Protests from an audience have the opposite effect. Programme directors daily wrack their brains in order to find out how transmissions are received; radio cannot live without an audience which is satisfied. It is the public which must educate the broadcasters, if the anarchy of the ether is to be limited. A list of national radio authorities, who supply their schedules *gratis* and answer comments, is appended to these pages, in Annex III, for the convenience of such readers who may wish to make use of it. Persistent letters pointing out distortion, suppression of falsification of facts in broadcast news, would distinctly benefit the cause of reasoned judgment in international affairs.

These efforts should be supplemented, if possible, by some independent central agency. The organisation should have a staff of listeners who could regularly transcribe and monitor the voices of the ether, on the basis of the criteria offered by the League of Nations. Such research, to be undertaken in a sober and scholarly fashion, is needed urgently if the public and broadcasters are to be aroused to the real dangers of the existing situation.

Political philosophy has become too small for modern scientific technique; technical knowledge has leapt too far ahead; some sort of balance between science and politics must be brought about, in the realm of radio, as in various other fields of human endeavor.

Annex I

**POWER INCREASE OF EUROPEAN LONG
AND MEDIUM WAVE BROADCASTING STATIONS**

(150 to 1,500 kc/s or 2,000 to 200 meters—including the
U.S.S.R. as far as the Ural Mountains)

	1926 (Geneva)	1929 (Prague)	1934 (Lucerne)	1937 (beginning of year)	1938 (forecast)
Total Power in kilowatts, at antennae ¹ .	116	420	4,500	7,020	8,000
Total Number of Stations	123	200	253	342	350
Number of Stations of 15 kilowatts and more	1	7	65	93	100
Number of Stations of 50 kilowatts and more	0	0	37	53	67
Number of Stations of 100 kilowatts and more	0	0	15	31	48
Maximum Power in kilowatts	16	40	500	500	500
Average Power in kilowatts	1	2.1	18	20.5	23

Deviation from frequency.

At the beginning of 1937, 97 stations showed monthly deviations of less than 10 c/s, and 20 stations showed a deviation of less than 1 c/s, whereas, in 1936, no European station showed a monthly deviation of less than one kilocycle/second.

Source: International Broadcasting Union.

¹ It is to be noted that the International Broadcasting Union relies upon the various national broadcasting enterprises for the authenticity of the data supplied.

Annex II

WORLD STATISTICS OF RECEIVING SETS, 1938

Country	Sets per 1,000 Inhabitants	Total Number of Sets
<i>Europe</i>		
Denmark	189.96	704,062
Great Britain	183.58	8,479,500
Sweden	170.55	1,074,473
Germany	133.99	9,087,454
Netherlands	128.35	1,071,869
Iceland	122.82	14,407
Belgium	122.09	1,018,108
Switzerland	120.97	504,132
Norway	105.25	304,913
Luxembourg	100.00	30,000
France	99.35	4,163,692
Austria	91.66	619,623
Danzig	90.42	36,848
Czechoslovakia	68.93	1,044,382
Finland	62.62	231,696
Latvia	58.20	114,305
Esthonia	43.31	48,949
Hungary	42.61	383,274
Ireland	37.82	112,192
Poland	25.16	861,256
U.S.S.R.	22.12	3,760,400
Italy	18.36	795,000
Lithuania	17.81	45,437
Rumania	11.11	215,808
Portugal	9.46	69,102
Yugoslavia	7.28	112,918
Bulgaria	5.40	34,000
Greece	2.90	17,964
Albania	1.49	1,500

34,957,264

Country	Sets per 1,000 Inhabitants	Total Number of Sets
<i>North America.</i>		
United States . . .	204.33	26,411,000
Canada	97.85	1,103,768
Newfoundland . .	34.48	10,000
<i>Latin America.</i>		
Argentina	99.03	1,095,000
Panama	30.00	15,000
Cuba	25.34	105,543
Venezuela	21.25	85,000
Mexico	20.83	350,000
Brazil	11.11	500,000
Martinique	10.03	2,500
Paraguay	6.00	6,000
Jamaica	4.21	4,690
Guatemala	3.63	8,802
Republic of Honduras . . .	3.21	3,091
Ecuador	1.87	6,000
		29,663,658
<i>Africa and the Near East.</i>		
N. & S. Rhodesia .	115.54	7,805
Kenya	99.40	2,832
South Africa . . .	88.18	180,227
Belgian Congo . .	83.00	1,660
East Africa	32.26	800
Palestine	21.58	28,515
Algeria	9.87	74,445
Tunisia	6.77	17,684
Morocco	5.43	34,240
Egypt	4.24	67,923
Syria-Levant . . .	3.35	9,291
Iraq	2.24	8,000
Turkey	1.35	22,000
Angola	0.47	1,519

Country	Sets per 1,000 Inhabitants	Total Number of Sets	
Mozambique	0.31	1,268	
Sudan	0.17	959	
Madagascar	0.18	703	
Nigeria	0.09	1,835	
Iran	0.08	1,287	
			462,993
<i>Far East.</i>			
New Zealand	174.19	279,054	
Australia	147.32	1,008,595	
Japan	34.79	3,402,489	
Hong Kong	8.53	8,539	
Malaysia	3.07	9,831	
Manchukuo	2.45	88,875	
Philippine Islands	2.18	32,800	
Siam	1.65	24,000	
China	1.28	600,000	
Dutch East Indies	0.89	54,462	
Ceylon	0.86	4,911	
British India	0.15	50,680	
French Indo-China	0.15	3,500	
Burma	0.13	1,874	
			5,569,610
	World Total		70,696,261

Source : Union Internationale de Radiodiffusion, *Développement de la Radiodiffusion*, May, 1938.

Annex III

LIST OF RADIO AUTHORITIES

(Communications should be addressed to the Programme Director)

- Belgium*: Institut National Belge de Radiodiffusion, Brussels.
Bulgaria: Potsal Ministry, Sofia.
Czechoslovakia: "Radiojournal", Fochova TR 16, Prague.
France: Administration des P.T.T., Paris.
Germany: Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft, Berlin.

- Great Britain*: British Broadcasting Corporation, London, W.1.
Hungary: Magyar Telefon Hirmondo es Radio, Budapest.
Italy: Ente Italiano per le Audizione Radiofoniche, Rome.
Japan: Nippon Hoso Kyokai, Tokio.
Luxembourg: Compagnie Luxembourgeoise de Radiodiffusion,
Luxembourg.
Netherlands: Centraal Bureau voor den Omroep in Nederland,
Hilversum ; and Philips, Hilversum (for short waves).
Poland: Polskie Radjo, Warsaw.
Portugal: Emissora Nacional, Rua do Quelhas 2, Lisbon.
Rumania: Societatea de Difuziune Radiotelefonica, Bucharest.
Spain: — — — — —
Switzerland: Société Suisse de Radiodiffusion, Berne.
United States: Columbia Broadcasting System, New York ;
National Broadcasting Company, New York ;
U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington ;
or any American Embassy.
U.S.S.R.: Soyuzradio, Petrovka 12, Moscow.

Annex IV

SCHEDULE OF PRINCIPAL FOREIGN BROADCASTINGS

(As of May 20, 1939)

classified according to country of origin, the hour given being *summer time*. This schedule includes various information concerning languages, character of the broadcasts, wave lengths, etc.

ALBANIA

Since the annexation by the Italian troupes, Radio Tirana transmits in Albanian, Italian, Greek, Turkish and Bulgarian. It has not, however, been possible to obtain the exact hours of these broadcasts. The broadcasts take place on the following wave-lengths : 39 m. and 48 m.

BELGIUM

Days	Hour	Station	Subject	Languages
Daily	7.25	Brussels	News	French, Flemish
"	8.25	"	"	French, Flemish
"	13.00	"	"	French, Flemish
"	19.30	"	"	French, Flemish
"	19.30	Ruyselede	"	Flemish
"	19.45	"	"	French
Thursday	21.00	Brussels	Political Situation	French
Daily	22.00	"	News	French, Flemish

Wave lengths: Brussels — French 483 m. 9
 Brussels — Flemish 321 m. 9
 Ruyselede — 29 m. 04.

BULGARIA

Sunday	7.00	Sofia	News		Bulgarian
Week days	12.00	"	"	BTA	"
Daily	12.30	"	"	BTA	"
"	20.30	"	"	BTA	"
Saturday	21.35	"	Review of the week		French

Wave lengths: Sofia 352 m. 9
 Sofia LZA 35 m. 44

CHINA

Daily	0.15	Chung King	Talk	English	XGOY	25 m. 21
"	23.00	"	News	German	"	"
"	23.15	"	"	French	"	"
"	23.45	"	"	English	"	"

CZECH TERRITORY

Week days	7.00	Prague	News	Czech	
Daily	12.30	"	"	"	
Week days	15.50	"	"	"	
Daily	19.00	"	"	"	470 m. 2
"	21.00	"	"	"	"
"	22.00	"	"	"	"

DENMARK

Sunday	11.40	All stations	News	Danish
Daily	19.00	"	"	"
Sunday	21.55	"	"	"
Week days	22.00	"	"	"

Wave lengths: Kalunsborg 1250 m.
 Skamlebaek OZF 31 m. 5
 " OZH 19 m. 78

EIRE

Days	Hour	Station	Subject	Languages
Week days	18.45	Radio Eireann	News	English
"	21.20	"	"	Gaelic
Daily	22.30	"	"	English

Wave lengths: Radio Eireann 531 m.

ESTONIA

Week days	Hour	All stations	News	Estonian
Sunday	7.45	"	"	"
Daily	17.50	"	"	"
"	21.00	"	"	"

Wave lengths: Tattin 219 m. 6
Turi 410 m. 4
Taitu 586 m.

FINLAND

Day	Hour	All stations	News	Finnish
Sunday	10.50	"	"	Swedish
"	11.55	"	"	"
"	18.10	"	Review of the Week	Finnish
Thursday	18.25	"	International Political News	"
Daily	20.45	"	News	"
"	21.00	"	"	Swedish

Wave lengths: Lahti 1807 m.
Helsinki 335 m. 2

FRANCE

Days	Hour	Station	Subject	Metres wavelengths	Languages
Daily	2.30	Paris Mondial	News	25.24-25.60	Spanish & Portuguese
"	3.00	" "	"	25.24-25.60	English
"	3.40	" "	"	25.24-25.60	German
"	5.00	" "	"	25.24-25.60	English
"	5.40	" "	"	25.24-25.60	German
"	9.15	" "	"	19.83-25.24	English
"	9.40	" "	"	19.83-25.24	Italian
"	16.40	" "	"	25.24-41.21	French & Arabic
"	17.30	Lille P.T.T.	"	247.3	English
"	18.30	Paris Mondial	"	25.24-41.21	French & Arabic
"	19.00	" "	"	25.24-41.21	English & Italian
"	19.15	Strasbourg	"	349.2	German
"	19.45	Radio Paris	Radio Journal	1.648.2	French
"	19.45	Tunis P.T.T.	News	345.6	Arabic
"	20.00	Paris Mondial	"	25.24-41.21	English

Days	Hour	Station	Subject	Metres wavelengths	Languages
Daily	20.15	Paris Mondial	News	25.24-41.21	Italian
"	20.15	Nice Cote d'Azur	"	253.2	"
"	20.30	Rabat	"	499.2	Arabic
"	21.30	Paris Mondial	"	25.24-41.21	Portuguese
"	21.45	Lille	"	247.3	English
		Radio 37	"	360.6	
		Radio Cité	"	280.9	
		Radio Normandie	"	274	
"	"	Paris P. T. T.	"	431.7	German
		Rennes P. T. T.	"	288.6	
		Strasbourg	"	349.2	
		Nîmes	"	201.1	
		Ile de France	"	222.6	
"	"	Toulouse Pyrénées	"	386.6	Spanish
		Bordeaux Lafayette	"	278.6	
		Limoges	"	335.2	
		Bordeaux Sud Ouest	"	219.6	
		Radio Agen	"	309.9	
"	"	Tour Eiffel	"	206	Italian
		Nice P. T. T.	"	253.2	
		Grenoble	"	514.6	
		Radio Méditerranée	"	230.2	
		Poste Parisien	"	312.8	
"	"	Lyon P. T. T.	"	463	Serbo-Croat
		Radio Lyon	"	215.4	
"	"	Paris Mondial	"	25.24-41.21	Arabic
		Marseille P. T. T.	"	400.5	
"	22.45	Same Network as at 21.45 in same languages			
"	23.50	Tunis P. T. T.	News	345.6	Italian
"	24.00	Paris Mondial	"	25.24-25.60	French, Span. & Portuguese

GERMANY

Daily	0.00	Zeesen	News	DJQ	Portuguese
"	0.00	"	"	DJE, N, R	Spanish
"	0.00	"	"	DJB, D, Z	English
"	0.15	"	Echo from Germany	DJN, E, R	German
"	1.30	"	Echo from Germany	DJB, D, Z	"
"	2.00	"	News	DJE, N, R, A, B, D, Z	"
"	2.00	"	"	DJQ	Portuguese
"	2.15	"	"	DJG, N, R, A	Spanish
"	2.15	"	"	DJB, D, Z	English
"	2.15	"	Echo from Germany	DJQ	German

Daily	4.15	Zeesen	News	DJN, R, Q, A, B, D, Z	German
"	4.30	"	"	DJN, R, Q, A	Spanish
"	4.30	"	"	DJB, D, Z	English
Week days	6.05	Stuttgart	"		German
" "	7.00	O.M. and Deutschland- sender	"		
Daily	7.00	Zeesen	"	DJB, N, Q, E, S, M	"
"	8.00	"	"	DJB, N, Q, E, S, M	English
"	8.15	"	Echo from Germany	DJB, N, Q, E, S, M	German
Week days	9.45	Langenberg	News		"
Daily	10.30	Zeesen	"	DJB, N, Q, E, S, M	"
Week days	13.00	O.M. stations	"		"
Daily	13.00	Zeesen	"	DJB, N, Q, E, S, M	English
Week days	13.45	Deutschland- sender	"		German
" "	14.00	O.M. stations	"		"
Daily	14.00	Zeesen	"	DJB, N, Q, E	German
"	15.00	"	"	DJB, N, Q, E	English, German
Daily	15.20	Zeesen	Echo from Germany	DJB, N, Q, E, M	German
"	17.45	"	News	DJX, DJC	Arabian
"	18.45	Melnik	"	269 m. 5	German
"	18.45	Zeesen	"	DJL, X, D, C	"
"	19.50	Vienna	"		Ukrainian
"	20.00	O.M. Stations	"		German
"	20.00	Zeesen	"	DJL, X, D, C	English
"	20.00	"	"	DJX	Afrikaans
"	20.15	Hambourg	"		English
"	20.15	Zeesen	Echo from Germany	DJL, X, D, C	German
"	20.15	Zeesen, Hambourg, Langenberg	News	DJA	English
Tuesday	20.30	Zeesen	Press review	DJL, X, D, C	German
"	20.45	Deutschland- sender	" "		"
Daily	22.00	O.M. Deutschland- sender	News		"
"	22.00	Zeesen	"	DJL, X, D, C	English
"	22.10	Melnik	"	269 m. 5	German
Friday, Saturday & Sunday	22.10	Saarbruck	Echo from the Frontier		"

Friday	22.15	Saarbruck	Scourge of Humanity		German
Daily	22.15	Zeesen, Hambourg, Langenberg	News	DJA	English
Tuesday	22.20	Vienna, Stuttgart, Breslau, Francfort	Review of the Press		German
Thursday	22.20	Francfort	Our Colonies		"
Daily	23.45	Zeesen	News	DJQ, E, N, R, B, D, Z	"

In the first week of each month Munich gives a Review of the Month.

Stations at Zeesen:

DJA	31 m.	38	DJD	25 m.	49	DJL	19 m.	85	DJR	19 m.	56.
DJB	19 m.	74	DJE	16 m.	89	DJN	31 m.	45	DJS	13 m.	99.
DJC	49 m.	83	DJH	16 m.	81	DJQ	19 m.	63	DJX	31 m.	01
									DJZ	25 m.	42

Wave lengths of the principal stations:

Deutschlandsender	1571 m.	Langenberg	456 m.	Stuttgart	523 m.
Hambourg	332 m.	Sarrebruck	240 m.	Francfort	251 m.
Munich	405 m.	Breslau	316 m.	Leipzig	382 m.
Berlin	357 m.	Königsberg	223 m.	Vienna	507 m.

GREAT BRITAIN

Daily	1.00	Daventry	News	Portuguese	GSE
Sunday	1.30	"	"	English	transmission 5
Week days	1.45	"	"	"	5
Daily	2.30	"	"	Spanish	GSB "
"	5.00	"	"	English	transmission 6
Sunday	8.55	"	"	"	" 1
Week days	9.00	"	"	"	1
Friday	13.00	Droitwich	Empire	"	National
					programme
Daily	14.15	Daventry	News	"	transmission 2
"	17.00	"	"	"	3
Daily	18.00	Droitwich	"	"	National
					programme
Sunday	18.10	"	Foreign Review	"	National programme
Tuesday	18.20	"	Laws	"	"
Daily	18.30	Daventry	News	Arabian	GSP "
Daily	19.00	"	News	English	transmission 4
Week days	19.00	Regional	"	"	"
Daily	19.00	Daventry	"	French	GSE
"	19.15	"	"	German	"
Wednesday	19.15	"	World Affairs	English	transmission 4

Davertry :	GSD	11.75	25 m. 53	GSO	15.18	19 m. 76
	GSE	11.86	25 m. 29	GSP	15.31	19 m. 6
	GSF	15.14	19 m. 82	GST	21.55	13 m. 92
	GSG	17.79	16 m. 86	GSV	17.81	16 m. 84
	GSH	21.47	13 m. 97			

Transmission 1 :	GSI	—	GSO	—	GSF	—	GSD	—	GSB		
„ 2 :	GSJ	—	GSG	—	GSV	—	GSF	—	GSE	—	GSH
„ 3 :	GSH	—	GSF	—	GSE	—	GSG	—	GSD	—	GSO
„ 4 :	GSG	—	GSD	—	GSC	—	and after 18.21 : GSB				
„ 5 :	GSE	—	GSD	—	GSB						
„ 6 :	GSD	—	GSC	—	GSB						

HOLLAND

As Holland changes to summer time on May 21, all broadcasts should be advanced one hour during the summer.

Daily about	13.00	Huizen	News	Dutch
Saturday	19.00	Hilversum	Journalistic review of the week	„
Saturday	19.50	„	Political review of the week	„
Daily	20.40	„	News	„
Daily	22.10	„	„	„

Wave lengths :

Hilversum I :	1875 m. and 415 m. 5
Hilversum II :	301 m. 5
Huizen PHI 2 :	16 m. 88
PHI :	25 m. 57
PCJ 2 :	19 m. 71
PCJ :	31 m. 28

HUNGARY

Daily	0.05	Budapest I	News	Hungarian
„	1.00	HAT 4	„	Hungarian, English, Slova-
Week days	7.00	Budapest I	„	kian, Ruthenian
Sunday	8.45	„	„	Hungarian
„	11.00	Kassa	„	„
Week days	11.35	„	„	Hungarian, Slovakian,
„	12.30	Budapest I	„	Ruthenian
Sunday	13.05	„	„	Hungarian
Week days	14.30	„	„	„
Sunday	15.10	approx. HAS 3	„	„
				Hungarian, English

Week days	15.50	Kassa	News	Hungarian
"	16.45	Budapest I	"	"
"	17.00	"	"	Slovakian, Ruthenian
Wednesday	19.00	approx. Budapest I	Talk	Hungarian
or Friday				
Daily	20.00	Budapest II	News	"
"	21.40	Budapest I	"	"
"	22.40	"	"	German, Italian, English, French
Wave lengths	HAS 3	19 m. 52	Budapest I	549 m. 5
	HAT 4	32 m. 88	Budapest II	834 m. 5

ITALY

Daily	0.00	2 RO - Rome I		French
"	0.00	2 RO - 3-4-6	for Latin America	Spanish
"	0.15	Radio Verdad	News	Catalonian
"	0.25	" "	"	Spanish
"	0.45	2 RO 3-4-6	for Latin America	Portuguese
"	1.15	" "	"	Italian
"	1.30	" "	for North America	English
"	2.45	" "	"	Italian
Week days	8.00	Rome I, Naples I, Bari I, Bologna, Bolzano, Milan I, Turin I, Trieste, Florence I, Palermo, Ancona, Rome II, Catania, Tripoli	News	Italian
Sunday	8.30	Rome I, Naples I, Bari I, Bologna, Bolzano, Milan I, Turin I, Trieste, Florence I, Palermo, Ancona, Rome II, Catania, Tripoli	News	
Daily	10.15	Addis-Ababa	News	Amharic and Galla
"	10.30	2 RO 6	For Oceania	English
Week days	10.30	2 RO 4	Arabian countries	Arabian
Sunday	10.45	2 RO 4	For Far East	French
Week days	11.20	2 RO 4 - 2 RO 8	For Far East	French
Daily	11.20	IRF - IQY		Russian
Daily	12.15	2 RO 4 - 2 RO 8	For Far East	English
Saturday	12.15	" "	News	French
Daily	13.15	Rome I, etc.	News	Italian
"	13.15	2 RO 4 - 2 RO 8	For Far East	
Saturday	13.25	" "	" "	Japanese
Daily	13.30	Tripoli	News	Arabian
"	13.30	2 RO 4-8 - RomeII	Italians in foreign countries	Italian
"	14.30	Rome I, etc.	News	Italian
"	14.30	2 RO 4-8 - RomeII	Italians in foreign countries	"
"	16.00	2 RO 4-6	Near East	"
"	17.00	"	" "	English

Daily	17.00	Rome I	News	Italian
"	17.20	Addis Ababa	"	"
"	17.50	2 RO 4-6	AOI	"
"	17.54	Bari I	"	Albanian
Saturday	18.07	2 RO 4 - Bari I - Tripoli	Talk	Arabian
Daily	18.20	2 RO 4 - Bari I - Tripoli	Arabian countries	"
"	19.00	2 RO 3-4 - Rome I	Journal of the Em- pire, Commentary	French
"	19.00	Addis Ababa	Journal of the Em- pire, Commentary	Italian
Mon. Wed. and Fri.	19.00	2 RO 9	News	Polish
Daily	19.00	Bari I	"	Bulgarian
"	19.20	2 RO 3-4 - Rome I	"	English
"	19.20	2 RO 9, Bari I	"	Roumanian
"	19.37	Rome II	"	Hungarian
Daily	19.37	2 RO 9, Bari I	News	Serbian
"	19.38	2 RO 3-4	AOI	Italian
"	19.50	IRF - IQY	News	Russian
"	19.56	Rome II	"	Turkish
"	20.00	Stations O.M.	"	Italian
"	20.15	Bari I	"	Greek
Week days	20.20	Stations O.M.	Commentary	Italian
Daily	20.35	2 RO 3-9, Rome II, Milan I, Bolzano	News	German
"	20.40	Radio Verdad	"	Spanish
"	21.00	IAC	"	Russian
"	21.00	Addis Ababa	"	Italian
"	23.00	Stations O.M.	"	"
"	23.30	2 RO 3, Rome II	"	Spanish
"	23.45	2 RO 3	"	Greek

O.M.

Bari I	283 m. 3
Bologna	304 m. 3
Bolzano	559 m. 7
Florence I	491 m. 8
Florence II	238 m. 5
Milan I	368 m. 6
Rome I	420 m. 8
Rome II	245 m. 5
Tripoli	271 m. 7
Ancona, Bari II, Genoa II, Milan II, Turin II, Rome III	221 m. 1
Naples II, Milan III, Turin III	209 m. 9
Trieste, Turin I, Genoa I	263 m. 2
Catania, Palermo	531 m.

O.C.

Rome Monte Mario	7 m. 40
Addis Ababa	31 m. 09
2 RO 3	31 m. 13
2 RO 4	25 m. 40
2 RO 6	19 m. 61
2 RO 8	16 m. 83
2 RO 9	31 m. 02
2 RO 12	19 m. 87
IRF	30 m. 52
IQA	20 m. 28
IQY	25 m. 70
IAC	47 m. 20

Radio Verdad from Milan and often Rome I.

JAPAN

Daily	20.30	Tokio	News	English
"	21.05	"	"	German
"	21.35	"	"	French
"	21.45	"	"	Japanese
<i>Wave lengths:</i>	JZJ	25 m. 63		
	JZI	31 m. 10		

LATVIA

Week days	6.20	All stations	News	Latvian
Sunday	7.25	" "	"	"
Monday	17.48	" "	Review of the week	"
Daily	19.00	" "	News	"
"	21.00	" "	"	"
Mon., Tues. and Fri.	22.00	Madona	"	English
Thursday	22.00	"	"	German
<i>Wave lengths:</i>	Kuldiga	271 m. 7		
	Madona	514 m. 6		
	Riga	238 m. 5		

LITHUANIA

Week days	7.05	Kaunas	News	Lithuanian
Sunday	7.30	"	"	"
Week days	12.00	"	"	"
Sunday	13.30	"	For Lithuanians in foreign countries	"
Week days	15.00	"	News	"
Sunday	18.30	"	"	"
Week days	19.00	"	"	"
" "	19.10	"	Review of the press	"
Thursday Tues. and Fri.	20.00	Kaunas	Review of Politics	Lithuanian
Daily	20.30	"	" News Elta "	"
Daily	21.55	"	"	"
<i>Wave lengths:</i>	Kaunas	1961 m.		
	Kaunas 3i	m. 80 approximately		

NORWAY

Sunday	12.50	All stations	News	Norwegian
Week days	13.00	" "	"	"
Daily	18.45	" "	"	"
"	21.48	" "	"	"
Monday	22.00	" "	Foreign political chronicle	"
<i>Wave lengths:</i>	Oslo	1153 m. 8		
	Jeloy LKC	31 m. 48 mornings		
	Jeloy LKJ	48 m. 94 afternoons		

POLAND

Daily	0.45	SPW, SPD, SP 19, SP 25	News	Polish, English
Week days	7.00	Warsaw I and stations O.M.	"	Polish
Sunday	8.00	Warsaw I and stations O.M.	"	"
"	11.45	Warsaw I and stations O.M.	Review of the press	"
Week days	16.00	Warsaw I and stations O.M.	News	"
Daily	20.00	SP 48, SP 31	"	"
Sundays	20.15	Warsaw I and stations O.M.	"	"
Week days	20.35	Warsaw I and stations O.M.	"	"
Daily	22.50	Warsaw I and stations O.M.	"	"
Sun. and Wed.	23.05	Warsaw I	"	English
Mon. and Fri.	23.05	"	"	French
Tues. and Sat.	23.05	"	"	German
<i>Wave lengths:</i>				
		Warsaw I, Raszyn	1339 m. 3	SPW 22 m.
		Warsaw II, Mokotow	216 m. 8	SPD 26 m. 01
		Wilno	559 m. 7	SP 19 19 m. 84
		Bacanowicze	557 m.	SP 25 25 m. 55
		Lotz	224 m.	SP 48 48 m. 86
		Katowice	395 m. 8	SP 31 31 m. 48

PORTUGAL

Daily	12.30	Lisbon	News	Portuguese
Week days	18.30	"	"	"
Daily	19.30	"	"	"
Sunday	19.30	"	International chronicle	"
T, W, T, F, S	19.40	"	News of Spain	"
Saturday	19.50	"	National chronicle	"
Daily	20.30	"	Daily happenings	"
Thursday	21.30	"	Weekly chronicle	"
Daily	22.30	"	News	"

Wave lengths: Lisbonne Emissao Nacional 476 m. 9
 C.S.W. 6 21 m. 17 from 17.00 to 22.30
 o'clock

RUMANIA

Daily	13.10	Radio Romania-Bucarest	News	Rumanian
Sunday	18.55	" " "	Weekly chronicle	"
Daily	21.00	" " "	News	"
"	22.00	" " "	"	"
Week days	22.45	" " "	"	French, Italian, English

Wave lengths: Radio Romania 1875 m.
 Radio Bucaresti 364 m. 5
 Radio Experimental 32 m. 40 (This station seems to relay regularly broadcasts of news.)

SLOVAKIA

Week days	6.50	Bratislava	News	Slovakian
"	7.15	"	Review of the press	"
Sunday	12.15	"	" " "	"
Week days	12.45	"	News	"
"	17.50	"	"	Hungarian
"	18.45	"	"	German
"	19.10	"	"	Slovakian
Sunday	19.20	"	"	"
Monday	21.00	"	Foreign politics	"
Daily	21.45	"	News	"
Daily	21.50	" (298 m. 8)	"	"
Sunday	22.30	"	"	German
Monday	22.30	"	"	Hungarian
Tuesday	22.30	"	"	Italian
Wednesday	22.30	"	"	English
Thursday	22.30	"	"	French
Friday	22.30	"	"	Polish
Saturday	22.30	"	"	Serbian

SPAIN

Daily	2.15	Radio Nacional	News for Latin America	Spanish
Week days	3.00	" "	News for North America	English
Daily	10.00	" "	News	Spanish
"	14.00	San Sebastien	"	French
"	15.30	Radio Nacional	"	Spanish
"	19.45	Barcelona, Valencia, Seville	"	French
Daily	20.45	Radio Nacional	News	Spanish
Week days	21.30	" "	"	German
"	21.40	" "	"	Italian
"	21.50	" "	"	Portuguese
"	22.00	" "	"	French

Daily	22.00	Barcelona, Valencia, Seville			
Weekly	22.15	Radio Nacional			French
Daily	23.20	Saragossa		Propaganda	English
"	23.45	Radio Nacional		News	French Spanish
<i>Wave lengths:</i>		Radio Nacional (Salamanca) 238 m. 5 and 40 m. From 21.30 to 22.30 and from 23.45 to 0.30 o'clock this program is relayed by :			
		FET 1 (Valladolid)	42 m. 83		
		FET 5 (Burgos)	40 m. 80		
		Radio Tenerife Tablero	28 m. 93		
		Radio Malaga	20 m. 76 and 41 m. 54		
		Seville	410 m. 4		
		Barcelona	377 m. and 293 m.		
		San Sebastian	231 m. 8		

SWEDEN

Week days	12.30	All stations	News	Swedish
Sunday	12.40	" "	"	"
Week days	19.00	" "	"	"
"	22.00	" "	"	"
<i>Wave lengths:</i>		Motala 1388 m. 9	Stockholm 426 m. 1	
		Motala SBO 49 m. 46	Horby 265 m. 3	
		Motala SBP 25 m. 64		

SWITZERLAND

Daily	12.30	Beromunster	News	German
"	12.30	Sottens	"	French
"	12.30	Monte Ceneri	"	Italian
Tuesday	19.10	Beromunster	League of Nations	German
Saturday	19.20	Sottens	Federal policy	French
Daily	19.30	Beromunster	News	German
"	19.50	Sottens	"	French
"	19.50	Monte Ceneri	"	Italian
Monday	21.30	All stations	For Swiss in foreign countries	
Friday	22.00	Sottens	International institutions	French
Monday	22.45	"	" "	"
<i>Wave lengths:</i>		Beromunster 539 m. 6		
		Monte Ceneri 257 m. 1		
		Sottens 443 m. 1		

TURKEY

Among others :

Daily	12.00	Ankara	19 m. 74	News	Turkish
"	19.00	Ankara	32 m. 70	"	"

U.S.A.

As the United States adopted summer time on April 30, the following broadcasts should be advanced one hour during the summer.

Week days	0.00	Boston	Monitor views the news	English	25 m. 45
Sunday	0.15	Pittsburgh	News	"	25 m. 26
Daily	0.30	Wayne	"	English, Spanish	25 m. 36
Week days except. Sat.	0.45	Pittsburgh	Lowell Thomas News	English	25 m. 26
Daily	1.00	"	"	"	25 m. 36
"	1.15	Wayne	"	Portuguese	25 m. 36
"	2.00	Bound Brook	"	English, Spanish	31 m. 02, 49 m. 18
"	5.00	Schenectady	"	English	31 m. 48
Week days except. Sat.	5.00	Wayne	"	English	31 m. 09
Week days except. Sat.	5.00	Pittsburgh	News	English	48 m. 86
Saturday	5.30	"	"	"	" "
Week days	13.45	Wayne	"	"	13 m. 91
Sunday	14.00	"	"	"	19 m. 91
Week days	14.00	Pittsburgh	"	"	19 m. 91
Daily	15.00	Bound Brook	"	"	13 m. 87, 16 m. 87
Week days	15.00	Pittsburgh	"	"	19 m. 72
"	18.00	"	"	"	"
Daily	18.00	W3XL	"	"	"
"	18.00	W8XK	"	Italian	"
"	19.00	W3XL	"	"	"
"	19.00	W8XK	"	German	"
"	19.00	Bound Brook	"	Italian	13 m. 87, 16 m. 87
"	19.00	Pittsburgh	"	"	19 m. 72
Week days	19.30	Wayne	"	English	19 m. 65
Daily	20.00	Bound Brook	"	German	13 m. 87, 16 m. 87
"	20.00	Pittsburgh	"	"	25 m. 26
"	20.00	W3XL	"	"	"
"	20.00	W8XK	"	French	"
"	21.00	Bound Brook	"	"	13 m. 87, 16 m. 87
"	21.00	Pittsburgh	"	"	25 m. 26
"	21.00	W3XL	"	"	"
"	21.00	W8XK	"	Portuguese	"
Week days	21.30	Boston	Monitor views the news	English	25 m. 45

Daily	22.00	Bound Brook	News	Portuguese	16 m. 87
"	22.00	Pittsburgh	"	"	25 m. 26
"	22.00	W8XK	"	Spanish	
Week days except. Sat.	22.15	Boston	News	French	25 m. 45
Week days	22.25	Schenedtady	"	English	19 m. 57, 31 m. 48
Friday	22.30	Boston	Behind the headlines	"	25 m. 45
Monday	22.55	"	World Affairs	"	"
Wednesday	22.55	"	Foreign Affairs	"	"
Daily	23.00	Bound Brook	News	Spanish	16 m. 87, 31 m. 02, 25 m. 26
"	23.00	Pittsburgh	"	"	"
"	23.15	W8XK	"	English	25 m. 36
Week days	23.30	Wayne	"	"	25 m. 36
W3XL — Bound Brook : 16 m. 87			W8XK — Pittsburgh : 25 m. 27		

U.S.S.R.

Daily	0.00	Moscow	Propaganda	Spanish	RAI, RW96, RW1, 49 m. 75
Thursday	0.00	"	"	Dutch	20 m. 05
Daily	1.00	"	"	English	RAI, RKI, RW96, 49 m. 75
Mon. Fri.	2.30	"	"	Portuguese	RNE
Daily	3.00	"	"	French	RAI
Sun. Tues. and Sat.	3.00	"	"	Spanish	RNE
Mon. Wed. and Fri.	3.15	"	"	"	RNE
Daily	4.00	"	News	Russian	RW1, RW87, RW53.
"	5.00	"	"	"	" " "
"	6.20	"	News from the Press	"	" " "
"	9.00	"	Propaganda	English	RW 96 " "
6, 12, 18, 24 and 30th	9.45	"	News	Russian	"
Other days	10.00	"	"	"	"
"	11.30	"	News for the Far East	Russian	"
Week days	12.00	"	Propaganda	German	RNE
Sunday	12.00	Moscow	Propaganda	English	RNE
Wednesday	12.30	"	"	"	RNE
Sunday	13.00	"	"	German	"
Saturday	13.00	"	"	Dutch	"
Sunday	14.00	"	"	Swedish	RW 53
"	14.00	"	"	Dutch	RNE
"	15.00	"	"	French	"
Daily	16.00	"	News	Russian	RW 1, 31 m. 55

Daily	16.00	Moscow	Propaganda	Spanish	RNE
Sunday	16.00	"	"	English	"
Daily	16.15	"	News for the Army	Russian	RW 1, 31 m. 55
Sunday	17.00	"	Propaganda	Spanish	RNE
Mon. Fri.	18.00	"	Review of int'l politics	Russian	RW 1, 31 m. 55
Wednesday	18.00	"	Review of int'l press	"	"
Sunday	18.00	"	Propaganda	German	RNE
Daily	19.00	"	"	"	RW96, RKI, 49m.75
"	19.00	"	"	French	RNE
"	20.00	"	"	German	RW96, RKI, 49 m75
"	21.00	"	"	Italian	RNE, RW 43.
"	21.30	"	News	Russian	RW 1, 31 m. 53
"	21.30	"	Propaganda	Czech	RIA
Mon. Tues.					
Wed. Thurs.					
Sat.	21.30	"	Propaganda	German	RNE
Week days	22.00	"	"	"	RW 53, RW 96, 49 m. 75
Sun. Mon. and Fri.	22.00	"	"	English	RW 1, RNE
Tuesday	22.00	"	"	French	RNE
Wed. Thurs.					
Fri. & Sat.	22.00	"	"	"	RW 1, RNE
Tuesday	22.00	Moscow	Propaganda	Dutch	RW 1
Thursday	22.00	"	"	Hungarian	RW 87
Sun. Fri.	23.00	"	"	French	RW 1, RNE
Sun. Wed. Fri.	23.00	"	"	German	RW 53, RW 96, 40 m. 75, 1442 m.
Mon. Wed. Sat.	23.00	"	"	Hungarian	RW 87, RNE
Monday	23.00	"	"	Dutch	RW 53
Tuesday	23.00	"	"	Swedish	RW 1
Tuesday	23.00	"	"	Portuguese	RNE
Thursday	23.00	"	"	Spanish	RW 1, RW 96, RAI, 49 m. 75
Thurs. Sat.	23.00	"	"	Swedish	RW 53
" "	23.00	"	"	English	RNE
Friday	23.00	"	"	French	RNE, RW 1.
Saturday	23.00	"	"	Spanish	RW 1

Wave lengths :

RW 1	1744 m.	RW 53	1107 m.	RW 96	49 m. 75
RW 10	1442 m. (Minsk)	RW 87	1210 m.	RKI	19 m. 95
RW 43	1293 m.	RW 96	31 m. 51	RAI	31 m. 25
RW 49	1531 m.	RW 96	19 m. 76	RNE	25 m.
				RIA	25 m. 62

19 m. 89, 20 m. 05, 31 m. 53

In addition to the above, the following Russian broadcasts will be given during the summer :

Daily	3.00	Moscow News	Russian	RWI-RW 96 (49.75 and 19.76)
"	6.45	"	"	RWI-RW 96 (19.76)
"	7.30	" Review of press	"	" "
Sat. 6, 12, 18, 24 and 30	14.00	" News	"	RWI-RW 96 (31.55)
the 8, 14, 20 and 26	20.30	" Review foreign press	"	" "

The above broadcasts from 4 to 5 o'clock are relayed by RNE.

RNE relays RW 1 from 4 to 5.40 destined for the Caucasians.

From 3 to 4.15 RW 1 is relayed by RW 96 on 49 m. 75 and 19 m. 76

From 10 to 13 o'clock RW 1 is relayed by RW 96 on 31 m. 55 and 19 m. 76

From 20 to 24.05 o'clock RW 1 is relayed by RW 96 on 31 m. 55 and 49 m. 75

} for the
Far East.

VATICAN

The station broadcasts in French, Italian, English, German, Spanish, Russian and Polish, without having a stable programme. The broadcasts take place on the following wave lengths :

19 m. 84
31 m. 06
31 m. 41
25 m. 55
48 m. 47

YUGOSLAVIA

Sunday	9.00	Ljubliana News	Serbian
"	12.15	Zagreb "	Serbian or Croatian
Week days	12.45	Ljubliana "	Serbian
"	12.55	Zagreb "	Serbian or Croatian
Sunday	13.00	Ljubliana "	Serbian
"	16.30	Zagreb "	Serbian or Croatian
Week days	16.45	" "	" "
Daily	19.00	Ljubliana "	Serbian
Week days	19.00	Zagreb "	Serbian or Croatian
Saturday	20.00	Ljubliana International politics	Serbian
Daily (?)	20.30	YUA News	English
"	22.00	Ljubliana "	Serbian
"	22.00	Zagreb "	Serbian or Croatian

Wave lengths : Belgrade 437 m. 3
Zagreb 276 m. 2
Belgrade YUA 49 m. 18

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An Arno Press/New York Times Collection

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