

A STUDY OF THE FUNCTIONS AND MAJOR
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VOICE OF AMERICA

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF THE FUNCTIONS AND MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VOICE OF AMERICA

By Setsuko Ninomiya

This thesis is primarily concerned with a study of the Voice of America's (VOA) broadcasting from its creation in 1942 through 1960. The study is based largely upon information secured from government publication and from actual field study of VOA operations.

VOA, the international broadcasting service of the United States government, grew out of the combination of six private international broadcasting companies under a Presidential Executive Order in 1942. It continued to operate during the war and has expanded its operations since to counteract the communist challenge.

In the beginning, the objective of VOA was to disseminate wartime information at home and abroad. Its peacetime objective, however, has been to transmit to the world information regarding America, its people and culture. In recent years, an emphasis also has been placed upon the transmission of governmental policies.

This study illustrates how the operations of VOA have been modified in terms of social changes in this country and

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abroad. It concludes that VOA is a distinctive product of the American society and its people, and that VOA cannot be understood without relating it to American society.

Some specific recommendations are made for the improvement of VOA operations.

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OF THE VOICE OF AMERICA

By

Setsuko Ninomiya

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INTRODUCTION

The role of international communication is indeed a complicated one. Its purposes are varied and its targets are remote, both geographically and ideologically. Only policy can determine what its role is to be, policy which in turn is determined by the ends desired, and by the public in a democratic society.

Among the contemporary ways of communicating to foreign countries, the most highly publicized is that of radio. Hundreds of powerful transmitters cover the entire globe with messages designed to weaken foes, bolster friends, win new friends and supporters for various policies.

In recent years, international broadcasting has become increasingly important in world affairs. During the recent presidential election campaign, both Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Nixon stressed the importance of international broadcasting in this age of ideological struggle.

Despite its importance, comparatively few studies have been made in the field of international broadcasting, particularly of the Voice of America. The purpose of this thesis is to study the functions and major characteristics of VOA. The thesis is divided into four chapters: Historical Development of VOA, Function and Operation, Programs, and Conclusions.

Chapter I of this thesis is an attempt to describe the various private broadcasting companies operating during the early 1940's and show how they were incorporated into a new and centrally controlled information agency during World War II. For the sake of clarification, the chapter dealing with VOA's history, is divided into three chronological stages.

Chapter II discusses the functions and operation of VOA. It attempts to analyze some controversial issues surrounding VOA operations and draws some conclusions as to causes of some of its problems. It also contains informational material gathered from interviews with VOA officials. The relationship of VOA to other government operations and to the American people is explored with an emphasis upon the separation of private domestic broadcasting from official international communication.

Chapter III is devoted to VOA's program-making procedures, types of programs beamed to foreign countries, fluctuation of total broadcasting hours of programs in different languages, geographical and linguistic nature of international broadcasting, and the nature of foreign audiences. In addition, an analysis is made of certain international crises as they related to VOA broadcasting, main examples being the Hungarian Revolution and the Near East Crisis in Suez.

In Chapter IV, Conclusions, the thesis is summarized. Also, suggestions are made based on current findings and other possible research areas are noted. It is evident from the findings that VOA cannot be understood unless one comprehends general American values, ideology, and the social context within which such broadcasting takes place.

During the period of research, the writer found that often various interpretations were given by different authors on the same topic. Whenever such a problem occurred, the writer depended upon official sources, such as the Congressional Records and USIA Report to Congress which are considered as primary source materials. Secondary source materials are also used, such as authoritative books and periodicals on international broadcasting. In addition, the writer made an actual field study of VOA, and materials from interviews with VOA officials are reported.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF THE VOICE OF AMERICA AND ITS
DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1942

During the two decades of the Voice of America's (VOA) broadcasting history, its organization and functions have undergone numerous changes along with the change of American society. In this chapter, the writer will review and examine carefully the main lines of development of VOA.

In order to describe the historical development, it is helpful to divide the period into three stages. These three stages are:

- Stage I: 1942-1954⁴⁵; early period of exploration for World War II propaganda carried out by the Office of Coordinator of Information, the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and the Office of War Information.
- Stage II: 1945-1953; period of survival through the concentration of the cultural work in the Department of State.
- Stage III: 1953-1960; period marked by the Cold War between the democratic free allies and world communism, commonly called ideological warfare, and the cultural program carried on by the United States Information Agency.

Stage I: 1942-1945

As the world economic, political and military crisis deepened in the 1930's, especially in the year 1939, the Roosevelt administration turned its attention to more positive action in the area of psychological warfare by short-wave broadcasting, in order to stabilize its economic, political and military position so that the United States would be able to cope with foreign interferences.

A good example of international interference was that of Nazi Germany. On January 30, 1933, Hitler became Chancellor and determined to make his country strong and united at home by suppressing all enemies of the new order. Socialists, communists, and liberals found their newspapers suppressed and their rights denied. Six million Jews were persecuted. Hitler stepped forward to build up strong military forces whereby he intended to unify all Germany's neighbors, especially Austria, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Greece. In April 1940, in a single day, Hitler invaded peaceful Denmark and Norway. In May he invaded Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg. Germany withdrew from the League of Nations in 1936. She had developed her war machine equal to any in Europe. England, France, the United States and to a lesser extent other countries, had been concerned seriously about German development, and

public opinion was greatly aroused.¹

In addition to aggressive acts of Hitler in Europe, the United States government thought that, "the disruption of international communications by the war would make it necessary for our government to distribute information abroad in order to reach the peoples of enemy-occupied, neutral, and Allied countries,"² so that national security might be effectively maintained.

Consequently, on July 11, 1941, by Presidential Order, the United States government set up the Office of the Coordinator of Information (COI)³ to engage for the first time in world

¹Condensed from an article entitled, "The History of Germany," Richards Topical Encyclopedia, Vol. 6 (The Richards Co., Inc., New York, 1955), pp. 240-41.

²The United States at War, Development and Administration of the War Program by the Federal Government, prepared under the auspices of the Committee of Records of War Administration, by the War Record Section, U.S. Bureau of the Budget (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office), no date of publication, p. 218.

³The Office of the Coordinator of Information, established by Military Order of the President on July 11, 1941, had been assigned two main functions. One was the coordination of intelligence materials from all sources, including the armed forces, and the other was the transmission of information abroad except to Latin America. The military order automatically placed the Office under the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and thus provided for a greater degree of security. The overseas information function was not specifically granted by the order but was based on an understanding between the Coordinator, Col. (later Gen.) William J. Donovan, and the President. The agency was directed by the President not to engage in domestic information activities. Ibid., pp. 218-219.

overseas short-wave broadcasting activities. The objectives of the Presidential Order were to assure the:

1. cultural exchange among the free nations of the world;
2. use of the media in time of war; and
3. maintenance of peace through explanation of various United States foreign policies to underdeveloped nations.

The next development was the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA), established by Executive Order 8840 of July 30, 1941, with Nelson Rockefeller as coordinator. Its main objectives were "to show the Latin Americans the extent and success of our war activity, and to show how the war was affecting inter-American relations; to elicit full desired collaboration from them in the common cause; to explain the reasons for some of the strains which arouse from our war effort; and to explain to the other American republics their role in the inter-American system."⁴

In the summer of 1941, CIAA arranged with thirteen broadcasting stations to assume the responsibility for transmission of overseas programs by short-wave radio broadcasting.⁵ At that

⁴ Charles A. H. Thomson, Overseas Information Service of the United States Government, (The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1948), p. 123.

⁵ In the United States, thirteen transmitters were owned and operated by six licensees: Columbia Broadcasting System, Crosley Corporation, The General Electric Company, National

time private American international broadcasters were interested in distributing programs to Latin American countries "to establish future profitable operations, not to advance the national interest as such."⁶

In order to provide the news effectively to South America, the six broadcasting stations set up a central office (the Coordinator of International Broadcasting) under CIAA's support.

Encouraging CBS and NBC as well as the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation, CIAA arranged to produce better quality domestic feature programs to Latin American audiences. CIAA also helped CBS and NBC to establish radio chains in South America. The following quotation will illustrate the CIAA's contribution to international broadcasting in its early stages of development:

CIAA prepared and distributed in Latin America consolidated lists of United States radio programs heard there. By the summer of 1941 an over-all survey of the whole field of communication to South America was authorized by the President, who established an informal interdepartmental committee under CIAA leadership to carry it out.⁷

Broadcasting Company, The World Wide Broadcasting Corporation and Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company. For more information, see Arthur W. MacMahon, Memorandum on the Postwar International Information Program of the United States, (Department of State, Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945), p.45.

⁶Thomson, op. cit., p. 129.

⁷Ibid., p. 130. For more detail, see ibid., p. 154.

In the early period of its broadcasting activities, CIAA used three languages extensively. These were: Spanish (ten stations), Portuguese (two stations), and English (one station). As English is an important second language in Latin America, English language programs produced on the West Coast were also transmitted to Latin American audiences.⁸

In cooperation with COI, CIAA transmitted special programs to South America, for the purpose of good inter-American relations. The radio broadcasts of CIAA to Latin America were regarded as "an integral part of its general cultural and commercial relations program which was worked out in close cooperation with the State Department."⁹ Although CIAA maintained control over programming and production, there was neither plan nor program to follow a consistent policy of the United States. Most of the programs were of the entertainment type and there was much criticism of poor technical reception. The following excerpt from Propaganda by Shortwave is pertinent:

. . . special features such as the reading and answering of fan mail, the commemoration of national holidays and other special Latin American events now received attention, advance programs were sent out, and reception improved. Much criticism, however, was still leveled against the organization of these broadcasts. Thus the best programs originated at stations too weak to be heard clearly, or which could be received in certain parts of Latin America

⁸ Ibid., p. 130.

⁹ The United States at War, op. cit., p. 218.

only, while technically the best equipped stations were those avowedly experimental ones operated by the great electrical companies, sending less elaborate and less well-designed programs with much general network material in the English language.¹⁰

When World War II broke out on December 7, 1941,¹¹ the American people became concerned with the power of psychological warfare by short-wave radio broadcasting as a means of developing a nation's ideological policy as an instrument of conquest. Prior to the establishment of the Office of War Information (OWI) the executives in COI and CIAA realized the importance of psychological warfare by short-wave radio stations broadcasting. They thought that it was necessary for the government to make use of the eleven short-wave stations broadcasting to audiences abroad. Thus, expanded programs were set up, as stated in the following words:

. . . the United States government information service should speak abroad with the voice of America, not with the voice of émigrés It was more important to be understood clearly, abroad even in slightly unfashionable speech, than to deal with irrelevant issues in the latest Berlin or Tokyo slang.¹²

¹⁰Harwood L. Childs and John B. Whitton, Propaganda by Short-wave (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1942), p. 47.

¹¹Various dates are given by different authors concerning deceleration of World War II, however, December 7, 1941 is Western time and December 8 is Oriental time.

¹²Thomson, op. cit., p. 44.

The accelerated program inevitably forced change in the main structure of operation in order to bring about effective utilization of broadcasting.

According to the New York Times, on February 19, 1942, the press commented on the COI and CIAA short-wave radio operation leasing plan by saying:

. . . the present plan, the Office of the Coordinator of Information William J. Donovan, will take over sixteen hours daily of the time of the stations and the Office of the Coordinator of American Affairs, Nelson Rockefeller is expected to make use of the remaining eight hours. Officials said that eleven short-wave stations were involved in the leasing plan and private companies named as now controlling the stations include NBC, Crosley, Westinghouse and General Electric. It was denied that "the big stick" was being employed by the government in making arrangements.

Under the present arrangement material prepared by the Donovan and Rockefeller offices is sent to the short-wave stations by way of the Office of the Coordinator of Short-wave Broadcasting at 270 Madison Avenue.¹³

The enthusiasm shown by private international broadcasting companies was certainly an important factor in the development of the service, and, through their contributions, United States morale and prosperity were strengthened during this early period. The private international broadcasting companies participating in the services were called "Voluntary Coordination," as mentioned by Barrett.¹⁴

¹³ "Government To Run Short-wave Radio," The New York Times, February 19, 1942, p. 10:3.

¹⁴ Edward W. Barrett, Truth Is Our Weapon (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1953), p. 25. During this period, OWI actually

The operation, later to be called the Voice of America, or the VOA, went on the air for the first time February 24, 1942. The name, Voice of America, was formally adopted when the United States Information Agency was created on August 1, 1953.¹⁵

As the war developed, President Roosevelt decided to apply psychological warfare techniques in military operations in order to meet the national emergency situation. Therefore, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9182 on June 13, 1942, consolidating information activities of the government

put less emphasis on simple technical skills and more emphasis on first-hand knowledge of the customs, tastes, and susceptibility of the particular audiences abroad. With the OWI's efforts and private international broadcasting companies cooperation, they later added relay stations in Algiers, England, Hawaii, and Saipan and they devoted vast amounts of time to talking with foreign editors, correcting false impressions about U.S., and its aim. The word "Voluntary Coordination" was derived from these private and official joint efforts in the common goal. Ibid., pp. 25-26.

¹⁵ Many writers referred to this operation as the VOA for the period immediately following 1942, although the title, according to this writer, was not formally adopted until the creation of USIA, in 1953. For more information, see The Voice of America, United States Information Agency, no date of publication, p. 1, and U.S. Information Agency, Report to Congress, 1st-11th, 1953-58, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955), August-December 1953 series, p. i.

by establishing the Office of War Information.¹⁶

The following is President Roosevelt's Executive Order which explains OWI's significance as well as its organization:

In recognition of the right of the American people and of all other peoples opposing the Axis aggressors to be truthfully informed about the common war effort, and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution by the First War Power Act, 1941, and as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, it is hereby ordered as follows:

The following agencies, powers, and duties are transferred and consolidated into an Office of War Information which is hereby established within the Office for Emergency Management in the Executive Office of the President

There is established within the Office of War Information a committee on War Information Policy consisting of the Director as Chairman, representatives of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Joint Psychological Warfare Committee, and of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and such other members as the director, with the approval of the President, may determine. The Committee on War Information Policy shall formulate basic policies and plans on war information, and shall advise with respect to the development of coordinated war information.

Consistent with the war information policies of the President and with the foreign policy of the United States, and

¹⁶ Executive Order 9182 was intended to cope with powerful propaganda agencies of Japan, Germany and Italy in an effort to gather war information to provide news to Allied Forces in the Pacific areas, to counter-attack the enemy's psychological warfare thereby weakening the spirits of the common enemy and boosting the morale of United States troops. In the middle of 1942, Germany was reported to control 68 transmitters, while Japan controlled 46. For more information, see MacMahon's report, op. cit., p. 45.

after consultation with the Committee on War Information Policy, the Director shall perform the following functions and duties:

- A. Formulate and carry out, through the use of press, radio, motion picture, and other facilities, information programs designed to facilitate the development of an informed and intelligent understanding, at home and abroad, of the status and progress of the war effort and of the war policies, activities, and aims of the Government.
- B. Coordinate the war information activities of all Federal Departments and agencies for the purpose of assuring an accurate and consistent flow of war information to the public and the world at large.
- C. Obtain, study, and analyze information concerning the war effort and advise the agencies concerned with the dissemination of such information as to the most appropriate and effective means of keeping the public adequately and accurately informed.
- D. Review, clear, and approve all proposed radio and motion picture programs sponsored by Federal departments and agencies; and serve as the control point of clearance and contact for the radio broadcasting and motion picture industries, respectively in their relationships with Federal departments and agencies concerning such Government program.¹⁷

The Office of War Information (OWI), at the initial stage of its operation, was directed by Elmer Davis. Its primary objective was "to reduce the confusion over the information about the war to the home front, which had arisen because several agencies, emergency and permanent, were operating in the field of domestic information."¹⁸

¹⁷ Federal Register, Vol. 7, No. 117 (June 16, 1942), pp. 4468-4469.

¹⁸ Thomson, op. cit., p. 4.

The basic principles and objectives underlying the Office of War Information have already been reviewed, however. According to the Congressional Record, OWI's primary policy was to provide wartime news and information at home and abroad. The following quotation from a statement by Clifton A. Woodrum of Virginia in the House of Representatives on October 12, 1942 requesting appropriations for OWI, illustrates two major purposes:

First it has the duty of seeing to it that the people of this country receive clear and accurate war information about the war and whole truth about how the war is going. This is the field of the domestic operation of the Office of War Information. The second great task entrusted to this agency is the dissemination of war information overseas to our allies, to the conquered countries, and to the people of enemy countries.¹⁹

Tremendous efforts were made by other government agencies such as Rockefeller's CIAA and Donovan's COI to utilize short-wave radio broadcasting as an arm of American diplomacy, in addition to providing war information. Consequently, the government contracted for the full-time use of privately-owned international broadcasting facilities in the United States in June, 1942. These developments, in turn, changed the images and outlooks of broadcasters from domestic to international affairs.

¹⁹ United States of America, Congressional Record Appendix, Vol. 88, Pt. X, 77th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1942, p. A3623.

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Throughout World War II, OWI used news as the main form of psychological warfare. This policy was based on the following views as to effectiveness in propaganda.

American propaganda specialists had been impressed by the skill with which German, Italian, and Japanese propaganda agencies had taken advantage of the standards and practices of American journalism to get circulated in America, in a guise other than that of "propaganda," much material favorable to the Axis cause If propaganda takes the form of news rather than ideological argument or debate, it will be more widely heard and more favorably considered Our propagandists estimated that the long-run trends in world news would be favorable to the Allied cause; that our audiences could safely be left to draw the proper conclusions as to Allied or Axis victory from our news would be large and increasing.²⁰

In the early stages of the Voice of America's development, OWI's Radio Bureau, which was established in June, 1942, absorbed the work of the Radio Section of the Division of Information in the Office for Emergency Management and the Radio Division of the Office of Facts and Figures.²¹

The following quotation explains the work of OWI's Radio Bureau during that early period:

It reviewed and cleared for conformance with war-information policies all proposed radio programs sponsored by Federal agencies and served as a contact for the agencies in their relations with the radio-broadcasting and radio-advertising industries. It channelled government information programs to the public through both commercially sponsored and sustaining radio shows, obtaining the use of programs with a known audience through the facilities

²⁰ Thomson, op. cit., p. 36.

²¹ Civilian Agencies, Federal Records of World War II, Vol. I, (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 557.

of its several operating plans (the network allocation plan, the national spot-allocation plan, and the station-announcement plan); and it kept the radio industry informed of the relative importance of the many different demands for contributions.²²

In short, during four years of its operation, under OWI, the Radio Bureau developed an extensive government-controlled system by "using as many as 25 languages and dialects, involving 2,700 broadcasts a week (1,700 direct, 1,000 relays) averaging 15 minutes each, from the New York Office alone; with an additional 22 languages or dialects and some 1,200 programs per week from the San Francisco office."²³

During the war a total of about 40 transmitters were operated; among them were 19 government-built transmitters. For the facilities and construction of these transmitters, the government spent about \$6,700,000. In addition, the same amount of budget was used abroad in order to make newer and stronger installations of the overseas government broadcasting networks.²⁴

With the abolition of OWI on August 31, 1945, the Radio Bureau formally was taken over by the U. S. Department of State.

²²Federal Records of World War II, op. cit., p. 557.

²³Thomson, op. cit., p. 55.

²⁴MacMahon, op. cit., p. 45.

Stage II: 1945-1953

In this section, the writer will attempt to describe the transfer of international broadcasting activities from OWI to the State Department.

During World War II, both officials of CIAA and OWI began to think of how mass media could be used to serve long-term government purposes. Particularly, they were concerned with direct international broadcasting after the war. As early as 1943, they had considered the establishment of some kind of permanent United States government international information program to serve both in war and in peace.

On November 16, 1943, President Roosevelt sent the following memorandum to Mr. James L. Fly, then Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, calling attention to the postwar importance of direct international broadcasting:

If the principle of freedom to listen is to help in providing the basis for better understanding between the peoples of the world, it seems to me important that we lay the proper foundations now for an effective system of international broadcasting for the future years

I hope you as chairman of the Commission and as chairmen of the Board of War Communications will endeavor to see that this matter is given thorough study by those agencies. The problem as to the scope of the physical set-up and of the type of control to be exercised will become important. In the meantime I will assume also

that in your studies of the radio spectrum and in planning the allocation of radio frequencies you will need to make provision for this significant work.²⁵

For technical reasons, the Interdepartmental Radio Advisory Committee²⁶ opposed direct international broadcasting. In 1944, the committee stated:

With regard to international broadcasting, the committee has recognized that the present international broadcast system is unsound from an engineering standpoint because of the number of stations which are crowded into the small bands now allocated and because of the consequent tremendous interference which exists between these stations. It is apparent to the Committee that an effective direct international broadcast service would require an inordinate amount of spectrum space. Because of the wide bands used for direct broadcasting and the inefficiency of the receivers in the hands of the general public as compared with those operated by common carriers or government operating agencies, it is estimated that, instead of the present 7 percent, more than 50 percent of the spectrum between 4 and 20 megacycles would have to be allocated to provide an adequate international broadcast service with a consequent dangerous restriction in the amount of space available for aviation, maritime, fixed and other international communications of the entire world.

For the foregoing reasons, the Committee was unable to effect an allocation for the service of direct international

²⁵MacMahon, op. cit., p. 46.

²⁶The Interdepartmental Radio Advisory Committee (IRAC) was established by the Secretary of Commerce on April 24, 1922. By Executive Order 8546 of September 24, 1940 the Committee was assigned to the Defense Communications Board. Upon the termination of the Board in 1947, the committee reverted to its former independent status. The committee is concerned with broadcasting matters and is made up of representatives of different governmental departments. Information obtained from Document Index, U.S. Agency History Card, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

broadcasting, and pending a decision as to the policy to be adopted, was required to assume that the relay methods would be employed by stations operating in the spectrum space assigned to fixed services. . . . It seems doubtful that effective direct international broadcasting can be justified except at a dangerous expense to maritime, aviation, amateur and transoceanic communication services.²⁷

Despite the views expressed by the Interdepartmental Radio Advisory Committee, the Department of State's Special Committee on Communications on February 19, 1945, made the following recommendations, that

1. Direct short-wave broadcasts originating in the United States be continued after the war on a daily basis.
2. Facilities, both as to quantity and quality, should in general be as good as those of any other country.²⁸

The Department of State had previously made drastic organizational changes, having issued Departmental Order 1301 which became effective on December 20, 1944, the purpose of which was "to increase the effectiveness of the Department of State and the Foreign Service of the United States as instruments of the American people in the formulation of United States foreign policy and the conduct of United States foreign relations. To this end, adjustments are made in 1) the assignment of responsibilities among the principal officers of the Department and 2) the organization of the Department."²⁹

²⁷ MacMahon, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 53.

²⁹ Department of State Bulletin, December 17, 1944 (Supplement edition), p. 778.

Its most important organizational change was the establishment of an Office of Public Affairs which was responsible for "the problems of freedom of information among peoples and for furthering the interchange of scientific and cultural knowledge with other countries."³⁰ For the purpose of effective operation, specific details of the International Information Division were spelled out as follows:

The International Information Division shall have responsibility for the formation and coordination of policy and programs related to the Department's participation in overseas dissemination of information through the media of films, radio, and publications. This includes the development and furtherance of international film, radio, and publications programs of other Federal agencies and advisory liaison with private organizations and industries on international information problems. The major functions of the Division are:

- (A) Initiation and formulation of over-all policy of the Department regarding the role and scope of official overseas information programs and projects of the Government in the conduct of United States foreign relations;
- (B) Initiation and development of the Department's program of overseas information services, by means of films, radio broadcasts, and publications and publication materials (other than books and specialized periodicals, which are handled by the Division of Cultural Cooperation);
- (C) Advising and cooperating with officials of other Government agencies, particularly emergency agencies such as the Office of War Information and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, in the planning and development of overseas information programs, and on the relationship of these programs activities to United States foreign policy;

³⁰ United States Government Manual, 1945, 2nd ed., (Washington Division of Public Inquiries, Government Information Service, Bureau of the Budget, 1945), p. 192.

(D) In cooperation with appropriate geographic and other offices of the Department, development of the Department's overseas information policies, and issuance of instructions to United States Foreign Service officers regarding them;

(E) In collaboration with other agencies, preparation of operational and other instructions to United States Foreign Service of officers carrying on informational programs in countries where the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs have no representation;

(F) Participation in development of policy recommendations regarding transitional and postwar overseas informational use of international information media;

(G) Participation in interdepartmental and intergovernmental committees and international conferences concerned with the content and informational use of international information media;

(H) Advisory liaison with commercial and other private organizations and interests within the field of the Divisions' responsibilities for foreign policy aspects of overseas information activities;

(I) The official attestation of the international educational character of documentary films;

(J) Cooperation with the divisions concerned in planning and arranging for appropriate motion picture, radio and related presentations at international conferences and meetings;³¹

On August 31, 1945, President Truman issued Executive Order 9608. Under this Executive Order, the International Information Division was placed under the International Information Service, the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC). The order abolished the OWI and

³¹Department of State Bulletin, op. cit., p. 792.

the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and transferred the functions of both agencies to the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs in the Department of State, which office had been established December 31, 1945.

The permanent peacetime program of OIC as stated at that time had nine major elements:

1. An exchange-of-persons program of students, professors and distinguished visitors.
2. Maintenance and serving of American libraries of information in 60 countries abroad.
3. A daily wireless bulletin to the Department of State missions abroad containing the full texts, or textual excerpts, of important official announcements.
4. A documentary service to supply the Department of State Missions, by mail, with background material, biographical sketches, and information about life in the United States.
5. Photo-exhibits, displays, and film-strips for non-commercial use abroad.
6. The continuation of the bimonthly distribution of the Russian language magazine, America, for U.S.S.R.
7. Acquisition, adaptation, and scoring in foreign languages a continuing series of newsreels and documentary films about the United States.
8. The on-the-spot work of small staffs in the Department of State missions abroad, to provide a program of cultural cooperation.
9. Short-wave broadcasting to cover the whole world.³²

³²William Benton, "Can America Afford To Be Silent?" United States Department of State Bulletin, Vol. XIV, No. 341, (Washington 25, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 9-10.

Under this program, the international radio broadcasting service was carried out under the OIC's Division of International Broadcasting in the Department of State.

Mr. Dick Fitzpatrick, associate editor of The Quill, favored the federal government's program of international broadcasting in operation at that time:

. . . it is a recognition by the President, by the State Department and by the Congress that informational activities, particularly short-wave broadcasting, are actually essential and an integral part of the conducting of our foreign affairs. It is particularly striking that this type of activity has been approved in the United States where, traditionally, the idea of government engaging in informational activities is abhorrent and where the entrance of government into any new field is bitterly opposed.³³

During this period of international broadcasting, both its quality improved and its quantity increased markedly. The government's program of international broadcasting service included a total of 18 languages on the air 32 1/4 hours daily.³⁴ Among them, 9 hours were broadcast in English to all countries and 14 1/4 hours were broadcast in the following languages:

- 45 minutes German to Austria
- 30 minutes Bulgarian
- 60 minutes Chinese
- 60 minutes Czechoslovak
- 60 minutes French
- 45 minutes German to Germany

³³ Dick Fitzpatrick, "Telling the World about America," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 10, 1946, p. 591.

³⁴ United States Advisory Commission on Information, (Department of State, March 1949), p. 63.

30 minutes Greek
 45 minutes Hungarian
 70 minutes Italian
 30 minutes Korean
 60 minutes Polish
 30 minutes Portuguese
 30 minutes Rumanian
 120 minutes Russian
 30 minutes Serbo-Croat
 15 minutes Slovene
 30 minutes Spanish to Spain
 65 minutes to Latin America ³⁵

The Department of State contracted with 7 international broadcasters for the operation of 39 transmitters in the United States. The locations of these transmitters, operated by the contracting companies were as follows:³⁶

State	No. of Transmitters
State of New York	7
State of New Jersey	8
State of Massachusetts	6
State of Ohio	8
State of California	<u>10</u>
Total	39

Broadcasters	No. of Transmitters
Associated Broadcasters	2
Crosley Corporation	8
CBS	9
General Electric	5
NBC	9
Westinghouse	1
World Wide	<u>5</u>
Total	39

³⁵Ibid., p. 63.

³⁶United States Advisory Commission on Information, op. cit., p. 68.

The United States government also operated four overseas relay stations in Munich, Wooferton, Manila, and Honolulu. The programming was decided according to the political conditions and interests of the country. However, in general, the programming consisted of news, news background, and cultural and entertainment features. The following quotation illustrates the content of international broadcasting activities:

. . . to Eastern Europe, the Voice of America broadcasts preponderantly news, and commentaries of a political and economic type; whereas, to Western Europe, cultural information and feature presentations make up a larger proportion of the output; to the Far East, news and political analyses form the major share of each broadcast; to Latin America features and a lighter type of programming are presented.³⁷

We shall examine in the next section the contributions of the Smith-Mundt Act, commonly called "Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948." The passage of this act resulted in the transfer of the Voice of America from the United States State Department to the United States Information Agency. (USIA)

³⁷Ibid., p. 64.

Stage III: 1953-1960

Thus far we have reviewed the historical developments of international broadcasting as carried on by the United States government, including the abolition of the OWI in 1945 and the subsequent transfer to the Department of State. In this section, the writer will describe the activities of the Voice of America as carried on by the United States Information Agency and will discuss its relationships with the Department of State, the Congress and the other governmental agencies.

After World War II, the Soviet Union boldly challenged the Western world by transforming Eastern Europe into a satellite empire. The Truman Doctrine represented a remarkable shift in world politics. The President publicly called attention to the aggressive tactics of the Soviet Union and suggested methods to meet the specific situation in Greece and Turkey. President Truman recognized that Soviet policies in the Eastern Mediterranean constituted a serious menace to the interests of the United States.³⁸

Furthermore, the United States used the Voice of America to counteract the aggressive acts of the Soviet Union in the Cold War.

³⁸Article concerning Truman Doctrine and his effort in making international peace, see book entitled American Democracy in Theory and Practice, rev. ed., by Robert K. Carr and other co-authors (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1955), pp. 563-622.

Accordingly, the United States reexamined its international information program in order to take the leadership against Iron Curtain ideology.

In February, 1948, the Soviet Union started to use a new technique, "jamming," to drown out the Russian-language transmissions to Asiatic Russia beamed from transmitters on the West Coast, in Honolulu, and Manila.³⁹ Ever since that time the United States government has been faced with systematic jamming of the Voice of America.

In March and April, jamming began against Voice of Russian programs relayed from Munich and Tangier. In August, the Russians started jamming BBC transmitters which relayed the Voice's Russian programs. British and U.S. locating equipment confirmed that the interference was coming from about twenty-five transmitters in the Soviet Union.⁴⁰

However, during the period 1945 to 1948 Congress failed "to appreciate the menace of Communist propaganda to American security and to grasp the possibilities inherent in the psychological approach."⁴¹ Congress did not yet recognize the value

³⁹The Soviet technique was not new. It amounted just to broadcasting various noises to disrupt any communications on the same wave length. In World War II all major powers had early used such jamming as a tactical weapon against enemy military communications. Then Germany, Italy, and Japan began jamming in an effort to block Allied broadcasts to the Axis peoples. With the end of the war, peace returned to the air waves and was interrupted only by some reciprocal jamming by Spain and Russia in 1946. Barrett, op. cit., pp. 115-1160.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 116.

⁴¹William E. Daugherty and Morris Janowitz, A Psychological Warfare Casebook (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1958), p. 29.

of "psychological warfare" by means of Voice of America as an instrument of national policy in peacetime. Congressional apathy reduced the United States international information program to educational exchange under the Fulbright Act and cultural exchange with Latin America through the Pan-American Union.⁴²

In due time, however, public opinion was aroused. There was criticism of Congress' role in foreign policy formation. It was said by some critics that Congress needed to reform itself in order to take positive leadership in the world.⁴³

On January, 27, 1948, President Truman approved the Smith-Mundt Act, cited as the "United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948."⁴⁴ The act provides that the United States government shall "conduct international information and educational exchange activities on a world-wide, long-term scale."⁴⁵ The act brought together government's information service and educational exchange service:

1. An information service to disseminate abroad information about the United States, its people, and policies promulgated by the Congress, the President,

⁴²Ibid., p. 29.

⁴³Richard C. Snyder and Edgar S. Furniss, Jr., American Foreign Policy (New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1954), p. 455.

⁴⁴Public Law, in U.S., Statutes at Large, 80th Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 62, Pt. 1, pp. 6-10.

⁴⁵Thompson, op. Cit., p. 1.

the Secretary of State and other responsible officials of government having to do with matters affecting foreign policies;

2. An educational exchange service to co-operate with other nations in:

- A. The interchange of persons, knowledge, and skills;
- B. The rendering of technical and other services;
- C. The interchange of developments in the field of education, the arts, and science.⁴⁶

The enactment of the Smith-Mundt Act provided statutory authority for the Voice of America as a part of a general international information program in peacetime.

The act established the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange that studied the U.S. international information operations pointing out weaknesses and recommending changes. Subsequently, there was a definite trend in the direction of integrating the information functions of the federal government within a single agency.⁴⁷

The Reorganization Act of 1949,⁴⁸ which was enacted June

⁴⁶Statutes at Large, op. cit., p. 6.

⁴⁷Reorganization Plan Nos. 7 and 8 of 1953, Hearings Before the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives 83rd Congress, 1st Sess., p. 155.

⁴⁸Beginning in 1932, Congress passed several acts authorizing the President to improve the efficiency of the executive branch by means of reorganization. The usual procedure has been for the President to appoint a commission to study the problem and to recommend improvements. One such committee reported in 1937, another, the "Hoover Commission," in 1949

20, 1949, provided the following power and authority to President Truman:

Section II:

- (A) The President shall examine and from time to time re-examine the organization of all agencies of the government and shall determine what changes therein are necessary to accomplish the following purposes:
- (1) To promote the better execution of the laws, the more effective management of the executive branch of the government and of its agencies and functions, and the expeditious administration of the public business;
 - (2) To reduce the number of agencies by consolidating those having similar functions under single head, and to abolish such agencies or functions thereof as may not be necessary for the efficient conduct of the government;
 - (3) To increase the efficiency of the operation of the government to the fullest extent practicable;
 - (4) To group, coordinate, and consolidate agencies and functions of the government, as nearly as may be, according to major purposes;
 - (5) To eliminate overlapping and duplication of effort.⁴⁹

After the Reorganization Act of 1949, the International Information program was examined by three investigative groups;

which discovered 199 statutes affecting personnel management in the Department of Agriculture because Congress has gone too far in specifying the way in which the powers of subordinate executive officials must be exercised. More information, see Robert K. Carr, op. cit., pp. 615-616.

⁴⁹Reorganization Act of 1949, in U.S. Statutes at Large, 81st Congress, 1st Sess., Vol. 63, Pt. I, p. 203.

a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Advisory Commission on Information, and Senator Joseph McCarthy's investigation of the international information program.⁵⁰

Particularly, Senator McCarthy probed "alleged disloyalty and supervision in the Voice of America and other aspects of the United States Information Program."⁵¹ However, behind scenes, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Nelson Rockefeller played important roles. They both maintained that all operational programs should be removed from the Department of State leaving it free to give full attention to its traditional functions of policy-making and diplomacy.⁵²

After long debate at hearings before the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, 83rd Congress, the Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1953 was approved by President Eisenhower. Plan No. 8 established a new agency, the United States Information Agency. The New York Times reported that "Eisenhower set out to revise and improve the psychological warfare program. He took the information services out of the

⁵⁰ A subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was conducted by Senator J. William Fulbright and the Advisory Commission on Information was headed by Dr. Mark A. May, Director of the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University. Oren Stephens, Facts to a Candid World (California: Stanford University Press, 1955), pp. 42-43.

⁵¹ Snyder and Furniss Jr., op. cit., p. 74.

⁵² Stephens, op. cit., p. 43.

State Department and placed them under an independent unit-- the United States Information Agency."⁵³

Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1953 was designed to lead to substantial economies and significantly improved effectiveness of administration, providing for reorganization of foreign information functions.⁵⁴ It provided an improved organizational arrangement as follows:

1. The Secretary of State shall direct the policy and control the content of a program, for use abroad, on official United States positions, including interpretations of current events, identified as official positions by an exclusive descriptive label.
2. The Secretary of State shall continue to provide to the Director on a current basis full guidance concerning the foreign policy of the United States.
3. Nothing herein shall affect the functions of the Secretary of State with respect to conducting negotiations with other governments.
4. To the extent the President deems it necessary in order to carry out the functions transferred by the foregoing provisions of this section, he may authorize the Director to exercise, in relation to the respective functions so transferred, any authority or part thereof available by law, including appropriation acts, to the Secretary of State, the Director for Mutual Security, or the Director of the Foreign Operations Administration, in respect of the said transferred functions.⁵⁵

⁵³ The New York Times, August 30, 1953, Sec. IV, p. 2.

⁵⁴ Reorganization Plan Nos. 7 and 8 of 1953, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

⁵⁵ Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1953 was prepared by the President and transmitted to the Senate and the House of Representatives in Congress assembled, June 1, 1953, pursuant to the provisions of the Reorganization Act of 1949, approved June 20, 1949, as amended. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

Under the authority of the Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1953, the Voice of America was transferred to the new independent agency, USIA, which was established on August 1, 1953. The purpose of USIA, according to the President's statement, was "to submit evidence to peoples of other nations by means of communication techniques that the objectives and policies of the United States are in harmony with and will advance their legitimate aspirations for freedom, progress, and peace."⁵⁶ This purpose is designed to be carried out primarily:

- (A) by explaining and interpreting to foreign peoples the objectives and policies of the United States Government;
- (B) by depicting imaginatively the correlation between United States policies and the legitimate aspirations of other peoples of the world;
- (C) by unmasking and countering hostile attempts to distort or to frustrate the objectives and policies of the United States, and
- (D) by delineating those important aspects of the life and culture of the people of the United States which facilitate understanding of the policies and objectives of the Government of the United States.⁵⁷

In accepting President Eisenhower's nomination as Director of USIA, Theodore C. Streibert, who was a former radio and advertising executive, wrote a letter to the President:

⁵⁶ U.S. Government Organization Manual 1954-55, (Washington D.C., Federal Register Division, General Service Adm. 1955), p. 485.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 485-486.

Under this new mission, avoiding a propagandistic tone, the agency will emphasize the community of interest that exists among freedom-loving peoples and show how American objectives and policies advance the legitimate interests of such peoples.

We shall therefore concentrate on objective, factual news reporting and appropriate commentaries, designed to present a full exposition of important United States actions and policies, especially as they affect individual countries and areas.

In presenting facts we shall see to it that they are not distorted and that their selection does not misrepresent a given situation.

We shall make sure that the tone and content of our material is forceful and direct, but we shall avoid a strident or antagonistic note.

This does not, of course, preclude us from making forceful, factual refutations of false accusations such as those that come from the Soviet Communist portion of the world.

. . . facts, and comment associated with facts, are more compelling than accusations and unsupported assertions on a wide variety of issues.⁵⁸

USIA has taken over the Voice of America and other international information activities which were authorized by the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948. USIA consolidated the international information activities which were formerly carried out by the International Information Administration, and the Mutual Security Agency. The Exchange of Persons Program was maintained in the Department of State.⁵⁹

⁵⁸The New York Times, October 29, 1953, p. 28.

⁵⁹The new agency is patterned on lines recommended by the President's Committee on International Information Activities (the Jackson Committee) and the Senate's Special Subcommittee on Overseas Information Programs (the Hickenlooper Committee). The work of these two committees has been of immeasurable help to the director. U.S. Information Agency, First Report to Congress, August-December, 1953, Foreword.

In the development of its history, USIA has cooperated with Department of State and the National Security Council and other government agencies. Each assistant director is responsible for the direction, coordination, and management of the United States information programs for the countries of his assigned region; Latin America, Europe, Far East, Near East, South Asia and Africa.⁶⁰

In accordance with the improvement of liaison and coordination between separate offices within USIA as well as with outside agencies and departments in Washington, Congress directed that the Voice of America be moved from New York to Washington, D.C., a move which was completed in November, 1954. The new Voice of America's offices and studios are located on the second floor of the Health, Education, and Welfare Building at 3rd and Independence Avenue S.W.⁶¹ This move resulted in "greatly improved integration of broadcasting services within the agency and made possible closer liaison with other governmental departments."⁶²

⁶⁰ United States Government Organization Manual 1954-55, op. cit., p. 486.

⁶¹ U.S. Information Agency, 2nd Report to Congress January-June, 1954, Washington, D.C., p. 9.

⁶² Daugherty and Janowitz, op. cit., p. 141.

This development and the intensification of the Cold War in 1956 led to greatly expanded USIA activities. The Voice of America expanded broadcasting operations with an increase of transmission at various times from 34 to 43 languages,⁶³ including such languages as Uzbek (spoken in the Central Asian area of Russia), and Gujarati, Telugu and Malayalam (spoken in India).⁶⁴

The number of program hours broadcast to the Soviet orbit has reached 79 daily. Programs in Cambodian, Hindi, Tamil, and English have been added for the people of Africa and Southeast Asia.⁶⁵ In order to reach more people of the world, "programs suitable for rebroadcast over local facilities are prepared and sent abroad to be aired."⁶⁶

Today, as of December 1960, the VOA broadcasts are beamed in 38 languages over a network of 76 transmitters providing

⁶³In 1954, Voice of America's 34 broadcast languages were Albanian, Armenian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, English, Estonian, French, Georgian, German, Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Rumanian, Russian, Serbo-Croat, Slovene, Spanish, Ukrainian, Amoy, Burmese, Cantonese, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Mandarin, Vietnamese, Thai, Arabic, Greek, Persian, and Turkish. U.S. Information Agency, 2nd Report to Congress, January-June, op. cit., pp. 10, 34.

⁶⁴U.S. Information Agency, 6th Report to Congress, January-June, 1956, p. 8.

⁶⁵U.S. Information Agency, 5th Report to Congress, July-December, 1955, p. 12.

⁶⁶Daugherty and Janowitz, op. cit., p. 142.

millions of listeners in the world with newscasts regarding the policies of U.S. Government and the life and culture of the American people.⁶⁷

Since the establishment of USIA in 1953, a number of developments and changes have occurred to improve the effectiveness of liaison and coordination between USIA and other governmental agencies. However, there has been no basic change of the organizational set-up of the Voice of America itself. With regard to relationships with other government agencies, it is significant that many of the changes have occurred "as the result of efforts to correct deficiencies in the manner in which the U.S. foreign information effort was being planned and administered."⁶⁸

In viewing the historical developments of the Voice of America, it can be said that the creation of an independent U.S. Information Agency has made a definite contribution in the development of national policy. In this sense, it also can be said that the stated mission of the Voice of America, by carrying on a "Campaign of Truth," has been to meet the challenge of communism in the Cold War, and to help promote world understanding and peace.

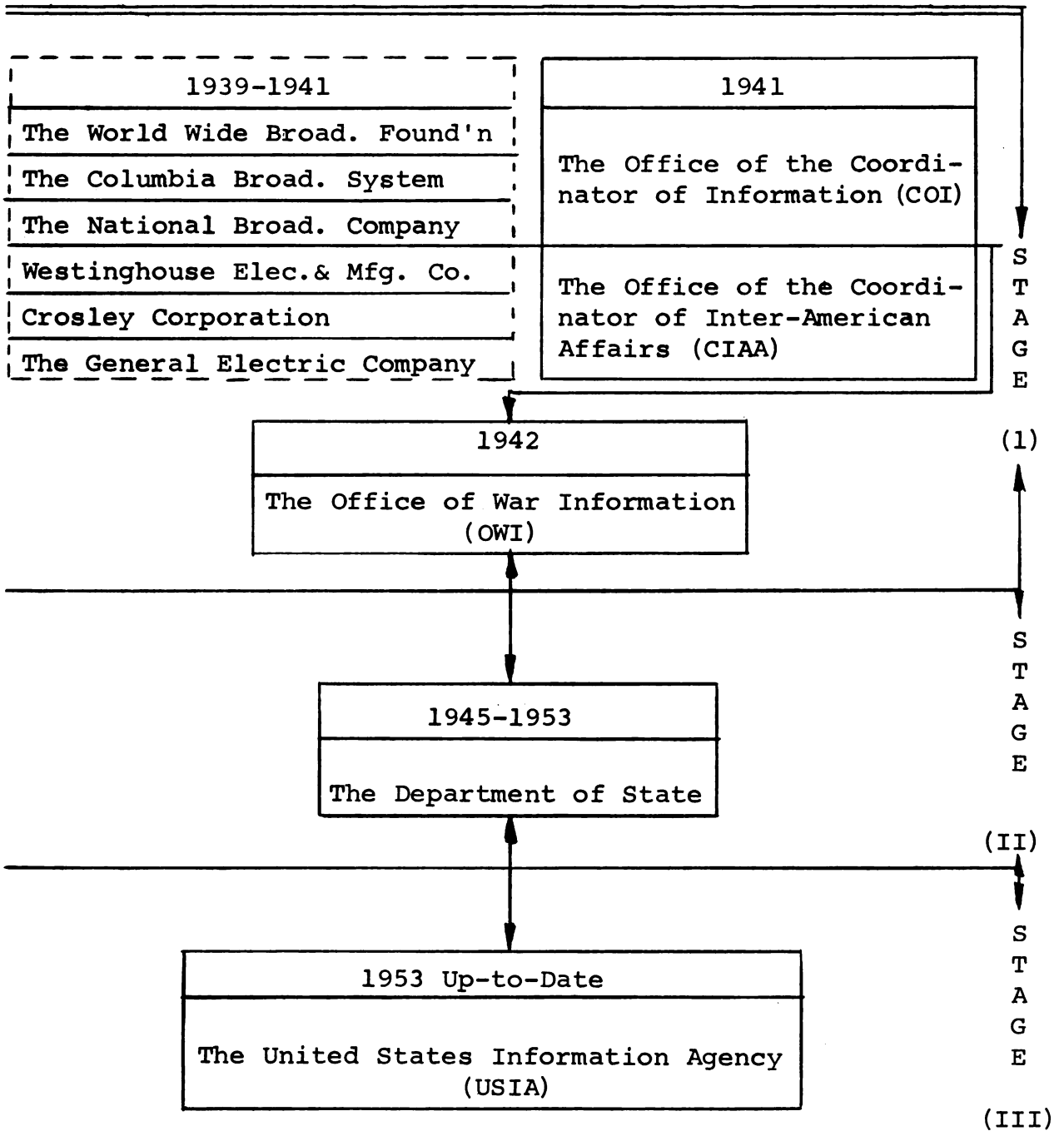
⁶⁷U.S. Information Agency, The Voice of America, 1959, p.1.

⁶⁸Daugherty and Janowitz, op. cit., p. 139.

TABLE I. The historical development of the international broadcasting service of the United States: Referred to as the VOA

REMARKS: ----- Private international broadcasting

————— Government international broadcasting



CHAPTER II

THE VOICE OF AMERICA'S FUNCTION AND OPERATION

In the previous chapter the writer reviewed and examined the development of the Voice of America. This chapter will be a discussion of the location of VOA within American society as well as its function and organization in operations.

The Voice of America is theoretically the voice of the American people and therefore it should be a reflection of American public opinion. We can define an ideology as the sum total of material and non-material culture,¹ and all human activities that are undertaken by a nation. The Voice of America or the voice of the American people, then can be described as enunciating American ideology. The position of the American people will be communicated through institutions, i.e., local newspapers, radio, television and other news information agencies. The Voice of America then is the expression of the American people in an extended form, to the international community. In short, whatever VOA talks about, from a theoretical point of view at least, it is the distinctive

¹The definition of "culture" is varied, however, in often cases, the term "culture" includes material and non-material. For more details, see Harry M. Johnson, Sociology: A Systematic Introduction (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1960), Chapter 4, and Clyde Kluckhohn and others, Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), Chapter 42.

product of the America ideology and American people.

The Voice of America or the international broadcasting service of the United States Information Agency, is a means of reflecting American ideology and communicating it to foreign countries. Therefore, a change in American ideology is likely to mean a change of the operation and function of VOA.

One of the tenets of American ideology which has been transmitted from generation to generation is that of democratic liberty and equality. Accompanying these tenets has been the concept of truth.² This is VOA's concept of operation, also. Specifically, VOA urges that in the age of ideological struggle between freedom and communism, the free nations should strive to strengthen the bonds of unity. The objective is to achieve moral strength through a united free world.³

In many parts of the world, the rise of nationalism in Afro-Asian nations and some parts of Latin America, together

²The purpose of the United States Information Agency shall be to submit evidence to peoples of other nations by means of communication techniques; that the objectives and policies of the United States are in harmony with and will advance their legitimate aspirations for freedom, progress and peace. For more information, see Ninth Semiannual Report of United States Advisory Commission on Information, 83rd Cong., 2nd Sess., House Document No. 311, 1954, p. 4.

³Ibid., p. 19.

with exploitation of this development by the major powers, has created international tensions and is a matter of serious concern to the American people and their government. Accordingly, VOA has adopted the following policies:

1. VOA will establish itself as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news. VOA news will be accurate, objective, and comprehensive.
2. VOA will represent America, not any single segment of American society. It will therefore present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions.
3. As an official radio, VOA will present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively. VOA will also present responsible discussion and opinion on these policies.⁴

Since the Voice of America must perform its normal function of transmitting American ideology and reports of daily activities to foreign countries, it is necessary and essential to organize it so as to realize its goals. In this organizational process, three major points are emphasized: 1) rigid planning, 2) job performance, and 3) control of results.

Structurally, VOA must be organized in a manner to assure most effective direction, coordination, and control of its operations. Accordingly, VOA is organized according to the nature of the duties to be performed; it is divided into groups or divisions with specific duties for each. A proper

⁴VOA handout material under the title of Directive to the Voice of America, unsigned.

territorial or geographical distribution of manpower and facilities is essential to attain the objectives of the organization.

Before we examine in detail the operation and functions of VOA, it is necessary to discuss its location so that its organization and relationships to other government agencies may be fully understood.

The success of any given institution depends upon its ability to bring available manpower, budget, space, facilities, and personnel, to bear on maximum results. It is essential, therefore, to understand the reasons for moving VOA from New York City to Washington, D.C. Were there any advantages? Were there any functional changes? Were there any personnel changes? Were there any program changes due to locational change? Because of VOA's locational change, were there any evidences of better coordination between Congress and the executive branch of the government? The questions can be answered partially, for geographical location is often vital to the effectiveness of function and operation.

It has been said that VOA attempts to represent the ideology of the United States as well as American culture. There has been considerable discussion among broadcasters, government officials, politicians and other interested persons as to whether the move of VOA Washington, D.C. was

effective in terms of carrying out this objective. For example, to cite the affirmative side, Mr. Wilson Compton, former administrator, United States International Information Administration, observed the limited scope of VOA headquarters operations in New York City. After a year of study, on March 13, 1953, he proposed to the subcommittee on Overseas Information Programs of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, that VOA headquarters be changed from New York City to Washington, D.C.:

The headquarters of the International Broadcasting Service, however limited its scope or however expanded, should be moved as soon as feasible to Washington where it can be more closely supervised. If the Voice of America is not the most important single feature of this program it is at least the most noted, the most spectacular and the most controversial. Unless it can be lifted out of public controversy, it will become timid and hence valueless. It should not be left on an island--even Manhattan Island.⁵

The negative view was expressed by Mr. Edwin A. Early, Assistant Chief at the time of the International Information Administration of the Department of State. He commented on VOA's change to Washington, D.C. before the same Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee by stating that:

New York is the east-coast center of the motion-picture industry, with all of their facilities for

⁵Overseas Information Programs of the United States, Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 83rd Cong., 1st Sess., Pt. 2, 1953, p. 382.

developing the motion pictures, writings, screening, acting in motion pictures, it is all in New York--that is the center of it There are something like, oh, 2 million people, either of the first or second generation foreign born, I mean foreign born people speaking various languages . . . it is the center of the radio activity in the East and all of those things go to add up to make the logical place to process on activity that requires all of those facilities⁶

Since VOA's function, and its objectives are not the primary concern of New York City alone, the writer believes that this is not sufficient reason for the location of VOA, which is supposed to represent, in so far as possible, the total American culture.

As we have already observed in Chapter I, VOA's move from New York City to Washington, D.C., a move which was completed in November, 1954, was designed not only to gain administrative benefits--coordination with the Department of State and other governmental agencies--but other benefits as well. These benefits have proved to be:

1. The nation's capital, Washington, D.C. has much to do with the formation of world opinion,
2. It is a world news communication center which makes possible complete and speedy coverage of national and international news,
3. The President and members of his Cabinet and their top aids explain policies of the Administration through

⁶Ibid., p. 848.

the microphones of VOA,

4. Members of the United States Congress can express their views on domestic and international problems through the microphones of VOA,
5. The foreign embassies and the diplomatic corps can speak to their respective countries in their own languages,
6. Leaders of national and international organizations such as the United States Chamber of Commerce, American Red Cross, etc. in Washington, D.C., can speak of their roles in the American system,
7. As a world cultural center, the great number of foreign visitors who come to the United States through exchange programs such as ICA and MSA, with headquarters in Washington, D.C., can speak to their countrymen through the microphones of VOA,
8. Centralization of the United States overseas information program in fewer buildings in the nation's capitol resulted in the reduction of administrative expenses.⁷

⁷ VOA headquarters in New York City was scattered in six or more buildings which increased costs and caused inefficiencies. Various arguments and investigations took place concerning the relocation of VOA to Washington, D.C. For more details, see ibid., pp. 1141-1292.

9. Closer supervision, thereby avoiding much administrative redtape and overlapping.

Mr. Mark A. May, chairman of the United States Advisory Commission on Information, wrote to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Sam Rayburn:

The transfer of the International Broadcasting Service, popularly known as the "Voice of America," from New York to more adequate quarters in Washington has made for both economy and efficiency The Commission is pleased with the progress the Agency as a whole has made in increasing its efficiency.⁸

The efficiency and economy which appeared to result from the change of VOA to Washington, D.C. could not help meeting with favorable public response. Since American taxpayers had often voiced the feeling that the annual expenditures of overseas information programs were too large, the reduction of administrative expenses following the move of VOA headquarters to the nation's capitol, appeared to attract more friendly support for the organization and its program.

⁸The United States Advisory Commission on Information was created by Public Law 402, approved by the 80th Congress on January 27, 1948. The Commission assigns the responsibility of suggesting its policies for and appraising the Government's international information activities. The Commission represents the public interest and members are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. Information obtained from Tenth Semiannual Report of United States Advisory Commission on Information, 84th Cong., 1st Sess., House Document No. 87, 1955, pp. V-VI.

We shall now examine and discuss the actual functions and operation of VOA. It must be pointed out that it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish VOA's function and operation from that of USIA since VOA is operated as an integral part of USIA. The discussion in this chapter is largely based on interviews with VOA personnel. Explanations of figures, organization, and operational functions varied somewhat with the different persons interviewed. The writer has attempted to evaluate these in terms of data provided in governmental documents to which reference is made in the thesis.

Organization

VOA is the international broadcasting service of USIA which is headed by the director of USIA and who is directly responsible to the President through the National Security Council.⁹ The director of VOA is assigned all the actual operations that are carried out by VOA Washington headquarters and outside branches.¹⁰ These include activities

⁹Theodore C. Streibert (1953-56) was appointed by the President as the agency's first director. Arthur Larson (1956-57), George V. Allen (1957-60), and Edward R. Murrow (1960-) succeeded as the director of USIA accordingly. Information mainly obtained from USIA Report to Congress, 1st-14th, 1953-60.

¹⁰J. R. Poppele (1953-56) was the first director of the International Broadcasting Service, VOA, Robert E. Button (1957-58), and Henry Loomis (1959-) succeeded accordingly. Information obtained from United States Government Organization Manual, 1953-61, (Washington, Federal Register Division National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1954-60).

such as those relating to personnel, budget proposals, recommendations and orders. Directly under the director of VOA is the administrative staff of deputy director, executive assistant, administrative officer and budget officer who help in the formation of operational policy. Two separate basic offices come under the director of VOA. One is Office of the Program Manager, responsible for technical operations and program operations. The other is the Office of the Engineering Manager. These may be described as follows:

1. Office of Program Manager: It is responsible for the making of program plans. Directly under the program manager are an assistant manager for policy application, and an assistant manager for operations. As of March 1961, under them, there were five geographical divisions: Europe Division, Far East Division, Latin America Division, Africa Division,¹¹ and Near East Division. Each division is responsible for program policy in the assigned area. The Office of Program Manager also has the responsibility to oversee the following divisions: World-wide

¹¹ Because of the rise of African nationalism and turmoil, VOA established a new Africa Division so as to give direct attention to that area. The exact establishment date of the African Division is not known, but, according to the interviews with USIA officers, it is believed to be in the fall of 1960. Formerly, African affairs were included in the Near East Division.

English Division which provides many hours of daily programs in English; News Division; Technical Service Division responsible for master control, studios, recording, and the general maintenance of VOA operations; and Central Program Service Division, responsible for the supplying of packaged programs. In addition, the Office of Program Manager is responsible for other program centers such as those located in New York, Munich and Cairo.

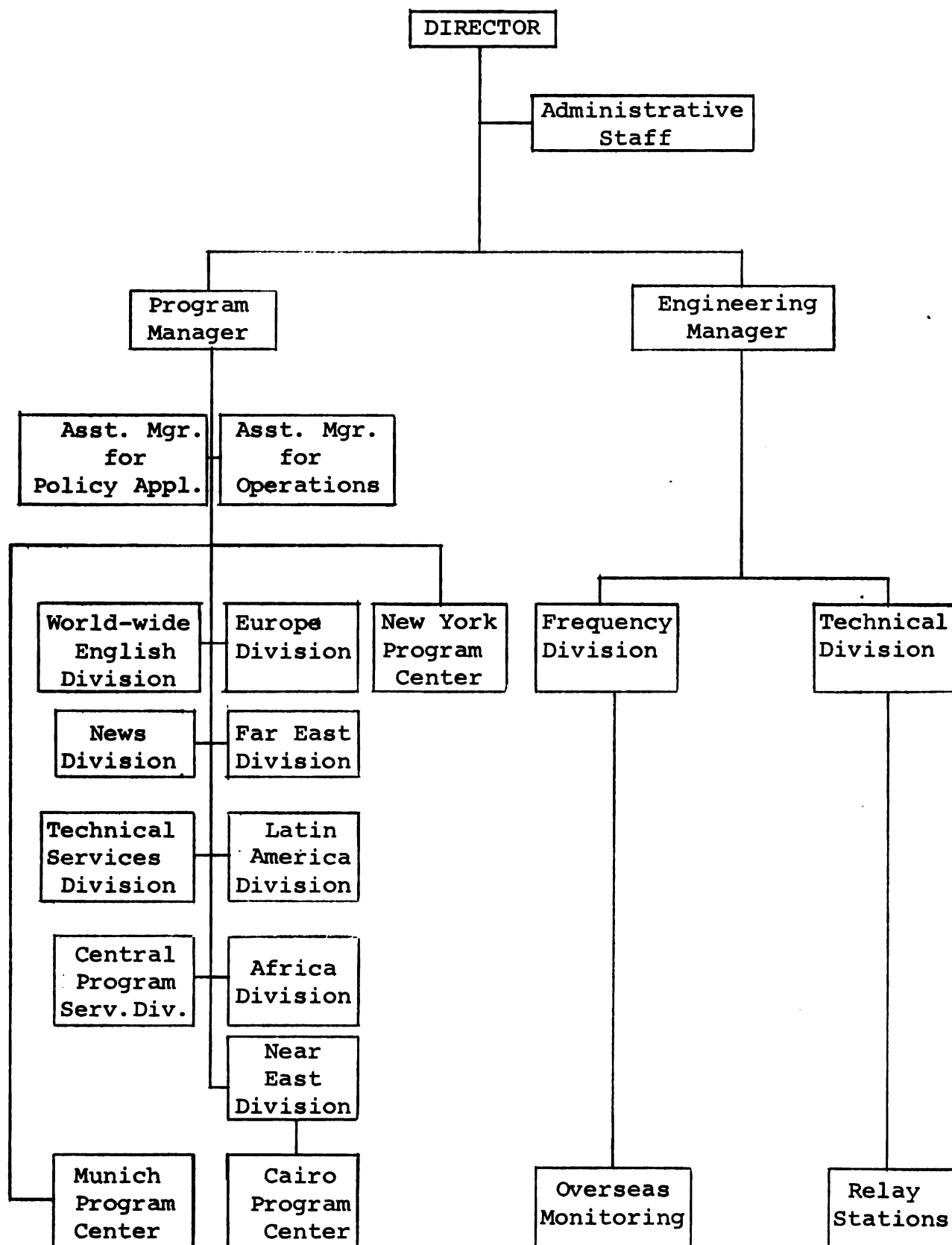
2. Office of Engineering Manager: Headed by the Engineering Manager, it includes two divisions. The first is the Frequency Division. The second is the Technical Division which covers radio engineering, audio engineering, power plant and other related technical engineering operations. In addition, the Office of Engineering Manager is responsible for relay stations and overseas monitoring.

These two offices are vital for VOA's broadcasting operations. An organizational chart, as provided by VOA, appears on the following page.

Since VOA is an integral part of USIA, the policy of VOA is included in USIA. USIA's overall policies have been set out by its director who receives directives from the President and National Security Council¹² through a series of memoranda

¹²The National Security Council was established by the National Security Act of 1947. Its function is to advise the

TABLE II. The Voice of America's Organization Chart



and letters. These directives in turn are sent to the head of VOA, either from USIA Director's Office or USIA's Office of Policy and Plans. In turn, the director of VOA transmits them down to the particular persons concerned. It should be noted that the policies of VOA are also based on the daily guidance given by the Department of State. This guidance is transmitted to VOA through USIA's Office of Policy and Plans.¹³

It should be stressed that it is impossible for VOA to attain effective results unless it has sound organization. Without coordination and cooperation of the various governmental departments and offices mentioned, VOA could hardly achieve its objectives.

Personnel

VOA's personnel management is governed by basic policies of USIA. Personnel is distributed under three categories: one is domestic which mainly deals with Washington, D.C. and

President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security so as to enable the military services and the other departments and agencies of the government to cooperate more effectively in matters involving the national security. Information obtained from United States Government Organization Manual 1954-55, op. cit., p. 66.

¹³ Departments of State and Justice, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1961, Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations House of Representatives, 86th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1960, p. 804.

the other parts of the United States, the second is the so-called foreign service personnel program, which deals with USIA employees overseas, and the third has to do with programs in the foreign service which employ native people of designated countries.

It is the policy of USIA to ensure maximum utilization of employee ability by providing "a system for employee evaluation which will measure the work performance, productivity, and ability of the employee against the requirement of the job."¹⁴ In order to give all employees full opportunity for achievement, the Director of USIA attempts to create a good environment--desirable surroundings, including a mental and emotional atmosphere conducive to a high degree of productivity, USIA has adopted the following personnel management policies:

1. To insure that all employees understand the value of the performance rating plan.
2. To make certain that each employee has complete understanding of what his duties are, the work requirements, and the work standard which must be maintained for satisfactory or better performance.
3. When appropriate, indicate areas in which employees will benefit by training.¹⁵

¹⁴ Manual of Organization and Administration, Part V-A, USIA, p. 450.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 451.

VOA started its personnel training program in 1960. At the beginning, only two persons were employed in the program. Ten additional men are to be recruited during the summer of 1961 to be trained specifically in all areas pertaining to broadcasting, including overall operation, news reporting, operation of various types of equipment, announcing, etc. Thus far, VOA personnel has come mainly from broadcasting stations, military radio services, newspapers, and universities. The newly established personnel training program is designed to secure more qualified personnel and improve the efficiency of international broadcasting.

Classification of VOA employees is classified information, thus we cannot describe it here. However, the categories of positions held for VOA personnel are linguists, translators, newsmen, correspondents, political analysts, radio writers, editors, producers, directors, studio technicians, engineers, announcers, secretaries, and other professional specialists. VOA operates around the clock, twenty-four hours per day, with each employee assigned to one of three eight-hour shifts.

VOA positions in this country are open to qualified persons who are U.S. citizens and who pass the United States Civil Service Commission examination. Because VOA broadcasts involve many foreign languages, VOA employs foreign broadcasters overseas but these positions are not permanent and are

not considered within the U.S. civil service system. These positions are filled usually through American embassies in foreign countries, the length of employment depending upon negotiations with the foreign government.

Authorized positions for VOA personnel during the five years, 1956-60, are shown on the next page.

Technical Facilities

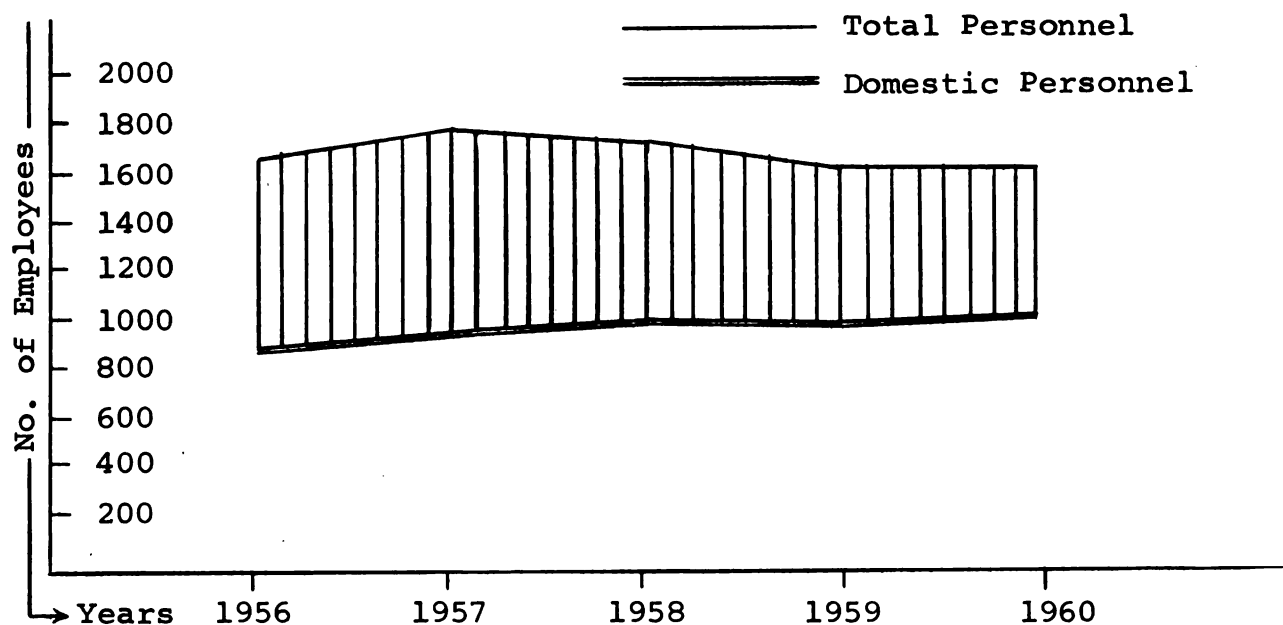
Technical facilities are important and essential to broadcasting. There can be no broadcasts unless there are transmitters. There can be no programs without studios and other origination facilities. Therefore, the basic objective of technical operation is to transmit programs with the best signal possible into particular target areas via short, medium or long wave, depending on the local situation and available facilities.

In order to reach a larger foreign audience, powerful transmitters are required. The more transmitters, and the greater their power, the larger audiences they can reach. Therefore, the nature of technical facilities has much to do with the effectiveness of international broadcasting in any situation.

VOA's transmission system operates mainly by short-wave and can be heard in almost all parts of the world. At the

TABLE III. The VOA personnel: domestic and overseas services, 1956-1960

Category Year	Domestic employees	Overseas Employees		TOTAL
		A*	B**	
1956	851	172	613	1,636
1957	943	143	687	1,773
1958	947	136	622	1,705
1959	934	113	578	1,625
1960	960	97	562	1,619
GRAND TOTAL	4,635	661	3,062	8,358



*United States citizens in the overseas services.

**Native or nationals of the other countries.

SOURCE: Organization of Federal Executive Departments and Agencies, United States Senate Committee on Government Operation, series 1956-1960.

same time, VOA uses medium and long wave broadcasting when its foreign transmitting facilities are located close enough to the target areas.

VOA's transmission system is composed of seven transmitters located in the United States. Through these seven transmitters, VOA transmits to ten overseas relay establishments. The following chart shows the location of these transmitters and overseas operations:

Transmitters in USA

<u>Location</u>	<u>Call Signs</u>	<u>Transmitter Power (KW)</u>
1. Bethany, Ohio	WLWO 1-2-3-4-5-6	110
2. Bound Brook, N.J.	WBOU 1-2-3-4-5-6	50
3. Brentwood, L.I., N.Y.	WDSI 1-2-3	50
4. Schenectady, N.Y.	WGEO 1	100
	WGEO 2	50
	WGEO 3	25
5. Wayne, N.J.	WDSI 5-6	50
6. Delano, Calif.	KCBR 1	200
	KCBR 2-3	50
	KCBR 4-5	100
7. Dixon, Calif.	KNBH 1	200
	KNBH 2-3	50
	KNBH 4-5	100

Overseas Transmitters¹⁶

<u>Location</u>	<u>Designation</u>	<u>Transmitter Power (KW)</u>
1. Munich, Germany	Munich A (1196 KC/S)	300
	Munich C (1173 KC/S)	1000
	Munich 1-2	75
	Munich 3-4	100
	Munich 5-6-7	8
2. "Courier," Rhodes, Greece	Courier A (1295 KC/S)	150
	Courier 1-2	35
3. Tangier, Morocco	Tangier 1-2-3-4	100
	Tangier 5-6-7-8	35
	Tangier 9-10	50
4. Thessaloniki, Greece	Thessaloniki A (791 KC/S)	50
	Thessaloniki 1-2-3-4	35
5. Wooferton, England (Leased from BBC)	6 transmitters	50
6. Colombo, Ceylon	Colombo 1-2-3	35
	Colombo 5	10
7. Honolulu, Hawaii	Honolulu 1-2	100
8. Okinawa, Ryukyu Is.	Okinawa A (1180 KC/S)	1000
	Okinawa 1-2	35
	Okinawa 3	15
	Okinawa 4	3
	Okinawa 5	100
9. Malolos, Philippine Is.	Malolos A (920 KC/S)	50
	Malolos 1-2	50
	Malolos 3	7.5
10. San Fernando, Philippine Is.	Philippines B (1140 KC/S)	1000
	Philippines 1-2	35
	Philippines 3	3
	Philippines 4	15
	Philippines 5-6	100

¹⁶The frequencies of medium and long wave transmitters are indicated. Other transmitters are short-wave. This information, as of February 8, 1961, is taken from Voice of America Broadcasting Transmitters, issued by USIA.

VOA owns most of these transmitters, however, some of them are operated under contract with the foreign governments. The combined power output of all VOA transmitters is in excess of eight million watts. Thus, by using many transmitters in different places, VOA is trying to assure that its broadcasts can be heard around the world, in spite of jamming and atmospheric disturbances.

One of the most unique transmitting systems of VOA is that operating on the Coast Guard Cutter, the Courier. This ship is operated as a floating broadcasting relay base anchored in the Mediterranean Sea. It is designed and used to minimize the effect of communist jamming. The relay base is completely equipped for radio transmission, reception, and relay of programs. The Courier has a crew of persons plus ten officials from the U.S. Coast Guard, three radio engineers, and a program coordinator. At present, the Courier rebroadcasts English-language programs originated in Washington, D.C. studios, beaming them to Middle East countries and Eastern Europe.¹⁷

Under the present operation, as of spring 1961, VOA Washington headquarters had eighteen completely equipped broadcasting studios. Various up-to-date machines are available.

¹⁷ Review of United States Information Agency Operations, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Foreign Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs House of Representatives, 85th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1958, p. 32.

For example, here are 13 tape dubbing machines, 16 instantaneous disc recorders, 28 tape recording machines, 10 tape-editing booths, distortion correction machines and other recording and transmitting machines. Besides, there are 11 teletype machines that receive the news by VOA, UPI, and AP correspondents throughout the world. Also, additional teletype machines are available directly from VOA to the White House for the pre-release of presidential speeches and other important statements and messages regarding governmental affairs.

VOA's master control unit, which is designed to accommodate simultaneous transmission of 26 programs, is one of the largest in the world. It is capable of selecting program material from a hundred different sources, which can be fed by direct line from the White House, the Capitol, the National Press Club, Washington National Airport, Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C., etc. The direct lines are channeled to the United Nations headquarters in New York City, domestic commercial networks, and other important places. From this master control console, telephone lines lead to short-wave transmitters located at various places in the United States, for none of the transmitting stations of VOA is actually in Washington headquarters; the programs broadcast from Washington are fed through these transmitters directly, or via ten

overseas relay bases, to the world audience.¹⁸

VOA's music and transcription libraries consist of approximately 100,000 records, and approximately 5,000 thirty-minute tapes that include jazz, popular music, etc.

VOA does not have special library facilities, but whenever VOA needs books for information, the books are available from public libraries, particularly the Library of Congress.

In order to broaden the range of its program, VOA maintains regional program centers in New York City, in Munich, Germany, and in Cairo, United Arab Republic. Although almost all the programs are originated in Washington studios, some of them are prepared and recorded in these regional program centers and sent to Washington headquarters by air mail or radio-telephonic contact, and then these programs are broadcast by short-wave transmitters in Washington.

As a major overseas program relay base, VOA is constructing a new Liberian short-wave station which will have six 250,000 watt and two 50,000 watt transmitters. The new relay station is expected to provide effective coverage of Africa, Central Europe and the Middle East. The total cost of the relay station

¹⁸The Voice of America, brochure, USIA, no date of publication, p. 7.

is estimated to be \$12,627,000.¹⁹ Domestically, VOA is also building the largest and the most powerful transmitters in Greenville, North Carolina. This new transmitting facility will consist of six 500 kilowatt and six 50 kilowatt transmitters, which are expected to provide 1) a flexible relay system to overseas bases, 2) direct short wave to target areas, stronger signals to Europe, Africa, Middle East, and South America, 3) an emergency communication system, and 4) replacement of obsolete transmitters at Boundbrook and Wayne, N.J. and Brentwood and Schenectady, N.Y. The technical facility of VOA in Greenville is scheduled to be completed and in operation by the end of 1962. It is said that the total estimated costs will be \$25,345,850 including land, equipment and construction.²⁰

As already pointed out in Chapter I, jamming, the deliberate interference with an established radio station by transmitting disturbing noises on the same frequency by communist countries, is a major technical problem for the operation of VOA. Since 1948, Soviet Russia has engaged in jamming Western broadcast

¹⁹ The new VOA African relay station has a 350 acre receiver site and a 1,4000 acre transmitter site in the vicinity of Monrovia, Liberia. "USIA Lets Design Contract for VOA African Station," USIA News Release, No. 37, September 7, 1960.

²⁰ VOA handout material under the title of Facts about Greenville (N.C.) Facility of the Voice of America, USIA, no date of publication.

programs, those of VOA in particular, which are beamed to the USSR, the Soviet-controlled areas and Communist China. However, it should be noted that following the Khrushchev visit to the United States in the fall of 1959, the Soviet government reduced its jamming of VOA broadcasts so that many people behind the Iron Curtain have been able to hear clearly VOA broadcasts in the Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, Armenian, Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian languages. With the exception of the Albanian language, VOA broadcasts in the languages of the Eastern European satellite countries, such as Hungarian, Polish, Rumanian, Bulgarian, and Czechoslovak have been jammed systematically. Besides, jamming by Red China has been continuing since September, 1958. It should be noted, however, that the Communists rarely jam English-language programs.²¹

Why does the Soviet government still continue its jamming which is "enormously expensive and wasteful of scarce frequencies and material resources"²² by spending more than \$100 million every year--many times more than the total cost of

²¹ USSR jamming is carried on by an extensive system of noise-making transmitters which attempt to blot out the programs of VOA, substituting noises which sound like buzz saws, sirens, and freight trains. For further information concerning the status of communist jamming of VOA broadcasts in the languages of the Soviet Union, see VOA brochure under the title of Background on Radio Jamming, USIA, November 1959.

²² George A. Coddington Jr., Broadcasting without Barriers, (Paris; UNESCO, 1959) p. 143.

VOA broadcasting operation? Is this because VOA transmitting signals effectively reach large audiences behind the Iron Curtain? Or is it because the communists think VOA broadcasts behind the Iron Curtain are so persuasive as to change the attitude of the Soviet people? Is VOA quality programming superior to that of Russians? Does VOA actually have powerful technical facilities which can overcome communist jamming? So far, no conclusive studies have been undertaken by either the United States or other Western nations which can give positive answers to these questions. Perhaps, according to VOA, the best way to overcome jamming is to use high-powered transmitters which are difficult to jam and to transmit the same program simultaneously on many different frequencies from various VOA relay bases located at different geographical locations.²³ However, the writer believes that, while some source materials are available (for instance, interviews with Iron Curtain refugees), further and more comprehensive studies should be made to determine the effectiveness of international broadcasting.

Unless we can secure more complete answers to the above questions, U.S. policies and programs in this area will have

²³ This method is known as "saturation broadcasting" and reported effective in penetrating areas outside major Soviet cities. Background on Radio Jamming, op. cit., p. 5.

to be based pretty much on vague assumptions. We should, therefore, always keep in mind the fact that we may not always be achieving positive results in our efforts to win more friends throughout the world.

Appropriations

Adequate appropriations of course are essential if VOA is to be most effective. Available money has much to do with the quality and quantity of personnel employed, what sort of equipment and other facilities can be used, and above all, what types and kinds of programs can be produced.

VOA's appropriations are requested by the director of USIA each year for the operation of the international broadcasting service based on past budgetary experiences and future projections. VOA's annual appropriations have varied from year to year. In addition, because of fluctuation in monetary values, the utilization of its appropriated funds to the full extent has been very difficult, according to interviews with VOA officials conducted by the writer.

Salary and other expenses for VOA programs are illustrated below. However, at present, the principal uses of appropriations for VOA are divided into three main categories:

1. Personnel: Salaries and allowances for administrators, linguists, translators, newsmen, correspondents, political

analysts, radio writers, producers, directors, announcers, studio technicians, engineers, local employees and other staff of VOA. Also, on-the-spot coverage, special programs, training program, travel expenses, home leave and transfer costs, payments for talents, script writers, and other expenses related to program operation.

2. Facilities and Equipment: Purchase of transmitters or construction of new stations for operation, distortion correction machines, tape dubbing machines, instantaneous disc recorders, tape recording machines, record players, microphones, tapes, records, transcriptions, and other related expenses for technical operation.
3. Miscellaneous Expenses: Administrative necessities such as teletype machines, typewriters, stop watches, clocks, promotion materials and other related expenses for office operation.

A chart which explains authorizations, obligations, and expenditures of VOA program appears on the next page. However, VOA appropriations for acquisition and construction of the radio facilities are not included in this chart.

Thus far, the writer has examined and reviewed the functions and operations of VOA. As we have seen, the organization of VOA as an integral part of USIA, can be divided into two

main divisions--administrative and technical. In addition, geographical locations, effective use of manpower, facilities, appropriations, and other related matters have been discussed.

Much information with respect to VOA's operations is classified and is not available to the public. Therefore, specific information concerning the classification of personnel, its distribution, policy-formulation, and information as to specific functions such as those carried on in monitoring rooms is not available for inclusion in this study.

TABLE IV. Authorization, obligation, and expenditures by year on radio broadcasting program of the VOA: figures on obligation and expenditures are as of December 31 of each year (salaries and expenses appropriation)

Year	Categories	Authorization	Obligation	Expenditure
1953		\$17,793,836	\$8,635,410	\$5,516,356
1954		\$15,852,000	\$8,111,099	\$5,322,908
1955		\$17,420,039	\$8,270,972	\$6,062,559
1956		\$21,283,634	\$10,989,074	\$6,086,410
1957		\$16,877,871	\$9,886,022	\$5,684,343
1958		\$18,306,812	\$10,764,373	\$4,774,507
1959		\$17,557,792	\$9,948,565	\$6,027,812
As of June 30 1960		\$17,524,958	\$17,514,755	\$15,283,631
T O T A L		\$142,636,942	\$84,120,270	\$54,758,526

This information is taken from United States Information Agency, Report to Congress, 1st-14th, 1953-1960. The information concerning expenditure and its itemized figures are unknown.

CHAPTER III

PROGRAMS OF THE VOICE OF AMERICA

In the previous chapter, the function and operation of the VOA have been discussed. In this chapter, attention will be focused on the discussion of VOA program service.

Each society develops a particular culture with certain ideas, moral values, knowledges, skills, and practices. Social progress is influenced by 1) the physical environment such as climate, natural resources, topography, etc., and 2) by the human beings whose knowledge and skills control the environment and manipulate nature for their benefit. Both of these two elements must be considered if social environment is to be understood.

As we have seen, VOA attempts to represent the voice of American people. Whatever may be the modes of behavior of the American people, an effort is made, in so far as possible, to transmit a true picture of these modes to the outside world. Or, in other words, VOA transmits news and commentary and musical and other cultural programs which it believes to be the distinctive products of the American people. These VOA programs, to be hereinafter reviewed, in a sense are part and parcel of American society. In a sense, therefore, the American people are the program makers of VOA.

Broadly speaking, VOA programs can be divided into four categories such as news, news commentary or news analysis, cultural programs, and music.

1. News

News is an essential ingredient of all VOA programs. In order to tell a true story of American life to the peoples of the world, VOA concentrates on objective, straight, factual news reporting. For example, Henry Loomis, director of the international broadcasting service of USIA, VOA said:

The policy of the Voice is to try to carry in the news all the facts that are significant and of interest to the audience. When those facts are negative, as viewed from the viewpoint of the U.S. government, we still believe they should be reported¹

In addition, VOA tries to cover the news that may be of particular interest to that part of the world where the program is being directed.

For example, VOA reported to the peoples of USSR, Red China and the satellite countries their first news regarding 1) Khrushchev's speech denouncing Joseph Stalin, and 2) President Eisenhower's answer to Bulganin's proposal for a 20-year peace pact. These news items were reported in 40 languages

¹Departments of State and Justice, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1961, Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations House of Representatives, 86th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1960, p. 802., for further discussion of VOA news policy, see Chapter I of this thesis, p. 32.

within 24 hours.²

Another good example of VOA's factual news reporting was the newscast about Khrushchev's visit to the United States in the fall of 1959. The VOA news reports centered on what the communist visitor actually saw in the United States. Premier Khrushchev's press conference in Washington, D.C. was beamed to USSR on twelve frequencies. The peoples of the Soviet Russia heard VOA broadcasts more clearly during the final months of 1959 than they had during the ten years before, because Soviet Russia reduced its jamming, as pointed out in the previous chapter. Another example of comprehensive VOA news reporting was coverage of President Eisenhower's trip to eleven nations in December, 1959. VOA made on-the-spot news reports, in 37 languages, of the details of the President's activities and movements on this trip.³

In addition, VOA news reports have covered the recent Presidential election, the President's messages and press conferences, debates in the United Nations, live reports from international conferences, and many other major events of the world.

² U.S. Information Agency, 6th Report to Congress, January 1 - June 30, 1956, p. 8.

³ U.S. Information Agency, 13th Report to Congress, July 1 - December 31, 1959, pp. 5-8.

From every continent VOA gets factual news reports from VOA correspondents by means of live point-to-point radio transmission, by airshipped tape recording, or by commercial cable.

2. News Commentary

VOA makes a distinction between news and the news commentary. As has been previously mentioned, VOA covers important events that occur, whether they appear to be favorable to the United States or not. In the new commentary, however, VOA may express a particular point of view on international issues, to tell the rest of the world how the U.S. government views such matters. VOA does not make any attempt to present other points of view. In this sense, it can be said that VOA editorializes in its commentaries.

To cite an example, "Report to Europe" is a special report which is designed to offer to European audiences American views concerning events of international significance. Another example is "Look at the Press," the primary purpose of which is to tell the world audience what are the viewpoints of the press in the United States as well as the free world regarding significant political and economic topics.

Thus, VOA news commentary provides background information as well as analysis of the news to help foreign audiences better understand the viewpoints of the United States government.

3. Cultural Programs⁴

Besides factual news reporting and news commentary, VOA presents cultural programs which are designed to correct misrepresentations and dispel misconceptions of the United States policies and objectives and to promote better international understanding.

It is helpful to divide VOA cultural programs into two major categories. In the first category are those which deal with Washington political trends, resolutions, Congressional debates, presidential press conferences, and other matters concerning official life in Washington and other parts of the nation. For example, "The USA and the USSR in World Affairs" reviews Russian relations with the United States and other nations based upon lectures of George F. Kennan, a professor at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton University.

The second category is far broader than the first and is more concerned with programs of general human interest. It includes programs relating to the arts, agriculture, race, religion, and other related socio-politico-economical subjects. Examples of programs of this type include "Arts in America," which provides

⁴In order to analyze the programs of VOA, the writer divides the cultural programs into two major divisions: spoken language and music. This includes only spoken languages.

discussion about current developments with respect to opera, the stage, ballet, and cinema and presented by leading directors, artists, and authors; "Profile of an American," which is a series of radio documentaries portraying the typical American life of workers, professional people, educators, and students, and "The Negro in America," which provides a picture of the Negro's part in American life, his accomplishments, his problems, his influence in political affairs and community action, and in general, his role as an American citizen. In addition, VOA carries a series of lectures, "Forum," which is planned for the scholarly audience with advanced knowledge in the social sciences and humanities. For example, in order to share American research and its findings, the "Forum" program featured a series of medical discussions as follows:

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
1. Communications	Paul W. Schafer
2. Rehabilitation	Howard A. Rusk
3. Interpersonal Relations	Albert J. Glass
4. Man in Space Program	William Lovelace II
5. Cancer and the Mystery of Growth	George Crile, Jr.
6. Stress and Adaptation	Hans Selye
7. Cardiovascular Disease	Paul Dudley White
8. Surgery Today	Michael DeBaakey
9. Primary Aldosteronism	Jerome W. Conn
10. Biophysics	Howard L. Andrews
11. Safety in Atomic Program	Shields Warren
12. Psychiatry Today	David Mck. Rioch
13. Trends in Education	Edmunds G. Dimond
14. Pharmaceuticals	John T. Connor
15. Epidemic Disease	Jonas Salk
16. Horizons in Medicine	Paul W. Schafer ⁵

In addition, this cultural program includes interviews of foreign visitors to the United States such as government officials, exchange students, and other delegates who speak to their homelands about the United States, its people and its way of life based upon their observations of the United States. All these programs are designed to appeal to listeners' special interests and tastes.

4. Music

The music of a country tends to reflect the culture of its people. In other words, music at any particular period tends to express to some extent the life of a people through the particular words, combinations of tone, tempo, and rhythm which characterize the music. VOA recognizes this principle and attempts to broadcast timely music that is typical of the prevailing moods in the United States.

The most popular VOA musical program is "Music USA," which has been broadcast to a world-wide audience since 1956. The program is divided into two 45-minute segments; the first part offers popular and dance music drawn from the past and present; the second part presents pure American jazz, especially concentrating on the giants of jazz, such as Duke

⁵The Voice of America Forum Lectures, Medical Series 1, VOA brochure, no date of publication, p. 2.

Ellington, Charlie Parker and the Modern Jazz Quartet, and also the traditional jazz music of Louis Armstrong. Willis Conover produces and narrates "Music USA," and many popular and jazz artists have made personal appearances on the program.

Although VOA does not devote much of its broadcasting time to music at present, in the writer's opinion, it is the type of program that should be emphasized, since music can be most influential because of its relaxing effects and power to win friends through the unspoken language.

VOA, unlike that of standard domestic broadcasting, reaches much wider undefined areas because its programs are transmitted by short-wave frequency. It is also more complicated than this. Let us say, that a certain VOA program is being transmitted in Japanese language. In this case, its primary geographic target is Japan, but a certain proportion of the population in Red China, Formosa, Korea, the Philippines, and other countries who understand the Japanese language may also receive it. International broadcasting has no sharply defined boundaries or areas, and many broadcasts can be heard in lands for which they are not intended. Therefore, it can be said that international broadcasting activities are "computed in terms of languages rather than target countries."⁶

⁶Twelve Years of Communist Broadcasting, 1948-1959, a report prepared by Simon Costikyan, Office of Research and Analysis, USIA, no date of publication, p. i.

It is exceedingly difficult to estimate the size of VOA's world audience. However, it is believed that in 1960 there were approximately 20 million VOA listeners throughout the world, of which 5 million were English speaking listeners and 15 million were listeners speaking other foreign languages, according to interviews with VOA officers.

In order to expand its audience in foreign countries, VOA conducted in 1959 radio quiz contests over the air. The listeners were asked to send in post cards presenting answers together with names, occupations, the programs listened to, and to indicate most favorable times for listening. The winners of the contests were promised awards consisting of transistor short-wave radios. As a result, VOA received 65,000 post cards during 1959.

In addition, an estimated 200,000 letters were received from the listeners in 1960. It is believed that many of the letters came from behind the Iron Curtain. The contents of the letters are confidential and no analysis of them is available at the present time. Therefore, only an informed guess can be made. It is believed that the daily VOA audience behind the Iron Curtain countries is around 7 million, and it is reported that a considerably larger audience listens to VOA at least two or three times a week. VOA's best informed estimate as to audience behind the Iron Curtain is given by countries:

Poland	1,600,000
USSR	<u>1,070,000</u>
Russian	900,000
Ukrainian	150,000
Georgian	10,000
Armenian	<u>10,000</u>
Albania	20,000
Bulgaria	300,000
Czechoslovakia	1,200,000
Estonia	20,000
East Germany	1,200,000
Hungary	1,100,000
Latvia	30,000
Lithuania	40,000
Rumania	<u>400,000</u>
Grand Total:	7,000,000 ⁷

At present, VOA audience surveys are conducted by USIA's Office of Research and Analysis, which is in charge of all research concerning the U.S. overseas information program.

It should be pointed out here that the writer has attempted an analysis of VOA weekly program schedules of Far Eastern Division. For the sake of convenience, four categories have been considered: news, news commentary, cultural programs, and music. The number of programs of each category were counted by the writer and summarized on the next page.

In order to make the study clear, the following explanation should be made:

⁷ Review of United States Information Agency Operations, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Foreign Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs House of Representatives, 85th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1958, p. 62.

1. Languages: Analysis shows that about the same amount of time is devoted to each language with the exception of English, the average being roughly 9%. The smallest amount of time is devoted to the Ukrainian, Amoy, the Japanese languages, whereas, a much larger amount is devoted to Mandarin and English. The rest of the languages are considered as below average and fluctuate from time.
2. Program: The study shows that the largest percentage of time is devoted to news, 38.91%. Cultural programs follow next with 29.57% and 25.09% is devoted to news commentary. The lowest percentage is devoted to music, 6.43%. It is interesting to find that music programs are scheduled only in English, Burmese, and Indonesian languages.

This study presents only an analysis of the weekly program schedules of the Far Eastern Division. A check, however, of schedules in other geographical divisions (Europe Division, Latin America Division, Africa Division, and Middle East Division) indicates similarity.

In addition, in order to see how VOA programs meet the demand of the international situation and fulfill the objectives of the United States government, the writer examined VOA broadcasts carried during certain periods of international tension.

TABLE V. An analysis of VOA weekly programs scheduled for Far Eastern Division by languages (from November 1, 1960 to January 31, 1961)

Program Cate- gory Languages	News	News com- mentary	Cultural programs	Music	TOTAL	
					No.	%
English	77	48	37	14	176	34.24
Amoy	7	7	6	-	20	3.89
Burmese	8	9	8	7	32	6.22
Cantonese	16	6	16	0	38	7.39
Indonesian	10	7	12	12	41	7.97
Japanese	7	7	7	-	21	4.09
Korean	14	9	12	-	35	6.82
Mandarin	23	16	17	-	56	10.89
Vietnamese	16	4	14	-	34	6.62
Russian	15	10	16	-	41	7.98
Ukrainian	7	6	7	-	20	3.89
TOTAL	200	129	152	33	514	
PERCENTAGE	38.91	25.09	29.57	6.43	100.00%	

Source: Voice of America Program Schedule, Far East, 1960-61, USIA, no date of publication, pp. 1-43.

Note: Due to the chart arrangement, temporary broadcasting of "Forum" lecture series in English are not included here.

For example, in the year of 1955, VOA transmitted, in Hungarian, daily broadcasts totalling 3:30 hours. However, during the Hungarian Revolution, in the fall of 1956, VOA broadcast 7:45 hours daily, which represents an increase of over 50%. A similar analysis can be made with respect to the Near East Crisis in Suez. In 1955, VOA devoted three hours daily to broadcasts in Arabic. When the Near East Crisis drew international attention in the fall of 1956, VOA broadcast 15:30 hours in Arabic, an increase of over five times that of 1955.⁸

It appears, therefore, that when a special event takes place in some part of the world, involving some sort of international crisis, VOA broadcasting hours of all types in the particular language of that area is likely to be increased.

The writer undertook a study of VOA daily language broadcasts as of June 30, 1955 and June 30, 1960. Detailed results appear on the following pages.

According to the study, it can be concluded that English language predominates all five geographical divisions. For example, VOA devoted 7:00 hours of its programming to English in 1955, whereas it was 23:00 hours in 1960. This represents an increase of more than three times. The increase in English

⁸ U.S. Information Agency, 4th Report to Congress, January 1 - June 30, 1955, pp. 28-29; and 7th Report to Congress, January 1 - June 30, 1956, pp. 35-36.

language is due to the fact that

- 1) English is the most widely spoken international language, especially among the politically curious, whom VOA particularly seeks to reach;
- 2) Many foreign audiences find that American news and the news commentary are more credible when they hear them in English;
- 3) The desire of foreigners to learn English through VOA programs; and
- 4) English language programs, for the most part, are unjammed by the communists.

It should be noted that VOA reduced its total daily broadcasting hours from 104:55 hours in 1955 to 87:45 hours in 1960, a reduction of approximately 8%. In this connection, two conditions should be noted. The first is political need of the area, and the second is technical considerations such as degree of jamming and the strength of VOA signal.

- 1) Political need of the area: It must be remembered that the increase or decrease of VOA daily language broadcasts to any particular area depends, to a great extent, upon the political significance of the situation at the time. To be more specific, the fluctuation of VOA broadcasting activities is in terms of the changing international

TABLE VI. Evaluation of VOA Daily Language Broadcasts (as of June 30, 1955 and June 30, 1960)

EUROPE

Year Min & Hrs Languages	1955		1960		Difference by minutes + and -
	Min.	Hrs.	Min.	Hrs.	
Albanian	90	1:30	90	1:30	0
Armenian	150	2:30	60	1:00	-90
Bulgarian	285	4:45	105	1:45	-180
Czechoslovak	150	2:30	120	2:00	-30
Estonian	165	2:45	90	1:30	-75
French	:15	:15	60	1:00	+45
Georgian	165	2:45	60	1:00	-105
German	105	1:45	105	1:45	0
Hungarian	180	3:00	150	2:30	-30
Italian	:05	:05			0
Latvian	105	1:45	90	1:30	-15
Lithuanian	225	3:45	90	1:30	-135
Polish	225	4:15	120	2:00	-135
Rumanian	150	2:30	75	1:15	-75
Russian	1,095	18:15	360	6:00	-735
Serbo-Croat	105	1:45	105	1:45	0
Slovene	:30	:30	:15	:15	-15
Spanish	:30	:30	.		0
Ukrainian	<u>90</u>	<u>1:30</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>1:00</u>	<u>-30</u>
Sub Total	3,395	56:58	1,755	29:25	-1,640

NEAR EAST, SOUTH ASIA, AND AFRICA

Arabic	180	3:00	390	6:30	+210
Bengali	:45	:45	60	1:00	+15
French			:30	:30	0
Greek	:30	:30	:30	:30	0
Hindi	90	1:30	60	1:00	-30
Malayalam			:15	:15	0
Persian	120	2:00	90	1:30	-30
Tamil	105	1:45	:15	:15	-90
Turkish	75	1:15	60	1:00	-15
Urdu	105	1:45	60	1:00	-45
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
Sub Total	750	12:50	810	13:50	+60

FAR EAST

Amoy	120	2:00	120	2:00	0
Burmese	90	1:30	60	1:00	-30
Cantonese	270	4:30	180	3:00	-90
Indonesian	60	1:00	120	2:00	+60
Japanese	150	1:45	120	2:00	+15
Korean	:45	:45	120	2:00	+75
Mandarin	645	10:45	270	4:30	-375
Russian	120	2:00	90	1:30	-30
Thai	90	1:30			0
Ukrainian*			:30	:30	0
Vietnamese	150	2:30	90	1:30	-60
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
Sub Total	1,695	28:45	1,200	20:00	-495

WORLD-WIDE

English	<u>420</u>	<u>7:00</u>	<u>1,380</u>	<u>23:00**</u>	<u>+960</u>
Sub Total	420	7:00	1,380	23:00	+960

LATIN AMERICA

Spanish***			<u>120</u>	<u>2:00</u>	<u>0</u>
Sub Total	-	-	120	2:00	0

TOTAL DIVISIONS

Europe	3,395	56:59	1,755	29:25	-1,640
Near East, South Asia and Africa	750	12:50	810	13:50	+60
Far East	1,695	28:45	1,200	20:00	-495
World-Wide English	420	7:00	1,380	23:00	+960
Latin America	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>120</u>	<u>2:00</u>	<u>0</u>
Grand Total	6,260	104:55	5,265	87:45	-995

Source: U.S. Information Agency, 4th Report to Congress, series, January 1 - June 30, 1955 and January 1 - June 30, 1960 (14th Report), pp. 28-29, 25-26. Note: This evaluation includes both originations and repeats. In addition, this evaluation does not include VOA, package program provided to local networks in many countries.

*Half-hour broadcast simultaneously to Europe and Far East.

**This includes 11 hours broadcast of "Music USA".

***In 1954 English language was used for Latin America broadcasts.

situation. When an international crisis takes place, VOA tends to increase its daily broadcasting hours, focusing more attention on the issues involved as was done in the Hungarian Revolution and the Near East Crisis in Suez.

- 2) **Technical Considerations:** It should be noted here that the degree of jamming and the strength of VOA radio signals are factors relating to VOA's reduction of its broadcasting time. This is based on a technical study conducted by VOA to find the most effective use of its present technical facilities. As Henry Loomis, director of international broadcasting service of USIA, VOA, stated:

The study showed that each broadcast in jammed language required at least six different transmitters and six different frequencies. Providing this number of transmitters for all our jammed programs required 40 percent more than the capability of our present plant. However, by reducing the air time in the jammed languages, we were able to increase the number of transmitters per broadcast to the required number The results have been gratifying and reception has been better in every language.⁹

As a result of these conditions, VOA reduced the hours of its daily broadcasts, especially in strongly jammed languages such as Bulgarian, Georgian, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, Arabic, Mandarin, etc. In addition, since 1960, VOA has abolished broadcasting in Italian and Thai.

⁹Departments of State and Justice, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1960, Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations House of Representatives, 86th Cong., 1st Sess., 1959, p. 819.

It should be pointed out that the reduction of VOA's total broadcasting hours does not necessarily mean a lessening of program quality. Rather, it means that more effective and systematic methods and techniques are employed. These are time consuming but are more objective and serve more desirable ends.

Since its first broadcasts in February, 1942, VOA has been transmitting thousands of programs, to send the truth to the world audience, with emphasis on objective news reporting, up-to-the-minute facts about the policies and objectives of the United States. Therefore, when we analyze the content and kinds of VOA programs by languages and by hours of broadcasts, we are able to discover, to some extent, the interests of the American people. In short, as we have seen, changes in VOA program tend to reflect American public opinion and social change.

Our next problem is to consider and review first, the studies thus far made such as historical development, function and operation and programs of VOA; second, explain more specifically the characteristics of VOA; and third, suggest means by which VOA may be more successful in meeting the ever increasing international tensions, both internal and external.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

During the last two decades, the United States has played a major role in world affairs. As has been indicated, in its 18 year history, VOA has changed structurally and functionally to comply with social changes which have occurred in the United States. These changes, the writer believes, have resulted in substantial improvement in VOA.

Since 1942, the United States has been involved in world crises such as the Indo-China War, Korean War, Hungarian revolt, the Near East Crisis in Suez, Lebanon uprising, national movement in Africa, and the more recent Laos and Cuban civil wars. Whenever such international conflicts have occurred, VOA has attempted to broadcast American feeling objectively, in the interest of promoting international understanding and world peace. As has been observed, despite its frequent organizational changes, shifts in location, and other hardships, VOA has advanced remarkably.

As has been pointed out, the United States was the last major power to recognize international broadcasting as an integral instrument of foreign policy. During the 1930's when most other countries in the world shaped their overseas information program through the use of international

broadcasting, this country showed little interest.

During the late 1930's, international broadcasting in this country was operated by six licensees: the Columbia Broadcasting System; Crosley Corporation; the General Electric Company; the National Broadcasting Company; Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company; and the World Wide Broadcasting Corporation. The Roosevelt administration feared that these concerns might militate against American prestige abroad. With World War II threatening American security, the government put all private international broadcasting companies under the control of the Coordinator of Information (COI), established by presidential order, on July 11, 1941 and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA), created by Executive Order 8840, on July 30, 1941. This resulted in the first international broadcasting service of the United States government on February 24, 1942. Shortly thereafter, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9182 to consolidate international broadcasting in the Office of War Information (OWI) as a part of the U.S. overseas information program.

After the war, Executive Order 1336 was issued by President Truman, on August 31, 1945, to abolish OWI and to transfer international broadcasting service to the Department of State with the instruction that overseas information programs should support U.S. foreign policy.

There was a sharp cut-back of activities of international broadcasting after hostilities ceased. However, the cold war which followed brought about a revival of interest in it. To meet the challenge of communism, Congress passed the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, the Smith-Mundt Act, which provided the statutory authority for an international broadcasting service as a means of increasing mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries. Subsequently, based on a study conducted by various Congressional groups, under the authority of Reorganization Plan No. 8 of 1953, issued by President Eisenhower, the international broadcasting service was transferred to a newly established, independent agency, USIA.

The purpose of USIA is to explain and interpret objectives and policies of the United States government to the world. In order to implement operations, Congress directed VOA to move from New York to Washington, D.C. in November, 1954.

VOA is a means of transmitting knowledge of America and its culture to the world. Its function and operation are different from those of the domestic broadcasting system. VOA is closely knit together with other governmental agencies. Its policy formation is based on direct guidance from the Department of State, the President, and the National Security

Council.¹

Speaking in terms of broadcasting time, VOA devoted approximately 35% of its total daily broadcasting hours to English language programs in 1960. VOA broadcast emphasis is placed upon objective news reporting accounting for approximately 40% of the total weekly program schedule, according to the quantitative analysis of the Far Eastern Division in 1960. In addition, VOA broadcasts attempt to meet the exigencies of the changing international situation.

It is premature for the writer to attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of VOA operations. Unlike the sale of material goods, the selling of ideas and effects of these ideas cannot be easily measured. In the international field it is difficult to measure listener response because, first, there is no immediate noticeable action directly attributable to the program and second, international broadcasting is aimed at specific foreign audiences whose social systems are somewhat different from that of the United States, so that effects are hard to estimate. To cite an example, according to the report of the Department of State, one of the major problems of VOA audience studies conducted in five

¹For further discussion, see Walter B. Emery, Broadcasting and Government: Responsibilities and Regulations, (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1961), p. 126.

Western European countries was to get an adequate sample. In general, those participants who cooperated in the opinion survey were better educated, more active in politics, and more pro-American than the population at large.² Whenever one tries to measure effectiveness, especially behind the Iron Curtain, one must depend largely on indirect methods such as interviews with refugees and defectors.

In recent years, in order to measure the effectiveness of international broadcasting, statistics regarding the number of radio sets are often employed. However, the results are somewhat dubious, due to the fact that radio set statistics are unreliable except for the most advanced countries of the world. To be more specific, many foreign countries do not have licensing systems, and even if they have, they are not always strictly enforced. In addition, official estimates are often proved to be mere guess-work depending upon which "official" is making the guess. Even assuming that accurate figures of the number of radio sets in a target country were determined, it is not reliably known what proportion of them can actually receive broadcasts from foreign

²An Evaluation of Audience Testing in Western Europe, Department of State, International Broadcasting Division, Program Evaluation Report No. A-95, New York, March 15, 1951, mimeographed, p. 1.

countries, because no statistics are kept by any country as to the distribution of sets by different wave bands.³

However, assuming that the actual audience can be estimated, it cannot be said that this is a completely accurate index. As USIA report said:

They probably listen to the other side as well, or are just curious, or expect to win prizes offered in a contest, or are short-wave hams, and so on. The number of those who claim, truthfully or otherwise, that they have been converted to, or defected from, certain ideologies because of broadcasts they have heard, is minimal.⁴

In recent years, research on foreign audience reactions has been increased considerably. However, the type of research which is required to measure effectiveness of international broadcasting is still in its infancy due to the fact that no reliable method has been devised to measure effectiveness, and there is reason to believe:

As in the case of the term "effectiveness," the word "effort" also involves many factors, such as time, cost, personnel, number and power of transmitters and their effective usage, content of programs, and so forth. Many of these factors are unknown for various countries of the world, hence no practical index can be evolved which would combine all the factors that go into the international broadcasting efforts of all countries.⁵

³Twelve Years of Communist Broadcasting, 1948-1959, a report prepared by Simon Costikyan, Office of Research and Analysis, USIA, no date of publication, pp. 4-5.

⁴Ibid., p. 5.

⁵Ibid., p. 6.

However, more effective measurement can be achieved, when VOA is further organized to meet the opportunities and the challenges that will arise in the years ahead. The question is then: how can VOA become stronger and take more positive and effective leadership in world broadcasting? As we have seen, VOA is just one aspect of the total American society's expression. Therefore, the writer believes that the strength and effectiveness of VOA is likely to be commensurate with the political, economic and cultural strength and stability of the United States as a whole.

In order to make VOA a more effective instrument for transmitting American objectives and policies, the writer makes the following suggestions:

First, as already observed in Chapter II, the new VOA transmitters in Greenville, North Carolina and in Monrovia, Liberia are scheduled to be completed by the end of 1962. However, VOA needs additional technical facilities to overcome jamming and to meet the challenge of totalitarian dictatorships. As pointed out by George V. Allen, former director of USIA :

. . . our facilities in this country are not powerful enough to project our radio signal behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains in the face of severe enemy jamming, without intermediate boosting. If, at the present moment, we should lose the use of some of our key overseas relay bases--and it is by no means impossible that this may happen--our radio broadcasts would hardly be

heard at all within the Soviet orbit . . . the United States absolutely must have vastly improved radio broadcasting facilities in our own country, under our own jurisdiction, powerful enough to put a strong signal directly . . . into such important areas as those behind the Iron Curtain.⁶

Marvin Sorkin, Press and Publication Service, USIA, has said:

. . . much of the Near and Middle East and the Black Sea area of the USSR . . . large areas of the Soviet Union from the Urals to the Pacific are beyond the short wave coverage, that almost the entire African Continent is beyond the range of Voice of America transmitters, that almost the entire southern half of South America is beyond the Voice of America short wave coverage; and that almost half of China and important areas including Pakistan and Indonesia, are beyond the effective range of the transmitters.⁷

In order to increase direct contact with the peoples of the world, especially the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, it is recommended that VOA add powerful transmitters with a flexible and dynamic system capable of delivering good radio signals to all important target areas overseas.

Second, VOA operations should be conducted by qualified personnel with knowledge of foreign affairs, foreign languages, and with overseas administrative experience. As Mr. Allen

⁶ Review of United States Information Agency Operations, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Foreign Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs House of Representatives, 85th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1959, p. 28.

⁷ Congressional Record, Vol. 105, Pt. 7, Washington, D.C., 1959, p. 9017.

has emphasized:

With increasing emphasis on direct contacts between peoples, we need officers who are inherently responsive to the opportunities of direct contact. We must find such people and then give them specialized training which will make them most productive in the future.⁸

In order to further improve the quality of VOA personnel, it is suggested that specialized training be provided by the government in cooperation with colleges, universities, and other educational institutions.

Third, since it is beyond the reach of VOA's funds and facilities to attempt to reach every mass audience in the world, VOA should take into consideration the concept of "opinion leadership." ^{But is short wave radio the medium to reach them?} In all countries, there are certain persons and groups who are more politically influential than others. As Lasswell has pointed out:

No matter how far-flung the audiences of the mass media, it is increasingly clear that the listener . . . is conditioned by the structure of the situation in which he is reached. Some human situations are so organized that leaders are automatically followed; in more flexible settings, several leaders act as expert interpreters of information. It appears that the mass media are usually most effective when they reach group leaders.⁹

⁸ Departments of State, Justice, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations, 1961, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Appropriations United States Senate, 86th Cong., 2nd sess., on H.R. 11666, 1960, p. 642.

⁹ Harold D. Lasswell, The Scientific Study of International Relations (London: Stevens & Sons Limited, 1958), p. 18.

It has been said that under any conditions, international audiences are "small and it therefore becomes crucial to know whether the people being reached are the right ones and whether they perform some relay function."¹⁰ It is suggested, therefore, that more careful attention be given to VOA broadcasts to the elite of each target area.

Finally, since there are different needs and opportunities in each country, long-range planning with respect to each country is necessary if VOA is to be most effective. As the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information pointed out:

Only by planning ahead will the United States have the personnel and the facilities, the policies and programs--that will enable it to be ready for new situations as they develop. Long range planning . . . will make it possible for the United States to review and modify programs as needs change and to expand where opportunities exist or the challenge is greatest . . . forward planning should be directed both to target areas and to target groups.¹¹

In order to make long range plans, systematic research, designed to find out the needs of each target nation, is necessary. In the selection of the audience, for example, an individual nation's existing attitudes and predispositions are important factors in determining what types of programs VOA should present.

¹⁰Albert G. Pickerell, The Battle for Men's Minds: America's 'Psychological Offensive' in the 'Cold War,' a dissertation, Stanford University, 1952, p. 358.

¹¹The Sixteenth Report of the United States Advisory Commission on Information, January, 1959, p. 9.

Daniel Lerner pointed out what he considers to be the four essential conditions that determine the effectiveness of international communication:

1. The attention of the audience must be secured.
2. The credence of the audience must be secured.
3. The predispositions of the audience must include the modifications sought by propaganda as plausible alternatives to present expectations.
4. The environment of the audience must permit the courses of action prescribed by the modified structure of expectations.¹²

It is suggested that one of the best ways to approach research is to ask the American embassies in the target areas to send copies of the most influential newspapers in these areas to VOA so that VOA translators may immediately translate foreign editorials into English. This could give VOA policy makers a clearer idea of the political, economic, and cultural climates in the various foreign countries. The writer believes this method has advantages: first, it is most economical; second, VOA can deal with what appears to be each nation's most urgent and crucial needs; and third, VOA can attempt to reflect American interest and reaction directly to each target country.

¹² Daniel Lerner, ed., Propaganda in War and Crisis (New York: George W. Stewart, 1951), p. 347.

In addition, it is also suggested that an interdisciplinary study group should be organized, sponsored by VOA, to conduct basic research by countries and by peoples in the field of sociology, anthropology, psychology, geography, agriculture, education, economics, politics, history, communication, medicine, and other important related areas.¹³

In short, careful attention should be paid to the audience research of each target nation in the field of social science giving attention to the particular social system, the special communication habits, and prevailing public opinion. The writer urges, therefore, that research techniques such as polling, attitude-opinion surveys, content analysis, and other methods should be employed more extensively and should be conducted carefully.

So long as the United States is a leader of the free world, it must have materials and resources, with flexible power to meet international changes. As we have observed, VOA attempts to represent American culture in its various facets and therefore, in a very real sense, the strength of VOA can only be commensurate with the strength of America as a whole.

¹³In recent years, much more emphasis has been placed upon "joint-cooperation" or "interdisciplinary-research" due to the fact that one field of discipline is not broad enough to cover the whole range of complexity. For further discussion, see Joseph S. Roucek and Roland L. Warren, Sociology: An Introduction (Paterson, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1959), pp. 250-297.

Today, America needs more than anything else the means of survival as a nation in the free world. An important question then remains to be asked: How can VOA most effectively contribute to the prosperity of American society as well as others in the world? It is important that VOA gear its services always to meet the Soviet challenges in science and ideology. As United States Advisory Commission on Information put it:

Science to dominate the world . . . ideology to win the minds of men . . . both are essential elements in the Soviet plan of conquest. Science, ideology . . . are . . . the Soviet challenge.¹⁴

In order to respond quickly and effectively to the present challenges, the writer believes that the United States and the rest of the free world should immediately exploit certain opportunities.¹⁵ They are: First, the United States more

¹⁴The Thirteenth Report of the United States Advisory Commission on Information, January, 1958, p. 8.

¹⁵Two and one-half billion people who populate the earth today ponder the future fate of mankind. Although boundary lines presently divide these people into two opposing camps, the great majority are unified in their hopes and prayers for an honorable and enduring peace. Today, for the first time in recorded history, a total conflict in peacetime has evolved with its theater of operations world-wide in scope. The headquarters of this conspiracy against mankind is located in Moscow and its chief instrument is international communism In 1952, Stalin wrote, "It is possible that in a definite conjecture of circumstances, the fight for peace will develop here or there into a fight for socialism. But then, it will no longer be the present peace movement; it will be a movement for the overthrow of capitalism." In 1940, Estonia, Latvia,

fully should develop its technical and scientific resources. The United States as a nation should develop science, especially space exploration; and these scientific achievements should be heralded around the world by VOA; second, ideas concerning democratic liberty and equality should be broadcast more by VOA. VOA should make it known more widely that the Declaration of Independence which evolved as a part of the American revolution is a rich inheritance for all peoples. American's political philosophies and her freedoms¹⁶ were not attained by "natural processes." During the course of her

and Lithuania; in 1939, and 1949, Poland; in 1945, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and North Korea. In 1947, Hungary; in 1948, Czechoslovakia; in 1949, China; in 1954, North Vietnam For further discussion on communist challenges, see William F. Knowland, "Can We Coexist with World Communism?" in Hillman M. Bishop and Samuel Hendel, Basic Issues of American Democracy (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956), pp. 420-421.

¹⁶The American political philosophies and certain fundamental concepts of human freedom are stated in the second paragraph of the Declaration and the summary is as follows: All men have equal status as members of the body politic; All power originally resides in the people: Government derives its just powers from the people, the latter giving up certain alienable rights in the process; The people retain certain unalienable rights, such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, which were given to them by God and which thus rest upon "natural law"; Government exists to protect these unalienable rights, at the same time that its own powers are limited as a means of preventing it from encroaching upon them; When in spite of such limitations a government becomes destructive of these rights, the people have a natural right to revolt against it and to replace it with a new government built upon a more secure constitutional foundation. For further discussion, see Frank A. Magruder, American Government: A Consideration of the Problems of Democracy (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1942), Appendix I.

history, America paid the price with human lives, and with spiritual and material sacrifices.¹⁷ The story of these experiences and America's continuing revolution should be transmitted to the Free World as well as to Iron Curtain countries so that all mankind will have hope and aspiration. What is most needed is to explain more vividly the heritage of democracy and the goals to which American people are dedicated. VOA, therefore, should instill and inspire hope, confidence, and courage in the minds of all men. Its worldwide mission, described as a "Campaign of Truth" represents a continuous effort to create an American credo abroad by transmitting ideas and information about the policies and objectives of the United States.

It is beyond our present knowledge to predict the precise future of VOA. However, it is safe to assume that so long as the United States as a whole has strong economic and military power to cope with possible foreign aggression, VOA will

¹⁷ Since the American Revolution of 1775-1783, the following lives that were dedicated to, and for freedom of America: Union Army; 359,528, Confederate Army, 133,785; World War I, 126,000; World War II, 407,828. More information on casualties, see Franklin J. Meine, Consolidated Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary (Chicago: Consolidated Book Publishers, Division of Book Production Ind., Inc., 1958), and Harry Hansen, The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1957, pp. 749-750. In addition to above, the Korean War alone entailed two years and eight months of bloody fighting and cost about \$20 billion . . . and 33,629 deaths. See Robert K. Carr and four others, American Democracy in Theory and Practice (New York: Rinehart & Co. Inc., 1955), p. 838.

continue to win the minds of men in the ideological struggle between democracy and communism. The direction which VOA may take in the future will be determined to a large extent by what the American people think and want.

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