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Problems of International Broadcasting by the
American Government

The Voice of 190 Millions

1937

By: C.C. Flippen



To:

Ed Murrow,
Who Dreams

VITA

The author was born in Richmond, Virginia on October 16, 1941 and has resided there since. He is the son of Phyllis Elizabeth and C. C. Flippen Sr. He attended elementary and high school in Richmond and was graduated from Hermitage High School in June of 1960. Currently he is a senior at Washington and Lee University working toward a Bachelor of Arts degree in Journalism and Communications.

PREFACE

The purpose of this paper is to present an objective evaluation of the work of the Voice of America. Much has been written from a biased standpoint-- little that is objective. Indeed, it was an editorial bitterly attacking the Voice which first gave the author the idea for this study. And, in fact, the study was begun with a negative attitude toward the Voice. That attitude has changed.

To fully understand and evaluate the Voice, a knowledge of the historical background and facilities of it and its parent organization, the United States Information Agency, is necessary. Much of both the bad and the good in the work of the Voice is a result of its historical development and the tools with which it has to work.

The longest and most detailed section of this report is concerned with a program breakdown and analysis. This is so for two reasons. First, the author feels that only with a knowledge of what VOA broadcasts can any effective discussion of its work be undertaken. And second, he feels that such a fresh analysis is an

original contribution.

It is the hope of the writer that he has made a fair and accurate appraisal. If any use can be made of his suggestions, he is highly gratified.

Acknowledgements-- In any such paper, acknowledgements are usually a bore to the reader and a moral necessity to the writer. This case is no different. Many deserve thanks who are not mentioned here. Among those especially helpful were Mr. Herb McGushin of USIA and Mr. Matthew Hulbert, without whose technical assistance much of this paper would have been impossible. Also my thanks to the Reader's Digest Travel Fund which paid my expenses for study in Washington.

Finally, and most importantly, my thanks to those of the Washington and Lee University Department of Journalism and Communications who must suffer through a reading of this and especially Professor O. W. Riegel for his valuable advice.

CCF
Lexington, 1964

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I. History and Organization

1. History

February 24, 1942--"The Voice of America speaks. Today America has been at war for seventy-nine days. Daily, at this time, we will speak to you about America and the war--the news may be good or bad--we will tell you the truth." These were the first words broadcast by the Voice of America. They were spoken in German to Nazi-occupied Europe. Since then, the Voice has spoken twenty-four hours a day--and since then, it has tried to speak the truth.

The Voice is America's best-known weapon in her arsenal for psychological warfare. Today it is a branch of the United States Information Agency (USIA), but its existence began long before the idea for USIA was conceived. Even the Voice did not mark America's first effort to influence others, however. In a sense, the effort began with the birth of this nation.

The Declaration of Independence declares that it was written out of "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." Samuel Adams, the fiery rebel, and Benjamin Franklin, this country's first elder statesman, have been called our earliest wartime publicists.¹ During the American Revolution, Adams almost single-

1. All footnotes will be found on pages 96 and 97.

handedly created unity at home. Franklin, meanwhile, sought and obtained support from abroad.

Later Abraham Lincoln, seeking the support of Great Britain during the Civil War, sent more than 100 lecturers and 1,750,000 booklets to England.² The Southern States tried the same thing. Apparently more honey-tongued and adept at propaganda than their Northern counterparts, they had nearly succeeded in winning British aid until the Gettysburg defeat.

The first official United States government agency concerned with internal and external persuasion was established by President Wilson during World War I. This Committee on Public Information was headed by George Creel. Creel worked with Wilson and his cabinet to see that public statements were created which would be most beneficial abroad. He also established the first, albeit rude, system for the dissemination of information abroad. This method consisted mostly of distributing pamphlets, leaflets and posters. At home the effort also included posters and leaflets plus war bond rallies led by such figures as America's sweetheart, Mary Pickford, and her all-American husband, Doug Fairbanks.

In 1919, after two years' existence, and just as Creel and his men were beginning to gain some expertness, the war ended and the committee went out of business. At

just such a critical moment little more than twenty years later, a similar thing was to occur. The Germans claimed our propaganda efforts defeated them. At least, the committee did train a plethora of public relations men who, eager to use their new skills, pounced with glee upon an innocent American public.

Between wars official United States informational activities were almost non-existent. In 1938 the Interdepartmental Committee for Scientific and Cultural Cooperation and the Division of Cultural Cooperation in the Department of State were established to develop more effective relationships between this country and other American nations.³ These were our only peacetime efforts in this direction. In 1941, the Office of the Coordinator for Inter-American Affairs (IAA) was created as a separate agency. Governmental publicity on an internal basis, however, boomed during the New Deal period.

As could be expected our biggest propaganda effort came with World War II. When we entered the war our enemies were already far ahead of us in both experience and equipment. Hitler had virtually risen to power through propaganda (and, perhaps, because of an audience more than willing to listen to it). His Ministry of Propaganda, headed by Dr. Goebbels, was no small part in the maintenance of this power. In 1941 the German government had 68 radio transmitters

and Japan 46 for propagandistic broadcasting.⁴ America had none.

Early in the war, our government recognized the value of opinion in Latin America, and through the IAA, headed by Nelson Rockefeller, we began to stress the inevitability of an Allied victory. There were a few foul-ups at first--such as handing out miniature American flags which were laughed at.⁵ Soon more skilled journalists were hired and subtlety replaced our overt messages.

From this point the government moved quickly to establish a full-fledged propaganda unit. On July 11, 1941 President Roosevelt created the office of Coordinator of Information (COI), an intelligence organization. He appointed Colonel William J. Donovan to head the COI and authorized him to set up the Foreign Information Service (FIS) under playwright Robert E. Sherwood. This was to act as an overseas information unit within the COI. Early the next year, FIS operating in New York City put the Voice of America on the air for the first time.

Dissension and conflict within the COI soon necessitated the complete withdrawal of our propaganda efforts from our intelligence activities. Thus in June of 1942 Executive Order 9182 established the Office of War Information to be headed by newsman Elmer Davis. Its purpose was to:

reduce the confusion over 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.⁶

It didn't help the confusion much.

Although our domestic and foreign efforts were now united in one body, confusion still, resulted, especially in our overseas efforts. In the first place, many commanders were leary of any propaganda and refused to allow it to be used as some thought necessary. The main source of conflict, however, was between the Office of War Information (OWI) and the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), which had great authority since the Departments of War and Navy were the only sources of military news and propaganda.⁷ Another Executive Order was needed to clear up the situation. Finally, in March 1943 OWI was given complete control over the entire federal program of overseas propaganda outside the Western Hemisphere. Execution of this in an area of military operations was subject to the theater commander, of course.

Thus defined, the purpose of OWI should have been clear enough for anyone to understand. It wasn't. Conflicts still arose. Even the President is known to have confused OWI with some kind of office of censorship.⁸

In this rather nebulous position OWI became an attractive target for those who wished to reduce wartime spending. Eventually, its domestic branch was rendered

inoperable by Congress. Abroad, OWI, under the name United States Information Service, was left to carry out the more important function.

Badly hampered as it was, OWI by the end of the war had proved itself an effective weapon. It was in large measure a weapon of truth, for Davis had insisted upon the truth:

We believe the truth is on our side not only as to the nature and issues of this war, but as to who is going to win it.

Because of this insistence the Voice, in much of the world, came to be looked to for the truth.

Perhaps the men of OWI were most hampered by not being allowed to work on long-range propaganda. The immediate victory was all that was sought. Our military-minded leaders could not understand the importance of considering future implications and blunders resulted. This inclination not to look ahead has been one of the greatest handicaps for our propagandists even down to the present day.

Typically, at the end of the war, America briefly, but significantly, tried to withdraw into her shell of isolation as she had done after World War I. Foreign aid was reduced drastically; the OWI was abolished. But the new world was one from which no nation could effectively withdraw--least of all, the victor of the

last war--the most powerful nation on earth. Still, a naive Congress slashed away, and the already too small budget for international propaganda dwindled to almost nothing. In August, 1945 President Truman created an Interim International Information Service within the Department of State. William Benton was named to head the department. He immediately began a drastic cut-back in all programs. All booklets except the Russian-language Amerika were stopped. All VOA broadcasts were centered in New York and were reduced in the number of languages used from the wartime high of forty to twenty-four.¹⁰

When the Congressional battle was settled (temporarily), the agency emerged as the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs with a \$19 million budget. The next year it got a new name, the Office of International Information and Educational Exchanges, and a lower budget, \$13,800,000 (apparently education is cheaper than culture, which most Congressmen don't like anyway). Greatly demoralized, many of the information service's best employees began to quit.

In 1948 a more definitive reorganization of the agency was ordered by the Smith-Mundt Act. This was essentially the first recognition of propaganda as a peacetime necessity. The purpose of the act was "to promote a better understanding of the United States in

other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries."¹¹ To implement these aims the Department of State divided the single office into the Office of International Information and the Office of Educational Exchange, both headed by George V. Allen. The budget was upped to about \$30 million a year.

In 1950, Edward W. Barrett, then editorial director of Newsweek magazine, was asked by the President to step into Allen's position as Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. He did and began in that year a new "Campaign of Truth" designed to "build confidence in the United States and the Free World and to expose Communist aims." The organization flourished under Barrett. Congress, the next year, increased its appropriations almost three times. Barrett's realistic understanding of his intangible contribution was one cause.

No one could prove that last year's fund had been well spent by producing a cage filled with 7,000 Russians who had deserted Communism. The (appropriations) committee could see and touch new post offices; it could not see ten million Indians or Britons who had been made a little less suspicious of America than they were a year earlier.¹²

Another cause of the increase was the Korean War. Real bullets usually loosen up a tight-fisted Congress.

Barrett retired in 1952 with much praise (even if some of the praise was a bit confused--one commentator lauded the "new" USIS and damned the old, "inept U. S. Information Service"¹³). Howland Sargeant succeeded Barrett.

About this time a new attack on the VOA was beginning which proved to be the most demoralizing of any blast sustained by the organization up to that time. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy turned his Red witch-hunt on the Voice. Several employees were hauled-up for questioning. At one point, things had become so ridiculous that a program producer was told he could not play "Song of India" because it was written by Rimsky-Korsakov, a Russian.¹⁴

The madness subsided, a new study of the agency was made and from it all a final reorganization was undertaken. On August 1, 1953 the United States Information Agency appeared as an independent organization. Ironically, the Korean War ended that year and the agency began its first full year of operation with a 36 per cent reduction in funds over its predecessor organization (1953--\$122.7 million, 1954--\$84.2 million).

Theodore C. Streibert became the first director of the new agency. He served from 1953 until 1956. Upon accepting the position, he wrote to President Eisenhower:

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 as they affect individual countries and areas.

This rather simple, unassuming statement in large measure set the guidelines for USIA for the next ten years.

During the following fall, VOA headquarters were moved from New York to the second floor of the Health, Education and Welfare Building in Washington, where they are today.

Criticism of the agency was rampant during Streibert's directorship. But through it all the agency grew in services, function and experience. When he retired in 1956, the agency could claim a staff of increasing in professionalism.

Arthur W. Larson succeeded Streibert. He proved a very unpopular director and lasted less than a year in office. He succeeded in seeing Congress appropriate \$96,517,000 to the agency in 1958 as compared with the

\$113,000,000 it received in 1957.

George V. Allen returned to replace Larson late in 1957. Allen's three and a half years as director were unmarked by spectacular innovation. For the most part he emphasized the old values of truth and telling America's story. He concentrated the agency's greatest efforts into the reporting of new events, such as the sputniks and satellites and Khrushchev's visit to America. Little Rock, which so greatly hurt this country abroad, was reported factually and attributed to a period of social change-- hopefully lessening its bad effects. When Allen resigned the agency's budget had climbed back up to \$102,557,300.

Famed CBS reporter, Edward R. Murrow, was named by President Kennedy to succeed Allen in January of 1961. Murrow has proved to be the most colorful and, perhaps, the most important of USIA directors. His background as a wartime correspondent in London and later as a CBS radio and television commentator, his personal idiosyncrasies--chain smoking, working 12 to 16 hours a day, disregard of self--all went with him to USIA, and, perhaps, just a bit of his glamour rubbed off on the agency.

Murrow's speeches as director of the agency were characterized by the same flair for the dramatic as his talks as a broadcaster. For example, in a speech given

last September shortly before he entered the hospital for a lung operation, Murrow said:

The Twentieth Century can be the century of liberty and justice. We inherit the past. But we earn the future. Let us consider our concerns of today with due respect to what we hope that future will bring.

All this plus the fact that Murrow gave up \$200,000 per year as a broadcaster for a \$21,000 a year government job has given the USIA a prestige it never before had. People who never had paid much attention to the agency suddenly did. Appropriations began to increase--\$134,500,000 for his last year. All of this reportedly had a great effect on USIA employees. Morale was said to have been at an all-time high during Murrow's directorship.

In more tangible ways, the agency grew. It expanded its output greatly during Murrow's three years. The Voice increased its productivity and built the largest radio transmitting station in the world. But of greatest significance was the fact that Murrow became the first director to participate in the policy-making of the executive branch of the government. President Kennedy appointed Murrow:

and/or his Deputies (to) meet with the President and White House staff officers, and with the Secretary of State and other State Department Officials regularly. The

Director attends National Security Council meetings and attends all Cabinet meetings in which matters on the agenda concern Agency interests.¹⁵

As Murrow put it once, he wanted to be in on the take-offs as well as the crash landings of United States policy. He got his wish.

Murrow's personal credo about the USIA is summed up in these words which stand, framed by two flags, on a wall at Voice headquarters:

If truth must be our guide
then dreams must be our goal. To
the hunger of those masses
yearning to be free and to
learn, to this sleeping giant
now stirring, that is so much
of the world, we shall say:
"We share your dreams."

In January of this year ill-health forced Murrow to step down as director of the agency. President Johnson appointed Carl Rowan to fill the vacancy. Rowan is a former newspaperman and was this country's ambassador to Finland when Mr. Johnson asked him to accept the post. As director of the USIA, Rowan is the highest-ranked Negro in the federal government. When he was first nominated, many in the conservative press voiced opposition to this choice. Rowan had been far too outspoken in the past, they said, on such issues as integration to speak now for the entire country. They feared what he might try to do with the agency. To date, however, Rowan has made little visible change

in the operation of USIA or the Voice. His aim seems to be that of past directors, of telling the truth, but with the added touch of "putting it in perspective." As he stated (in somewhat less ringing prose than that of Murrow) before the Foreign Relations Committee when being quizzed on his nomination:

I think I have said enough to justify my fundamental belief that all we need wish the world to know of us is the truth. Through face-to-face contacts, through television, films and radio, and through the printed word, we shall spread the truth, and I am confident that the truth will keep us free.

So my first mission will be to take the truth and PUT IT IN PERSPECTIVE.* There is an abundance of facts about us, even in the most remote parts of the world, but there is an acute shortage of understanding of what the facts mean and how they relate to the hopes and dreams of those vast millions who today fill Asia, Africa and Latin America with turmoil and ugly conflict.

Putting the truth in perspective can be dangerous if it means twisting the truth. If it means genuinely relating the aims of this country to others, excellent, for this has been a historic lack in American propaganda.

* His emphasis.

2. Organization and Services of USIA

Organization

For more than twenty years the Voice of America and USIA have been nascent. At times the process has been rather confused and precarious. Today they seem to have arrived at a state of relative stability, however. The USIA is now a completely independent agency of the Executive Branch of the government. The chart on page 16 explains this relationship. The Voice, at one time virtually the entire agency, is now but an arm, albeit, perhaps the most important arm, of the agency.

As an executive agency USIA is responsible directly to the President. Its director, as mentioned earlier, participates in the National Security Council meetings. He also sits with the Committee of Principals and other groupings of Presidential advisors.

Though the agency is now independent of the Department of State, it still maintains closer relations with this department than with any other. Foreign policy guidance comes from the department to the agency's Office of Policy. The director of the agency or one of his two deputies regularly attends the Secretary of State's staff meetings.

Other departments or agencies may seek the

THE AGENCY AND THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT

JANUARY 1964

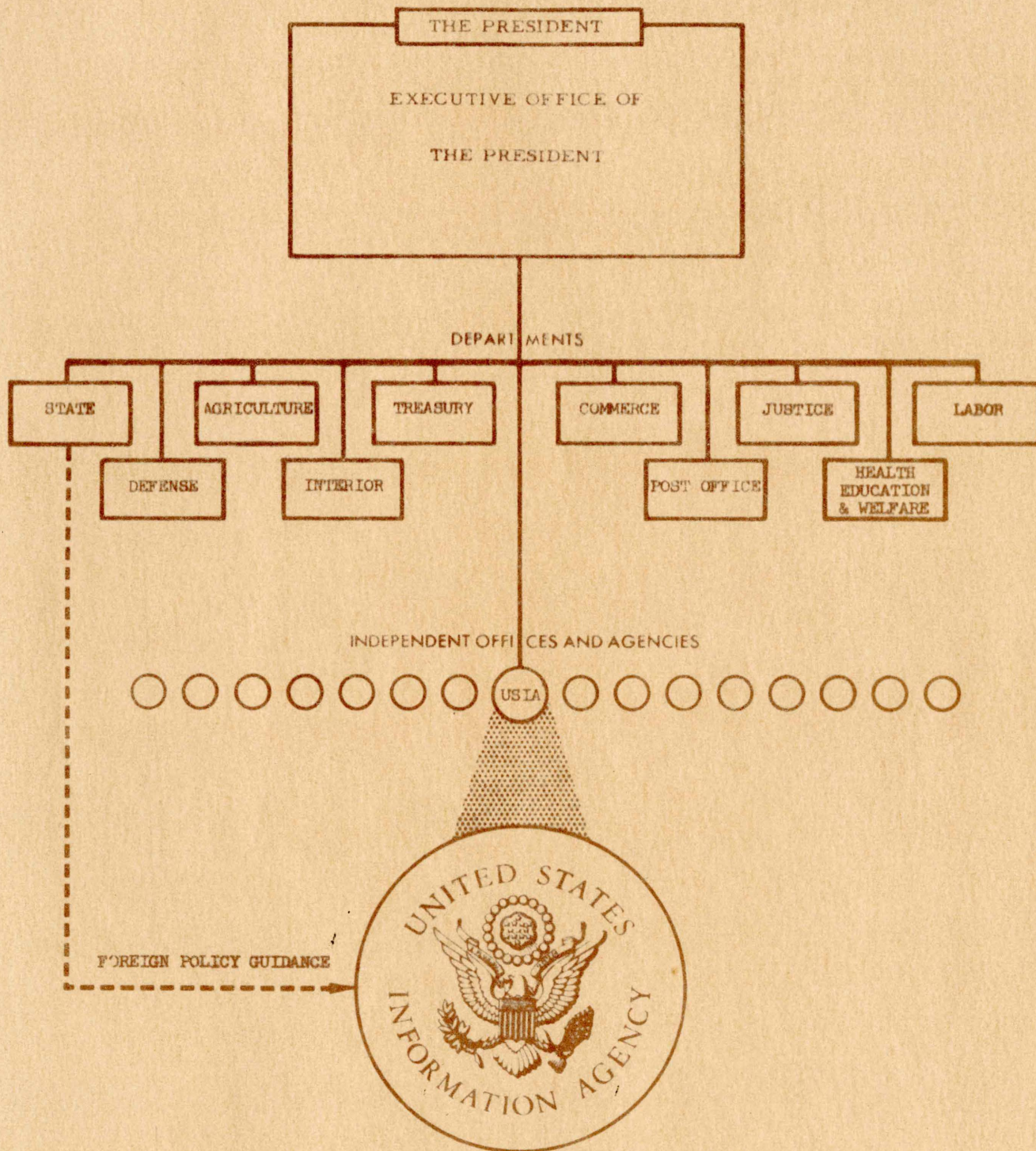


Figure 1.

advice of the Information Agency when considering programs or policies which might "substantially affect or be affected by foreign opinion." Also other agencies may be asked to provide special materials or advice needed by USIA media or field posts to carry out specific missions.

Further, intelligence agencies supply information vital for the USIA in developing effective information policies and programs.

Services

The U. S. Information Agency of course performs a number of services beyond those carried out by the Voice of America. To provide a better understanding of the context in which the Voice operates a brief description of other USIA services follows. The chart on page 18 indicates their relative positions in the internal organization of the agency.

Director-- The director supervises the work of the agency and, as indicated on page 12, actively participates in the policy-making of the Executive Branch of the government. The office of public information and the executive secretariat are attached to his office.

Office of Policy-- This office formulates information policy guidance for all USIA operations. This policy is based upon foreign policy as stated by the President and Department of State. Guidance is given on a

ORGANIZATION OF U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

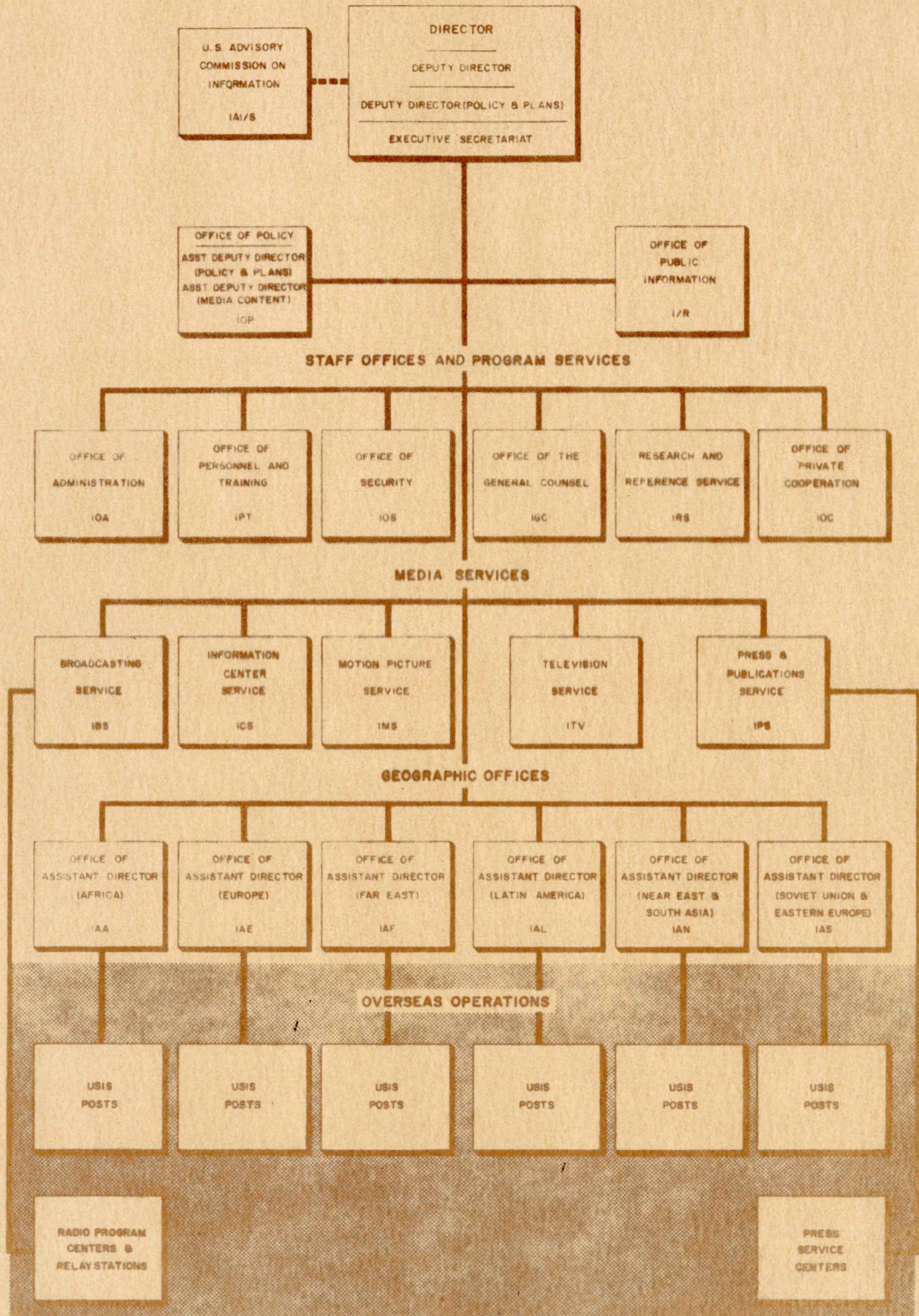


Figure 2.

daily basis to all agency media.

Geographic Direction-- Six area assistant directors administer and direct the agency's operations overseas. (It is known abroad as USIS--United States Information Service--which is an older name than USIA and, also, "'Service' sounds friendlier than 'Agency.'") They are responsible for the information and cultural programs in their specific areas--Africa, Europe, Far East, Latin America, Near East and South Asia, Soviet Union and Eastern European Affairs.

Overseas Missions--USIS Mission carries out the various agency programs and handles the Department of State's Exchange of Persons program in each country. It is part of our diplomatic mission in each nation. A Public Affairs Officer heads each overseas branch. American and foreign national employees assist him. USIS is also responsible for our foreign information centers and libraries.

Broadcasting Service (The Voice of America)-- described in depth in the following section.

Information Center Service (ICS)-- The center furnishes USIS missions with books, magazines, exhibits, musical scores and various cultural materials for use overseas. ICS is divided into six operational units:

.Cultural Operations Division--supports the

overseas centers in their cultural work.

.Bibliographic Division--evaluates books for use in our overseas book programs (which have been much criticized by conservatives for their liberal leanings).

.Publications Division--encourages private publishers to export selected American works.

.Informational Media Guaranty Division--aids American distributors in converting currency.

.Exhibits Division--creates exhibits for use around the world.

.English Teaching Division is responsible for a world-wide program of teaching English.

Motion Picture Service--This service handles production and distribution of informational films specifically designed to support agency objectives. It also acquires privately produced films for use. Documentaries, newsreels, topical shorts and other types of films are used. They are shown to large audiences in theatres, on television, in clubs and even in the open-air.

Press and Publications Service (IPS)-- IPS operates an international information service which provides both "fast" media and "slow" media materials. Among its "fast" media materials are the Wireless File, a daily radioteletype service of major news items to 111 monitoring posts in 103 countries, and a picture service.

Its "slow" media materials are of a wide variety. They include the most used cartoon strip in the world, Little Moe, which satirizes Communism. Several magazines, including the Polish and Russian-language editions of America Illustrated (which reportedly are sold out as soon as they reach the stands), are published by IPS.

Television Service--The television service produces complete programs, acquires shows from American television networks, aids foreign countries producing films here and secures distribution of our programs abroad. In addition, the service, through overseas posts, aids foreign producers in the creation of local television programs.

The other units of the organization are program services and staff offices. These can be described in a few words.

Office of Private Cooperation--encourages the participation of private parties, business, labor and other groups, in achieving USIA aims.

Research and Reference Service-- provides reference materials and directs original research and foreign attitude polling needed by the agency in forming plans and programs.

Office of the General Counsel-- acts as Congressional liaison and conducts legal affairs for the

organization.

Office of Public Relations--serves as a press and public relations bureau for the home audience.

Office of Security--handles security investigations and personnel security matters for the agency.

Office of Administration-- as the name implies the routine administrative functions fall to this office; for example: personnel and training, budget, finance and management.

The USIA currently employs approximately 11,000 persons. These include 6,000 "locals," natives used by the agency in their home lands. These are considered an excellent investment in good-will; and even at top wages in the host country, their salaries are remarkably low by American standards. Locals are used for a wide variety of supporting jobs.

3. Technical Facilities and Operation
of the Voice

Facilities

For tens of millions around the world a powerful refrain from "Columbia" signals a daily, and perhaps their only, contact with the United States. "Columbia" is the identifying theme of the Voice of America. Each official radio of a national government has an indentifying theme or sound, such as the Bells of the Kremlin used by Moscow or the stirring introduction to Beethoven's Fifth Symphony used by Portugal.

Currently the Voice is operating 792 hours a week in 36 languages. A staff of 1,327 domestic, 141 overseas Americans and 755 "locals" is required for this production. English language broadcasts go out around the clock and total some 257 hours weekly. Part of this is in special English which is spoken very slowly and uses a 1,000 word vocabulary. This is primarily for those learning to speak English. It is also more intelligible than English spoken at the regular speed in those areas where reception is poor. (A detailed breakdown of the language broadcasts is given in the accompanying charts

on pages 25, 26 and 27. Since this compilation was made broadcast hours have increased slightly--less than three hours.)

In addition to its shortwave broadcasts the Voice prepares some 14,000 hours weekly of taped programs. These are air-mailed to approximately 5,000 overseas stations. These programs are in 62 different languages. Local mediumwave stations rebroadcast the programs, often without USIA attribution.

Last year the VOA put into operation the largest and most powerful long-range radio facility in the world. This was the first significant addition to the Voice since 1952. Operating from Greenville, North Carolina, the new transmitter has a total output of 4,800,000 watts which is equal to the power of 96 top-strength United States commercial radio stations. This doubled the power of the



Figure 3. Master Control At the Greenville Complex.

VOICE OF AMERICA WEEKLY LANGUAGE BROADCASTS

	Total Hours-Minutes
Worldwide:	
English -----	183:45
Music U. S. A -----	<u>73:30</u>
Total worldwide English -----	<u>257:15</u>
East Europe:	
Albanian -----	10:30
Armenian -----	7:00
Bulgarian -----	12:15
Czech-Slovak -----	10:30
Estonian -----	10:30
Georgian -----	7:00
Hungarian -----	17:30
Latvian -----	10:30
Lithuanian -----	10:30
Polish -----	14:00
Rumanian -----	8:45
Russian -----	59:30
To Far Eastern USSR -----	10:30
Serbo-Croat -----	10:30
Slovene -----	3:30
Ukrainian -----	7:00
To Far Eastern USSR -----	<u>3:30</u>
Total vernacular to Eastern Europe -----	199:30
Total vernacular to Far Eastern USSR -----	14:00
Regionalized English to Europe -----	<u>3:30</u>

Figure 4.

(2)

	Total Hours-Minutes
English audible in area -----	98:00
<hr/>	
Arab World--Near East:	
Arabic -----	42:00
Turkish -----	7:00
Total vernacular to Arab World--Near East --	49:00
<hr/>	
English to Near and Middle East -----	3:30
English audible in area -----	89:15
<hr/>	
South Asia:	
Bengali (East) -----	3:30
Bengali (West) -----	3:30
Hindi -----	3:30
Tamil -----	3:30
Urdu -----	7:00
Total vernacular to South Asia -----	21:00
<hr/>	
Regionalized English to South Asia -----	10:30
English audible in area -----	45:30
<hr/>	
Africa:	
Arabic -----	7:00
French -----	10:30
Hindi -----	3:30
Swahili -----	7:00
Total vernacular to Africa -----	28:00
<hr/>	
Regionalized English to Africa -----	7:00
English audible in area -----	80:30
<hr/>	

Figure 4 continued.

	Total Hours-Minutes
Far East:	
Burmese -----	17:30
Cambodian -----	7:00
Indonesian -----	14:00
Korean -----	14:00
Lao -----	7:00
Mandarin -----	52:30
Thai -----	7:00
Vietnamese -----	14:00
Total vernacular to Far East -----	<u>133:00</u>
Regionalized English to Far East -----	10:30
English audible in area -----	<u>73:30</u>
Latin America:	
Spanish -----	63:00
Portuguese (Brazil) -----	<u>24:30</u>
Total vernacular to Latin America ----	87:30
Regionalized English to Latin America -----	8:45
English audible in area -----	<u>22:45</u>
Grand total, Voice of America	
Direct Broadcasts' -----	<u>789:15</u>

Figure 4 continued.

Voice of America, allowing louder and clearer direct broadcasts to Latin America, Europe and Africa. Also this provides a stronger signal for VOA transmitters in Africa, the Mediterranean and Europe.

The complex includes six 500,000 watt transmitters, six 250,000 watt transmitters and six 50,000 watt transmitters. Broadcasts from this relay are targeted through 73 directional antennas. The entire operation covers 6,192.9 acres and is split up among three sites--one for a receiver station, the other two for transmitters. This project cost \$23 million to build. It requires about \$2,450,000 per year for operation and 100 employees working in shifts around the clock. Part of the cost has been offset by retirement of obsolete transmitters at Wayne, New Jersey, Brentwood and Schenectady, New York.

All VOA programs originate in the Washington studios which are located on the second floor of the Health, Education and Welfare Building. From there they travel by microwavelinks to Greenville or by land lines to other transmitters on the East or West Coasts for relay abroad.

Located in the Washington headquarters are eighteen studios, a highspeed tape-duplicating installation capable of turning out ten tapes simultaneously, plus tape and transcription facilities. Master control is capable of

handling twenty-six programs simultaneously and selecting

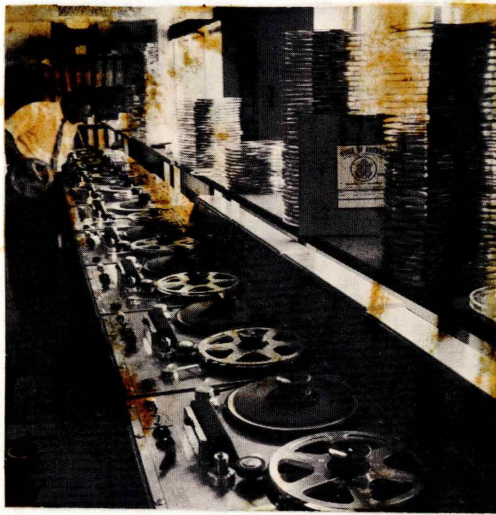


Figure 5. High Speed Tape
Recording In Washington
Studios

program material from one hundred sources. Also there are ten tape and disc-recording machines; tape editing booths, a recording control center, editorial offices and music and transcription libraries.

Some of the broadcasts from America are heard directly on individual receivers. Many are picked up and rebroadcast by our transmitters abroad, and some local radio stations pick up and rebroadcast them

There are now fifty-one VOA transmitters located in the United States. Thirty of these are presently operated under contract to NBC, CBS, Crosley and General Electric. On the East Coast there are thirty-three transmitters at Bound Brook and Wayne, New Jersey; Brentwood and Schenectady, New York; Greenville, North Carolina, and Marathon, Florida. There are six in the Midwest, all at Bethany, Ohio; and ten on the West Coast at Dixon and Delano, California; and two in Hawaii.

Abroad the VOA operates sixty-two transmitters at ten stations. These are located in Liberia, Tangiers, Munich, Thessaloniki, Philippines, Okinawa, Colombo,

England and off the Island of Rhodes. The stations in Munich, Okinawa and the Philippines are million-watt installations. The station in the Eastern Mediterranean at Rhodes is a floating base. It is aboard a converted Maritime Commission cargo vessel, the USCG Courier, which is anchored off the island. United States Coast Guardsmen run the ship and VOA personnel staff the broadcast operation.

Plans are now in progress to strengthen the VOA signal so that it will eventually cover the entire earth. (See Figure 6.) Among the projects planned or now in

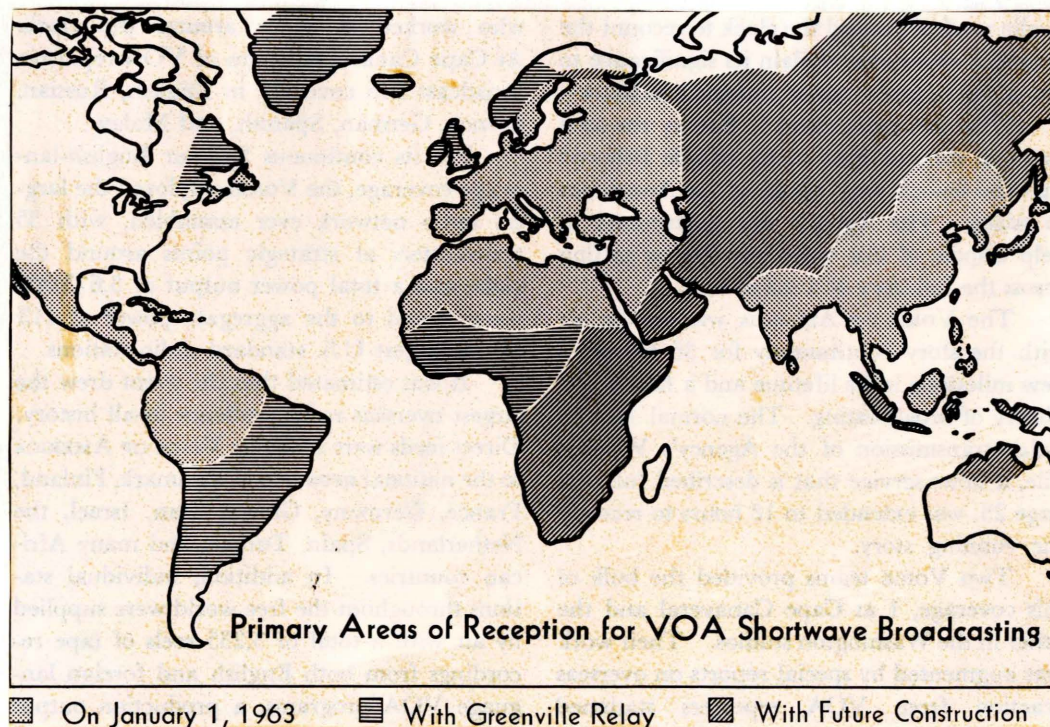


Figure 6.

progress to carry this out are the following:

.Transmitters at Dixon and Delano, California and Bethany, Ohio are being modernized and enlarged.

.The VOA leases six shortwave transmitters from the BBC at Woofferton, in central England. Each is being increased from 50,000 to 250,000 watts.

.RIAS (Radio In American Sector), the independent USIA station in Free Berlin, has recently increased its nighttime power five-fold by building new antennas. It is said to virtually blanket East Berlin. (RIAS is not part of the VOA, but it is operated by the broadcast service.)

.A major relay station is to be completed at Monrovia, Liberia this year. It will consist of six 250,000 watt and two 50,000 watt transmitters.

.Transmitters aboard the Coast Guard ship at Rhodes are being replaced by more efficient land-based transmitters.

.Several mediumwave and shortwave mobile radio transmitters which are now temporarily operating in Liberia and on Marathon Key just off the southern coast of Florida are being strengthened.

.Agreements have been signed with Greece and the Philippines to strengthen Voice broadcasts there. Project Gamma in Thessaloniki, Greece seeks to install and operate ten 150,000 watt shortwave transmitters and one 150,000 watt mediumwave transmitter. In the Philippines, Project Bamboo will consist of ten 250,000 watt shortwave

transmitters distinct from the current complex.

Of course, the great majority of VOA installations are shortwave. The Voice does maintain seven medium and longwave transmitters. (The three megawatt units in the Philippines, Munich and Okinawa are of this type and among the most powerful such stations in the world.)

Altogether Voice installations cost about \$73 million to construct. Approximately \$9 million a year is required to operate them.

The Voice maintains no jamming operations. In fact, this country has never jammed the broadcasts of others. (Jamming is the attempt to block radio programs by putting transmitters on the same frequencies as incoming programs and broadcasting unpleasant noises. International agreements forbid it.)

Communist nations, in the past, have used about 2,000 jamming stations against the VOA. On June 19, 1963 the Soviet Union stopped jamming our Russian-language, USSR minority and Baltic-language broadcasts. VOA shortwave signals can now be heard clearly throughout most of Russia.

Except for a brief period in 1959-1960 the Soviets had been jamming since 1948. Their efforts were never entirely satisfactory. In addition, the process is quite expensive. If this country attempted jamming on

an equivalent scale, it would cost more than \$150 million per year. The total yearly operating cost of the VOA is \$26 million.

With the exception of Poland, Rumania and Albania, the Soviet satellites, Cuba and Red China still jam.

Operation

No one will deny that person-to-person contact can be the best type of propaganda. But millions have never met an American. Few know us intimately. And, indeed, many American travelers are not the type who give the best impression of this country. This void the Voice of America tries to fill. With the advent of the transistor radio it can now more nearly do so. Almost anyone, anywhere can hear the VOA--the peasant behind his ox-drawn plow and the big city cosmopolite.

But of perhaps even greater significance, the Voice can hop the Iron and Bamboo curtains. Magazines, newspapers, exhibits, even our representatives may be forbidden or restricted in these lands. But such man-made barriers do not stop radio waves. Even jamming is not completely successful. In short, the Voice of America is the sole contact many millions have with this nation. It is an awesome responsibility.

In commemorating the 20th anniversary of VOA last year, President Kennedy challenged its workers

in this way:

The Voice of America carries a heavy responsibility. Its burden of truth is not easy to bear. It must explain to a curious and suspicious world what we are. It must tell them of our basic beliefs. It must tell them of a country which is in some respects a rather old country-- certainly old as Republics go. And yet it must make our ideas alive and new and vital in the high competition which goes on around the world since the end of World War II.

In the last 20 years the Voice of America and its parent organization have grown in strength and stature, but in the next 20 years our opportunities to tell our story will expand beyond belief.

How then is the Voice organized to meet this challenge?

It is, of course, headed by a director. Under him are two major operating sections, the Office of the Program Manager and the Office of the Engineering Manager.

Henry Loomis, 45-year-old native of New York, has been VOA director since 1958. His deputy director is Keith Adamson. As director, Loomis is responsible for VOA policy and programming and for the establishment and maintenance of radio facilities.

Loomis came to the Voice after serving as special assistant to the President for Science and Technology.

Previously he had served as a consultant to the Psychological Strategy Board, a staff member of the President's Committee on International Information Activities, and from 1953 to 1954 as consultant and special assistant to the director of USIA. Loomis is a graduate of Harvard University and attended the University of California for one year of graduate study. As director he is given the Civil Service rating of GS-18, and his salary is \$20,000.

Loomis is now concerned with a comprehensive program of construction and modernization, both at home and abroad. His major problems include negotiation with other governments to obtain sites, and development of specifications for each new relay station.

In a letter to this writer, Loomis explained his participation in policy formulation and programming as follows:

"As director, I am not personally involved in the selection of what is broadcast except in extraordinary and particularly controversial problems. My role rather is to discuss the philosophy and performance of individual services with those responsible for the services. In this way I believe I personally do influence, at least to some degree, the output. When I believe a Service Chief is either unable or unwilling to perform in a way I consider

suitable, I then replace him with somebody else. I believe this is the only effective way to manage a program. You must remember that we are broadcasting over 800 hours (sic) a week, which averages more than four programs simultaneously 24 hours a day. It is physically impossible for any one individual to know, never mind control, our entire output. Since I do listen to the Voice on an average of a couple of hours each day, I do have personal views on programs I enjoy or do not enjoy. I communicate these views to the Service Chief concerned but make it clear these are not directives, rather just views and prejudices of one audience to be considered along with the views and prejudices of others."

The Program Manager is responsible for the actual planning and policy supervision of the programs broadcast by the Voice. His activities cover four major areas. These are: first, the centralized program services which produce features, news shows and news analysis; second, the language desks at which original programs are created and tailored for specific countries, material for use by foreign radio stations is recorded, material produced by the centralized program services is edited and translated, and programs are broadcast in different languages; third, VOA studios in Washington and network traffic; fourth, subsidiary program centers which produce

materials available only in the geographic areas which they cover. These are located in New York, Munich, Cairo, Monrovia and Rhodes.

The Engineering Manager handles the technical end of broadcasting. He is responsible for transmitting and relaying VOA programs into each target area and for the operation and management of this world-wide system of radio facilities. His duties includes improvement of existing facilities, research, planning, development and supervision of the construction of new facilities, monitoring by overseas technical monitors and propagation and frequency management. He is also required to meet changing program and propagation conditions.

In moments of emergency or when vital policy decisions are made, regular programming can be interrupted and news put on the air minutes after the decision. Such emergency programming works like this. The President, if he wishes to make an emergency announcement, calls in the director by means of a "hot-line". As soon as the conference is ended, the director sends for the top men in the agency--those who will have to implement the programming. They are told what is to be done and within moments the project is begun. Murrow was known to have been called in on several such occasions by President Kennedy. It is assumed that President Johnson has maintained the "hot-line"

to Rowan's office.

For ordinary programming there is a policy planning staff which constantly works on policy for the various countries. And, as pointed out earlier, the director of the agency now participates in the policy-making of the Executive Branch of the government. Overseas USIS and State Department staffs intermingle and constantly report back on developments. From these sources specific program policy for VOA broadcasts is determined.

News is perhaps the most vital ingredient of the day-in-day-out broadcasts of the Voice. It is through this medium that the Voice secures and maintains a reputation for truth. For this reason accuracy is more important here than speed. Thus the central newsroom ordinarily will not allow a story to be used unless it has been verified from at least two sources. If it deviates from this rule, the fact is made obvious to its listeners. Some of the news is written by VOA staff writers or by stringers who are not members of the regular staff. The international news services, such as Reuters, Agence France, Associated Press and United Press International are also used.

All news is broadcast live. A central news report is prepared in English. It is then translated into the thirty-five foreign languages for immediate use. Thus

in every language and in every part of the world the Voice says virtually the ~~same~~ thing. There are some minor differences in the foreign-language newscasts. But these variations are based solely upon the differing news interests of people in different parts of the world.

(Note: A detailed breakdown and analysis of newscasts and other programs will be found in Chapter 7.)

II. Evaluation

4. Official Goals

How effective is the Voice of America?

Thus far we have seen how the United States Information Agency and, more specifically, the Voice of America developed, their operation and facilities. All this tells us very little about what they actually accomplish, however. Perhaps the best place to begin a look at what they accomplish is with a look at what they say they mean to do-- their goals as outlined in official pronouncements and informal talk.

In a policy statement issued a year ago last January, President Kennedy redefined the mission of USIA and, by inference, of the Voice of America. His statement merits careful attention.

* * * Mission Of U.S. Information Agency * * *

The mission of the United States Information Agency is to help achieve United States foreign policy objectives by (a) influencing public attitudes in other nations, and (b) advising the President, his representatives abroad, and the various departments and agencies on the implications of foreign opinion for present and contemplated United States policies, programs and official statements.

The influencing of attitudes is to be carried out by overt use of the various techniques of communication-- personal contact, radio broadcasting, libraries, book publication and distribution, press, motion pictures, television, exhibits, English-language instruction, and others. In so doing, the Agency shall be guided by the following:

1. Individual country programs should specifically and directly support country and regional objectives determined by the President and set forth in official policy pronouncements, both classified and unclassified.

2. Agency activities should (a) encourage constructive public support abroad for the goal of a "peaceful world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own future and their own system so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others;" (b) identify the United States as a strong, democratic, dynamic nation qualified for its leadership of world efforts toward this goal, and (c) unmask and counter hostile attempts to distort or frustrate the objectives of the United States. These activities should emphasize the ways in which United States policies harmonize with those of other peoples and governments, and those aspects of American life and culture which facilitate sympathetic understanding

of United States policies.

The advisory function is to be carried out at various levels in Washington, and within the Country Team at United States diplomatic missions abroad. While the Director of the United States Information Agency shall take the initiative in offering counsel when he deems it advisable, the various departments and agencies should seek such counsel when considering policies and programs which may substantially affect or be affected by foreign opinion. Consultation with the United States Information Agency is essential when programs affecting communications media in other countries are contemplated.

United States Information Agency staffs abroad, acting under the supervision of the Chiefs of Mission, are responsible for the conduct of overt public information, public relations and cultural activities-- i.e., those activities intended to inform or influence foreign public opinion--for agencies of the United States Government except for Commands of the Department of Defense.

* * *

More specifically the duties of the Voice of America are outlined in the following charter which was issued a number of years ago to the Voice.

* * * Directive To The Voice of America * * *

The long-range interests of the United States are served by communicating directly with the people of the world by radio. To be effective, the Voice of America must win the attention and respect of listeners. These principles will govern VOA broadcasts:

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.

* * * * *

Henry Loomis, in a letter to this writer, outlined his personal philosophy toward the Voice, its use and what he considers its ultimate aims.

"I think the main function of the Voice is a long-term one of providing information and diversity of ideas. This may or may not be considered propagandistic, depending on your definition of that word.

"I have a very high regard for our audience. Some of them may not have shoes, or may not have a formal education, but I believe they are cynical, curious, interested, and have an uncanny ability to detect a phony. If we provide them with the relevant and significant facts in a way that they will understand and believe, and if we provide them with responsible discussion and explore alternate conclusions in a balanced and credible fashion, I believe that we will have increased the chance of their making a decisions which are in the best interests of themselves, their country, and, therefore, in the long-term, of the United States as well.

"Our ultimate goals call for a world where diverse cultures and forms of government operate under a rule of law and without anyone imposing his will on his neighbor. It calls for economic growth. All of these are goals towards which every human being aspires. If he makes decisions which enhance the achievement of these goals he is also enhancing the achievement of United States policy."

As one spokesman for the agency said in private conversation, "We are not trying to incite anyone; we are not trying to subvert anyone. We try to tell them we are for freedom, peace and the dignity of man. We want to tell them we are on the side of those who aspire for freedom."

5. Criticisms

Americans historically have been notoriously reticent about involving themselves in any way with foreign nations. Though we have in some sense come to understand that isolation is completely impossible today, the dregs of this inclination remain. This residue can be seen, for example, in the struggle USIA has had for its very existence and for funds to operate as it should. Practical results are not immediately visible from the work of USIA or the VOA. If someone decides not to participate in an anti-American riot because of what he has heard on the Voice of America, we don't know it. If a few people believe in us a little more or don't feel quite so hostile toward this country, there is no way they can be held up for testimony.

Thus, USIA and the Voice are ideal targets for the federal budget potshooters. Speeches such as "Millions for Hot Air" ¹⁶ or editorials on this "unnecessary" spending find receptive ears among the over-taxed, uninformed public. Senators and Congressmen who like to nip away here and there at the executive budget proposals find the agency accessible and the public insensitive, if not approving. It is amazing how much of this pecking, potshooting and

general criticism of the Voice comes from uninformed sources, those who believe the government ought not to "do propaganda," those who have heard what a bad job is done and how the agency "misrepresents" America. Most seem to have never read an agency publication or heard a Voice broadcast. Some are serious critics, however, intelligent persons who have studied the situation and believe things are amiss. Therefore, all criticisms cannot be dismissed as mere poppycock. They should be studied with a view to correction or improvement.

In an effort to make some sense from, and perhaps some use of, the welter and wail of criticism, a list of the more common and most important has been compiled. They deal with both USIA in general and some more specifically with the Voice. A few can very nearly be dismissed with the label ridiculous. Others require far more detailed answers and analysis. These answers come from a variety of sources, such as other authors and official statements. Most were derived, however, on the basis of a seven-month study of propaganda, the agency and the Voice. Where answers are other than derived from this study, attribution will be given.

1. America ought not to stoop to "propaganda."

This is the one argument which can most nearly be dismissed simply as ridiculous. Yet, it is one which many people hold. The official "apology" is that

ours is not "propaganda" in an evil sense, but a truthful explanation of America. A more pragmatic reason for maintaining the organization lies in the simple fact that today a major power cannot afford to be without an international voice.

2. The USIA fails in its obligation to represent all of America, speaking only for the liberal and not the conservative side.¹⁷

There is no doubt that the agency has liberal tendencies. This is but natural since its last two directors have been appointed by very liberal Presidents. However, on the whole the agency does try to represent all America. Its book program has been most heavily criticized and, indeed, does need some rebalancing. The Voice, though occasionally tending to the liberal side, generally attempts to explain both points of view when necessary. In seeking to make our official policy understandable, it must necessarily speak with the liberal voice of officialdom.

3. The USIA and the Voice are run by a bunch of amateurs.¹⁸

This was undoubtedly true in past years. It no longer is. Of late, the Voice and other USIA services have obtained top-flight men. A core of dedicated, hard-working personnel has been built up. More pay and

prestige would undoubtedly increase the number of such men, but experience has already created a certain degree of expertness.

4. Peoples of most other civilized lands look upon Americans as barbarians who measure all things on a scale of bigness. The Voice does nothing but further this opinion when it glories in telling the world how many bathtubs there are in this country.¹⁹

Lamentably this was true in the past. The agency is now aware of its error, however. As Ed Murrow said in a speech last year, "Sloganeering and boasting of cars and washing machines is a product of the past. How much food and how many refrigerators we have in America is hardly a persuasive message to men who have no food either to refrigerate or to eat."

5. Private media often criticize the Voice and agency for competing with them abroad. They say they can represent this country adequately and should not have to compete with a government subsidized service.

Looked at objectively this is one of the strongest arguments for an agency. Do Hollywood films and the pulp magazines truly represent us? Something definitely is needed to offset their effect.

6. Where are the results? We don't seem loved any better now than in the past. In fact, we seem

to be slipping in prestige.

There are many critics who harp on this theme. They want concrete evidence now. These are simply seeking too much, too soon, from too little. First, the agency and the Voice deal in immeasurables. Who can measure understanding? Second, the agency can not make us loved if we do unlovable things. It is the agency's duty to explain policy--not carry it out. Their mission is to "tell why this country does what it does--and, if possible, make it acceptable." (This aspect will be discussed in greater detail in the final section.)

7. Many feel the agency should be private or semi-private. ~~It~~They feel it needs more freedom.

It is true that as a government agency, the VOA and USIA are greatly hampered. However, as private agencies they could no longer speak as the official voice of this country. The reason for their existence would end. A simple answer is available--more autonomy for more daring.

8. Agency directors are changed too often to maintain necessary continuity. Continuous change also effects morale--as one worker indicated when he cryptically related the agency's "history" as "Twelve directors in twelve years."

They don't change quite that fast but five

directors in ten years is not a good record. Some thought has been given to making the directorship a permanent position. This could produce a spokesman out of tune with the administration, however. A better solution would be to make the office of Deputy Director a permanent Civil Service position and for the President to nominate as director, after very careful consideration, high calibre men who could serve full Presidential terms.

9. There is some (not much) complaint that the organization is not given enough status in the government.

This was a very gross error in the past. With the elevation of the director to policy-making circles conditions have improved greatly. Increased status of lower-line employees is still badly needed, however.

10. An even more serious complaint concerns the audience we are reaching and the audience we need to reach.

There has long been a suspicion that we are gaining those we already had, the successful capitalists, and losing those we need, the masses. Apparently agency personnel have recognized this. A number of programs are now being broadcast which are tailored to the undeveloped, undecided nations. (See Chapter 7 for examples.)

The most intelligent and, perhaps, important

criticism of the agency comes from the United States Advisory Commission on Information. The commission was established in 1948 to make recommendations to the director of our information programs and to report on the agency to Congress. Their nineteenth report to Congress appeared earlier this year. In it, the commission made fifteen specific criticisms or recommendations. They merit special attention. The first six suggestions were replied to by an agency spokesman in answer to a letter from this writer.

The Advisory Commission felt that the agency needs:

1. To improve internal management, communication and coordination.

"The Agency agrees entirely with the need to improve internal management, communication and coordination. Under Mr. Murrow significant progress was achieved: senior media and area officers meet weekly with the Director to coordinate programs; a quarterly meeting of these officers assigns priorities to upcoming programs and areas of policy emphasis; five media priorities were established--themes which all Agency communications media stress above all others. An assistant deputy director was appointed two years ago, charged with coordinating the output of all media to ensure that all voices of the Agency stress the same central themes."

2. To reduce the number of USIA buildings in Washington from 11 to 1.

"The Agency not only agrees fully with the recommendation that its Washington activities be housed in a single building instead of 11 scattered buildings but has been working on this problem with GSA for some time."

3. To improve and strengthen long-range planning.

"A senior Agency officer has been specifically charged with long-range planning. The quarterly meetings are also devoted specifically to this subject. Though the Agency's output of necessity must be governed by international developments, not all of them predictable, the Agency increasingly is planning ahead."

4. To expand the research program and to use its results more efficiently.

"During the past three years the budget allocated to research has been increased from \$1,168,106 (FY 1961) to \$1,598,000 (FY 1964)-- an increase of 37 per cent. A senior officer has been designated as research application specialist and the findings of overseas research are increasingly used to help tailor output and programs."

5. To obtain legislation for a career Foreign Service Corps.

"The USIA has been working with the Department of State to propose career legislation for Agency foreign service officers. Several different avenues of approach are being explored on this subject." Incidentally, this has been a long and, to date, very fruitless effort on the part of the agency.

6. To restore the balance of the Agency's cultural programs.

"Increasing emphasis is placed on overseas cultural activities with stress on tailoring them to serve specific U. S. foreign policy objectives. The information and cultural programs of USIA are currently integrated more than ever before."

Other commission recommendations, commented upon by this writer, include the need:

7. To reduce the number of publications.

This may or may not be a sound recommendation. What is first needed is a study of the publications and their audiences. Conditions have changed since many were first published. There may no longer be a need for some, but this should be proven before any indiscriminate reduction is undertaken.

8. To seek outside evaluation of USIA print and radio programs.

This is a very excellent suggestion, but no

action has yet been taken upon it.. Evaluation could result in improved output.

9. To coordinate and concentrate the Government's programs for orienting and training foreign specialists in mass communications.

This is a somewhat unexplored field. It operates on the theory that person-to-person contact, especially among opinion leaders may be the best type of propaganda. The suggestion merits development.

10. To review and study the role of the Cultural Affairs Officer (CAO).

CAO duties have grown rather sporadically in the last ten years. A reexamination may be helpful, but is not urgently called for at the moment.

11. To reconsider the USIA decision to reduce the number of libraries or information centers in Western Europe. The d

The decision to reduce such libraries is ill-timed. American prestige is not at an all-time high. If these libraries are useful in allied nations they should remain.

12. To assume full responsibility for planning and executing the President's trade fair exhibition program.

The USIA was given the responsibility for such exhibits by the President but transferred responsibility

to the Commerce Department. Since the USIA has proven it can do a far better job with such exhibits than the Commerce Department it should reassume responsibility for the entire program.

13. To consider the need to consolidate into one agency of government the related but widely scattered programs in information, education and culture.

Consolidation is an often discussed, seldom practiced, need of the federal government. Some such consolidation would be helpful here as in most areas of government. However, propaganda, or information, should always be the primary concern of such an agency.

14. To seek the advice and guidance of local Latin American practitioners of mass communications in presenting the Alliance For Progress to Latin America.

Nobody likes to seek outside help. In this instance it could be particularly valuable, however. An outsider can never really know as well as a member of his audience what will best appeal to that audience. This suggestion could well be broadened to include other areas.

15. To confine USIA's domestic public relations to a minimum and limit the distribution of its media products in accordance with the intent of Congress.

Acceptance of this suggestion would be a mistake. As past experience shows, an uninformed public

and Congress lead to a loss of funds and prestige for the agency. Lacking either, such an agency can not adequately function.

6. Competition and Reception

Competition

Home-grown troubles are not all the Voice has to meet. Since its inception, VOA has been in fierce competition with the official radios of other nations.

During World War II that battle was chiefly with the Hitler propagandists headed by Dr. Goebbels. Since the war, its major antagonist has been the Communist bloc headed by the Soviet Union. Though Russia has ceased jamming, the competition is no less fierce.

Radio Moscow is currently on the air to foreign lands 1,377 hours weekly. Red China broadcasts approximately 835 hours a week. And Castro's Cuba is becoming increasingly active in the radio propaganda field. All total, the Communist bloc, including the satellite nations, produces approximately 4,000 hours per week of international broadcasting. The Voice of America is on the air 792 hours a week.

The tone of Communist broadcasts is far different from ours. The VOA tries to rely upon the truth calmly presented. To a Western observer, Communist broadcasts seem filled with distortions of the truth and outright lies.

Soviet broadcasts are by far the calmest among the Russian, Chinese and Cuban. Newscasts or analyses almost always indicated that America is wrong, of course, but not always evilly so. They seem to be saying, "Tsk, tsk, isn't it too bad those misguided Americans can't see the error of their ways, and wouldn't things be better if they could?"

Chinese and Cuban broadcasts are far more virulent. Of those two, Radio Habana seems the most bitter. Hardly a broadcast passes without some tirade against the United States.

In general, Communist broadcasts, when they are not discussing politics, are of a more cultural nature than American. Frequent programs of classical music are heard. Russian broadcasts often include question and answer periods at which time questions submitted by Western listeners are answered. Also, incentives, such as small souvenirs, have been offered listeners.

Reception

In the face of this rather heavy barrage of international Communist broadcasting, how does the Voice of America rate in popularity? Apparently very well-- if its research reports are accurate.

USIA research has shown that on an average day between 17 and 26 million persons listen to VOA

broadcasts. About twice that many listen during an average week. In times of crisis the overseas audience is estimated to be in the hundreds of millions. Five million people are thought to listen regularly to the English-language broadcasts alone. In the Communist world, the number who listen to the Voice is calculated to be between five and ten million daily.

As one evidence of listener interest, last year the Voice received more than 200,000 letters from overseas listeners. Also it is known that 460 radio stations in nineteen Latin American countries pickup and rebroadcast VOA Spanish and Portuguese programs in part or in whole to their listeners.

The Voice periodically solicits listener response to broadcasts to determine what size and kind of audience listens. Sometimes prizes, such as transistor radios, are offered. Reaction to programs and other data, such as name, age, education and occupation, are requested. This information helps in planning programs and in selecting the best broadcast hours. It also gives information on signal clarity and even provides contacts for our officers abroad.

One such recent request to Latin America resulted in 35,000 replies. More than 1,500 of these were smuggled out of Cuba.

From these responses the Voice has determined what its typical listener is like. He tends to be between 18 and 30 years old, is a student (either in a formal educational institution or in a home study course) and listens to many foreign political broadcasts. Also the times of greatest listening have been discovered to be at breakfast and between 8 and 12 p.m.

USIA surveys have shown a great increase in the number of radio receiving sets since the advent of the transistor. During the last three years there was a world-wide increase in sets of 15 per cent, bringing the total to more than a quarter billion. The greatest increase was in the Far East. VOA listenership increased 25 per cent during the same period.

When the Greenville station went on the air, response was heard from around the world. From Morocco, "Coming in clear as a bell, almost booming." From Amsterdam, "I heard you for the first time." From a student in Moscow, "I hear the Voice of America every day in my room."

The Associated Press reported that in Havana "despite constant 'jamming' on mediumwave lengths, the Voice of America broadcasts reach thousands of listeners who own shortwave receivers."

Perhaps the best way to judge your success,

however, is by what your enemies says about you. Traditionally the Soviets have said little about the VOA, but recently their protests have grown more frequent. Last year Radio Moscow complained that the VOA "provokes sleepless nights in Socialist countries." Party First Secretary Ilichov said "Western imperialists have seen the folly of relying on military or economic superiority to subdue the Socialist world and have instead turned to psychological and ideological warfare."

Trud, the official Russian labor paper, called VOA " a perfect example of an instrument for poisoning the minds of the people with deceitful propaganda." The paper for Russian youth said USIA "seeks to discredit in the eyes of the people the great ideas of Communism and to beautify by ideological cosmetics the disgusting face of Capitalism."

Somebody is listening.

7. Program Breakdown and Analysis

To what are these people listening? Very few Americans seem to know.

In an effort to see with what voice America speaks, this writer monitored approximately 40 hours of Voice of America English-language broadcasts in February and March of this year. (Many of these shows were recorded on tape.) A detailed breakdown and analysis of some of these programs---news, feature and entertainment shows-- follows. (See Appendix for examples of scripts.)

News analyses are the most obviously "propagandistic" in tone. In these shows VOA does its most "putting in perspective" and explaining away. To our credit, these shows are clearly labelled as news analyses. Some of the more interesting are outlined here.

President Johnson's State of the Union Message was largely internal this year, aimed at poverty and slum clearance. Communist propagandists reportedly pictured this as proof of America's internal decay. Thus on January 28 the Voice broadcast a news analysis of the President's message on housing and "community development." The analysis began by discussing America's anticipated

growth and how many homes will have to be built in the next six years. It gradually works into the slum clearance program-- "now more accurately called urban renewal." The report emphasizes that the President is not simply seeking housing but adequate housing for all. As an additional note, it points out that "today all new publicly assisted housing must, by law, be open to all people regardless of race, creed or color." The analysis closes with another account of America's population boom.

During the week of February 9, school children, demonstrating against racial practices in New York City's public schools, struck for a day. A Voice news analysis on that day tried to explain why. Civil rights groups, it said, feel that although New York schools are technically integrated, there is still informal segregation. The complete change is too slow in coming. School officials explained their stand by saying that they are proceeding along lines which they feel provide the best education for all. The announcer went on to point out that this new demonstration came as Congress was working on the President's Civil Rights Bill.

On February 26 Secretary of State Dean Rusk made a major foreign policy speech on our attitudes

to various Communist nations. In reporting his speech a news analyst discussed why we treat different countries differently. He said our attitude varies according to whether or not the country has contributed to world peace. As Secretary Rusk said, Russia had helped a little. Some countries do nothing. Other countries, such as Albania and Cuba, are hurting peace.

The desire for consumer goods in Russia has created a growing problem there in the past few years. A Soviet Union economist suggested recently that more consumer goods be created. On March 1, a VOA analyst said that this article indicates that Soviet people are wondering about how much of the total output reverts to them. In Russia only 25 per cent of the total output returns to the consumer. In the United States 64 per cent reverts. Citizens are best off when free to determine their own needs.

Most news analysis are somewhat less than dynamic in presentation or appeal. They do what is a necessary job in trying to make clear some of our less understandable policies and actions. However, one gets from some of them the impression that we are trying to explain away that which can't be explained away.

Entertainment shows are for the most part

musical. They are used simply to attract interest and generally have no political overtones. VOA broadcaster Willis Conover, almost unknown in this country, is an internationally known authority on jazz. His programs, and American jazz in general, are among the most popular Voice of America broadcasts. Also increasingly popular of late are American folk music shows.

A typical entertainment feature is Startime, a half-hour show broadcast four nights (or mornings) a week at 0330 GMT. A characteristic program in this series is one broadcast on February 20 with M. C. Herb Davis. Guitarist Al Ciola was the featured artist on this program. His first number was "The Magnificent Seven." Davis then discussed Ciola's background characterizing him as a "musician's musician." He said that many youngsters pick up a guitar and make a hit record, but Ciola is a professional. He gives the best that can be given. Then two more Ciola recordings were played, "Guitar Boogie" and "Quando, Quando." Following this were a few band pieces by the Harry James Orchestra accompanied by vocalist Helen Forest-- "I've Heard That Song Before," "I'm Beginning to See the Light," and "I Cried for You." The show ended with two additional pieces by Ciola, "Bali Hai" and "Love Is Like Champagne."

On the whole, our entertainment shows are decidedly non-cultural. The music programs tend to fall into one of three categories--jazz, folk and pop--entertaining, but hardly painting and elevated or complete picture of American taste. Outside a very infrequent reading from some piece of literature, there is little presented which could be called cultural. Perhaps this represents Americans. But, if so, we are a pretty raucous-sounding bunch. Some more program time should be allotted to performances of classical music by American artists. Also dramatic productions with capable American actors and actresses should be undertaken. The BBC has an excellent record of dramatic productions--with special emphasis being given Shakespeare in this 400th anniversary year.

Feature shows vary greatly--from the innocuous and amusing to those which merely pat America on the back to those which should be of genuine interest abroad. Of the first type is a weekly broadcast called Folk Singers In America. Featured on several of these shows recently was Valetin Pringle. Pringle is apparently a newcomer in the field and is quite unknown in America at this time. According to the announcer, he was discovered by Harry Belafonte and is just now becoming well-known here. Also featured on this fifteen-minute program have

been shows of cowboy songs, railroad songs and Cajun songs. Most of these are broadcast in special English.

Others of these fifteen-minute features are of the pat-America-on-the-back type. For example, on February 12 one of a two-part series on John James Audubon was broadcast. It dealt with his early struggles against poverty and how he rose to great fame as a painter of American birds.

On February 20 a special English program on George Washington was broadcast. The announcer said that Americans have always praised Washington with emotion--now reason has shown his true greatness. When the program reached the time in Washington's life of the American Revolution an interesting thing happened. The announcer suddenly stopped talking about Washington and began to explain how our revolution was different from others in which "men recently have lost what they fought for." We revolted "without internal war." There was no "civil fighting" or "bitter internal fighting." With that brief deviation, the program then jumped back to Washington. Careful attention was given to his Farewell Address. Mention was made of his belief in justice and honesty to all nations. Also he felt that this country should bear no hatred and have no passionate relations with other countries, and there should be no violations of treaties. Significantly no

mention was made of his admonition to stay out of foreign entanglements.

One of the duties of VOA is to explain the American way of life to its listeners. In trying to carry out this duty, the Voice produces a weekly feature, Cross Section U. S. A., which gives a close-up look at an American family. The family is that of Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Kessler of Frederick, Maryland. Mr. Kessler sells insurance. His wife drives a school bus. Each week the program explores some facet of the lives of these relatively average American people.

Of perhaps more genuine interest abroad are programs which show how we can work together for improvement. One such program was the February 27 broadcast of the Newly Developing Nations show. This particular broadcast dealt with the Mekong River Plan. It discussed the plan for developing potential along the Mekong River in Cambodia, Thailand, Laos and South Vietnam. The agreement for development was signed five years ago with the United Nations, the report said. Since then \$14 million has been spent in studying the area. "But all this does not mean the nations will develop," the announcer said. "It means very little if there are no trained people in these countries. A nation that wants to develop must

train its people." This is an oft repeated theme in VOA broadcasts.

Of even greater interest to listeners are those programs which are more localized--made especially for them. One such program is a broadcast in English and Swahili to East Africa from Monrovia. It is frequently concerned with the Negro in America. For example, on February 12 a report on the Civil Rights Bill was broadcast to Africa. It discussed some of the provisions of the bill and went on to point out that it is the most comprehensive Civil Rights bill ever considered by Congress. Also mention was made that this was American Negro History Week-- a fact little-known outside of VOA broadcasts to Africa. A report in Swahili on the apartheid laws in Africa was also broadcast.

The next day's broadcast was devoted to a report on six co-operative inspectors from Kenya who were visiting this country. Wilson Samuel, head of this group, was interviewed. He told how the group had toured Washington and then the mid-West states. He also mentioned that they had been able to meet American farmers and their families. Samuel said that the United States government had given the group much advice on starting co-ops.

This sort of localized broadcast is perhaps

the least done, most needed type of programming for VOA.

News-feature shows have now begun to try and explain what is happening in the 1964 Presidential election campaign. They are trying to prepare listeners for the election this year and also for the usual political fireworks. A program called Viewpoint explained the primary election system in the United States and reported campaign progress to date. on March 1.

Another kind of news-feature type show is a fifteen-minute daily program called Opinion Roundup. This show broadcasts portions of editorial comment from newspapers, and radio and television shows. Most of these selections come from the well-known organs although some selections are taken from the lesser-known organizations. A breakdown of shows on three separate days follows.

February 19

New York Post-- On fighting in Cyprus. Archbishop Makarios is not willing to use NATO forces. The paper was not sure sure the United Nations Security Council would be effective.

Truce is the first order of business, they say.

Baltimore Sun-- The United States only wants peace in Cyprus-- to end the quarrel which strikes at the heart of NATO

Washington Post--The Post praised the Supreme Court decision

which said that voting districts should have close to the same number of people.

Wall St. Journal-- The Court's reasoning in this issue is unconstitutional. It is a great intrusion upon state's rights.

New York Times-- The Times fears this decision may remove the rights of minorities.

George Herman of CBS-- He discussed our decision to cut foreign aid to those countries which continue to deal with Cuba.

February 21

Washington Post-- Our decision to cut off aid to those countries dealing with Castro will look bad in foreign eyes. It will look like recrimination.

New York Times-- This foreign aid decision will thwart its own purpose.

Chicago Tribune-- The Tribune differed in praising the decision. It said we are for everybody, but everybody else ~~else~~ is for himself.

Ed Morgan of ABC-- This commentator gave a somewhat more detailed account of our foreign aid program and concludes that such money is well spent.

Herald Tribune-- The Trib, arguing the Cyprus issue, says that the Greek majority has a good case.

Chet Huntley Of NBC-- Huntley discussed the significance of the meeting between President Johnson and the President of Mexico. The Alliance for Progress could take take hold here, he said.

February 24

New York Times--Makarios is not capable of ruling Cyprus.

The Communists are backing him.

Washington Star-- U Thant's Cyprus plan is not perfect, but an end an end to violence is necessary.

Herald Tribune-- President Johnson's meeting with the President of Mexico is wise. Affairs between the two countries are in good shape.

Philadelphia Inquirer-- It is good to have a meeting such as this one between the two Presidents to discuss differences.

Christian Science Monitor-- The Monitor took another view of the meeting and expressed the hope that it would give Johnson more strength as President.

Washington Post-- President Johnson's speech on world problems said what needed to be said and looked toward unity.

Baltimore Sun-- The President said nothing startling in his speech but gave balance and perspective to the picture.

Editor of the Christian Science Monitor on ABC-- This editor condemns the action of General deGaulle in recognizing Communist China saying that it will only increase the influence of that nation.

Such broadcasts of Opinion Roundup are good for letting the world know what our opinion leaders are thinking. However, some effort should be made to emphasize the fact that these statements represent the thoughts of only one segment of the American population and that this segment is not necessarily the largest.

News is undoubtedly the most important offering of the Voice. Through the years VOA has built up a good reputation abroad for the truthfulness of its news. It is for this alone that many foreign nationals listen to the Voice. Many feel that here is a place they can come and hear the truth. Is this what they hear?

Since news is so vital, the following breakdown is relatively detailed and extensive.

February 14, 1964

Special English report, 10 p.m. EST, from Greenville.

Quantanamo-- Castro has cut off the water supply to our naval base. We will supply the base from this country.

Geneva-- The Soviets say that the defection of Mr. Nosenko will not hurt the disarmament talks. Mr. Nosenko is granted asylum in Switzerland.

United Nations-- India and Pakistan have been asked to review their problems over Kashmir.

France-- Premier deGaulle is reported to have

promised German Prime Minister Erhard his continued support of the Western alliance. He said that this alliance would not be weakened by French recognition of Red China.

West Berlin-- West Berlin has said no to an East German offer which would have allowed Easter visiting behind the Wall.

Soviet Union-- Khrushchev said that Soviets should study foreign scientific progress more in order to improve their own farm conditions. He also spoke strongly against Red Chinese policy. An American farmer who wrote the USSR about how to improve farming conditions was thanked.

Africa-- The Organization of African States urged Ethiopia and Somalia to end their border disputes.

St. Louis, Miss.-- President Johnson promised that the United States will do its best to help settle all disputes in a friendly manner-- to help free and peaceful peoples who want help. (No mention was made of the internal political references made by the President, which most American newspapers carried as the major story.)

Cyprus-- George Ball has been sent to help settle the dispute there.

London-- Prime Minister Home returns to London after talks with the President.

February 18, 1964

*Special English report, 10 p.m. EST, from Greenville.

Cyprus-- Greek Cypriots have committed terrible acts against the Turkish Cypriots. United Nations Secretary General U Thant is working on a plan to solve the problem by use of an international peace force.

The United States and Great Britain have sent ships to rescue people displaced by an earthquake in the Azores.

United States and Italian vessels are rushing to save 35 men who abandoned their badly damaged ship in the Atlantic.

United States-- This country has made "small" cuts in foreign aid to those countries which are still trading with Cuba. Aid to Spain and Morocco has been frozen for further study.

Washington-- Secretary of Agriculture Freeman announced that 100 million tons of American food would be shipped to needy countries-- "food for peace," he called it.

Gabon-- The government has promised to honor the rights of the people and to free political prisoners.

East Africa-- Reuters says that soldiers in Ethiopia and Somalia are exchanging fire with large weapons.

Geneva-- The Soviets have asked for a big cut in armaments. The United States has asked for more

information on their plan.

West Germany-- The trial of a former Nazi doctor begins today.

Washington-- Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara reported to Congress today that the Vietnamese people would win the war in Viet Nam.

Pakistan-- Premier Chou En-Lai of Red China is visiting Pakistan.

February 24, 1964

News in Regular English, 11 p.m. EST, from Greenville.

USSR-- Russia accuses Albania of taking the land and buildings of the former Russian embassy in Albania. Russia says they belong to her and demands their return.

Washington-- Leaders of the Union of Seaport Workers oppose using foreign ships to carry United States wheat to Russia. President Johnson and Labor Secretary Wirtz are conferring on the problem in an effort to get the wheat loaded.

The Organization of American States claims it has found proof that Cuba aided the Communists in the terrorism in Venezuela.

United Nations-- The Security Council meets for hearings on Cyprus. Secretary General U Thant is trying to create an international peace force to end violence on

the island. Neither side is willing to compromise. Soviet arms are reportedly going to Cyprus.

Malaysia-- The Malaysian government has called for a meeting on the Borneo problem.

Viet Nam-- United States Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara will return soon for another tour and appraisal of the Viet Nam situation.

India-- The United Nations is investigating reports of a border attack by Pakistan.

Gabon-- Elections here have been moved back from March 1 to April.

Jordan-- King Hussein will visit the United States in April.

New York-- A Catholic group here is helping with the distribution of food to the Congo.

Washington-- A new United States ambassador to Leopoldville has been named.

The World Bank has sent a study committee to Morocco.

Texas-- The Texas Supreme Court has rejected the plea that those who saw Lee Oswald shot do not qualify to serve on the Ruby jury.

United States-- Heavyweight champion of the world Sonny Liston will fight Cassius Clay on February 26.

(The flight, as broadcast by the armed services network, was carried by VOA.)

March 1, 1964

News in Regular English, 11 p.m. EST, from Greenville.

Lake Tahoe-- A plane was lost near here today.

Africa-- A rescue party has been sent to search for the bodies of 85 persons believed lost in an airplane crash Saturday.

Halifax-- Thirty-four survivors of a shipwreck are being brought here.

Washington-- Undersecretary of State George Ball explains that our policy in Cyprus is neither pro-Turkish or pro-Greek. We simply want to end bloodshed.

United Nations-- The Security Council is considering a new plan for peace in Cyprus.

Athens-- King Paul has developed a blood clot in his leg following surgery.

Washington-- British Labour Party leader Wilson calls on President Johnson.

United States-- Sen. Russell says that eleven or twelve of the recently unveiled air force planes have already been built.

Africa-- The Organization for African Unity has recommended that trade be denied to the Union of South Africa due to racial practices there.

Germany-- Premier Erhard flies to the Netherlands for talks concerning European unity.

Red China-- Peiking has accused the USSR of lying in denying its spread of nuclear weapons.

Laos-- The Prime Minister says there will be no end to Laotian problems until the war in Viet Nam ends.

United States-- An experimental airplane which was in the ocean for five days safely flew back to its base today.

March 2, 1964

Special English report, 10 p.m. EST, from Greenville

Washington-- A study group has recommended that the United States build its planes alone.

United Nations-- The Security Council has proposed sending a peace force to Cyprus for five months.

Greece-- King Paul is better. He seems to have passed the crisis following his operation.

Argentina-- Police have arrested a former Nazi living here.

Viet Nam-- The French embassy has denied a charge that they joined a Communist plot to kill the Vietnamese prime minister. Defense Secretary McNamara is being sent to Viet Nam again.

Washington-- President Johnson meets with Secretary of State Rusk to discuss the Panama and Cyprus situations.

Geneva-- No progress has been made in the disarmament talks.

Washington-- The State Department plans to send an aide to India, Pakistan and Turkey to discuss Kashmir and other problems in these Middle East countries.

India-- Nehru asks Pakistan for peace in East Pakistan.

Thailand-- A meeting of Southeast Asian nations is in progress to discuss the Borneo situation. Malaysia charges that terrorists there are from Indonesia.

Viet Nam-- Viet Nam has sent a note to Cambodia approving a four-nation meeting to discuss the Cambodian position. Washington officials are pleased with this action. Souvanna Phouma has suggested that Laos and Cambodia develop a common front to meet Communism.

Chile-- A volcano has erupted here killing several persons.

Jordan-- Burial places have been found here dating back more than 1200 years before Christ.

In a special category are the daily Reports to six basic areas, Far East, South Asia, Latin America, Europe, Africa and Near East. These Reports are essentially news shows geared to their specific areas. They are thirty minutes long instead of the usual fifteen minutes for regular news shows. News that may not be of world-wide interest but which may interest more specific areas is included here.

Also comment on the news is frequently interspersed and more taped quotations from officials are used. Two examples follow.

Report to South Asia

February 27, 1964, 9:30 p.m. EST, from Tangier.

Secretary Rusk said today that if Red China is sincerely interested in relations with the United States it should abide by its Geneva agreement on Indo-China. America will not abandon Viet Nam. Whether or not North Viet Nam will be attacked has not been decided yet. He also commented upon discovery of Cuban arms in Venezuela.

Geneva-- United States officials say we must continue our missile program until the Soviets stop producing missiles.

United Nations-- The Security Council has overridden Soviet objections to hear Turkish Cypriots.

USSR-- Exploratory talks have begun on the Soviet border issue.

United States-- President Johnson flies to Florida today.

Geneva-- A VOA correspondent reports on the United States proposal to freeze missile production.

Excerpts from a press conference with Secretary Rusk--The disarmament problem is complex, but we must stay with it, he says. China should live up to its

agreements in Viet Nam and elsewhere if it seeks recognition.

The Christian Science Monitor comments on the SChina-Soviet border dispute

A VOA analyst discusses Peiking's intentions in Kashmir. Their intentions are not altruistic. Look at what has happened in other places where they have intervened.

United States-- The new Federal Income Tax cut allows Americans to look forward to more take-home pay. Officials feel this will lead to greater economic growth.

A summary of the news concluded the show.

Report to Latin America

February 29, 1964, 9 p.m. EST, from Greenville.

The show opened with an account of President Johnson's press conference in which he announced this country's new aviation advance. Also he pledged that Viet Nam would not be neutralized. The President said he was pleased with the reaction of the country after President Kennedy's death. He also called for a peace force from the United Nations to be sent to Cyprus.

Cyprus-- New fighting broke out here as students demonstrated for self-determination. French Prime Minister deGaulle offered his help in settling the problem.

Panama-- There has been no agreement on talks with Panama. This country is willing to talk, but "there

has been no meeting of minds."

Bolivia-- Five thousand miners in Bolivia are protesting conditions there.

Poland-- This nation has called for a freezing of nuclear weapons production.

Panama-- Panamanian charges against the United States are being investigated.

Washington-- This is the third birthday of the Peace Corps. There are 2,500 Peace Corpsmen in seventeen Latin American countries and 2,000 in Africa.

United States-- The aftermath of the Clay-Liston fight is discussed.

Wrap-up-- The news of the week is reviewed.

These Reports are obviously not "pure" news. Comment is interlaced throughout them. The "pure" news shows are completely objective and truthful. Their content is divorced from comment. If analysis or comment follows a news show, it is clearly labelled as such. The Reports, however, are announced as programs of news and comment.

Of course the news broadcast by VOA is "selected"-- but not to hide the bad. It is selected for two other reasons. First, as has already been mentioned, it is selected on the basis of interest in the area to which it is directed. (This does not mean changing the news in

any way. To do so would destroy their credibility, VOA officials say.) Secondly, much of what is headlined by the Voice is scarcely mentioned, if mentioned at all, by many American newspapers. Careful comparison of the two media shows that much news concerning foreign lands, which the VOA broadcasts as its top stories, was often virtually ignored by local newspapers. This is not necessarily indicative of a poor or devious choice on the part of either. Rather, it seems to point to two other considerations. First, most local newspapers (and perhaps their readers) remain very parochial in nature. And, second, as a world-wide broadcasting agency, the Voice must broadcast news of world-wide interest.

That the Voice does not try to hide the bad news of America is a phenomenon not understood and often criticized by many. (The haste with which VOA officials seek to explain why they must do this indicates that such critics frequently have tried to put the VOA in an embarrassing position.) The simple fact is that they couldn't hide the bad news if they wanted to. ("If segregationists burn a bus in Birmingham, it is on the front page of every newspaper in the world the next day.") Even such American blunders in foreign affairs as the brilliant Bay of Pigs episode are reported, spokesmen begrudgingly admit. Of course when America is wrong, Voice

of America broadcasts don't just report it and let it go at that. The "good intentions" and reasons behind our mistakes are explained in commentary and news analyses. For example, an effort is made to explain the race issue in all its complexity, and it is frequently presented as part of our sociological growth.

This account of programming is based on a study of only the English-language shows. However, the foreign-language broadcasts are very much akin to the English broadcasts and, in fact, are frequently translations of these.

VOA listeners are informed of programming by the Voice of America Program Schedule (see appendix for example). This is a small pamphlet published quarterly by the Voice. It is produced in six different editions-- one for each of the six basic target areas. The main content of the pamphlet is, of course, a schedule of programs which can be heard in that area for the coming three months. Both the English and foreign-language shows are listed. The times for these programs (usually Greenwich Mean Time) plus the meter and megacycle bands where they can be found are given. In addition, such things as suggestions for improving shortwave reception, pictures of and statements by American leaders, scenes from American life and pictures

of VOA operations are found in the pamphlet. Also a coupon for **ordering** the next issue of the schedule and for comment on the Voice is provided.

As a final note in this section on programming and program analysis, some mention should be made of the announcers. In general, they are quite good. They speak in calm, even, well-modulated tones. There is no shouting, ranting or any kind of high-pressure broadcasting. Most of the announcers are men. Their voices are pleasant and of the type which would tend to promote confidence or, perhaps, even belief. By commercial standards they speak slowly, but for shortwave broadcasting this is excellent. Even when reception is poor or when Radio Habana is trying to blast the Voice off the air, generally enough of what these men say can be heard to understand the program.

This has been but a cursory glance at VOA programming. Yet to go much further would be needlessly repetitive. Most VOA programs are essentially of the types described. Are these what they should be?

8. Evaluation

What do 190 million people sound like?

To a member of that 190 million we sound like a confused welter of contrary and contradictory voices. Can we sound any more coherent to an equally confused world?

And what of the official Voice of America? Does it simply add another voice to the multitudinous wailings? Or, does it bring a little order among unshaped forms?

As with any problem worthy of consideration, there is no clear-cut answer. Obviously through the VOA, we do not speak with one voice. If this were true, there would be no misunderstanding of our motives and actions. Instead, this country finds itself almost unable to move, however slightly, without bringing down crushing protest from our enemies and creating suspicion among our allies. Does the fault lie with the Voice?

Quite obviously the Voice makes mistakes. For example, recently it has been severely criticized for a news report which it broadcast at the time of

President Kennedy's assassination. According to one editorial writer, the Voice at first indicated that the assassin was a rightist. This, according to the writer, gave added validity to ((and perhaps even the idea for) Communist broadcasts which pictured the killer as anti-leftist.²⁰ What happened, according to a Voice spokesman was this:

"In its efforts to tell the world quickly and authoritatively the news of the shooting of President Kennedy, the Voice of America broke into its normal programming as soon as the first reports were received from Dallas. One line, which read, 'Dallas of recent months has been the scene of extreme right-wing movements,' was included in a single newscast in English which went on the air at 2 p.m. EST. Within minutes it had been seen by a senior news editor and was immediately cancelled because of the implication it left. Neither this line nor any similar line was used again in English nor at any time in any of the 36 foreign language broadcasts of the Voice of America."

They try.

Earlier in this paper some of the more frequent criticisms of USIA and the Voice were discussed. As a result of this study, this writer has come to feel

that even more important than any of these are the following three specific criticisms of VOA programming.

First, the great majority of shows are very bland in nature. A discussion of John James Audubon is not likely to stir an African or Asian "neutral" more interested in eating birds than painting them. While some shows of this nature are necessary to attract general interest, far too many are broadcast. Most of this blandness undoubtedly results from the intimidated position of the VOA as a government agency. Bureaucracy breeds subservience not daring. And daring is what is needed to arouse men. General interest is fine, but personal commitment goes much further.

This leads to our second consideration. Very little that the VOA broadcasts relates. In other words, most of the shows leave the listener feeling, "Fine, very interesting-- but so what?" They simply don't relate to his personal existence. In more technical terms, they lack anything with which the listener can identify. The Vietnamese peasant, knowing nothing but war for twenty years, wants to know why he should keep fighting. What difference does it make when both the North and the South destroy his home and crops? We have learned late that we need this peasant to win. To win him, to win anyone, we must relate our needs and his-- we must present a program

for mutual progress. The VOA offers little that relates in this specific way.

Third, Voice targets are not well-defined. True, one reads much on paper about "target areas" and "targeting of programs." But in actual practice very little of this is seen. In the English-language broadcasts, outside the daily Reports to the six basic areas and some tailoring of news, there is almost no targeting. In the foreign-language programs there is a bit more-- but not much.

The Voice is not unaware of this last problem. In questioning VOA director Henry Loomis about things he would like to see the Voice do which it is not now doing, without prompting, he made this reply:

"I would like to regionalize and specialize our output more so that it is especially tailored for different types of audiences. This requires not only more men and money but also more knowledge of what the audience is, could be, and what they desire. I would like to have more reporting by VOA correspondents from more countries. This gives pertinence and immediacy to our programs."

This is the only way in which true significance can be attained.

If this paper is to condemn anything, however, it is not the Voice of America but American foreign policy.

The Voice is often criticized for the messages it conveys to foreign peoples. In truth, it can say little beyond what our foreign policy says.

An example. Of late the Voice has come under fire for its role in the Viet Nam coup of last year. In a pamphlet, Saigon Summary, reporter Marguerite Higgins charges that the VOA in a broadcast on August 25, 1963 virtually called upon the Vietnamese military to overthrow Ngo Dinh Diem. In reply to this charge, a Voice spokesman said:

"Since the Voice of America reports world events daily, ..., the August 25 newscasts were no exception. Bulletins based on corroborated news items were broadcast to Saigon on Vietnamese events as were U. S. official statements with respect to them. No declaration or U. S. sanction was ever broadcast to the Vietnamese military to overthrow the Diem regime."

Clearly the Voice of America broadcast no call to arms. Even if it so desired, it could not without government sanction. Equally clear, however, is the fact that the United States wanted to get rid of Diem. He had become an embarrassing ally. The VOA could have, and probably did, make this clear to the people of Viet Nam if it did no more than report the sentiments of United States

officials as voiced in public statements. Does the blame then lie with the Voice of America or American foreign policy? Certainly it lies with the latter.

Beyond immediate concerns, we haven't the foggiest conception of our aims. Are they domination, peace, co-operation, unity? When Red fear still fills this country; when a senator makes a revolutionary foreign policy speech one day and is attacked from all sides the next; when the President makes equivocal speeches about diversity and firmness in Eastern Europe, then only a moron could wonder why we aren't understood abroad. We don't even know what we want. This is what the Voice must report to the world. It can not make understood that for which there is no understanding.

Within these limitations the Voice of America does an excellent job. Through the years it has built a reputation for credibility unsurpassed. VOA does speak for America, and it does the best possible job of explaining our foreign policy. For the most part its employees are dedicated persons. Some of them are highly talented yet virtually unknown at home. Others are refugees working as they feel they best can for freedom. They work for relatively low pay in non-prestigious jobs. In spite of carping critics, they perform a vital function.

A kind of level has been reached by the Voice. Without change on two fronts now it can do no better; those three areas, listed earlier, in which improvement was suggested, will go unchanged. The first change must come from Congress-- more autonomy and more funds. These are vital. It is a well-known fact that no unit of the mass media can perform at its peak when it must struggle for its existence. The Voice of America and USIA are under the thumb of Congress. Like any other agency, they must beg for the few crumbs Congress tosses them. A mere whim and the budget could be cut to near inoperability. Therefore these organs must seek to offend no one. Under such a system there can be no daring, no exploration. Instead they must work in fear and trembling. Without an increase in funds, strengthening of the VOA signal and furthering pin-pointing of targets, so vitally needed, is impossible. The agency must be freed of its strict, enervating accountability to Congress and given adequate funds.

The second change necessary is internal. A new look at the purpose and aims of VOA programming must be taken. A number of "junk" shows could be done away with now. Many do little more than fill air time. A dynamic type of program that speaks to the people is

badly needed-- something that says, "We want what you want and working together, here is how we can achieve it." In other words, further efforts to establish identifying themes and goals must be made. Even without more funds some progress in this direction can be made.

Until this country discovers what it wants of the world, we will never find the understanding we almost pitifully seek of others. Even so, that part of our apparent confusion results because we are a democracy in which all can speak is a message which needs to be told. In a way the Voice does tell it, and for this we are understood a little better. And if a few understand us today who didn't yesterday, if a few don't hate us tomorrow who did today, then we shall be the better for it. For this, the Voice speaks.

Footnotes

1. Allen H. Center and Scott M. Cutlip, Effective Public Relations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1958), pp. 18-19.
2. Edward W. Barrett, Truth Is Our Weapon (New York, 1953), p. 21.
3. United States Information Agency, The Agency In Brief (Washington, 1964), p. B-1.
4. Steven R. Brown, United States Information Agency (Columbia, Missouri, 1962), p. 1.
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APPENDIX



February-April 1964

SOUTH ASIA



VOICE OF AMERICA program
schedule

Dear Listener:

We began the New Year, a few weeks ago, in a mood of sober contemplation and in a spirit reflecting the great loss we had sustained.

The death of President John F. Kennedy struck us, as it did people throughout the world, with an unprecedented immediacy. We all were so intensely exposed to the shock of the tragedy that we shall be marked by those hours as long as we live.

While leaving for historians the task of evaluating the record of those sorrowful days, we at the Voice of America had the job of reporting those historic events as fully as possible. The satisfaction of doing so, however, was a poor solace in the grief we all shared. The flags fly high again over the Capitol, and elsewhere in Washington and the nation. The traffic under our windows, on Independence Avenue, flows briskly in the cold wintry air. But the flags in our hearts are still at half-staff; the bells, the bugles and the muffled drums still echo in the memory.

We well remember President Kennedy—young, vigorous, suntanned—walking rapidly through the corridors of our headquarters, shaking hands with us, asking questions, very interested in the people and things he saw. It was Monday, February 26, 1962, when he came to help us celebrate VOA's 20th Anniversary.

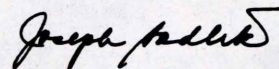
"I was most anxious to come here personally today because I put such great importance in the work you are doing," he said. "The Voice of America occupies, I believe, a key part in the story of American life." Elsewhere in this booklet, we reprint President Kennedy's picture and an excerpt from his speech at the VOA. It is an expression of our feelings for a man we miss, and also an expression of our appreciation to all who sent us letters of condolence and words of sympathy.

While feeling the fullness of the tragedy and the loss, we observed the orderly transfer of the executive responsibilities to our new President, Lyndon Baines Johnson. The strong and decisive way he has faced the problems of change has imparted some of his own confidence to the country as a whole. On December 17, President Johnson conveyed his thoughts and intentions to the world when he addressed the United Nations General Assembly. We heard him call on all member nations to attack jointly man's ancient enemies—hunger, disease and ignorance, to end the cold war by reaching new areas of agreement on peaceful cooperation. And above all, President Johnson reminded us and the world of the continuity of the policy of the United States. To illustrate this, our cover shows a picture of President Kennedy addressing the United Nations General Assembly; and inside, on the opposite page, there is a photograph of President Johnson speaking from the same rostrum and proclaiming the same principles that guided President Kennedy's administration.

The new VOA programming quarter being one of the busiest in a long time, we shall continue to report on the developments in the United States and in the world. One of the articles in this issue tells you about our coverage of the United Nations.

VOA microphones will be on the spot in New York when the World's Fair opens on April 22. With "Peace Through Understanding" as its theme, the Fair will present the arts and ideas, products and progress of many of the world's nations. In February, we shall observe two important anniversaries—the birthdays of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. And of course, as every Spring, it will be Cherry Blossom time in Washington. Our reporters will be there to bring you its flavor and pageantry.

Voice of America programs have always drawn a large number of letters from listeners. This regular volume has been much augmented during the past weeks by the letters of condolence and Christmas wishes. We have been trying to answer them all individually. Should we have missed some, we take this opportunity to thank all who remembered us during the trying November days and during the Christmas season. To all our listeners we wish sincerely, if perhaps a little belatedly, a happy and peaceful New Year.



Joseph Sadlik, Chief
Overseas Services Branch
Voice of America

From the address by President Lyndon B. Johnson, before the United Nations General Assembly, December 17, 1963.

"We meet in a time of mourning, but in a moment of rededication.

My nation has lost a great leader—this organization has lost a great friend—world peace has lost a great champion.

But John Kennedy was the author of new hope for mankind—hope which was shared by a whole new generation of leaders, in every continent—and we must not now let grief turn us away from that hope. He never quarreled with the past—he always looked to the future—and our task now is to work for the kind of future in which he believed.

I have come here today to make it unmistakably clear that the assassin's bullet which took his life did not alter his nation's purpose.

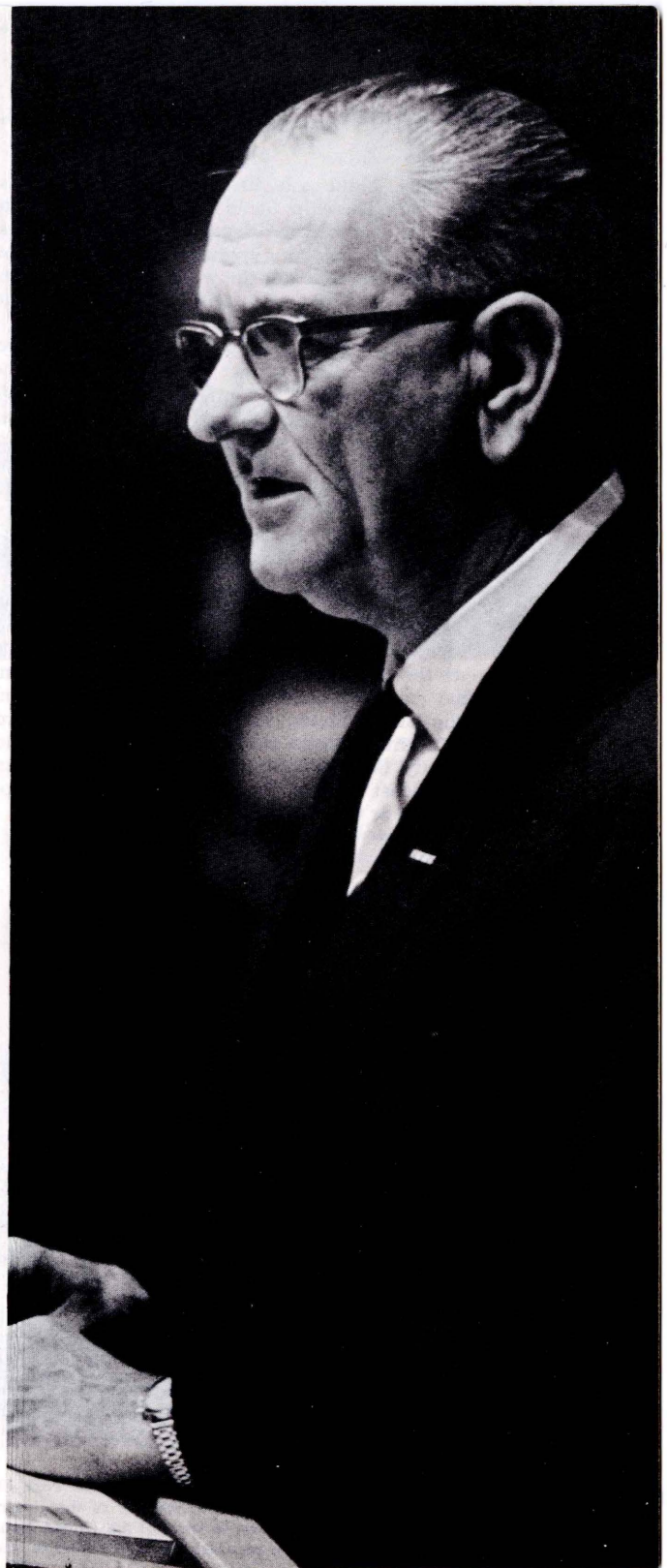
We are more than ever opposed to doctrines of hate and violence—in our own land and around the world.

We are more than ever committed to the rule of law—in our own land and around the world.

We believe more than ever in the rights of man, all men of every color—in our own land and around the world.

And more than ever we support the United Nations, as the best instrument yet devised to promote the peace of the world and the well-being of mankind.

I can tell you today, as I told you in 1958 when I came as Majority Leader of the Senate to the first committee of this great tribunal, that the full power and partnership of the United States is committed to our joint effort to eliminate war and the threat of war, aggression and the danger of violence, and to lift from all people everywhere the blight of disease, poverty and illiteracy."



VOICE OF AMERICA REPORTS FROM THE U. N.

The United Nations is, in a sense, the crossroads of the world. There in the handsome buildings on New York's East River delegates from 113 nations gather in what has been termed the Parliament of Man. There they confront the whole range of human problems. There they carry on the ceaseless pursuit of peace.

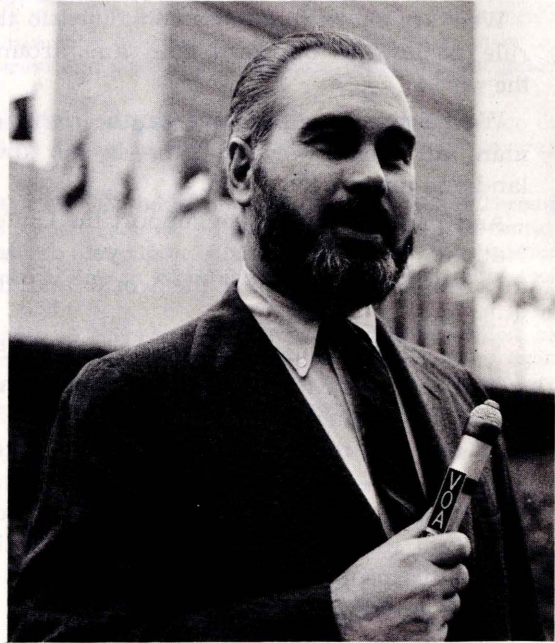
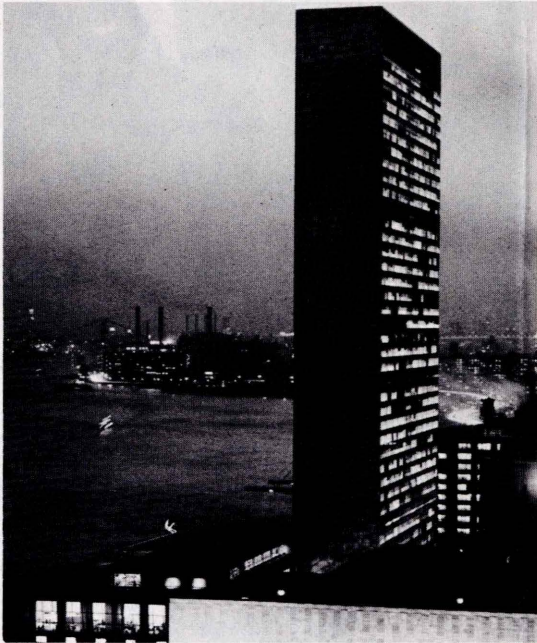
In these halls have echoed the names that have been the milestones of postwar history: Korea, Kashmir, Hungary, Suez, Lebanon, Palestine, South Africa, the Congo, Cuba, West New Guinea, Yemen. These crises and many other stories that bear no place names—disarmament, nuclear testing, colonialism, outer space, economic development—have made the United Nations one of the most important news centers of our time. From all over the world correspondents come to report the news that is important all over the world.

Among the news organizations represented at the UN year-round is the Voice of America. And among the international broadcasters VOA is uniquely able to cover the UN because of the simple but significant fact that the headquarters of the world organization is in the United States. Thus VOA is able to record the important meetings of the General Assembly and the Security Council so that significant portions can be rebroadcast as they actually happened to appropriate regions or worldwide.

Also the UN bureau of USIA's press service headed by veteran newsman Chester D. Harvey covers virtually every UN story, major or minor. These are the stories you hear on the hourly news bulletins. VOA's UN correspondent Richard Walton is there with reportage that gives not only the bare facts of a story but the background as well. His full reports are voiced by him in English and transmitted to VOA's Washington headquarters for use in any of the 36 languages in which VOA broadcasts. And when the story is important enough to a single country or region to merit specialized coverage, VOA sends a reporter fluent in Spanish or Russian or German or Chinese or Arabic or whatever language is appropriate. Kenneth Wattson, for instance, is widely-known for his interviews with virtually every French-speaking African leader who has come to the United Nations. VOA's Joseph Groger gets interviews and statements from delegates, many of whom he has known for more than a decade.

The Voice of America also broadcasts "live" important addresses. Among those you could have heard recently were President Kennedy's last speech at the United Nations in September, the special meeting of the General Assembly in November devoted to tributes to the late President, and the address by the new American President, Lyndon Baines Johnson, in December at the close of the 18th General Assembly.

These then are some of the ways that the Voice of America attempts to bring you the most complete coverage possible of the United Nations.



Building of the United Nations Secretariat in New York City looms high above the East River and into the neon-lit sky over Manhattan. In foreground is the building of the General Assembly.—Picture on the right shows Voice of America's U. N. correspondent Richard Walton in front of the United Nations complex. When the General Assembly is in session, his reports and comments can be heard regularly on VOA's English and language broadcasts.



PEACE—A HUMAN RIGHT

When the Charter of the United Nations was signed in San Francisco more than eighteen years ago, our hopes for its life and growth were high, but they were only hopes. We held fast to them because we knew that the alternative to the United Nations and collective security was chaos and perhaps war. We refrained from looking backward to the noble experiment of the League of Nations.

Now our hopes are firmer and more confident. When we look back it is to eighteen years of tumult and danger in the world, sobered and moderated in the United Nations. We know from experience that we are building an effective organization which can deal with crises—because it has done so time and again.

The critics will always be with us. Some denounce delay, but others would surely and justifiably denounce haste. Many object to the torrent of words, but talking too much is preferable to talking too little.

No one claims we have yet developed a perfect instrument, but few urge us to stop trying. We all profoundly regret that every disturbance of the peace has not been controlled without loss of life, yet we must give thanks that many more lives have been saved because the United Nations has kept the disturbances within limits in this time of trouble, tension, and revolution all over the world.

President Kennedy asked, "Is not peace, in the last analysis, a matter of human rights?" The United

Nations answers *yes*, by its huge economic and social effort to safeguard the dignity and improve the welfare of individuals.

Let us pray for the day when the use of force will be so unthinkable that the protection of liberty and the eradication of hunger and disease will absorb all the efforts of the United Nations.

Each successive year, we look forward to an older, wiser, stronger United Nations; but I hope it will never leave its youth and vigor behind. In the words of another Stevenson—Robert Louis—which I wish were mine:

"Youth is the time to go flashing from one end of the world to the other, both in mind and body; to try the manners of different nations; to hear the chimes at midnight."

Let the United Nations never become too old to embrace the world with such enthusiasm. Let it stay young enough to hear the chimes at midnight ringing in a new day.

Adlai E. Stevenson

United States Representative to
the United Nations

VOICE OF AMERICA PROGRAM SCHEDULE

SOUTH ASIA

LOCAL TIME	GMT	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY
● ENGLISH					
	0100 0130	Report to South Asia: News The Week in Review	Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features
	0130 0230	The Breakfast Show	The Breakfast Show	The Breakfast Show	The Breakfast Show
	0230 0300	Report to South Asia: News The Week in Review	Report to South Asia: News Analysis ad Features	Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features
	0300 0315	News in Special English	News in Special English	News in Special English	News in Special English
	0315 0330	Special English Feature	Special English Feature	Special English Feature	Special English Feature
	1200 1230	Report to Asia: News The Week in Review	Report to Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to Asia: News Analysis and Features
	1230 1300	Dateline: Press Conference, USA	Issues in the News	Dateline	Dateline
	1300 1330	Report to South Asia: News The Week in Review	Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features
	1330 1400	The American Campus	Forum Lecture	Forum Lecture	Perspective
	1400 1415	News in Special English	News in Special English	News in Special English	News in Special English

Perspective programs cover a wide range of subjects and are presented in varied form -- round-table discussions, talks, and interviews.

SOUTH ASIA

February 2–May 2, 1964

THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	GMT	TRANSMISSION BANDS	
				METER	MEGACYCLE
Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features	0100 0130	16, 25, 41	17, 11, 7
The Breakfast Show	The Breakfast Show	The Breakfast Show	0130 0230		
Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features	0230 0300	25, 41	11, 7
News in Special English	News in Special English	News in Special English	0300 0315		
Special English Feature	Special English Feature	Special English Feature	0315 0330		
Report to Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to Asia: News Analysis and Features	1200 1230		
Dateline	Dateline	Dateline: Correspondents Roundup	1230 1300	19, 25, 41	15, 11, 7
Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features	Report to South Asia: News Analysis and Features	1300 1330		
Forum Lecture	Forum Lecture	American Musical Theater	1330 1400	41	7
News in Special English	News in Special English	News in Special English	1400 1415	19, 25, 41	15, 11, 7

Special English Features cover such subjects as books, short stories, films, art, sciences and history in a simplified English based on a 1000-word vocabulary.

VOICE OF AMERICA PROGRAM SCHEDULE

SOUTH ASIA

LOCAL TIME	GMT	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY
● ENGLISH					
	1415 1430	Special English Feature	Special English Feature	Special English Feature	Special English Feature
	1500 1515	News	News	News	News
	1515 1530	World Press Roundup	Outlook/Viewpoints (Alternate weeks)	Opinion Roundup	Opinion Roundup
	1600 1630	Report to Middle East: News The Week in Review	Report to Middle East: News Analysis and Features	Report to Middle East: News Analysis and Features	Report to Middle East: News Analysis and Features
	1630 1645	Religion Today	American Journal	Reporter at Large	American Short Stories
	1645 1700	World Press Roundup	Outlook/Viewpoints (Alternate weeks)	Opinion Roundup	Opinion Roundup
	1700 1715	News	News	News	News
	1715 1730	Conversations With Willis Conover	A Nation at Work	The Passing Scene	New Horizons in Science
	1730 1800	Issues in the News	Dateline	Dateline	Dateline
	1630 1715	American Concert	Music, USA (Popular)	Music, USA (Popular)	Music, USA (Popular)
	1715 1800	American Concert	Music, USA (Jazz)	Music, USA (Jazz)	Music, USA (Jazz)
	1800 1815				

SOUTH ASIA

February 2-May 2, 1964

THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	GMT	TRANSMISSION BANDS	
				METER	MEGACYCLE
Special English Feature	Special English Feature	Special English Feature	1415 1430	19, 25, 41	15, 11, 7
News	News	News	1500 1515	19, 41	15, 7
Opinion Roundup	Opinion Roundup	Opinion Roundup	1515 1530		
Report to Middle East: News Analysis and Features	Report to Middle East: News Analysis and Features	Report to Middle East: News Analysis and Features	1600 1630	25, 41	11, 7
In the Author's Words/ On Books and Reading	American Journal	Have You A Question?	1630 1645	19, 25	15, 11
Opinion Roundup	Opinion Roundup	Opinion Roundup	1645 1700		
News	News	News	1700 1715		
Prologue	Science Notebook	Critic's Choice	1715 1730	41	7
Dateline	Dateline: Correspondents Roundup	Dateline: Press Conference, USA	1730 1800		
Music, USA (Popular)	Music, USA (Popular)	Music, USA (Popular)	1630 1715	41	7
Music, USA (Jazz)	Music, USA (Jazz)	Music, USA (Jazz)	1715 1800		
			1800 1815		

VOICE OF AMERICA PROGRAM SCHEDULE

SOUTH ASIA

LOCAL TIME	GMT	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY
● BENGALI (West)					
	1330 1400	The Week in Review News News Analysis	Radio Magazine News News Analysis	India Builds News News Analysis	Science and You News Press Comments
● BENGALI (East)					
	1430 1500	The Week in Review News News Analysis Perspective	Your VOA Reporter News News Analysis	Radio Magazine News News Analysis	Science and You News Press Comments
● TAMIL					
	1430 1500	The Week in Review News News Analysis	Radio Magazine News News Analysis	India Builds News News Analysis	Science and You News Press Comments
● URDU					
	1500 1530	The Week in Review News News Analysis Perspective	Election Year in the United States Invitation to Learning News News Analysis	Your VOA Reporter News News Analysis	Radio Magazine News Press Comments
	1600 1630	REPEAT OF 1500-1530 GMT PROGRAM			
● HINDI					
	1530 1600	The Week in Review News News Analysis	Radio Magazine News News Analysis	India Builds News News Analysis	Science and You News Press Comments

CONVERSION TABLE

GMT 4-½ HOURS:	AFGHANISTAN
GMT 5 HOURS:	WEST PAKISTAN
GMT 5-½ HOURS:	CEYLON
	INDIA
GMT 5 HRS. 40 MIN:	NEPAL
GMT 6 HOURS:	EAST PAKISTAN

SOUTH ASIA

February 2–May 2, 1964

THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	GMT	TRANSMISSION BANDS	
				METER	MEGACYCLE
Answers to your Questions News News Analysis	Report from Washington News Press Comments	Campus Viewpoints News News Analysis	1330 1400	19, 25	15, 11
Arts and Letters News News Analysis	Hands Across the Sea News News Analysis	Election Year in the United States Invitation to Learning News News Analysis	1430 1500	19, 25	15, 11
Answers to your Questions News News Analysis	Report from Washington News Press Comments	Campus Viewpoints News News Analysis	1430 1500	41	7
Hands Across the Sea News News Analysis	Science and You News News Analysis	Inquiring Student News News Analysis	1500 1530	25	11
REPEAT OF 1500–1530 GMT PROGRAM			1600 1630	19, 25	15, 11
Answers to Your Questions News News Analysis	Report from Washington News Press Comments	Campus Viewpoints News News Analysis	1530 1600	19, 25, 41	15, 11, 7

Radio Magazine consists of the week's highlights of the American scene with featurettes on cultural events, humor and the lighter side of the news.



VOA'S VOICES

Aida FERRARONE has been one of the Latin American Division's Spanish writers and announcers since January 1962.

She writes the Spanish versions of the Magazine Review, HOJEANDO REVISTAS, American Scene, LA VIDA EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS, and records interviews for her Interamerican Letter show, CARTA INTERAMERICANA. She also writes and voices her regular Saturday program Home and Family, HOGAR Y FAMILIA. VOA's listeners in Latin America know her voice from recorded spots in the daily morning program BUENOS DIAS, AMERICA which is often picked up and re-broadcast by local stations.

Miss Ferrarone was born in Peru. She studied at Raimondi High School and at Catholic University in Lima where she majored in journalism. Later she received a scholarship to study in the United States and graduated from Jacksonville State College in Alabama.

Returning to Peru, she taught Spanish in the Bi-National Center in Lima, in the Marcona mining region in the Peruvian south and at the American Embassy. In addition, she wrote for local Lima newspapers.

Being with the Voice of America, Miss Ferrarone now lives in downtown Washington. Speaking about her present work, she said: "My job is to show the people of the Latin American countries how people in the United States live. And I like it. This is the first job in which I have stayed for such a long time." Does she intend to stay? Her answer: "Of course."

VOA SOUTH OF THE BORDER



VOA booth at U S I S Exposition in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, July through August 1963. Left to right: Radio technicians Ary Duarte Gurgel, Antonio Vrábl, Paulo Brandão and USIS Radio Officer Robert J. Kent.

Combined attendance at the Exposition and related events exceeded one million.



USIS Guatemala played a leading role in the recent National Convention of the Club de Radioaficionados de Guatemala. Through press, radio, television and exhibits, the Post publicized the past and current activities of VOA. Shown in the picture is a part of the exhibit set-up in the clubroom.



"We welcome the views of others. We seek a free flow of information across national boundaries and oceans, across iron curtains and stone walls. We are not afraid to entrust the American people with unpleasant facts, foreign ideas, alien philosophies and competitive values. For a nation that is afraid to let its people judge the truth and falsehood in an open market is a nation that is afraid of its people..."

From President Kennedy's speech commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Voice of America.



The Kessler house at 413 Birmingham Drive, Frederick, Maryland.

Mrs. Kessler in her kitchen with VOA reporter Semih Ustun.

This school bus drives Marsha Kessler home after her classes are over.

CROSS SECTION U. S. A.

190-million people live in the United States of America. That is a population figure—a statistic. But behind these impersonal statistics are people, separate people, each person an individual, each a unique element of a complete society.

Not long ago, the Voice of America began looking for a way to tell the story of these people. To tell it in understandable terms—in *human* terms. Our research staff began looking for an average community, a place where typical working people lived. After much searching, we finally found a likely community near the town of Frederick in the eastern State of Maryland. The location was somehow especially fitting because so much of United States history is tied up in that area.

But our story is a present-day story, about a community of new, privately-owned homes.

After locating a suitable community, we went there to take a closer look—and to plan our program series. Semih Ustun and Louis Polichetti visited the community to seek out the story of the people who lived there. They spoke to many people—a chemical plant worker, a truck driver, a man who worked in a meat packing plant. They spoke to the builders and those who sold the homes. They talked to officials of the town of Frederick. They took pictures of this community we wanted to reflect in our broadcasts.

Finally, it was decided to organize the story of the community around one family—the Kessler family—Gerald Kessler and his wife Maria. Mr. Kessler works for an insurance company. His wife was a nurse before marriage. Now the Kesslers have two children, a thirteen year old girl, Marsha, and a younger boy of elementary school age, Darryl. In the weekly Voice of America program, CROSS SECTION U. S. A., you will actually enter the home of these people. You will hear about how they live, what they eat, how they buy their clothes...how they educate their children. Perhaps you will find out something about why so many wage-earning Americans choose to own their own homes—and how they are able to do so.

In short, CROSS SECTION U. S. A. is a story about people—real people—told in their own words. It's a program for anybody who is curious about the United States. If you are curious, why not join us too. CROSS SECTION U. S. A. is broadcast in many languages. Please, consult your language program listings for exact time and meter band.

SHORTWAVE LISTENING

Listening to, or locating, certain shortwave broadcasts can be very difficult at times. Because of the crowded conditions in the broadcast bands and the narrow portions on the dial of a receiver where such broadcasts can be found, very slow tuning is necessary to find the desired program. A good receiver with a suitable antenna is recommended for best reception. In high electrical noise areas, electrical motors, certain types of lighting devices and ignition noise from motor-driven vehicles can certainly make reception very difficult, but a good receiver with an extendable or long wire antenna will go a long way in overcoming this interference condition. Local conditions and your equipment are among the first things to consider and investigate if reception is consistently poor.

A short explanation of how shortwave broadcasting is transmitted over long distances, may help you understand some of the situations you may encounter from time to time.

Long distance shortwave radio broadcasting in the high frequency region is possible only because of the existence of an electrified area high in the earth's atmosphere known as the ionosphere. The more electrified the ionosphere, the wider is the band of frequencies that will be reflected from it, like a mirror, over great distances. As the level of ionization decreases, so does the range of frequencies that will be reflected.

By some mysterious mechanism of nature, dark spots appearing on the sun's surface, in amounts that wax and wane through an approximately 11-year cycle, seem to give a fairly accurate indication of the general strength of the ionosphere and, therefore, the range of frequencies that can be used for transmitting shortwave broadcasts.

During the period from 1957 to 1960, a record-breaking number of sunspots appeared on the face of the sun. This resulted in a more intense ionosphere than was ever recorded before. Long distance radio communication was possible over the entire range of the high frequency region from 3 to 30 megacycles or between the 90 and the 10 meter bands.

The present sunspot cycle, which reached its greatest intensity during 1958, is now declining. There are fewer and fewer spots on the sun these days, and this downward trend is expected to continue through early 1965. Correspondingly, the width of the high frequency region usable for shortwave broadcasting is also diminishing, and it will soon reach the point where the band between approximately 3 and 15 megacycles, or 90 and 19 meters, may be all that will be usable over some paths for shortwave broadcasting. This will be a reduction in the usable high frequency region of about 50% from the 1958 peak.

All countries engaged in international broadcasting are required by International Radio Regulations to submit their intended broadcasting schedules for each of the 4 seasonal periods 4 months in advance of the actual operations. These schedules also include the frequencies which the broadcaster plans to use for each new season. It is often found that during the actual operation of the new schedule, the predicted usable frequencies prove to be too high or too low for satisfactory reception. Because of the many broadcast operations by countries all over the world, it becomes extremely difficult during the broadcast season to find suitable replacements for frequencies which have not behaved as predicted. It then becomes necessary to wait a month or so for the next regular broadcast season to make changes for improving reception. This is particularly true during the present period of low sunspot activity when much of the broadcast frequency region is unusable and extreme congestion has occurred. During the periods of high sunspot activity, higher frequencies are usable and readjustment of unsatisfactory frequencies is not so difficult since the frequencies available for shortwave broadcasting have been expanded.

Reception of shortwave broadcasts is also affected by magnetic storms resulting from solar flares. These disturbances may result in poor reception in some areas for as long as five or six days at a time. These storms are particularly noticeable during the winter months when low radio propagation conditions are present and when the sunspot activity is low.

----- DETACH HERE -----

Name and Address:

Date:

To the Voice of America:

Will you please send me, free of charge, a copy of the next VOA Program Schedule.

I am interested in the following area:

Africa
 Europe

Far East
 Latin America

Middle East
 South Asia

FORUM LECTURES

The FORUM Lectures is a series of programs broadcast regularly by the Voice of America. The half-hour discussions cover the full range of the arts and sciences in mid-century America. In the past, FORUM has presented lectures on architecture, American law, chemistry, behavioral and biological sciences. One of the FORUM

series was devoted to the problem of control of the mind, another to developments in mass communication. We have also discussed medicine, music, space sciences and visual arts.

During this programming quarter, the FORUM will discuss several themes which may be of interest to you. Here are dates and titles of the individual lectures:

MAN UNDER STRESS					
Feb. 3, 6	Emotion and Stress (Brock Chisholm)	Apr. 6, 9	The Stresses on Man in Space (W. Randolph Lovelace)	Feb. 25, 28	Leadership in Education for International Affairs (Walter C. H. Laves)
10, 13	Stress and the Point of No Return (Jack R. Ewalt)	13, 16	Stress and the Challenge of Growth (Panel II)	Mar. 3, 6	The University and the Foreign Student (John McConnell)
17, 20	The Heart in Stress (Paul D. White)	THE AMERICAN NOVEL		10, 13	A Technological University (Julius H. Stratton)
24, 27	The Circulation: An Evolutionary Dilemma (Stanley J. Sarnoff)	20, 23	The Pioneers (Kay House)	17, 20	The American College Student (Edward D. Eddy)
Mar. 2, 5	The Anatomy of Stress (Panel I)	27, 30	The Scarlet Letter (David Levin)	24, 27	The University and Agriculture (Richard Bradfield)
9, 12	The Epidemiology of Stress (Ralph W. Gerard)	THE UNIVERSITY AND THE WORLD TODAY		31	The University and Industry (Harlan Hatcher)
16, 19	The Individual Reaction to Stress (Hans Selye)	Feb. 4, 7	The University and National Strength (Fred L. Hovde)	April 3, 7, 10	Labor and the American Industry (Lawrence Rogin)
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30	Emerging Patterns of Disease (Rene Dubos)	18, 21	The University and International Cooperation (John A. Hannah)	21, 24	The Multi-Cultural University (Thomas H. Hamilton)
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WAVELENGTH CONVERSION CHART

Meter Bands	13	16	19	25	31	41	49	75	Meters	238	251	255	263	379	326	1734
Megacycle Bands	21	17	15	11	9	7	6	3	Kilocycles	1259	1196	1178	1140	791	920	173

Here are my comments and suggestions:

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PEACE CORPS HONORED

ANNCR: The director of the Peace Corps has just completed a tour of seven nations to inspect the Corps' activities. VOA Correspondent Gerard Donohue sends this report from the last stop in Bangkok:

VOICE: The director of the Peace Corps, R. Sargent Shriver, was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Political Science by Chulalongkorn University here in Bangkok Tuesday. In presenting the degree the rector of the university, General Prapas, said it was given "for his eminent personal character and his public service to the world."

Mr. Shriver said in reply that he regarded the award as being presented not only to him but to all members of the Peace Corps here in Thailand for their devotion to the best interests of both Thailand and the United States.

The degree was presented in the temple styled Chulalongkorn University auditorium before a distinguished audience including Prime Minister Thanom, the Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman, and members of the faculty.

The director of the Peace Corps highlighted some of the accomplishments of the Peace Corps which now numbers about seven thousand volunteers in the field in almost fifty countries. To give an example of the scope of the Peace Corps Mr. Shriver said that one third of all teachers in Ghana are Peace Corps volunteers. And in East Pakistan a single Peace Corps volunteer engineered flood control works and supervised their construction that saved rice fields of ten thousand families from floods.

VOICE:
(CONT)

Mr. Shriver described the Peace Corps as a group of men and women dedicated to an idea--an idea of making the world a better place to live in. He said the Peace Corps is not merely political... it goes beyond politics and national rivalries to reach the deepest hopes of men. The director of the Peace Corps stressed that not only have the Peace Corps volunteers helped others, they have gained in return. As the Volunteer comes to know and respect and learn from the varied customs and institutions of different peoples, Mr. Shriver said, he also comes to see the strain of human unity which runs underneath.

Mr. Thanat Khoman,praised the Peace Corps and referred to the late President John F. Kennedy whom he said was motivated by ideas and ideals. And these ideas and ideals are symbolized in the Peace Corps.

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FRANCE RECOGNIZES PEIPING

ANNCR: Now, for a discussion of an important topic in the news, here is a talk prepared by Ronald J. Dunlavy, senior news analyst for the Voice of America.

VOICE: The announcement has been made that France and Communist China have established diplomatic relations. But, aside from the announcement, nothing else seems certain. There is confusion about the exact nature of the agreement, how and for what reasons it came to be negotiated, and whether it actually will be carried through as defined in the announcement. Some ^{of} / the confusion may be cleared up when President de Gaulle holds his news conference next Friday.

Meantime, there is a widespread feeling that France's action is an unfortunate one because it could tend to encourage Peiping in several wrong directions. The unilateral manner in which it was made---which has aroused considerable irritation among other NATO members, especially the West Germans---could encourage Peiping to believe that the western alliance is less solid than it really is. French recognition could encourage Peiping in the belief that the governments of South Vietnam, South Korea and the Chinese republican government on Taiwan are more likely to be abandoned by the western powers---which is why United States Secretary of State Rusk so explicitly reiterated American commitments to these governments on Tuesday and Wednesday.

Most disturbing of all, the act of recognition---particularly at this time, when the Chinese are rejecting co-existence and pushing campaigns of aggrandizement in Southeast Asia---could well

VOICE:
(CONT)

tend to encourage Peiping in the belief that militancy pays off and that the flower of victory does indeed grow from the muzzle of a gun. This could have unfortunate consequences for China's neighbors, especially those with territories which Peiping claims as part of the old imperial heritage. It could have unfortunate results for India, which may explain the uneasiness with which the news was received in New Delhi, where a government spokesman said he hoped it would not "augment India's problems"---evident reference to the Chinese invasion of 1962. In Manila, President Macapagal has advised France that recognition of Peiping would---in his words---"weaken the will to resist of the free nations of Asia which face a direct threat from Communist China."

And, finally, it is felt that recognition could tend to encourage Peiping in its subversive activities farther afield---in Latin-America and particularly in Africa. (OPT) As if to

demonstrate the potential danger for Africa, we have the news that one hundred fifty persons are reported dead in the Kwilu province of the Congo Republic. There, several thousand terrorists are killing all those who will not co-operate with them; and these terrorists are supported by money and arms from Peiping and are led by Pierre Mulele, who was trained in Communist China. (END OPT)

(OPT) The United States has always insisted that to recognize Communist China would be to reward and encourage a policy of militancy, subversion and aggression---with resultant danger to world peace. Mr. Rusk repeated this belief Tuesday in Tokyo: "It would be a serious matter," he added, "for the authorities in Peiping to believe that a policy of militancy brings dividends, because on that issue may turn the peace of the world." (END OPT)

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VOICE:
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Down through the years, the Chinese Communists have shown themselves to be harsh, inflexible, intolerant of compromise, and perfectly capable of betraying signed agreements, as they have done in the case of the Geneva agreements on Laos and Vietnam. Now they seem determined to reassert this reputation. No sooner had the agreement with France been made public than Peiping announced that it meant that Paris would also break relations with Taiwan. The French hurriedly countered with a statement that they had made no such arrangement. How this particular impasse will be resolved is a problem for Paris and Peiping to work out. But the very fact that it arose the way it did would seem to demonstrate once again that the Chinese Communists are still totally unreceptive to friendly words and actions, and have no intention of modifying their apparently unlimited demands.

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RD

VOA 7 ELEVEN AM UPDATE (SATURN)

/// SUBS PAGE 10 OF TEN A.M. ///

AMERICAN SCIENTISTS MAY TRY AGAIN TODAY TO LAUNCH INTO ORBIT FROM CAPE KENNEDY, FLORIDA, A NINETEEN-TON ROCKET PAYLOAD, THE HEAVIEST SENT UP BY ANY NATION.

THE SATURN BOOSTER WAS TO HAVE BEEN TRIGGERED AT TEN A.M. LOCAL TIME, BUT A SPOKESMAN AT THE LAUNCH SITE SAID THAT TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES WOULD DELAY THE FINAL COUNT DOWN BY SEVERAL HOURS.

IT IS THE SECOND STAGE OF THE ROCKET WHICH WILL BE PLACED INTO ORBIT. THE WHOLE BOOSTER VEHICLE STANDS AS HIGH AS A SIXTEEN STORY BUILDING AND WEIGHS, FUEL AND ALL, FIVE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-TWO TONS. THIS IS THE WEIGHT OF THE HEAVIEST MODERN LOCOMOTIVE. ITS ENGINES ARE DESIGNED TO DELIVER A THRUST OF SIX HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE THOUSAND KILOGRAMS, OR ONE AND A HALF MILLION TONS.

THE FIRST STAGE WILL USE CONVENTIONAL FUEL, BUT THE SECOND STAGE WILL BE POWERED BY LIQUID HYDROGEN, WHICH SCIENTISTS CALL THE ULTIMATE AND IDEAL SPACE BOOSTER FUEL.
LH 1040A

VOA 8 PAGE SEVEN NOON ROUNDUP 1/29/64

FRANCE AND COMMUNIST CHINA CONTINUE TO OFFER DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS OF THEIR DECISION TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

PEIPING INSISTED AGAIN TODAY THAT THE DECISION AUTOMATICALLY ENDS FRENCH RECOGNITION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA GOVERNMENT ON TAIWAN. YESTERDAY PEIPING SAID IT AGREED TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH FRANCE ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IT -- PEIPING -- IS THE ONLY LEGAL CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

IN PARIS, A FRENCH GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN SAID THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN FRANCE'S POSITION AS A RESULT OF YESTERDAY'S PEIPING STATEMENT. AND THE SPOKESMAN SAID THE STATEMENT DOES NOT CALL FOR ANY COMMENT ABOUT RELATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA.
MORE LH 1045A

VOA 9, VOE AND VOB NOTE TO EDITORS ON SATURN LAUNCHING 1/29/64

THE LAUNCHING OF THE SATURN ROCKET HAS BEEN DELAYED UNTIL TO ABOUT TWO P.M. OR THREE P.M. TODAY BECAUSE OF TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES. AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT IT MAY NOT BE LAUNCHED AT ALL TODAY.
CNS/EH/RC LH 1047A

UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL U THANT HAS ARRIVED IN RABAT MOROCCO ON THE START OF HIS FIRST VISIT TO AFRICA. HE IS MEETING WITH KING HASSAN LATER IN THE DAY. BESIDES MOROCCO MISTER THANT PLANS TO VISIT THE CONGO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA, SENEGAL, GUINEA, GHANA NIGERIA AND ETHIOPIA.

MISTER THANT YESTERDAY MET WITH U.S. ATTORNEY-GENERAL ROBERT KENNEDY WHO JUST RETURNED FROM A PEACE MISSION CONCERNING THE MALAYSIAN DISPUTE. MISTER KENNEDY SAID HE HAD INFORMED THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR A CEASE-FIRE BUT HE COULD NOT DISCLOSE THE DETAILS. THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL CALLED ON MISTER THANT AT THE REQUEST OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF INDONESIA, MALAYSIA AND THE PHILIPPINES.

EARLIER MISTER KENNEDY REPORTED ON HIS MISSION TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON. HE TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT WHILE THERE WERE GREAT PROBLEMS AHEAD THERE WAS SOME HOPE THAT THE DISPUTE OVER MALAYSIA COULD BE RESOLVED.
MORE LH 1053A

VOA 8 PAGE FIVE NOON ROUNDUP 1/29/64

AMERICAN SCIENTISTS MAY TRY AGAIN TODAY TO LAUNCH A NINETEEN-TON ROCKET PAYLOAD, THE HEAVIEST SENT UP BY ANY NATION.

THE SATURN BOOSTER WAS TO HAVE BEEN TRIGGERED TWO HOURS AGO FROM CAPE KENNEDY. BUT A SPOKESMAN SAID TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES WOULD DELAY THE FINAL COUNT DOWN BY SEVERAL HOURS.

IT IS THE SECOND STAGE OF THE ROCKET WHICH WILL BE PLACED INTO ORBIT. THE WHOLE BOOSTER VEHICLE STANDS AS HIGH AS A SIXTEEN STORY BUILDING AND WEIGHS, FUEL AND ALL, FIVE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-TWO TONS --- THE WEIGHT OF THE HEAVIEST MODERN LOCOMOTIVE. ITS ENGINES ARE DESIGNED TO DELIVER A THRUST OF SIX HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE THOUSAND KILOGRAMS, OR ONE AND A HALF MILLION POUNDS.

THE FIRST STAGE WILL USE CONVENTIONAL FUEL, BUT THE SECOND STAGE WILL BE POWERED BY LIQUID HYDROGEN, WHICH SCIENTISTS CALL THE ULTIMATE AND IDEAL SPACE BOOSTER FUEL.
MORE LH 1159A

VOA 8 PAGE NINE NOON ROUNDUP 1/29/64

AND NOW THIS TORY ABOUT A SIGNIFICANT COURT DECISION IN NEW YORK STATE ... INVOLVING A RATHER SMALL ITEM, AN AUTOMOBILE LICENSE PLATE.

EACH STATE IN AMERICA ISSUES LICENSE TAGS -- USUALLY PLATES MADE OF METAL -- FOR MOTOR VEHICLES. SOME ADD SLOGANS TO THE LICENSE NUMBER. FOR EXAMPLE, MINNESOTA PLATES BEAR THE WORDS "TEN THOUSAND LAKES," TO ADVERTISE THAT STATE'S NATURAL RESOURCES.

IN NEW YORK STATE, OFFICIALS DECIDED TO ADD "WORLD'S FAIR" ON THE AUTO TAGS FOR THIS YEAR... TO PROMOTE THE EVENT. BUT A THIRTY-TWO YEAR OLD NEW YORK MAN OBJECTED. THE SLOGAN, HE SAID, ADVERTISED A PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. HE SAID THIS ENCROACHED ON THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL. HE WENT TO COURT, SUED NEW YORK STATE AND THE WORLD'S FAIR ORGANIZATION, AND YESTERDAY, HE WON.

A STATE JUDGE SAID HE IS ENTITLED TO AUTO PLATES WITHOUT THE INSCRIPTION, AND SO IS ANYONE ELSE WHO WANTS THE SAME. NEW YORK STATE SAID IT WOULD APPEAL AND WOULD SEEK TO HAVE THE COURT ORDER HELD UP IN THE MEANTIME. NEW YORK ALREADY HAS ISSUED THE PLATES.... FOR FOUR MILLION EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND MOTOR VEHICLES.

CNS/JUREY/SCHNEID/HVS/RC LH 1104A

AMERICAN OFFICIALS IN WIESBADEN HAVE ASKED SOVIET OFFICIALS IN GERMANY FOR INFORMATION ABOUT A JET TRAINER PLANE MISSING IN EAST GERMANY WITH THREE MEN ABOARD. THE PLANE WAS LAST SEEN BY GROUND CONTROL RADAR CREWS IN WEST GERMANY YESTERDAY AS IT HEADED OVER THE BORDER. UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL TODAY QUOTES A SOVIET EMBASSY SPOKESMAN IN EAST GERMANY AS SAYING THAT SOVIET MILITARY OFFICIALS WILL CONTACT THE AMERICAN MISSION IN POTSDAM TO CLARIFY THE MATTER.
MORE LH 1110A

FROM GENEVA, DISPATCHES SAY THE UNITED STATES IS SEEKING SOVIET AGREEMENT TO END THE GENERAL POLICY STATEMENTS AT THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE AND GET DOWN TO CONCRETE NEGOTIATING.
AMERICAN DELEGATE WILLIAM FOSTER ARRANGED A MEETING TODAY WITH SOVIET DELEGATE SEMYON TSARAPKIN. THEIR TWO COUNTRIES, AS CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE TALKS, ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONFERENCE AGENDA.
VARIOUS DELEGATIONS HAVE ASKED FOR MORE DETAILS OF A SOVIET PROPOSAL YESTERDAY FOR THE WORLDWIDE DESTRUCTION OF ALL BOMBING PLANES.
(OPT) THE SOVIET DELEGATE SAID MISSILES MAKE SUCH PLANES OBSOLETE, BUT THE AIRCRAFT ARE STILL DANGEROUS. (END OPT)
THE UNITED STATES HAD SUGGESTED TO MOSCOW LAST YEAR THAT OUTDATED AMERICAN AND SOVIET BOMBERS BE SCRAPPED.
HERE IN WASHINGTON, A STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN WELCOMED THE SOVIET SUGGESTION IN SO FAR AS IT MEANS ACCEPTANCE OF THE PREVIOUS AMERICAN PROPOSAL.
(OPT) THE SPOKESMAN EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE SOVIET UNION NOW IS PREPARED TO SERIOUSLY CONSIDER THE SCRAPPING OF OUTDATED BOMBERS AS A CONCRETE INITIAL STEP AND WILL NOT INSIST ON WHAT HE CALLED EXTREME AND IMPRACTICAL PROPOSALS. (END OPT)
MORE LH 1113A

FRENCH FINANCE MINISTER GISCARD D'ESTAING HAS ARRIVED HOME FROM MOSCOW SAYING FRANCE AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE ON A FIVE-YEAR PACT FOR EXPANDED TRADE. HE SAID DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS WON'T BEGIN UNTIL JUNE.
(OPT) THE FRENCH OFFICIAL SAID THE ACCORD IS TO COVER THE YEARS 1965 THROUGH 1969, BUT HE PREDICTED TRADE INCREASES EVEN BEFORE THE NEW PACT GOES INTO EFFECT. (END OPT)
EARLIER TODAY IN A JOINT COMMUNIQUE, FRANCE AND THE SOVIET UNION SAID THEY WANT TO CREATE CONDITIONS FOR INCREASING THE EXPORT OF SOVIET MACHINES TO FRANCE. THE FRENCH, FOR THEIR PART, WOULD SEND THE SOVIET UNION AMONG OTHER THINGS, COMPLETE INDUSTRIAL UNITS FOR THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY.
THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN SHOPPING IN THE WEST FOR CHEMICAL EQUIPMENT SINCE PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV GAVE THAT INDUSTRY TOP PRIORITY. HE HAS SAID CHEMICALS ARE VITAL IN A DRIVE TO FURNISH CONSUMER GOODS AND TO SUPPLY FERTILIZERS TO STOP A LAG IN FARM PRODUCTION.
MORE LH 1116A

