

CHARLES J. ROLO

Radio Goes to War

The "Fourth Front"

INTRODUCTION BY JOHANNES STEEL

A Current History book

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Designed by Robert Josephy

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



THE INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY. (NBC photo)

*Open your ears; for which of you will stop
The vent of hearing when loud Rumour speaks?
I, from the orient to the drooping west,
Making the wind my post-horse, still unfold
The acts commenced on this ball of earth:
Upon my tongue continual slanders ride,
The which in every language I pronounce,
Stuffing the ears of men with false reports.
I speak of peace, while covert enmity
Under the guise of safety wounds the world:
And who but Rumour, who but only I,
Make fearful musters and prepar'd defense . . .*

HENRY IV. PART II. Induction scene

PREFACE

HOW U. S. RADIO WENT TO WAR

AT 2:26 P.M. on the afternoon of December 7, 1941, a New York radio station interrupted a broadcast of a football game to announce that Japanese planes and naval forces had attacked Hawaii. Within a few minutes American broadcasters were reporting, with record-breaking speed, the swiftly-moving developments of the most momentous news event in the history of U. S. radio—the news of the United States' entry into World War II.

Immediately all the networks went on a 24-hour-a-day basis. In the space of four minutes the Columbia Broadcasting System switched from its scheduled *World News* to a war roundup with Bob Trout from London, Albert Warner from Washington, and Major George Fielding Eliot from New York. Less than 20 minutes after the first news of hostilities, the voice of Ford Wilkins came in from Manila, 9,000 miles away, with a first-hand report of the outbreak of a new war. In just over 90 minutes the National Broadcasting Company put Honolulu on the air. And in the course of the afternoon and evening, CBS, NBC, and the Mutual Broadcasting System brought listeners a succession of dramatic on-the-spot broadcasts from the Pacific war theater.

Meanwhile, on the home front, commentator followed commentator in a frantic attempt to keep pace with and

evaluate for a tensely anxious public the flood of dispatches and unconfirmed reports. At the same time, radio took on the job of flashing to the nation official government announcements and orders to the men in the services. Stations throughout the country announced the civilian defense measures taken in various cities and the instructions issued to factories to guard against sabotage; requested gasoline stations to remain open all night to facilitate the return of military personnel, and broadcast nationwide appeals for enlistments.

Upon receiving the first news of war in the Pacific, the radio networks, press associations, and great newspapers, immediately put their short-wave listening posts on a round-the-clock schedule and manned every available transmitter to pick up the stream of bulletins and propaganda from abroad that poured in over the ether. From Tokyo came the announcement that a state of war had been declared to exist between Japan and the United States, and ominous claims of U. S. warships damaged or sunk and grounded planes destroyed in the initial surprise attack. Later, the British Broadcasting Corporation reported a Japanese attack on Singapore. Premier Curtin of Australia was heard over short wave announcing that Australia would go to war against Japan. Radio Roma declared that in accordance with the Three Power Pact a state of war existed between the Axis powers and the United States—and later denied its own report. Berlin broadcast Manchukuo's declaration of war on the United States and, quoting Tokyo, reported the first attack on Hong Kong and the success of Japanese landing operations in the Malayan peninsula. The radios of Costa Rica and Nicaragua broadcast declarations of war on Japan, while from stations in Cuba and Panama came pledges of solidarity with the United States. On all fronts radio was first with the news.

In the studios of U. S. international stations the switch-over to a wartime basis was accomplished without a hitch. Long-

prepared for this eventuality and geared for prompt and vigorous action on the battleground of the ether, U. S. international broadcasters were well equipped to counter, from thirteen powerful transmitters, the intensified propaganda onslaught of the Axis powers and to put the American case, swiftly and aggressively, before the world's radio listeners.

Thus U. S. radio went to war.

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Without Mr. Thomas B. Grandin's pioneer study, *The*

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INTRODUCTION

THIS is the first complete account of the uses to which the radio weapon is being put today in a world at war. In the strategy that has enabled the Nazi propoganda machine to destroy the will to fight of so many European countries, radio has played a crucial role. It is no exaggeration to say that on the battlefield of the mind, where major campaigns have been won or lost, radio has carried out the destructive functions performed on other fields of action by the Panzer Division and the Stuka dive bomber. As the author shows, radio has added a "Fourth Front" to modern war.

In this excitingly written book a new kind of war correspondent, whose job it was for a year to cover the battles on the air waves, tells for the first time the story of this "Fourth Front," and gives a penetrating analysis of the tactics used by the Nazis, pointing out the reasons for their success in some countries and their failure in others.

In these United States, Americans have been protected from Nazi 'Germany's "bombs for the mind." Intelligent analysis of foreign dispatches by this country's radio commentators, and the existence of a free press, have to a large extent nullified the impact of German propoganda upon the American people. But large areas of the globe have not possessed this form of defense, and the results have been disastrous.

On December 7, 1941, the United States was treacherously attacked by Japan, and U. S. radio went to war. The story of what this country's international radio stations are telling

the world—how they are helping the “Good-Neighbor” Policy and forcing a message of hope and encouragement through to the “Hundred Million Allies” of democracy in occupied Europe—makes two remarkable and highly topical chapters. Democratic radio, taking to heart the lessons of the past three years, has assumed the offensive, and herein are suggested some of the ways in which it can become the spearhead of a democratic victory.

This is a gripping and finished account of the story of war by radio; it should prove as interesting and important to the general public as it is invaluable to the student of current history.

JOHANNES STEEL.

RADIO GOES TO WAR

CHAPTER I

DIALS OF WAR

TO THE land, sea, and air fronts of the First World War radio has added a fourth—the ether. On this “Fourth Front” there are no letdowns, no stalemates, no neutrals. Every nation, dominion, colony, and puppet state is taking part in the “battle of many tongues” on the air waves. The great powers, using giant short-wave transmitters—the Big Berthas of today—force their words through to the four corners of the earth. The lesser states—down to the smallest and most remote communities, all of which proudly boast some sort of radio transmitter—strive persistently to get a hearing amid the bedlam.

What happens on the Fourth Front is news: the Vatican station denounces Nazi atrocities; Sydney broadcasts an eyewitness story of the fighting in North Africa; London describes a bombing raid on the Rhineland; Berlin comments on American policy. To cover this additional news front the networks, great newspapers, and press associations in this country have taken on a new kind of reporter, who knows perfectly at least half a dozen languages and goes by the name of radio “monitor.” This sedentary war correspondent—whose “beat” is the whole world—sits in front of a high-powered receiver, headphones clamped to his ears, in a sound-proof listening post as far away as possible from electrical

interference, and with a twirl of his sensitive tuning dial moves from capital to capital, from continent to continent, roving across the globe and back many times in one evening.

Certain broadcasts, the key news programs and special features from the main capitals, he covers as a matter of routine. The rest of the time he patiently scours the air waves in search of the unpredictable, the unexpected, the bizarre—a broadcast from a “secret” outlaw station, a propaganda “plant” from a Balkan capital that may throw light on what turn the war will take, a “ghost voice” cutting in on Berlin, London, or Rome, or an out-of-the-way news item from Saigon, Sydney, Ankara, or one of the smaller stations whose signals occasionally crackle weakly into the ether over the Western Hemisphere.

The job of covering the Fourth Front is a round-the-clock proposition. “Monitors” usually work in eight-hour shifts, and leave their post with buzzing ears and jagged nerves, cursing the day that radio was invented. Let us follow them through a typical listening day:

6:00 A.M. in New York. The “monitor” was sleepy and in no mood to be confronted with the international situation. But it was already midday in Europe, afternoon in Africa and the Near East, evening in the Orient and Australia, and important broadcasts were coming through.

At 6.45 A.M. Amsterdam broadcast the news in English. Amsterdam was a particularly interesting station that bore watching carefully. It had one of the finest technical setups in Europe and put a powerful signal into the United States and the Dutch East Indies. It did not form part of the giant German continental hookup that linked the capitals of the conquered countries, but was run by Dutch Nazis, who of course took their orders from Berlin. Throughout the winter of 1941-42, these genuine Dutch voices kept telling the colonists in the East Indies how strong Japan was and how weak

the United States. For American ears this particular morning there was a choice tidbit: "Colonel Donovan has been authorized by the President to organize a plainclothes Gestapo—for South America!"

At 7:30 there was news from Australia. Australian plane production would be doubled by the end of the year. But there would be new taxes to pay. Followed an outline of the next Australian budget.

Programs from London and Moscow were scheduled for 8 o'clock, but Moscow failed to come through. There was nothing unusual in that; the short-wave impulses sent out from the Soviet capital reached this country via the Arctic and frequently ran into troubled atmospheric conditions on the way over.

Next on the listener's schedule was Hsing-King in Manchukuo, a Japanese puppet station. The signals were pretty blurred; the listener tried making notes but gave it up as a bad job. Tokyo would be saying the same thing later so it didn't much matter.

At 10 o'clock, if it was a Tuesday, the Vatican was on the air. Sometimes the Holy See gave important clues to its policy on these broadcasts. Much of its radio time, however, was taken up by greetings from missionaries abroad to their colleagues in Rome: "Brother Gaetano is recovering from his fever in Tripoli and thanks Brothers Giuseppe and Giovanni for their prayers and good wishes."

Saigon in Indo-China, also a Japanese puppet station, was heard at 10:45, broadcasting lurid reports of strikes all along the Pacific Coast of the United States. Listeners who enjoyed the program were invited to write in to P.O. Box 412.

Lunchtime in New York. In Europe the sun had set, people were back in their homes, and radio stations began stepping up their tempo. Rome put out in rapid succession programs in French, Hungarian, German, and Turkish. Hel-

sinki was on the air in English; so was *h*lone, Ireland. London was chattering away in Arabic. Vichy and several Paris stations, now policed by gray-uniformed Storm Troopers, were pouring out Nazi propaganda. Berlin, meanwhile, was warning the Irish against British aggression, and the British against American imperialism. American "stories" of armament production, Germany told the English, were Hollywood stuff, pure ballyhoo. "U.S. production is too slow to affect the issue. America wants to prolong the war in order to achieve the imperialist aims which she failed to achieve in the last war." Watch out for that "double-crosser," Roosevelt, the Nazis concluded.

The British Broadcasting Corporation's answer to this was an "invasion" of the continent in a dozen languages. One program was specially addressed to German seamen; another informed the German people that there was not enough room for their wounded in all the hospitals of the Reich. Followed bulletins in French and Flemish and a string of "V for Victory" broadcasts to the Czechs, Poles, Dutch, and Norwegians. At this time the listener might also pick up the outgoing signals of American stations forcing the truth—in a score of different languages—through to the conquered peoples of Europe.

At 2:45 Brazzaville, General de Gaulle's station in Equatorial Africa, was heard celebrating mass for hostages executed in France. Later there was a talk about the exploits of the Free French. This station signed off with the "Marseillaise," and the "Star Spangled Banner" when broadcasting to the United States, "God Save the King" when addressing England and the British Empire.

Mid-afternoon in New York brought in the fighting voice of the "Radio of the Revolution"—a bootleg anti-Nazi transmitter that claimed to be broadcasting from within Germany. Radio Algiers, too, would come in about this time, if con-

ditions were favorable. This station specialized in news from Vichy and in fantastic rumors of its own creation.

Around 6:00 P.M., Eastern Standard Time, broadcasters began to concentrate their efforts on the Western Hemisphere. The BBC's North American Service had just finished fifteen minutes of news, read by a Canadian announcer. This evening the program contained a description of "the remarkable demonstration" that occurred when the RAF raided Nantes, in France: "British bombers unloaded high explosives on the docks, then dropped thousands of pamphlets addressed to the population of the city. The inhabitants answered by sending signals to the English fliers. Crews of the planes saw a whole series of lights, sometimes through a door that had been opened, sometimes from a house where the shades had been drawn. In one place a great V was marked out on the ground with oil lamps."

Programs were now pouring in thick and fast. Budapest was broadcasting news of internal affairs in Hungary. Rome denounced the "criminal" attacks of the RAF on Naples and told with what enthusiasm the Croats were celebrating some Italian holiday. "They obviously didn't want to miss this chance of showing their gratitude to Italy," Rome explained.

The BBC was back again with more news and one amusing little story. "In Holland, a German plane was shot down by a German anti-aircraft battery. A painter in a Dutch village was told to paint English insignia on the plane. He did so, and then put up a sign saying: 'Attention! Wet Paint.'"

Between six and eight o'clock, the listener might hear Budapest, Geneva, Ankara, Montevideo, and "The Voice of the Andes" from the gold mines of Ecuador; Chungking and Shanghai's British-controlled "Voice of Democracy" broadcasting in English; Lisbon broadcasting in Portuguese; Martinique in French; Moscow in Russian; London talking in Afrikaans to South Africa; Hans Fritzsche, Berlin's heavy-

weight wit, addressing himself to German-Americans in pure Aryan German; and Rome calling Latin America in Spanish.

After dinnertime in New York the tempo quickened again, and the very slightest turn of the dial brought in a different station. This was the time when Nazi commentators started giving Americans a piece of their mind. This particular evening Berlin was angry, very angry, because "F.D.R. has been again polluting the ether." "Old ignoramuses and small-town politicians are making war against the coming generation of the world," said a Nazi commentator. "But Roosevelt's foul, lying methods are out of date. . . . He can no more overthrow the New Order than we can abduct the Mississippi." Close on the heels of this speaker a certain "Mr. O.K." talked about "book week" in the Reich. "England has a tank week, the United States a fire-prevention week. Only Germany," he asserted grandly, "can afford a book week." O.K. then discussed British and American literary masterpieces censored and suppressed in their own so-called democratic countries, but properly acclaimed in the Reich.

A military commentator took over next. "This is not the First World War," he shouted. "Germany will win this war because this time the British blockade does not work, because this time the countries collaborating with Germany have a population of roughly 400,000,000, because this time [screaming hysterically] Germany has all of the raw materials she needs."

Meanwhile, Berlin had been beaming programs in Spanish and Portuguese to Latin America. A Madrid editor was brought to the microphone to remind "Spanish-Americans" that "Spain is the fatherland of all Spaniards," and to warn them of "Roosevelt's hemispheric dictatorship." He was followed by a gentleman called Don Carlos Juarez Auyon, who painted a rosy picture of labor conditions in Germany. Just when the listener might have begun to tire of propaganda,

Berlin put on a superb symphony concert—William Fürtwaengler conducting Beethoven's "Eroica."

Unfortunately, the Fourth Front reporter had little time for music; Brazzaville was scheduled for 10 P.M. He tuned in only to find it competing frantically with a voice from South America and a swing band from goodness-knows-where. He could make out a few disjointed words: "*Général de Gaulle . . . honneur . . . la France . . . la Liberté*"—and that was all.

At 10:30 London's "Radio News Reel" was on the air with a running commentary from North Africa. "Very little enemy action around here," the BBC's correspondent reported disappointedly. "You can hear the chirping of birds and crickets . . . [sudden sound of shooting] . . . Artillery and machine guns have opened up," the speaker exclaimed, perking up somewhat. "Over to the northwest you can see the flash of bursting shells." A brisk description of the bombardment followed. Then the listener was switched back to England for a tour of the home front.

Midnight brought in Rome with "News from America for America" by "Machiavelli Junior." This gentleman commented on articles in U.S. papers and periodicals, brightly misquoting and distorting *Harper's* and the *Saturday Evening Post*.

At 12:15—it was early morning in Europe now—the BBC put out a talk for French workmen getting ready to set off for the factory. British French-language transmissions were known to be extremely effective, so it was no surprise to hear this one being cleverly "jammed" with music from some Nazi transmitter.

The monitor's schedule was now thinning out and he could afford to relax for a few minutes to listen to some weird oriental songs—from Tokyo. Then there was another batch of news broadcasts from London, Berlin, Rome, and Sydney.

And so it went—an incessant babel of sound in more than forty languages and dialects, hope, hate, and hokum, claims and wildly conflicting counterclaims, more words in one day than William Shakespeare wrote in a lifetime!

CHAPTER II

RADIO: INSTRUMENT OF CONQUEST

"In the forward march of radio there are no halting places. It is a continuous on-sweep of conquest."—From the seventeenth yearbook of the Italian National Radio.

RADIO went to war on five continents shortly after the Nazi Party came to power in Germany. In eight years it has been streamlined from a crude propaganda bludgeon into the most powerful single instrument of political warfare the world has ever known. More flexible in use and infinitely stronger in emotional impact than the printed word, as a weapon of *war waged psychologically* radio has no equal.¹

Spreading with the speed of light, it carries the human voice seven times round the globe in one second. When Hitler makes a speech in the Kroll Opera House in Berlin, listeners in America hear his words by short wave before his own immediate audience hears them. Radio speaks in all tongues to all classes. All-pervasive, it penetrates beyond national frontiers, spans the walls of censorship that bar the way to the written word, and seeps through the fine net of the Gestapo. It reaches the illiterate and the informed, the young and the old, the civilian and the soldier in the front

¹ Striking examples of the "emotional impact" of radio are Hitler's broadcast speeches and, closer to home, the famous Invasion-from-Mars broadcast by Orson Welles in November 1938.

line, the policy makers and the inarticulate masses. So great is the importance of radio today that the seizure of a defeated nation's transmitters has become one of the primary spoils of war. The victorious Germans, in the terms of their armistice with France, allowed her to retain her fleet but silenced for the time being her wireless transmitters. To retain one of these became a crime equivalent to the retention of arms or munitions, and was punishable by immediate execution at the hands of the firing squad.

And no wonder. The world's radio listening audience at the beginning of 1942 numbered some 300,000,000. There were more than 100,000,000 sets in existence. Europe had 40,000,000, the United States 55,000,000, Latin America 4,000,000, Africa and the Near East nearly 1,000,000, the Far East and the Antipodes 6,000,000. Even in such small and remote communities as Ceylon and Madagascar, Burma, Angola, and Iceland, radio listeners could be counted in thousands or tens of thousands.

The Nazis have been the pioneers in the use of radio as an instrument of conquest. When National Socialism launched its undeclared war against the world in 1933, the radio weapon was one of the first to be brought into action. And in the limited type of warfare that ensued for six years, radio was one of the weapons which enabled the Nazis to take and hold the initiative. In those years a definite pattern of radio warfare, ultimately to be used as an integral part of the strategy of total war, was gradually evolved.

Nazi tacticians, unhampered by the deadweight of outdated traditions, had taken to heart the lessons of the last war and were elaborating for the future a strategy of war waged psychologically. The concept of propaganda as a branch of warfare separate and distinct from those operations generally regarded as "military" was discarded, as was the concept of

purely military operations.² In their place appeared the concept of total war—all-out warfare waged simultaneously on the physical and psychological battlefronts, a perfectly integrated warfare of men, machines, and ideas, of bombs dropped from the sky and bombs for the mind projected through the ether by powerful radio transmitters.

In the strategy of total war the Nazis have brought men and machines into play only as a last resort, or to strike the decisive blow after the ground has been well prepared by other weapons in their armory. Of these weapons radio is one of the most important.

As early as 1933 Hitler confided to Hermann Rauschnig: "Artillery preparation before an attack as during the World War will be replaced in the future war by the psychological dislocation of the enemy through revolutionary propaganda. The enemy must be demoralized and driven to passivity. . . . Our strategy is to destroy the enemy from within, to conquer him through himself. Mental confusion, contradictions of feeling, indecision, panic—these are our weapons."³ And in *Mein Kampf* the future German Fuehrer had already written: "In wartime, *words are acts.*"

Radio's part in the "psychological dislocation" of the enemy was to be a major one. This is shown in the huge body of articles on radio in the official periodicals of the Nazi intelligentsia. Hundreds, thousands in fact, of these articles in journals such as *Das Reich* and the *Zeitschrift fuer Geo-*

² The systematic destruction of the residential section of Rotterdam is a grim example of a technically military operation undertaken for psychological reasons, i.e. to strike terror into the hearts of Germany's enemies and wavering neutrals. Conversely, just before the German invasion of the Low Countries, the Nazi radio, by cooking up a war scare in the Balkans, performed the strictly military function of "diverting" the enemy's attention—a maneuver that in the last war could only have been carried out by a full-fledged "feinting" offensive with troops and artillery.

³ Hermann Rauschnig, *The Voice of Destruction* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1939.)

politik attest to the importance which the Nazis attached to the radio weapon. Further, they regarded this weapon as being in some curious way National Socialist in its essence—the instrument *par excellence* whereby the will of Germany might be imposed upon the world. Here is a sample of their thinking—an extract from an article by E. Hadamovsky, a high official of the Propaganda Ministry and former President of the *Reichs Rundfunk Kammer*:⁴ “Only the National Socialist movement gave to radio its proper sense. Radio is the characteristic political means of expression of the National Socialist man and of his living world-outlook. It is the instrument that possesses all the internal and external premises to picture his new values: blood and soil, race, fatherland, and nation. National Socialism discovered the artistic laws of radio, creating for it the leadership principle. . . . Propaganda, after all, is nothing but intellectual creation emanating from a central will. Radio is the most ideal instrument of propaganda.” And again this, by the same author: “We spell radio with three exclamation marks because we are possessed in it of a miraculous power—the strongest weapon ever given to the spirit—that opens hearts and does not stop at the borders of cities and does not turn back before closed doors; that jumps rivers, mountains, and seas; that is able to force peoples under the spell of one powerful spirit.”

Thorough in all things, the Nazis, while sharpening the edge of their own psychological offensive, took care to erect defenses against similar attacks by the enemy. Early in 1938 a certain Major Martin, writing in *Sirene*, the organ of the German Air Raid Precautions League, launched an in-

⁴The *Reichs Rundfunk Kammer* (German Radio Chamber) is the division of the *Reichs Kultur Kammer* that handles all matters relating to radio. Its membership includes radio officials and employees, and representatives of the German Listeners' Organization.

dignant diatribe against listening to foreign broadcasts: "German-language broadcasts from foreign stations are deliberately calculated to weaken the moral force of the German nation. . . . The German is clean by nature. He does not care to descend time and again into this mental latrine with his ears and with his spirit. . . . There is no doubt that in any future war propaganda will be an important weapon. Thus defense against these bombs for the mind must be built up in every single house. An incendiary bomb landing on the roof of an apartment house is not nearly so dangerous as the spark of suspicion kindled in the heart of a gullible and pusillanimous man." Later, justifying the ban on listening to foreign broadcasts, the *Reich Law Gazette* stated: "In modern warfare the enemy fights not only with military weapons but also with means which influence and crush the people mentally. One of these means is radio."

Unwittingly the *Reich Law Gazette* here revealed the fundamental objective of the Nazis' own radio strategy: to crush people mentally. The German conception of radio propaganda is exclusively offensive. Its goal is not conversion but anarchy. It seeks to pit group against group, to turn the people against its leaders, to undermine the individual's faith in his habitual standards of judgment, to arouse in each man's heart disillusionment, uncertainty, and eventually panic. In short, to divide, confuse, and terrify. That is why German propaganda sets dramatic effect above consistency and on occasion deliberately contrives to outrage its audience. The use of absurd exaggerations and fantastic assertions is an essential part of the German strategy. It removes to a large extent the stigma attached to propaganda by giving to it an appearance of ballyhoo; the satanic is camouflaged by the ridiculous. Thus before the United States entered the war the Nazis used grotesque talks, peppered with wisecracks, to transmit to their agents here the official "line" on latest de-

velopments and the current slogans of the Berlin Propaganda Ministry. No one who believed that Nazi broadcasts were primarily designed to win friends and influence people *directly* in the United States would have troubled, after listening even for a few minutes, to study these programs carefully.

But Nazi propaganda *in the long run* seeks no friends—except traitors; no allies—except Revolution. It is the propaganda of complete Nihilism. “My object,” Dr. Goebbels has written in *Angriff*, “is to arouse outbursts of fury, to get men on the march, to organize hatred and suspicion—all with ice-cold calculation.” Such a propaganda is directed at the weak spots in the enemy’s social and political organism. It diligently seeks out the discontented minorities, the ambitious and corrupt leaders, the hoodlums, and the fanatics. It exacerbates their grievances, fans their passions, appeals to their greed. It incites the poor against the rich, the capitalist against the proletarian, embitters the Gentile against the Jew, the taxpayer against the government; turns the soldier against his generals and the youth of today against the older generation responsible for the nation’s policy. Invariably it follows the line of least resistance, and like a disease germ flourishes on unhealthy tissue and wreaks the greatest havoc where some organic lesion already exists.

This analysis of Nazi propaganda tactics is merely an elaboration of the statements of Nazi strategists themselves. To take just one example: here is a quotation from *Germany Prepares for War*, by Ewald Banse, Professor of Military Science at Brunswick Technical College in Germany, published here in 1934⁵: “It is essential to attack the enemy nation in its weak spot (and what nation has not its weak spots?), to undermine, crush, break down its resistance, and convince it that it is being deceived, misled, and brought to

⁵ Harcourt Brace & Co. New York.

destruction by its own government, in order that it may lose confidence in the justice of its cause and that thus the opposition at home (and what nation is without one?) may raise its head and make trouble more successfully than before. The originally well-knit, solid fabric of the enemy nation must be gradually disintegrated, broken down, rotted, so that it falls to pieces like a fungus when one treads on it in a wood."

Herein lie the strength and the limitation of this type of propaganda. Its strength is that it bores from within: the Quislings helped destroy Norway, the Laval tribe destroyed France, and the appeasers nearly destroyed England. Its weakness is that it cannot touch any nation that is united, informed, prepared to react vigorously to any assault on its independence and ideals. The propaganda of Nihilism requires a springboard in the enemy's territory—dissension, ignorance, cynicism, moral apathy that makes men shirk their responsibilities, or an organized, militant Fifth Column. Without some such springboard it can make virtually no headway.

This does not mean that in the long run such propaganda is necessarily wasted. The Nazis—and this is one of the prime reasons for their success—do not think in terms of annual balance sheets of profit and loss. They do not look for quick results—except when the actual *Blitzkrieg* is in motion. Being primarily political rather than military conquerors they plan their campaigns over a period of years. The nation that is today sound and united may be weakened by internal strife tomorrow, or next year, or five years hence. And in the meanwhile, there are always anonymous Quislings or Livals, nursing some hidden grievance against the social order, twisted men without loyalties and without ideals, in whom the propaganda of Nihilism finds willing recruits.

CHAPTER III

THE STRATEGY OF WAR BY RADIO

NAZI propaganda, it has been said, is as a whole and in the long run a propaganda of Nihilism. But just as within the framework of *Blitzkrieg* strategy there is the strategy of tanks or parachute troops, so within the grand plan of nihilistic propaganda, the Nazi radio High Command has devised a variety of substrategies, each directed toward a limited but vital objective.

STRATEGY OF DIVISION

The Strategy of Division is the one most systematically and effectively exploited by the German radio. It consists, as its name implies, simply in seeking to drive a wedge between two enemy allies or between the enemy and neutral countries, and has been used to turn France and each of the neutrals including the United States against Britain, and recently even to turn Britain against the United States.

In broadcasts to the French throughout the winter and spring of 1939 the German radio hammered away at slogans such as "Where are the English?" or "*Les Anglais donnent leurs machines, les Français leurs poitrines.*" ("The English give machines, the French give their lives.")¹ The French

¹ John B. Whitton, "War by Radio," *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1941.

were reminded daily that England was their historic enemy, England had sent Joan of Arc to the stake, England had let France bear the brunt of the last war and then had cheated and exploited her at the peace.

The French *poilu* was regaled with stories that exposed the indecent luxuries the Tommies enjoyed at the expense of the French fighting man, and the contempt with which they looked upon all Frenchmen. "They lounge about Paris and fill the nightclubs," the German announcer complained indignantly. "They occupy the best hotels and get one hundred francs pay a day." Another favorite trick was to say to French listeners: "Have you seen a Tommy in the Maginot Line? Of course not. French soldiers, you will find the Tommies BEHIND the lines—with YOUR WIVES!"

In broadcasts to the United States also, Dr. Goebbels' "American-language" speakers pieced together for their listeners the picture of a "Satanic" Britain. For centuries the British had sought to impose their rule upon the world. Contemptuously ignoring the Declaration of Independence, Britain had always interfered with the rights, liberties, and development of the United States. "Britain's contempt for other nations but especially for Americans is too well known to deserve comment," Berlin would declare angrily and then proceed to comment on it at length. Britain's varied and manifold vices were lumped together under the comprehensive epithet of "Britality," a term that was seldom off the lips of Berlin speakers. Invariably the conclusion to these diatribes, whether stated or left implicit, was that "the precious blood of American youth should not be spilled to save Churchill's dictatorship—the most sinister and corrupt dictatorship the world has ever seen."

As against all this was set the image of a modern progressive Germany, characterized by its youthful vigor, its industry, and its admirable system of social justice; and the 150 years of

Anglo-American friction were contrasted with the long years of friendly co-operation between Germany and the United States. Unblushingly, German speakers represented the Reich as the unselfish champion of Americanism and American interests.

When German efforts to check the flow of American war supplies to Britain ended in failure, the Reich's radio strategists adopted a new tactic. Their most famous speaker—"Lord Haw-Haw"—set out to implant in the minds of the English distrust and hatred of America, and if possible to convince them that American aid was part of a gigantic conspiracy to take over the British Empire. "The United States Government," Haw-Haw told his British listeners, "is intent only upon the speediest acquisition of a maximum number of British possessions. . . . There is only one thing worse than standing alone, and that is to rely on support which will not be made effective." "America will fight to the last Englishman," then she will "inherit" the British Empire. "Germany, as the Fuehrer has said a dozen times, has never coveted the Empire. She has even offered to guarantee its defense. Not Germany, but your so-called friend the United States, is the real enemy."

PARALYZING THE ENEMY

The underlying strategy of Berlin's radio offensive against the United States has been the Strategy of Paralysis—designed to keep this country permanently inactive. Germany's "paralytic" propaganda has taken an interesting variety of forms:

(1) Savage, sometimes hysterical, attempts to discredit the American press and the Administration.

(2) An all-out "smear" campaign against the leading interventionists.

(3) Noisy praise for all past isolationist preachments.

(4) Defeatism: "Germany is invincible on land, air, and sea. Britain is in her death agony, and there is nothing America can do about it. It will take you years to switch over to a war economy." And other arguments of that kind.

(5) Mystico-Fatalism—The "Wave of the Future" type of reasoning: "Our age is a revolutionary age. Life is progressive by nature. It cannot be stopped. Attempts to interrupt natural evolution by force lead to explosions. The world is ripe for a new order, whether you like it or not."

(6) Appeals to "common sense," which reasoned somewhat as follows: "It's sheer lunacy to imagine that the Reich has designs upon the Western Hemisphere. It couldn't send troops there even if it wanted to. Have you forgotten that little body of water known as the Atlantic Ocean? Let's see a little of that 'horse sense' for which the Yankees are famous. Wouldn't it be the smart thing to be on good terms with the winner and cash in on the terrific demand for American products after Germany's won the war?"

(7) Appeals to pacifism and the instinct of self-preservation: The horrors of modern war, its monstrous carnage, are graphically described to the listener. He is then reminded of the sweets of life—sunshine and cool breezes, his garden, his books, his pipe, his wife or sweetheart, all the precious things he stands to lose by fighting. The propagandist concludes: "Once you're dead you're bloomin' well dead."

(8) The peace offensive: The offer of seemingly generous terms that would put a quick end to the hell of war and immediately restore peace, prosperity, and happiness following the trifling formality of unconditionally accepting Germany's humanitarian "peace ultimatum."

The Strategy of Dissension is really a junior partner of the Strategy of Paralysis. Its function is to foment group and class hatreds, to exploit every difference of opinion, race,

and religion in a country, to fan the fires of intolerance until they become a prairie blaze, in brief: to plunge the country into psychological civil war. In German broadcasts to the United States this strategy has taken the form of a savage anti-Semitic campaign, and equally bitter denunciation of the captains of industry and finance, the "international bankers," the "idle sensation-hunting millionaires," and "all those who shamelessly exploit the workers." The German radio, while spurring its listeners on to racial persecution, has righteously deplored the cruel fate of the Negro; while complaining bitterly about the "inhuman treatment of innocent German-Americans," it has vehemently propounded the thesis that only a "pure nation" can survive, and has urged "all true Americans" to exterminate the "foreign vermin" in their midst. It has attacked this and that, always taking care to offer no solution; purposely leaving a vacuum for cynicism and self-destroying pessimism, a vacuum which every malcontent may fill with his own little idea of revolution.

DOUBT, UNCERTAINTY, CONFUSION

The Strategy of Confusion is sharply illustrated by Germany's reply to the anti-Fifth Column movement in this country. In rapid succession Berlin broadcasters put out a bewildering variety of mutually contradictory counterarguments. At first Berlin vehemently proclaimed that the FBI was barking up the wrong tree. Instead of persecuting loyal German-Americans, the G-men would do well to go after the real Fifth Columnists—the British propagandists, spies, and *agents provocateurs* that infested the country. No sooner had Berlin conjured up the image of a ubiquitous, unscrupulous Englishman darkly plotting Uncle Sam's ruin than German broadcasts veered off onto a sharply different tack. The Fifth Column "scare" was a typical piece of Rooseveltian

duplicity, cooked up by the Administration to justify the ruthless "suppression" of all those who were opposing its "insane war policy." The "real Fifth Column" consisted of "certain highly placed persons in the White House." Then, inevitably, the "real Fifth Column" was said to be composed of "Jews, Free Masons, and international financiers." Finally, the Berlin propagandists concluded that there was no Fifth Column at all! It was a myth, a bogeyman, a hallucination, the product of America's "hysterical war fever," a symbol of the giant neurosis that held this country in its grip. This was a fruitful line of reasoning. From it Berlin's broadcasters went on to contrast the calm sanity of a warring Germany with the schizophrenic behavior of a United States at peace.

A second device of the Confusion propagandist is to broadcast deliberately contradictory news reports of one and the same event. On September 2, 1940, the BBC announced that a ship carrying British refugee children to America had been torpedoed without warning, and sunk with considerable loss of life. To this the German radio made these several different replies in quick succession: (1) "It's a lie. We know nothing about it." (2) "The alleged sinking was manufactured by British propagandists expressly for American consumption." (3) "Yes; the ship was indeed sunk—*by the British themselves*. It's a deliberate atrocity frameup, just as the sinking of the *Athenia* was." (4) "The German Naval forces did not sink *any ships* that day." (5) "Of course we sank it. We told you no ship could get through German-blockaded waters. It's what you deserve for inhumanly gambling with the lives of your children."

Another confusion tactic is to launch rumors or false reports that can then be dramatically refuted. During the first year of the war Nazi-inspired rumors became the chief export commodity of the Balkan capitals. The subtler device of "planting" red herrings was even more popular with Berlin

propagandists. A seemingly reliable German “tourist” would give a Hungarian editor friend some sensational piece of information—that Ribbentrop had been purged, for instance—which would duly be published, spotted by a British journalist or official, and cabled to the BBC as ammunition for its German-language broadcasts. The Berlin Propaganda Ministry, meanwhile, would be waiting expectantly for the BBC to fall into the trap. Photos of Hitler and Ribbentrop in friendly conference would be held in readiness to be radioed to all neutral newspapers. No sooner was the story broadcast from England than the German radio would gleefully begin to elaborate on the happy theme: “Once again the BBC is caught telling ridiculous lies.”

Other times, the false report would simply be handed directly to the editor of one of the many Nazi-controlled newspapers all over the world—such as *El Pampero* in Argentina, Belgrade’s *Transcontinental*, the *Curuntul* in Bucharest, and a score of others. Or again it would be planted by a Nazi agent as, for instance, was the Stockholm report that the British had captured Narvik, which did much to discredit British information for the duration of the Norwegian campaign.

It has also been established pretty conclusively that, during the short German campaign against Holland, the tales then current of Nazi parachutists disguised as nuns or Dutch soldiers, of Fifth Columnists shooting from the housetops of Rotterdam, of poisoned cigarettes, poisoned chocolate, and the like, were originated by Berlin in order to create confusion and panic. The German radio, with a great show of moral indignation, ingeniously accused the British of having invented these false atrocity stories, *which it then proceeded to describe in great detail*. The Dutch, hearing them denied by the enemy, were convinced they must be true, with the

result that every nun, every proffered cigarette, and even the Dutch uniform became objects of suspicion.

ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN

Characteristic of Nazi thoroughness is the Strategy of Alternatives, which, operating on the shotgun principle, sprays listeners with a wide enough variety of arguments to suit each and all of them.

For Nazi sympathizers abroad, admirers of strength and efficiency, and fascist-minded listeners in general, as well as for pacifists and defeatists, German broadcasts depict the Reich as all-powerful, ruthless, irresistible, a country of iron men and women, inhumanly selfless in their devotion to the Fuehrer's ideals. For those who cling to the business-as-usual attitude, for the gullible, and for the many who have grown weary of anti-Nazi propaganda, there are soft "reasonable" words to prove that Germany is a jolly land of devoted families, smiling peasants, honest, industrious workers, and sensitive art lovers. There are proud references to Goethe and Schiller and nostalgic allusions to walking tours in the Black Forest, the carefree student life of Munich and Heidelberg, and foaming seidels of Lager beer. "Above all," says the Berlin announcer a trifle wistfully, "the German wants peace so that he may enjoy life." Then, for amateur historians and incurable sympathizers with the underdog who yelps loudest, there is a heartrending picture of "martyred Germany," the hapless victim of centuries of British persecution and "encirclement."

CAMOUFLAGE

The Propaganda of Diversion is the one most fully integrated with military strategy. To keep the world guessing

throughout the dreary months of stalemate on the Western Front, the German radio harped loudly and incessantly on Britain's criminal plans to extend the theater of the war. One broadcast would cite "irrefutable proof" that the Low Countries had been singled out for British aggression; another would name the Balkans; another Scandinavia; then it would be the Low Countries again, and so on. Before the *Blitzkrieg* against Holland and Belgium, the Berlin radio created a panic in the Balkans by a barrage of broadcasts warning that a major explosion was imminent in that area as a result of Britain's insensate mania for embroiling the whole of Europe in her war. In fact, three hours *after* German troops had crossed the Dutch border, the *Deutschlandssender* declared that the Reich had made no demands on, and delivered no ultimatum to Holland; this vicious false rumor, said the German radio, was just part of Britain's campaign to cause unrest among Germany's neighbors.

"FRIGHTFULNESS"

The Strategy of Terror on the air reaches its peak at moments of acute crisis—while a great battle is raging, before or during all-out aerial bombardment, and as the prelude to a peace offensive. In the course of the campaign against Poland, German stations, pretending to be Polish ones, gave out fake "panic" reports of wholesale disaster and destruction. And when the Blitz against England was at its height, the German radio on several occasions attempted to panic British listeners by transmitting subtly garbled messages that bore the appearance of code instructions to Fifth Columnists within the island.

Dire warnings, hair-raising accounts of death and destruction, and awesome prophecies of doom are the ammunition of the Strategist of Terror, who concludes with frenzied ap-

peals to "Get rid of your corrupt leaders and sue for peace!" This strategy was most effective during the June days of 1940 when France was tottering. Actually, it reached its all-time peak in German broadcasts to England throughout the crucial summer months that followed France's collapse. This is a good sample of what Lord Haw-Haw was then telling British and American listeners: "The psychological tension resulting from the imminence of the German *avalanche* is becoming *almost unbearable*. . . . The atmosphere is one of depression and *despair*. . . . There is *panic*, and the *worst kind of panic* too. . . . The British Isles are pervaded by a *mad, deep* fear." Later, when the indiscriminate bombing of London and other British cities was in full swing, Haw-Haw would endeavor to chill his listeners' spines with descriptions such as this—invariably attributing them to "objective" neutral observers: "A Swedish correspondent, still under the influence of what he has experienced, writes: 'Once sulphur and fire poured on Sodom and Gomorrah until only 77 just people remained. Now sulphur and fire are raining down on London, but one does not know whether 77 just people will remain this time.'" And on August 19, 1940, Haw-Haw credited this one to an American reporter: "'Ghostlike figures wander about the streets of London, *shrieking frantically* at the mere sight of a plane. Britain is lying awake in long, sleepless nights and thinking of nothing but one thing—how to get rid of the pain.'" Simultaneously, in its North American service, Berlin proclaimed: "England's capital is being buried under a veritable cloudburst of fire and iron. . . . As if to add insult to injury, German sky-writer planes, using smoke as a medium, paint huge swastika crosses in the skies above the city. . . . Panic is reigning among the population of Scotland. There is a veritable stampede. . . . The inhabitants are fleeing from city to city, head over heels."

A favorite device of the Strategist of Terror is to picture his victims as alone and defenseless, faced by an imminent, awful, and inexorable doom, which the victorious enemy will inevitably bring about at the moment decreed by Fate: "Nothing can save England from destruction. The High Command of Germany and Italy view the war not as an exciting blood sport but as scientific work to be carried out with deadly precision. Unmoved by sentimentality, uninterested in providing the spectacular grand finale a moment before its appointed time, they calmly execute hour by hour, and mile by mile, these carefully considered plans, which are leading without delay and without undue haste to the sensational conclusion at which the vast audience can rise and cheer. . . . Just as Poland was *annihilated*, so Britain will be *annihilated*." All the while Haw-Haw kept reminding his listeners, "The Channel is merely a moat. . . . Dover is practically German territory." And he spoke darkly of an "ominous lull"—the prelude to "events which overshadow anything that has happened in Europe since the Renaissance."

The words italicized above are terror symbols—the TNT in the Terror Strategist's bombs for the mind. They appear repeatedly and systematically not only in German broadcasts but in everything that emanates from the Berlin Propaganda Ministry, and even in the communiqués of the German High Command. These emotion-loaded symbols have been a peculiarly effective and insidious type of Nazi propaganda since they have been innocently disseminated the length and breadth of the United States in the dispatches of American foreign correspondents and, more importantly, of the great press associations. Here are just a few of them: "annihilate . . . utterly destroyed . . . wiped out . . . panic . . . paralyzing . . . cataclysm . . . utter ruin . . . fearful tension . . . indescribable confusion . . . total . . . Panzer Division

. . . Coventrize . . . catastrophe . . . thousandfold retaliation”—and a hundred and one superlatives that convey the several notions of mass slaughter and destruction, fear, horror, and desolation. These symbols helped in no small measure to impress upon people in communities where the war was still a faraway unreality the idea of German invincibility.

The Strategy of Terror, though most effective at moments of great crisis, is not exclusively reserved for such occasions. It has been used by the Germans in periods of relative calm or as a deterrent to unsympathetic neutrals—especially the United States. Thus as soon as the *Blitzkrieg* in the West provided German propagandists with the necessary source material, sheer “frightfulness” was systematically exploited by the German radio to fortify the case for non-intervention. Barely a week after France had surrendered, a Berlin radio reporter, after allegedly having made a tour of the battlefields and hospitals in France and the Low Countries, broadcast the following account of his experiences to American listeners: “What impressed me was the nearness of Death. One could see evidences of his passing everywhere. That *relentless* mower of youth in his prime played no favorites. He was as quick to stretch out his long, bony fingers and snatch away the heir to riches as he was to call to himself the humble product of a tumbledown shack. He was as eager to seize in his clammy embrace the proud scion of a noble house as he was to rob a widow of her only son.” In a French hospital, the speaker continued, “a number of men had thick bandages around their heads. ‘Blind,’ said the hospital orderly. I thought, ‘God! What a tragedy!’ Other men were lying there with ghastly wounds. . . . The place smelled unbearably with strong antiseptic. Many of the poor fellows had had an arm or a leg amputated. Some of them will never walk again.”

Yet another device of the Terror Strategist is to lay claim to or give the appearance of possessing a magic omniscience which places the enemy completely at his mercy. During the winter of 1939-1940 the members of a French infantry unit arriving in the Maginot Line were completely demoralized and had to be removed because German loudspeakers just across No Man's Land kept telling them everything there was to be known about the unit—its strength, where it had come from, the names and records of all its officers, and so forth.² Another time, when Churchill and Eden were visiting the front, the menu of the luncheon provided for the distinguished visitors was read out by the German radio—correct in every detail—just as they sat down to table. And this though the movements of the visitors had been a closely guarded secret!³

Naturally there was nothing particularly magical about such stunts. The information was obtained by spies or Fifth Columnists in France and communicated by means of vest-pocket, ultra-short-wave radio transmitters to German scouting planes overhead, who immediately relayed it to the German stations.

Nazi terror tactics have taken other ingenious forms. At the time when the fate of Britain depended upon the ability of the RAF to hold off the numerically superior *Luftwaffe*, Haw-Haw launched a campaign to discredit the quality of British planes. A typical remark was that "British airmen refuse to pilot 'flying coffins,' as they call their *Hurricane* planes. . . ." About the same time, to bring home to the world the deadly nature of Germany's counterblockade, the German radio preceded all announcements of Allied sea

² Edmond Taylor, *The Strategy of Terror* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940.)

³ *Ibid.*

losses by the lugubrious tolling of a bell—one doleful peal for every ship sunk.

“WORDS ARE ACTS”

Within the framework of the various strategies described, German broadcasters have faithfully adhered to the propaganda dogmas of *Mein Kampf*. In obedience to the maxim “The bigger the lie, the better,” they have lied systematically, flamboyantly, and on a Gargantuan scale. Even Dr. Goebbels must at times have been staggered by the ingenuity of his minions and perhaps somewhat alarmed by their reckless zeal. Two of the more spectacular inventions of the German radio are worth a passing mention. When Canada’s air-training scheme was under way, and had been sufficiently publicized, a Berlin “American-language” speaker told listeners in this country that the British Government’s intention was to build up in Canada an air force of undreamt-of striking power, and then confront the United States with the choice of entering the war on Britain’s side or seeing every one of its cities razed to the ground. Another time, a German broadcast declared in all seriousness that cannibals from New Guinea were being recruited to build fortifications around the British Isles.

Mein Kampf declares that repetition is the essence of effective propaganda, and further, that propaganda to be effective must be aimed at the mass of a nation—“that great stupid flock of easily driven sheep” who “believe . . . only because they are too stupid to understand.” And here too Hitler’s instructions have been religiously followed by Nazi broadcasters. German programs are in the main designed for and aimed at the masses, and Nazi radio propagandists will hammer away at the same argument, with slight variations or

crude attempts at camouflage, for months on end, day in day out, on several broadcasts daily.

Violence is as essential a characteristic of German radio propaganda as repetition. High German authorities have stressed that propaganda must have a "lashing brutal quality," whose role is to produce "the lightning effect of excitation to attention." "Propaganda," writes E. Hadamovsky, amplifying his Fuehrer's remarks on the subject, "is a combination of political determination and activistic brutality."

Still following Hitler's precepts, Nazi broadcasters have persistently sought to give a moral basis not only to Germany's cause but to the great majority of their propaganda arguments. For the first year of the war all German newscasts ended with the slogan: "Germany is fighting for the removal of an injustice, the others are fighting for its continuation." And in between musical numbers, the German radio would broadcast such slogans as: "*Am deutschen Wesen, wird die Welt genesen.*" ("The spirit of Germany will put the world right.")

Finally, to give the popular imagination a simple object on which to focus its hatred, the German radio has followed Hitler ⁴ in attributing all of the world's troubles to one cause—the sinister alliance of "plutodemocracy [or demoplutocracy—Berlin uses both forms for variety] and Jewish International Finance"—later aided and abetted by Bolshevism.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF RADIO

The use of propaganda in wartime is nothing new. In the Middle Ages, scrolls wrapped around arrows were shot into

⁴ *Mein Kampf*, original edition: "The art of being a mass leader consists in concentrating the attention of the people on one opponent. The skill of a great leader shows itself in making different opponents look as if they were all of the same kind."

besieged castles. During the Revolutionary War handbills offering each grenadier \$7.00 and a farm to desert were smuggled into the British lines. And in the last war, propaganda pamphlets urging the enemy to surrender were carried across No Man's Land by little free balloons, or fired from trench mortars, or dropped from bombing planes.⁵ But it was not until the development of radio that propaganda became a strategic weapon of first-rate importance; all of the vehicles previously used had been in some way or other unsatisfactory. Scrolls, handbills, and pamphlets were easily discovered and confiscated. Further, the recipient was likely to be anything but attentive to words hurled at him by an engine whose normal function was to spray him with fire and shrapnel. In radio, through which—its originators had piously hoped—nation would “speak peace unto nation,”⁶ the propagandist at last found an almost ideal vehicle for his arts. Radio is every man's friend. He turns to it instinctively for news, comfort, and diversion. Thus broadcast propaganda, if shrewdly interwoven with entertainment, will be listened to whether people like it or not. Thanks to Brahms and Wagner, Beethoven and Bach, Nazi Germany has succeeded in dinning its ideas into the ears of radio listeners the world over. German loudspeakers opposite the Maginot Line, when broadcasting Hitler's speeches, held the attention of the French *poilus* by playing their favorite waltz tunes in between the Fuehrer's lengthy paragraphs.

Radio recognizes no barriers. The British blockade, which effectively limits the circulation of Nazi newspapers, books, and pamphlets, is powerless to dam for one second the torrent of words from the many stations of Greater Germany. Bans on listening, even if enforced by a vigilant Gestapo and

⁵ Edwin Muller, “Waging War With Words,” *Current History*, August, 1939.

⁶ Pre-war motto of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

backed by dire penalties, have proved ineffective. And direct interference by "jamming,"—that is, broadcasting loud, raucous noises or "artificial static" over the wave length used by the enemy—though widely resorted to by the Nazis, is at best a makeshift and highly unreliable form of defense against radio propaganda. It immobilizes the "jamming" transmitter, and, since most broadcasters are prone to consider their own efforts superior to those of the enemy, they would sooner let him do his worst than see their own offensive curtailed. In addition, "jamming" may produce a "dead" zone followed by a zone of normal reception a few hundred feet away.

Broadcast words have further advantages over their printed rivals. Lost in a flash on the ether, they are not subject to reconsideration or critical scrutiny. They can, at will, be used to initiate, supplement, or round up action in other fields. It is simplicity itself to impart to them an infinity of variations of tempo and emotional pitch. More effectively than any other medium they create an illusion of reality. And, when successful, their impact is immediate and dramatic.

Nazi radio propaganda is emphatically *not* a statement of Germany's case. It is, in itself, a form of direct action on a new front, and reaches its peak of effectiveness when accompanied by or integrated with other forms of action—warfare, economic or diplomatic pressure, or Fifth Column intrigue. In an age in which ideas have enslaved peoples, overthrown governments, and paralyzed armies safely entrenched behind fortifications of steel and concrete, radio as used by Nazi Germany has become a vital instrument for conquest.

CHAPTER IV

THE STORY OF INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

BACK in 1661 a Mr. Joseph Glanvill had a hunch. "The time will come," he declared, "and that presently, when by making use of the magnetic waves that permeate the ether which surrounds our world we shall communicate with the Antipodes." Two hundred and seventy-one years later Mr. Glanvill's hunch became a reality. In 1932 the British Broadcasting Corporation inaugurated its Empire Service, which included transmissions to Asia, Africa, North and South America, *and the Antipodes*.

Radio's short waves are the vehicles for this spectacular form of intercontinental communication. Yet only fifteen years ago the status of short-wave broadcasting was comparable to that of frequency modulation in 1942. From the day in 1896 when Guglielmo Marconi succeeded in sending his first signal across his father's estate at Bologna until after the last war, radio telegraphy developed with the use of long and medium waves, which transmit impulses horizontally and do not in general give effective reception at distances of over 500 miles. Realizing the limitations of this type of transmission, radio technicians began experimenting with short waves, projected into the ether at an angle of from five to thirty degrees like a shell from a howitzer. These are reflected

back to earth at great distances from the transmitter by the ionosphere—a layer of electrical particles varying in altitude from 70 to 250 miles above the earth's surface. Short waves, in fact, are the heavy artillery of radio.

Little headway was made with this type of broadcasting until 1921, when Dr. Frank Conrad, then Assistant Chief Engineer of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, began transmissions on wave lengths below 100 meters over his own experimental station 8XK, in Wilkensburg, Pennsylvania. Two years before this Conrad had set up in his garage a 75-watt transmitter from which he broadcast musical entertainment for other radio enthusiasts. This was the first continued scheduled broadcasting in history. When a Pittsburgh department store advertised little receiving sets on which the public could hear Dr. Conrad's concerts, the Westinghouse Company realized the potentialities of Conrad's work and built KDKA, the first regular commercial broadcasting station in the world, which started its career by announcing the results of the Harding-Cox election returns on November 2, 1920.

The operations of KDKA and other broadcasting stations that sprang up in 1921 were over much shorter wave lengths than had hitherto been used. Results were brilliantly successful during that first winter, but summer brought such severe interference from static that people began to think radio broadcasting was inherently a winter activity.

Having launched KDKA, Dr. Conrad continued his private investigations with short-wave transmission. His experiments showed that waves of 30 to 100 meters were remarkably immune to static and had surprisingly long range with the use of very little power. In May 1922, he began short-waving KDKA's programs from an experimental transmitter and in October of the following year General Electric also began sending out short-wave broadcasts from WGY in Schenec-

tady. On the last day of 1923 English listeners heard a program short-waved from KDKA rebroadcast in London for the first time, and not long afterwards Marconi made short-wave radiophone talks to Australia from his yacht *Elletra* off England.

How little impression these events made in Europe was shown that same summer of 1924, when the world's great radio companies—British Marconi, German Telefunken, American R.C.A., and French Radio Télégraphie—met in London to discuss transatlantic communication. The learned gentlemen all agreed that the Atlantic could only be spanned by ultra-long waves—of from 10,000 to 20,000 meters. This would need hundreds of kilowatts of power, receivers as large as a trunk, and antennas more than a mile long.

Dr. Frank Conrad was present at the conference. He got up in the middle of the night in his London hotel, took out a little short-wave receiver less than a foot square which he had brought from home, connected it to the curtain rod as an antenna, and heard faint but clear the voices of his assistants nearly four thousand miles away, talking across the Atlantic on less than ten kilowatts of power. Next day he exhibited his little receiver to the conference, told of his results, and then and there administered the death blow to ultra-long-wave radio.

Meanwhile in this country short wave was making rapid advance. In February of 1924 Dr. Conrad's station had played an important part in the handling of news service emergency messages during the famous blizzard of that year. When the Canadian steamship *Arctic* made its yearly voyage to supply trading posts in the extreme north, it kept in touch with headquarters by short-wave radio. In October, the first widespread international hook-up linked sixty-two cities of the United States, Canada, and England, as employees of the H. J. Heinz Company sat down to banquets at the same hour

and heard each other's speeches by short wave. The following January short-wave broadcasts were sent from Pittsburgh to Melbourne, Australia; in 1926 the Dempsey-Tunney fight was broadcast to all parts of the world; and in November 1929 a short-wave transmitter flashed the news that Byrd had flown over the South Pole.

Thereafter such programs became almost commonplace. President Roosevelt was heard throughout the world in several "fireside" chats. A Pope's voice reached America for the first time as Pius XI opened the Vatican's new transmitter, HVJ. What was probably the largest audience ever to listen to one man heard Edward VIII renounce his throne in 1936. And the Coronation of his brother, King George VI, drew millions to their radios.

The first international radio propaganda ever to be broadcast was sent out by the Bolsheviks early in 1918. In the previous November, an unknown individual named Trotsky had used radio to announce "to all" that the Soviet Government was willing to make peace. When the subsequent negotiations at Brest Litovsk were deadlocked, German military operators at the great radio station of Koenigsberg intercepted radio telegrams in code from Tsarkoe Selo inciting the German troops to mutiny, to murder the Kaiser, the generals of the High Command, and their regimental officers, and to conclude a separate peace with the Bolsheviks.¹

Up until 1930 the Soviet Union was the only power to sense the political potentialities of international broadcasting; by that date Radio Center Moscow was proclaiming in some 50 different languages and dialects: "A great and holy hatred of capitalism is necessary!" and was filling the ether with revolutionary slogans.

France entered the field in 1931. During her Colonial Ex-

¹ John Wheeler-Bennett, *The Forgotten Peace* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1939.)

position of that year she instituted broadcasts designed to foster closer relations with her overseas possessions.² The BBC followed suit with its Empire Service in 1932.

Germany became an international broadcaster on a large scale immediately after the seizure of power by the Nazis. On April 1, 1933, the Reich inaugurated a special short-wave service for North America, and the following year began broadcasting in foreign languages.

The early objectives of the German overseas radio (*Reichsender*) were to obtain a world-wide following and to remind Germans living abroad of the ties and duties that still bound them to the Fatherland. To gain an audience the *Reichsender*, following the Nazi precept, "Music must first bring the listener to the loudspeaker and relax him,"³ broadcast superb classical concerts and sparkling operetta selections. While for the special benefit of the *Auslandsdeutschen* (Germans abroad) the *Reichsender's* program schedules carried the seemingly innocent slogan: "We wish to safeguard the eternal foundations of our existence and of our nationality, and the strength and virtues with which it is endowed."

At first there was little overt propaganda. But propaganda there was—slogans cunningly sandwiched in between musical items or at the end of news programs. Group listening was organized throughout the world, the United States included, and pro-Nazi organizations began to hold regular "listening parties" to hear and applaud the words of the Fuehrer and the Party leaders. "Mail Box" programs were cleverly exploited; letters and contributions to the Nazi cause from Americans were acknowledged on these mail-box hours and personal messages exchanged between individuals in the

² Harold N. Graves, Jr., *War on the Short Wave*. (New York: The Foreign Policy Association, "Headline Books," 1941.)

³ Quoted by Thomas Grandin, *The Political Use of Radio*, Geneva Studies, 1939.

Nazi homeland and their friends and relatives in America. American tourists in Germany were often offered the thrill of talking to the folks back home. Most of these visitors, their vanity flattered by the ceremonious attention of the German radio officials, painted a radiant picture of life in Nazi Germany.⁴

The *Reichsender* also lost no opportunity to bring to its microphone German residents abroad on vacation or on a state-financed trip through the fatherland. Overflowing with patriotism and sentimental joy they would send fond messages to their loved ones far away from "home" and leave the air with a martial "Heil Hitler."⁵ Most of them returned to their adopted country confirmed Nazis.

Another and slightly more sinister device much favored by the *Reichsender* in its early days was to address itself by name to individual Germans resident in foreign lands. To a listener in the United States the German announcer would say: "Hans, do you know that the German Reichstag has its eyes on you?" And lest this notion prove disquieting and perchance induce poor Hans to switch to another station, the voice from the Fatherland would add coaxingly: "And now, Hans, listen to a song of your home!"⁶ From the very start, the German short-wave service worked in close co-operation with the *Auslandsorganization*, which had an extensive card index of Germans living in "enemy territory." Berlin reckoned that there were 7,500,000 of these in the United States, 600,000 in Brazil, and 150,000 in Argentina.⁷

The headquarters of the German short-wave service was Zeesen, a village nineteen miles southeast of Berlin, so small that few Berliners had ever heard of it. The Zeesen plant was

⁴ "Short Wave Propaganda," *Radio News*, May, 1938.

⁵ Thomas Grandin, *The Political Use of Radio*, Geneva Studies, 1939.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

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set up with an original outlay of \$5,000,000. An airfield was carved out of a near-by wood to protect the station in war-time, anti-aircraft guns were erected, and a ring of barbed-wire defenses was thrown around the whole area. In 1936 the Zeesen plant was expanded into an elaborate and powerful 40-nation switchboard system to cover the Olympic Games that took place that year. After the games were over the strongest short-wave signals in the world continued to pour out of the tall transmitters of Zeesen.

Vigorous, swiftly-paced newscasts in six languages and superb musical programs were the staple items of Zeesen's skillfully planned radio offerings. These broadcasts rapidly acquired a dependable following throughout the world. In 1933 the German short-wave system had received 3000 letters from listeners abroad. In 1934 the number jumped to 10,000, increased to 28,000 in 1935 and to 45,000 in 1936⁸—ten times as many as the most active U.S. short-wave station.

Naturally, in its early days the German radio was at times ludicrously inept. A gentleman who described himself as "Oncle Veellee," and got up at 4 A.M. daily (Berlin time) to talk to his "American friends" would have done better to stay in bed. Another of Berlin's more clownish efforts was the program which started: "Hello, Tasmania, beautiful apple isle!" But, on the whole, the Nazi propagandists studied their audience carefully and patiently sought to rectify their mistakes.

German attempts to achieve "penetration" by radio were most conspicuously successful in the case of Latin America. This was largely because of the low caliber of local broadcasts at that time, and the absence of serious competition from any of the great powers.

The Reich began its special transmissions to Latin Amer-

⁸ *Ibid.*

ica in 1935 and for a time did its level best to please, flatter, and entertain. By 1937, however, Zeesen broadcasts to the Latin Republics were being used for political and economic objectives. If, for instance, Germany was competing with the United States for a steel contract, South American listeners would be treated to dramatic and highly colored accounts of strikes and violence in the U.S. steel industry or to persuasively documented lectures on the superior quality of German steel products.

About the same time the German radio campaign to split the Americas got under way. In broadcasts to South America, North Americans were repeatedly attacked on a variety of counts. There were righteous but agreeably salacious diatribes against their morals and in particular against the "obscene" habits of the rich. All the while South Americans were soberly warned to be on their guard against "dollar diplomacy" and the sinister machinations of Yankee "imperialists." To put the finishing touch to these outpourings Zeesen used such slogans as: "The United States is truly repulsive to all honest people."

At the same time, the Berlin Propaganda Ministry saw to it that the *Reichsender's* words spread far beyond the short-wave listening audience in South and Central America. A regular radio news service, translated by German agents in each of the Latin Republics, was supplied gratis to all local newspaper editors, many of whom, operating on a very restricted budget, welcomed this daily handout and gaily splashed it over their front pages. To sew up the long-wave listening public Zeesen offered its programs for rebroadcast by local stations—free of charge. In 1934, 89 German programs were rebroadcast in Argentina; in 1936 the number was 239 and in the following year it was doubled. A survey made in 1937 revealed that two hundred German programs were being rebroadcast in South America for every British

one. To round off the good work the Nazis also resorted to the practice of buying time on local stations for their own specially prepared broadcasts. In a number of cities they simply bought control of a station outright.

AGGRESSION BY RADIO ⁹

In its European transmissions Nazi Germany from the start adopted aggressive radio tactics, and it is here that it won its most spectacular victories. The first clear case of aggression by radio were the broadcasts from Munich that helped provoke the abortive *putsch* in which Chancellor Dollfuss was murdered. During the *putsch* one of the first acts of the conspirators was to seize the Vienna station. A radio offensive was used in 1935 to persuade the inhabitants of the Saar, separated from Germany by the Treaty of Versailles, to vote for reunion with the Reich in the plebiscite which took place that year. And in 1935 radio was mobilized behind the Anti-Comintern policy of National Socialism.

At this time the Russians were presenting from Moscow's 500-kilowatt station a daily program in German containing unprintable "revelations" about the private life of the Nazi bigwigs. The extra-marital relations of Joseph Goebbels were a favorite theme. The speaker would wind up by telling Frau Goebbels just where her husband was stepping out that night and with whom. The Nazis were livid with rage. They resorted to "jamming" but were not satisfied with the results. Finally a total ban was imposed on listening to Soviet broadcasts, and all Russians, Poles, or Slovaks living within the Reich were forbidden to own a radio. Not content with these drastic measures, Berlin launched its own counteroffensive, which took the form of a parody—entitled "*Hier Spricht Mos-*

⁹ Throughout this section of the chapter, I have drawn on *The Political Use of Radio*, by Thomas Grandin.

kau”—of the Russian program. The German announcer would read extracts supposedly from the official Soviet press and then comment gloatingly on the appalling conditions of life in the Soviet Union, drawing special attention to the name of a Jewish or seemingly Jewish official with a loud scornful “Ha, ha!”

The radio war against the Soviet Union continued with varying intensity until right up to the signing of the Russo-German Pact in August 1939. In fact, the day the Russo-German Pact was signed Station Stuttgart was scheduled to present at 4:00 P.M. a propaganda talk about the Bolshevik scum of the earth entitled “I Accuse Moscow.” In place of its listeners were treated to a fifteen-minute concert—of Russian folk music!¹⁰ The moment Germany’s Panzer Divisions began rolling against the Red Army in June 1941, the radio war was resumed just where it left off.

In the meanwhile, radio had been a potent force in each of the Reich’s bloodless conquests. A barrage of radio propaganda that heaped abuse upon the Schuschnigg Cabinet and bombarded Austrian listeners with threats and sinister warnings helped pave the way for *Anschluss*. And when *Anschluss* finally took place, programs specially recorded ahead of time by a traitor on the staff of the Vienna station—Nazi orations, military marches, and demonstrations in favor of the Reich—were put on the air at the psychological moment, thus driving home the effect of the *fait accompli*. One of Dr. Goebbels’ first acts after *Anschluss* was to have 25,000 receiving sets sent to Austria to be distributed among the poor who might otherwise have missed the privilege of enjoying the new Nazi programs.

Throughout 1938 the German radio was even more frenzied than the press in its denunciations of Czech atrocities

¹⁰ Edmond Taylor, *The Strategy of Terror* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940), p. 133.

against the Sudeten. And during the final crisis preceding the Munich surrender, stations in the south and east of Germany kept up an incessant barrage of threats and vitriolic anti-Czech propaganda in Czech, Slovak, and Ukrainian, while those in the north and west alternately broadcast in French and English bloodcurdling accounts of the horrors of war and persuasive appeals for a peace based on "realism and common sense." Radio propaganda helped swing Danzig over to National Socialism, and precipitated several crises in Lithuania over the Memel "question."

CALLING ISLAM! ¹¹

The first and most successful large-scale international radio offensive of the Italian radio—the "*Ente Italiano per le Audizione Radiofoniche*"—was the campaign to undermine British prestige in the Near and Middle East. From 1935 to the end of 1937 Italy had this field all to herself—and made the most of it. At the outset Mussolini's propagandists were faced with a preposterous situation—the Arabs had no radios! Most of them didn't even know what a radio was! The EIAR adopted the simple if somewhat costly expedient of distributing free among the Arabs receiving sets tuned to only one station—Bari, located on the heel of the Italian boot. There remained another awkward problem: how to keep listeners informed of program times when the Arabs had no clocks or watches. But even this teaser did not stump Bari's brainsmen, who promptly hit upon an excellent makeshift solution—to describe program times in terms of the sunrise and sunset.

The results of the Bari offensive in the Middle East were quite remarkable. The Arabs, who are over 95 per cent illiterate, became radio-conscious in a very short space of

¹¹ For some of the material in this section I have drawn on *Here Lies Goebbels* by Vernon McKenzie (London: Michael Joseph, 1940.)

time. Not being able to read they relied on the radio almost exclusively for their news. When the day's work was done both the *fellaheen* (peasants) and the city dwellers would betake themselves to their favorite cafés, huddle together under a fuming oil lamp, and stolidly smoking their water pipes play game after game of backgammon until the communal loudspeaker gave forth the voice of the Bari announcer.

From Bari the Fascist government broadcast in a variety of Arab dialects daily incitements to rebellion against British dominion. "The Empire of the British is decadent. The British fleet is a museum piece, and Eden is a clown in the hands of the Freemasons. If Great Britain wishes to serve the Arabs let her serve them by settling the problem in Palestine." These were the central themes around which Mussolini's propagandists improvised an infinity of fantastic variations. One time Bari described in lurid colors a wholly fictitious revolt against the "whiskey and potato race" in Transjordan. Another time it was alleged that British airmen were using poison gas to quell an insurrection among the Arab tribes near Aden. The *fellaheen* of Egypt, the bedouin of the desert, and the Palestinian peasant knew no better than to believe every word they heard on the radio. So Bari's listeners sipped their coffee and swallowed Italian propaganda with every mouthful.

By 1937 Bari broadcasts were blanketing the Mediterranean in sixteen languages, including programs in Hebrew which promised Fascist support for the "natural aspirations of the Jews." At long last a British M.P. was moved to complain in the House of Commons about this extracurricular activity of Signor Mussolini, whom he angrily described as "the poison pen of Europe." More important was the direct testimony of British officials throughout the Middle East that Fascist radio propaganda was inflaming anti-British senti-

ment among the Arabs, and in particular was intensifying the turmoil in Palestine. On January 3, 1938, the British Broadcasting Corporation began to beam programs in Arabic to the Middle East. This was the first time a foreign language had been used by the BBC—two years later it was using more than thirty!

From the Cairo radio station the BBC recruited two trained Arab announcers. Programs consisted of news, entertainment, and readings of the Koran. The London newscasts were factual and objective to the point of dullness. Periodically there would be talks by noted Arab leaders such as Sheik Hafiz Wahba, Saudi Arabian Minister to London, and Prince Seif Al Islam Ahmed, son of the King of Yemen. During Ramadan—the 40-day religious period during which every good Moslem fasts from sunrise to sunset—the BBC presented special religious features, which included talks on fasting by Abdul Azis Mustafa-al-Maraghi, brother of the rector of the famous al-Azhar University in Cairo.

The Italians, to popularize their transmissions, had hired Arab singers to broadcast before and after the “news.” Here the British stole a march on their rivals by securing the services of Mohammed Abdul Wahab, the Bing Crosby of the Arab World, whose drawing power lured thousands of listeners from Bari to the BBC.

Britain's entry into the war of words in Arabic had one important result. It quickly proved to the satisfaction of the most conservative skeptic that even dull propaganda is better than no propaganda at all, and that the force of the enemy's arguments can be greatly diminished merely by giving listeners “the other side.” Though the Arabs continued for some time to prefer the flowery outpourings of Bari to the staid and factual style of the BBC, their childlike faith in the truth of Bari's assertions was quickly shattered.

Two weeks after the first BBC broadcast in Arabic, the

German radio, assisted by a number of expert advisers from the Nazi-subsidized Arab Bureau in Berlin, came to the aid of its Axis partner. The Arabs, it is well known, are exceedingly credulous. Zeesen's favorite strategem was to broadcast stories so fantastic that they would catch the listener's imagination and be repeated by word of mouth from village to village. So well did Zeesen succeed that throughout 1938 and 1939 the Middle East was full of such propaganda fantasies, a number of which could not even be traced to the German radio. "You Arabs are great tea drinkers," one characteristic atrocity story began. "Your tea comes from British India. We have positive information that British agents are coloring your tea with hog's blood." After this one the sale of tea in the *Bahrein* dropped considerably. A later story was that Churchill had himself, personally, fired the torpedo that sank the *Athenia*.

At the outbreak of war Bari, Zeesen, and the BBC commanded a considerable audience through the Middle East. France, too, was broadcasting in Arabic from Rabat, Algiers, and Tunis. The British and the Germans had followed Italy's example in distributing free sets among the Arabs, so that radio receivers were no longer a rarity. In fact, any bazaar or café from Cairo to Ankara that could not boast a loudspeaker was distinctly second-rate.

RADIO WAR IN SPAIN

Radio received its first real wartime tryout in Spain—in China the difficulty had been the scarcity of sets. Loudspeakers on both sides called on troops to mutiny and desert. Fifth columnists raided stations and broadcast false announcements. On the rebel side Queipo de Llano—history's first radio general—spent so much time at the microphone that he had none left for the tedious business of fighting.

Llano's favorite tactic was to make shocking revelations about the private lives of the Madrid cabinet chiefs. On behalf of the government General Miaja retaliated in kind.

In general, radio propaganda in the Spanish Civil War was a crude foretaste of the shape of things to come in World War II. "Believe us, this is the real truth," a Rebel station would proclaim loudly.¹² "Do not believe what Madrid says. On all sides our armies are advancing. We have captured 120,000 prisoners." Or again this—broadcast after the capture of Tarragona by Franco's armies: "Today our victories in Catalonia put the defeated forces of the enemy at our disposal and yet the vain and criminal effort to resist goes on. If, when you had everything and we almost nothing, you were unable to win, today, you are totally defeated and without hope. Recognize the facts, all you who didn't want to see the truth! Those who were misled have nothing to fear because they took up arms. 270,000 prisoners in Nationalist Spain testify that we have no hatred and desire for vengeance. We are forging a new Spain for all who will love and serve her. *Arriba Espana!*"

Propaganda of this sort, backed by military successes, soon forced the Government on to the defensive. Madrid resorted to jamming rebel transmissions, but eventually, so great was the effect of Franco and Italian broadcasts, Prime Minister Negrin banned the use of radio receivers by Republican civilians for the duration.

For the first part of the war, the government controlled the big radio guns—the transmitters of Madrid, Barcelona, and Valencia. One of the rebels' first successes was the seizure of the powerful station EAJ5 at Seville. Acutely conscious of the value of propaganda, the Rebel side relayed its programs to the English-speaking world via Salamanca to Tetuan, Morocco, and to Teneriffe, in the Canary Islands, inviting

¹² *Radio News*, May 1938.

listeners to “try to know the New Spain—the Spain of Franco.” Part of Italy’s aid to the rebels took the form of propaganda from Florence and Madrid, on a station that announced itself as *Radio Verdad*—claiming to be operating from Franco-controlled territory—and broadcast in Spanish and Catalan.

One of Franco’s first “reconstruction” measures after fighting had ceased was to order the installation of a powerful short-wave plant in Madrid to maintain contact with the colonies and Spanish-speaking population of South America. Franco’s international stations thereupon obliged the Axis by concentrating their fire on Ibero-America—not “South America” or “Latin America,” if you please. Their Berlin-inspired message, coming from a country having strong affinities with the Latin Republics, commanded more respect than anything Italy or Germany could put out. Naturally, in these broadcasts Britain and the United States competed for the role of arch malefactor.

THE RADIO ARMAMENTS RACE¹³

By 1937, radio was busily at war on all fronts, with the dictatorships holding the initiative and simultaneously effecting “penetration” in the radio field by devious under-cover methods. In that year the German Telefunken firm obtained orders to construct fourteen broadcasting stations in foreign countries. One was built at Athens—the most powerful in the Near East; another in Bulgaria, another in the Belgian Congo; others in Argentina and Afghanistan; three in Siam, three in Portuguese Guinea, and three in China. The contracts provided that Nazi technicians be employed in these stations—a powerful Fifth Column to manipulate

¹³ In this section, *passim*, I have drawn on Thomas Grandin’s, *The Political Use of Radio*, Geneva Studies, 1939.

subsequent broadcasting policy. The Telefunken was, of course, heavily subsidized by the Nazi Government, and obtained this chain of orders by submitting tenders far below those of competing firms in England and America.

By such undercover tactics, and by direct radio propaganda, Germany in 1937 was running away with the world's air waves; Zeesen's listener mail was nearly three times that of the BBC. For the first time, Britain became genuinely alarmed.

A committee appointed in 1936 to investigate the conditions of British broadcasting had urged the use of languages other than English and at the beginning of 1938 action was taken on this recommendation. On January 3, the BBC instituted its first foreign-language broadcast—in Arabic. Programs in Spanish and Portuguese, beamed from Daventry at Latin America, followed in March. The BBC's first foreign-language broadcast to Europe was made on September 27, when Mr. Chamberlain's speech was put on the air in French, German, and Italian.

In 1937 the United States also became seriously concerned about conditions on the international radio front. Although the National Broadcasting Company had received its first short-wave license for a station at Bound Brook, N. J., as early as 1929, until 1936 it had no special programming service for its short-wave transmissions. Programs were simply taken from the domestic network and simultaneously beamed overseas—in English, of course. In that same year the Columbia Broadcasting System was operating on a power of one kilowatt. On the whole, American signals were a feeble whisper compared with the loud braying of Axis stations.

The totalitarian powers were now well established in the field of South American radio. Italy had been directing programs to South America ever since 1933; a number of these were specially designed to sell Fascist ideology to the several

million Italians living there and make of them a disciplined Fifth Column. The radio station of the official political party in Peru was a personal "gift" from Mussolini, and an Italian concern, the *Dusa Radiofusion*, controlled the leading broadcasting stations and many radio sales agencies in that country.¹⁴ The Japanese began broadcasts to South America in 1935 and Nazi Germany provided a steadily expanding service in Spanish, Portuguese, and German for the Latin Republics.

At this time a Department of Commerce report analyzing short-wave programs to Latin America found the United States "a poor third" behind Germany and Italy, and President Roosevelt appointed a commission to study this question and make recommendations. The Department of Commerce's revelations also prompted the introduction into Congress of two bills, one sponsored by Representative Celler of New York, one by Senator Chavez of New Mexico—providing for the establishment of a Government short-wave station.

However, between the drafting of the bills and the beginning of committee hearings, the private radio operators had been galvanized into action, and it was decided to abandon plans for a government station. By the summer of 1938 American broadcasters were transmitting specially prepared programs to Europe and Latin America in six languages. NBC now had a sixteen-hour-a-day international schedule in which 75 per cent of the programs were built by its short-wave editorial staff of thirty-eight linguists. Reports from abroad, however, showed that the signal strength of U. S. stations was still woefully inadequate. Consequently, in May 1939, the FCC ruled that short-wave stations, to stay on the air, must have a minimum power of 50 kilowatts and be

¹⁴ Carleton Beals. "Black Shirts in Latin America." *Current History*, November 1938.

equipped with directional antennas giving at least a tenfold increase in power. At the same time it replaced the experimental short-wave licenses with which American stations had been functioning with permits to operate as fully fledged "international broadcast stations." This step really put U. S. short-wave radio on the map.

During the year 1939, the armaments race on the international radio front proceeded at a greatly heightened tempo. In 1930 there had been only five short-wave transmitters in operation. By 1939 the number was well over a hundred. Eight nations in Europe each had over a million receiving sets—Germany, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Sweden, the Netherlands, Poland, and Italy.

Radio in the totalitarian countries was now fully regimented for war. The Nazi Party's leaders had attempted to eliminate listening to foreign broadcasts by encouraging the sale of a "People's Radio"—a three-tube affair cheap enough for all to afford but too weak to get any but near-by stations. The people's radio proved about as popular as *ersatz* beer. Accordingly, the German government decreed that anyone publishing or even repeating information from foreign stations would be punished with up to five years in prison. Soon after the outbreak of war, a total ban was imposed on listening to foreign broadcasts, and violation of the ban was made punishable by the death penalty.

Germany, meanwhile, was continually on the offensive on the radio front—and not without results. In his admirable pioneer study, *The Political Use of Radio*, published by the Geneva Research Institute in 1939, Thomas Grandin, later one of CBS's French correspondents, wrote: "The effect of programs from the Reich is probably considerable. It is thought that some Alsations prefer German music and the National Socialist interpretation of life as expressed by radio, and tune in frequently. It is certain that transmissions from

Germany had an influence upon minorities in Poland, Hungary, and Rumania, if not Yugoslavia." In March 1939, the German radio attempted to stir up trouble among the Walloon elements of Southern Belgium, declaring: "The Walloons belong to the German race and the German heart beats on Saint Nicholas Square at Eupen." In April, the *Reichsender* started aiming propaganda broadcasts in Afrikaans at South Africa, and simultaneously stepped up its North American Service to six hours a day. A month before the outbreak of war the German Library of Information in New York began sending out program information to an extensive mailing list.

In the tense months that preceded the outbreak of military hostilities, total war was raging furiously on the air waves over five continents. Moscow's enormously powerful transmitters were using sixty-two languages and dialects. The BBC's elaborate Overseas Service filled the ether with sound twenty-one hours a day. France had replied to Fascist cries for Nice, Corsica, and Savoy with a vigorous radio counter-offensive in Italian—from Nice! And in July 1939 her foreign service was expanded to include transmissions in German, Spanish, Serbo-Croat, and Arabic. Italy, for her part, was using a total of nineteen languages, including inflammatory programs to "Ireland's proud indomitable people." In reply to France's counterattack, the Italian Radio mobilized thirty transmitters for Fascist propaganda in the Mediterranean, and a new station at Tripoli, in Libya, was brought to bear in the struggle. An interesting method employed by Italy to extend Fascism abroad took the form of Italian lessons by radio presented in a variety of languages. The texts for dictation were none other than Il Duce's speeches. The student was asked to send his work to Rome for correction and the exercises came back to him with program announcements of the Italian radio and propaganda pamphlets.

The smaller countries, most of them acutely conscious of the importance of the radio weapon, were just as determined as any to have their say in the never-ending war of words. Typical of this spirit was a proud announcement by the Yugoslav Government that Belgrade was building a powerful new station designed "to penetrate everywhere the Southern Slavs live and drown out Hungarian revisionist propaganda . . . and propaganda from across the Adriatic." In Japan, radio was as systematically regimented as in the Axis countries and listening to foreign broadcasts was strictly prohibited. Powerful Japanese transmitters blanketed the Far East, and began to have a telling effect on the population of Hawaii, where there was a receiving set to every ten inhabitants. At this time the Chinese Government began broadcasting in English for Europe and the United States from Chungking. Even the Vatican had its own station—HVJ, with a power of twenty-five kilowatts—and was broadcasting in several languages, including Latin, programs that not infrequently contained blunt attacks upon the policy of Nazi Germany, the ally of the Italian Government.

American stations emerged into the limelight when on April 15, 1939, they forced President Roosevelt's message to the dictators through to the German and Italian peoples. The newspapers of these countries at first printed only abbreviated and distorted accounts of the message, until it was discovered that millions had heard the speech by radio. The next day the Italian and German press were ordered to carry the full text of the message.

As in the case of the parallel armaments race, efforts were made to halt the spread of propaganda bombardments by radio. As early as 1931 Germany and Poland concluded a "Radio Non-Aggression Pact"—which suffered the same fate as all previous and subsequent non-aggression pacts. Three years later, the "Gentlemen's Agreement" between Poland

and Germany again provided for an end to radio hostilities between the two countries, and before very long it too went the way of other "Gentlemen's Agreements" one party to which had no desire or intention to behave like a gentleman. Similar regional pacts concluded in Europe and South America had more or less short-lived effects. Poland went further and several times proposed to the League of Nations the abolition of radio propaganda as part of a general plan for "Moral Rearmament," but her suggestion was dismissed as utopian. Later, the Anglo-Italian Agreement of April 16, 1938, contained a promise that both sides would discontinue their "invidious" propaganda. The promise was soon forgotten.

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

In the free-for-all on the radio front, rival broadcasters indulged in every form of foul play except one—that of horn-ing in on their neighbors' wave lengths. This was considered by all to be absolutely taboo. Rival stations, separated on the dial by a hair's breadth, dutifully respected that hair's breadth. And for a very good reason. The slightest infringement would surely have provoked reprisals, and the result would have been utter chaos in which no nation could have made itself heard. For once nature had provided a sanction which the most lawless aggressor could not afford to disregard.

Thus the International Broadcasting Union, founded in 1925 with headquarters in Geneva, is the one organization of its kind that can boast a record of relatively successful co-operation by its members. Its job has been to represent the various broadcasting concerns, allocate frequencies, publish documents, and assist in the organization of international relays.

Conferences held in Washington in 1927, Madrid in 1932, and Cairo in 1938 handled the distribution of wave lengths among the various nations. Fresh difficulties arising out of the sudden spurt in international broadcasting prompted another conference at Montreux, Switzerland, in 1939. Here the representatives of thirty-one nations sat for seven weeks and made a thoroughgoing redistribution of broadcasting channels. War intervened before the new agreement could go into effect. But as all hell broke loose on land, air, and sea, the rule of law and order continued to reign supreme over war's Fourth Front. Broadcasters, fearing the confusion that might follow any attempt to utilize the new channels, as if of one accord adhered to the old wave lengths. Panzer divisions and aerial armadas might spread death and destruction over Europe, but the air waves were sacrosanct.

In April 1940 the regular annual conference of the International Broadcasters Union met at Geneva, and British, French, German, and Italian representatives sat around the same table to discuss radio traffic regulations. The I.B.U.'s staff of "monitors" in Brussels, who keep year-round tabs on all stations to see that they stick to their allotted frequencies, had no major deviations to report. The ether had been made safe for propaganda.

CHAPTER V

GERMANY SPEAKS: BOMBS FOR THE MIND

As this is written, Nazi Germany's foreign broadcasting service is sending out 240 different broadcasts a day—a new one every six minutes for a total of 87 hours—in 31 languages including Gaelic and several dialects. Its policy and operation are controlled by an elaborate official hierarchy headed by Dr. Joseph Paul Goebbels. Commander-in-Chief Goebbels formulates the grand plan of strategy for all German propaganda, and passes this on to Albert I. Berndt, radio chief of the Berlin Propaganda Ministry. Berndt fills in the detail, adds concrete instructions for day-to-day operations, and relays what is now a blueprint for action to Heinrich Glasmeier, General Manager of the *Reichs Rundfunk Gesellschaft* (the German Broadcasting Company), who then confers with the head of the foreign service. The latter in turn issues detailed guidance orders to the individual program writers. Thus the liaison between Dr. Goebbels and the voice at the microphone is complete. Still, to leave no loophole for error, every program is carefully checked by *three* censors—one from the Propaganda Ministry, one from the Foreign Office, and one from the General Staff.

In 1933 the German Radio's Foreign Service occupied a few offices in the headquarters of the German Broadcasting

Company. In 1941 it filled two large buildings in the heart of Berlin, near what had been the Adolf Hitler Platz and later became the Mussolini Platz, and in that year it sent out more than 100,000 programs in foreign languages.

The Reich's international radio service employs one thousand men and women of all nationalities. Its announcers are highly paid (by German standards), and well treated. Each broadcaster has his or her own separate little studio—box-like affairs that resemble a telephone booth. All day and night, in the large reception hall of the main broadcasting building, a polyglot assembly of speakers of all nations, colors, and diverse creeds wait to go on the air to the glory of Greater Germany—a fantastic assortment of traitors, propaganda mercenaries, confused idealists, fanatics, and plain riff-raff.

In addition to its large studio staff, the German Radio's Foreign Service employs a number of "reporters in uniform" who have carried their light-weight portable microphones to all of the war fronts and, when a campaign is launched, travel in the wake of Hitler's armies to supply the world with what Berlin calls "Hot Shots from the Front"—a dramatic new kind of radio *rapportage*, complete with the sound of gunfire and exploding bombs in the background. On June 27, 1941, Berlin proudly announced that eighty-two members of the Propaganda Corps had been "killed in action" *before* the invasion of Russia; four were special radio correspondents.

Among the several duties of Germany's motorized radio units has been that of taking over and operating the stations of capitals captured by the German armies. As soon as the end of a campaign is in sight, they are rushed to the front in trucks that carry a full complement of transmitting equipment and special programs for the doomed country, recorded well in advance in Berlin. A good example of the

working methods of these radio units is the story of the Nazi seizure of the powerful Dutch station at Hilversum.¹

Berlin radio reporters arrived at Hilversum, thirty strong, the day after the Dutch Army had surrendered. They came prepared to replace any equipment that might have been smashed and, if necessary, even to install new transmitters. With them were enough transcribed programs in Dutch to last two weeks, and printed program schedules ready for distribution. After some thought, however, they decided to let the Hilversum announcers carry on as usual, except that all music by British, French, or Jewish composers was banned and for a few days all news broadcasts were suspended. When news was resumed, the Dutch announcers were told they might say anything they pleased; guards with loaded revolvers in their hands sat around to discourage untoward comments. This was a brilliantly clever policy. The Dutch people, recognizing the familiar voices of the old announcers, were greatly reassured, and many concluded that things were not going to be so bad after all—until Nazi brutality shattered this comforting illusion. Incidentally, among the trucks of the German radio unit was one which at this writing was still waiting to be unloaded. It contained two months' of recorded programs labeled—"For England."

Just how many transmitters the *Reichsender* can muster is a military secret, though it was known to have had eight "Big Berthas" in operation for its overseas service when the war began. Now the number must be twice as many, not counting the several "stooges"—Radio Roma, Radio Falange, Madrid, and Radio Vichy—whose policy has been *gleichgeschaltet* (aligned) with Berlin's.

¹Told to me by Onno Liebert, formerly one of the chief announcers of the Hilversum station, who escaped from Holland as cook on a Swedish steamer several months after the German invasion.

One of the first developments to follow the successful completion of Germany's *Blitzkrieg* in the West was the formation of a "super-network" of conquered European stations that made it possible, by the simultaneous use of ten or more transmitters in different countries, to blanket the world's air waves with the same program. Berlin or Rome became the hub of a hookup that included Prague, Warsaw, Oslo, Copenhagen, Hilversum, two powerful Brussels stations, and later Belgrade and Athens. Even Nippon was linked to the radio network of the New Order. A station "somewhere in Japan," identifying itself in English as "JZK Japan," broadcast programs of German origin heard simultaneously over the Reich's European continent-wide hookup.

As the mouthpiece of the most gigantic lying machine of all time—the Berlin Propaganda Ministry—and as the chief instrument of Nazi Germany's psychological offensive against the world at large, the German radio has in the main proved itself to be extremely efficient. However flagrant its untruths, however objectionable its arguments, its programs almost invariably have a vigor, an intensity, that holds the listener's interest. The ingenuity or the sheer effrontery with which it lies arouses a sort of disgusted admiration, while the "lashing, brutal" quality of its attacks compel breathless attention. Amazingly alert to every development, in any and all parts of the world, that could be turned into grist for the Nazi propaganda mill, it has systematically backed its arguments with quotations from the foreign press—sometimes citing papers specially financed for this very purpose by the German Government,² sometimes quoting papers that have opposed the foreign policy of the government in their country, such as the *Chicago Tribune* or *New York Daily News* in the U. S. A.;

² Examples of such Nazi-controlled papers are: the *Schweizer Press Telegraph* in Zurich, the *Informacio* in Budapest, the *Fritt Volk* in Norway, the *Transcontinental*, *El Pampero*, and *Reconquista* in Argentina.

not infrequently twisting statements by such strongly anti-Nazi organs as the *New York Times* or *New York Herald Tribune* to suit its own ends.

One of the many functions which the *Reichsender* has performed with notable effectiveness has been to dramatize and bring home to listeners the performance of Germany's armed forces and thus spread the legend of the Reich's invincibility. Its microphone has been carried to harbors and landing grounds to interview victorious submarine commanders, the captains of homecoming surface raiders, and fliers who have covered themselves with glory. Admiral Luetzow has appeared to explain the strategy of Germany's much-vaunted "iron" counterblockade, and General Quade to boost the striking power of the *Luftwaffe*.

The German radio has further shown a keen flair for self-advertisement by bringing to its microphone a variety of speakers with special listener appeal—Max Schmeling, who broadcast the first eyewitness account of the capture of Crete and has repeatedly reminisced about old fights and old friends in the United States; P. G. Wodehouse, whose stories have been read and loved by millions in this country; and not a few American residents in Berlin, among them one newspaper correspondent who should have known better, who told their friends in America how fine and comfortable and peaceful was life in wartime Germany.

On one score German broadcasts have failed miserably. Their efforts at humor—and they have been persistent—are ponderous, ludicrous, or in bad taste. With few exceptions, notably two or three of the radio traitors, German speakers seem to be lacking in the most elementary sense of humor.

BOMBS FOR THE MIND

The pattern of a Nazi radio campaign can be as clearly charted as the stages in a *Blitzkrieg* attack. The objects of the two are essentially similar: the *Blitzkrieg* seeks the annihilation of the enemy's forces; the radio campaign aims at the annihilation of the enemy's will to resist and is the spearhead of conquest by force of arms. To describe this campaign, and indeed all forms of German psychological warfare, the term *Angstkrieg* is peculiarly appropriate. It conveys precisely the several ideas described by Hitler as "the weapons" with which the enemy will be destroyed from within, conquered through himself: "mental confusion, contradictions of feeling, indecision, panic."

How is the actual state of *Angst* produced? The process is best described as the engenderment of mental conflict incapable of being resolved by unified action. The first step consists in gaining the listener's confidence in order to weaken his resistance and induce him to open his mind to the assertions of the propagandist. Next, the speaker attacks the institutions, traditional beliefs, and moral values respected by his audience, being careful to put nothing in their place. The object is to encourage cynicism and make the individual doubt the validity of his own normal judgments. Along with this goes the use of the "whopping lie" which, even if not believed, renders less plausible any claims of the other side by the mere fact of having been uttered. Gradually a state bordering on chronic skepticism is produced in the listening audience, and, by dint of constant and vociferous repetition, the propagandist converts this skepticism into a total loss of faith which renders his victims ripe for the ravages of the Strategy of Terror—a savage bombardment with tales of imminent death and destruction. To make sure that this common threat of danger will not serve as a stimulus to unity and

patriotism the listener is again assailed with "confusion" propaganda. He is told that it would be folly to trust his leaders, that the corrupt society in which he lives is not worth fighting for, and that he will derive personal benefits from the establishment of the New Order. At the same time he is fed with superlative exaggerations whose sheer immensity causes them to be remembered. The cycle is now complete. Confusion, fear, and self-defeating cynicism have paralyzed unified action. The result is a nation of neurotics led by a government of Hamlets—France in June 1940.

This pattern of conquest falls into four distinct phases in the unfolding of the *Angstkrieg* as fought by the German radio. In the first, or good-neighborly, period, the broadcaster sets about acquiring an audience and gaining a measure of confidence and popularity. In the second, or aggressive stage, he begins to foment psychological civil war by attacking the institutions, leadership, and power groups in the listener's country. This attack is launched in two waves. In the first the propagandist confines himself in general to a semi-rational, semi-factual approach which will not arouse undue antagonism. In the second, which usually accompanies an offensive on the military front, the restrained technic is dropped in favor of a vigorous verbal bombardment in which lies, vituperation, and highly emotional appeals are resorted to in a rapidly mounting crescendo. The third phase is that of the Strategy of Terror—sinister threats, superlative lies, incessant warnings of the wrath to come, and almost frenzied injunctions to "get rid of your corrupt leaders and sue for peace." The *Angstkrieg* has now reached its climax. The enemy's citadel has been stormed. But the radio offensive continues after the military armistice to prolong the state of confusion among the vanquished and keep them at the mercy of their new masters.

The story of Germany's radio campaigns and of the men who have led them—against England, against France, against the U. S. A. and against Latin America—the next five chapters will attempt to tell.

CHAPTER VI

THE FABULOUS LORD HAW-HAW

*Who is the chap who hits the high spot,
The greatest comedian now of the lot,
The definite radio star number one,
The life of the party, the bundle of fun?
Lord Haw-Haw, the Humbug of Hamburg,
The bloke with the tonsilar tone.*

*And yet in the winter it's rather pathetic,
He's frozen to death 'cause his pants are synthetic.
Lord Haw-Haw, the Humbug of Hamburg,
The comic of Eau de Cologne.*

ON APRIL 10, 1939, when “appeasement” was dying and the “Stop Hitler” movement was struggling to come to life, British radio listeners tuned in to Hamburg were astonished to hear, in place of the familiar guttural accents of the German announcer, a clear metallic voice that spoke the English of Eton and Oxford. Appealing to the Britisher’s traditional love of fair play, the mysterious voice said: “To some I may seem a traitor—but hear me out.” That was the radio debut of Lord Haw-Haw, the American-born Englishman who has led the Nazi radio campaign against Britain, the most entertaining and picturesque scoundrel in the grim saga of World War II.

His real name is William Joyce, and to the Germans he is Herr Froelich. (Froelich is the German word for joyous—Joyce.) Haw-Haw-Joyce-Froelich enjoys the doubtful distinction of being the first radio propagandist to become an international celebrity. His strange story is a pulp melodrama come to life, a record of treachery seldom equalled, and a fascinating case history of abnormal psychology. Incidentally, it is worth recording that some people in England have believed all along—and still believe—that Joyce is a member of the British Secret Service—a super spy whose broadcasts contain cunningly coded messages to the British Government.

Lord Haw-Haw—a British citizen by his parentage—was born in New York City in 1906. His father, Michael Joyce, was Irish, his mother a mixture of Irish, English, and Scotch. He was taken to Ireland at a very early age and spent his boyhood there. Educated by the Jesuits, Haw-Haw claims to be guided by the motto they instilled in him as a boy: “*Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*—To the Greater Glory of God.” “From my earliest days,” he writes glibly in his autobiography, *Twilight over England*, “I was taught to love England and her Empire. Patriotism was the highest virtue I knew.”

When William was in his teens, the Joyce family moved to England. “Much of my study had to be part time,” he recalls, “because my parents had lost what money they had in Ireland by reason of a devotion to the British crown which seems to have been misplaced and was certainly ill requited. . . . Having seen how the poor lived and how they suffered, I realized the impossibility of a patriotism which excluded them.” In search of a remedy for this state of affairs, Joyce joined up with Sir Oswald Mosley’s Fascist Party. He soon became a militant party member and took part enthusiastically in the street fights organized and pro-

voked by the British blackshirts. In one of these brawls he received a deep razor cut that has left him with a permanent disfigurement—a long, crescent-shaped scar running from the corner of his mouth to the lobe of his right ear.

In 1925 Joyce entered London University to study English literature, history, and psychology. He won high honors in English, and became so carried away by his scholastic achievements that in a campaign speech he once introduced himself as “professor of psychology and economics at London University.” Hauled up before the university authorities for this misstatement, he dismissed it lightly as “a clerical error.” His cronies, tickled by the incident, thereafter dubbed him “The Professor.” Joyce preferred his earlier sobriquet—“Scarface.”

After ten years as a minor Fascist hoodlum, Joyce was suddenly promoted to the post of propaganda director of Mosley’s British Union of Fascists. “What influence I had,” he writes proudly, “I used to promote a thoroughly anti-Jewish policy, and in this respect I succeeded.” In 1937 he was accused of misappropriating party funds. After a sharp quarrel with Mosley in which the blackshirt leader bluntly questioned his subordinate’s honesty, Haw-Haw abruptly left the Fascist Party to become *Fuehrer* of his own National Socialist League.

As the British Hitler, Haw-Haw launched a campaign of hysterical anti-Semitism and was several times arrested on charges of riotous assembly. The British police force, he explains bitterly, had been forced against its will “to pamper the Israelites.”

In the spring of 1939, when the name Danzig and the subject of war were on everyone’s lips, Haw-Haw hastily packed his bags, stuffed into them his most valuable household belongings, pocketed the funds of his National Socialist League, and hopped a boat to the continent, taking with him a

comely Manchester showgirl. His wife and two children he left behind him in England.

In Berlin he and his second wife—he married the young lady from Manchester without troubling to divorce the first Mrs. Joyce—were immediately hired by the Propaganda Ministry. Herr Froelich, as he was now called, was placed in charge of the radio campaign against England. His salary—\$75 a week—was the highest paid to any broadcaster in Germany.

Joyce can thank his compatriots, the British, for the most spectacular free publicity build-up that any broadcaster has ever enjoyed. Intrigued by the impeccable accent and la-di-da mannerisms of the new Hamburg speaker—Joyce's identity was a complete mystery at that time—Jonah Barrington Ward, radio editor of the 2,600,000-circulation London *Daily Express* christened him Lord Haw-Haw, and proceeded to write a book about him which promptly became a best-seller. In it he depicted Haw-Haw as having "a receding chin, a questing nose, thin yellow hair brushed back, a monocle, a vacant eye, and a gardenia in his buttonhole." In short, a dandy of the gay nineties complete with violet waistcoat. No one could possibly have less resembled this fanciful description than its subject. Joyce is ruddy-complexioned, stocky, square-jawed, and tough-looking; more muscleman than marquis.

Having melodramatically announced himself as a traitor on his first broadcast, Lord Haw-Haw proceeded to convince his listeners that he was an agreeable sort of traitor to have around. His skits burlesquing the British character, lampooning the dukes and the dowagers, the "Old School Tie," and the pukka sahibs from Poonah, amused the English—and they listened. Parodied in *Punch*, caricatured in the daily press, His Lordship was held up to John Bull as a figure of fun. His jokes were retailed in pubs, hotel lounges,

and patriotic middle-class homes, in the salons of Mayfair and the studios of Bloomsbury. During the first winter of the war, the "Humbug of Hamburg" was the comic character of the hour. A musical revue entitled *Haw-Haw* played twice nightly to packed houses at the Holborn Empire Theatre in London. A catchy ditty with the punch line "Haw-Haw! Let's have a darn good laugh" was on everyone's lips. Half of England's 18,000,000 radio sets were tuned in at least once daily to station Zeesen, near Berlin, Lord Haw-Haw's new headquarters.

Haw-Haw's microphone manner was superb. His half-ironic, half-cajoling tone, his pointed sarcasms and unpredictable flashes of drollery, were ideally suited to put across his attacks on the British upper classes. And his decided dramatic talent found a riotously funny outlet in skits like "Orpington and Orpington"—a take-off on two old boys of the Old School who met to grouse about the war in the smoking room of their London club.

His identity was still a mystery—the most intriguing mystery of the day. Some said he was Norman Baillie-Stewart, the infamous British officer who had been court-martialed and sentenced to a year in the Tower of London for selling military secrets. Some believed him to be a German, Holf Hoffman, who had spent much of his life in England. Other more fantastic conjectures were advanced—such as that he was Eric Dorn, the son of a South African rabbi! One day, however, his first wife heard his voice on her radio. "That's my husband," she cried angrily, and hurried off to the London police, demanding that he be arrested for desertion, theft, and other misdemeanors. His Lordship, safe in Zeesen, was beyond the reach of the British law. But his brothers—Quentin, a clerk in the Air Ministry, and Frank, a technician for the British Broadcasting Corporation—were less fortunate. They were promptly seized and interned. At this time, the

British weekly, *Picture Post*, announced—with official endorsement—that Haw-Haw was William Joyce. Thus ended one chapter in the radio traitor's colorful career.

In the meanwhile, Lord Haw-Haw had changed his tactics. It had taken him about four months to win a wide and attentive following in England. This initial phase of his campaign was completed about the time of the August crisis over Poland. So Haw-Haw began, imperceptibly at first, to change his tone. In his second phase, which lasted until the great German offensive in the West, His Lordship talked politics and somehow neglected to pull his punches. Ceasing his buffoonery, he applied himself subtly to fomenting discontent and defeatism, still endeavoring not to tread too hard on John Bull's toes.

Exploiting the widespread dissatisfaction in England with the Chamberlain regime, Haw-Haw depicted his working-class listeners as the victims of a sinister conspiracy on the part of their rulers, acting in collusion with "the hyenas of international finance," and this is what he told them: "It is an elaborate system of make-believe under which you have the illusion that you are choosing your government. The whole system of so-called English democracy is a fraud. The war has brought the cheat and the swindler into his own. England is in the hands of a small group of Money Lords. Do men like Churchill, Camrose, and Rothermere have at heart the well-being of the people of England? Until England is ruled by men who share the feelings of the ordinary peace-loving Englishman—the wage-earning man and the home-making woman, the people of the streets and of the fields—until your press is controlled by you yourselves and not by a gang of international gamblers, the peace of Europe cannot be assured. This war is being fought for international finance—the ultimate welfare of the people be damned."

To personify the British upper classes and give his audi-

ence concrete objects on which to focus their resentment, Haw-Haw presented a series of skits on which appeared Sir Izzy Ungeheimer, the expert on tax evasion; “good old Bumbleby Mannering,” a hypocritical cleric with a flair for timely investment in munitions; Sir Jasper Murgatroyd, the mogul of the Foreign Office, whose mysterious predictions suggested a guilty insight into the time and place of England’s next act of aggression; and worst of all of them, plain Mr. Smith, supposedly a typical upper-class Englishman, loafing in luxury in neutral Switzerland while the “rotten workers” and the “blasted Socialists” fought *his* war.

To canalize his listeners’ discontent, the Nazi strategist provided them with specific grievances. He attacked incessantly “the rising price of foodstuffs . . . the unscrupulous profiteering in the munitions industry . . . the censorship—obviously an institution designed to withhold information from the masses . . . the refusal of the Government to grant pensions to the dependents of those who lose their lives on active service.”

Posing as a well-meaning adviser to his countrymen, Haw-Haw took care not to identify himself with his employers, whom he always referred to in the third person as “the Germans.” To substantiate his criticism of British institutions, he appealed to his listeners with facts and figures—from unimpeachable British sources! The Liberal weeklies, the British press, Government reports, and the findings of Royal Commissions were grist to his mill. The remedy he suggested for all Britain’s troubles was generally the same: “Once the working men of Britain summon the resolution to demand social justice and call for peace in which alone it can be attained, they can, if they act with sufficient energy, exercise a formidable influence. Then there will be a chance for a young generation in England to build a new system.”

At the same time Haw-Haw did not neglect the maxim

that propaganda must be all things to all men. Before the eyes of the middle class he constantly held up the dread specter of inflation. For the businessman he reasoned soberly that the war would end in economic bankruptcy, that America would be the heir to British trade, and that Socialism, with all its attendant horrors, would drive him and his kind to rack and ruin. For the strait-laced he denounced the decline of morality and the indecencies of the London stage, where, he said, "cuties parade clad only in their cuticle." Intellectuals were reminded of their responsibility for what had happened in Germany, of their complaints against a muddle-headed Government recruited from the playing fields of Eton, and of their own misgivings about the moral basis of England's cause.

So well did Haw-Haw succeed in his early objectives that in March, 1940, the patriotic London *Daily Mail* said: "On the battlefield of propaganda, Britain has been decisively beaten. German broadcasts are influencing not only the civilian population of Britain, but also our armed forces." And the British *Public Opinion Quarterly* wrote: "Haw-Haw's propaganda is listened to with enjoyment. It is common to hear people say that 'there is a great deal of truth in it.'" The British Broadcasting Corporation, which for long had disdainfully ignored Lord Haw-Haw's efforts, now felt compelled to launch a counterblast on its home service. Nevertheless, British listeners continued for a while to listen to the cunning mixture of truths, half-truths, and "whopping" lies that the radio peer of Zeesen concocted for their daily consumption.

Haw-Haw's initial popularity is easily explained. Throughout the fall and winter of 1939 and the spring of 1940, dissatisfaction with the Chamberlain regime had crystallized into a total loss of faith. When Haw-Haw denounced the hidebound conservatism, the muddle-headedness, and ineffi-

ciency of the "old gang," he was only giving pointed expression to the sentiments of the bulk of his listeners. His appeal vanished overnight when Churchill took over. With a leader they respected, and one who restored their confidence in themselves and in their cause, the British were in no mood to pay much attention to the strictures of a Nazi hireling.

In the meanwhile, however, Lord Haw-Haw's notoriety had spread to the Western Hemisphere and—though U. S. listeners were being assiduously catered to by a special group of American-born radio traitors—Berlin decided to give Americans the benefit of His Lordship's wit and venom. On April 12, 1940—a year and two days after his first broadcast to England—Joyce's metallic voice addressed listeners in America. This time there was no apology, no attempt to put on a show. Securely enthroned as World Radio Traitor No. 1, Haw-Haw could well afford to dish it out—and he did. He fumed about the "dastardly profiteering" of the "Money Lords" and the "callous indifference of His Majesty's Government to the welfare of the underprivileged," and recalled bitterly how "Boer women and children were left to starve and die of fever in concentration camps invented by Britain." Inhabitants of the Island of Cyprus, he rasped, had been cold-bloodedly shot for refusing to fight in the Maginot Line. Everywhere moral rotteness was eating into Britain's imperial system.

On May 10, 1940, as German troops swept into the Low Countries, the third phase of Haw-Haw's campaign against England began. The erstwhile evangelist of social justice now became the strategist of terror, the prophet of doom. Dropping the mask of friendship, he now identified himself wholeheartedly with the Nazis and allowed a note of savage hatred to creep into his hitherto calm and well-modulated voice. He heaped abusive epithets upon Churchill, "that liar, braggart, and cheat," denounced the "astonishing de-

pravity" of the English—his listeners—and thundered exultantly, "Britain is being drawn closer to the yawning abyss." Each German victory was menacingly represented, not as a triumph in itself, but as a step toward the ultimate goal—the storming of the island fortress. Thus when the Belgian army surrendered, Haw-Haw said grimly: "It is not a small ally that you have lost. It is England that has broken in your hand." When the Petain Government had sued for peace, he shouted: "England must now take the full fury of the German attack upon herself." And thereafter His Lordship's efforts to break the obstinate spirit of his countrymen bordered upon hysteria. Daily he bombarded his listeners with terrifying phrases: "England is ripe for invasion. . . . You might as well expect help from an army of mastodons as from the United States. . . . You are on a doomed ship." Always the counterpart to these warnings of the wrath to come was an awe-inspiring picture of "the gigantic German war machine pointed like the irresistible hand of Fate at the doomed island." "Either England gives in before it is too late, or she will be beaten. Whether or not the people of Britain want to see their fields turned into graveyards and their cities into tombs is a matter for themselves and Mr. Churchill. Perhaps if the British people could speak, they would ask for peace. But since the official voice of England asks not for peace but for destruction, it is destruction we must provide."

For the first time in his successful career as a radio propagandist, Haw-Haw had blundered—and blundered badly. He had failed to take into account the change of sentiment in Britain resulting from Churchill's leadership, and had completely misjudged the psychology of his own countrymen. The British, as Hitler has discovered to his cost, are a stubborn people when aroused. Tolerant of criticism, they react sharply to anything that savors of a threat. Haw-Haw should

have known that danger would stiffen, not soften, British morale. By the summer of 1940, "Cooper's Snoopers"—the Ministry of Information officials who conducted door-to-door polls in England—reported that His Lordship's audience had shrunk to a fraction of its former size. It is unlikely that anything Haw-Haw might have said at this juncture would have met with any response, but nothing could have been worse than his terror tactics, which angered and—what was more disastrous for him—bored his listeners, each of whom now had his or her vital role to perform in the defense of the island.

After months of futile ranting, Haw-Haw finally caught on to this and embarked upon a new tack. In broadcasts to England he concentrated his venom on the United States, once again adopting the role of well-meaning adviser to his countrymen. The U. S. A., not Germany, Haw-Haw now told his compatriots daily, was the arch enemy, the wolf in sheep's clothing. Sympathetically he commiserated with his English listeners and warned them not to be fooled by the "crafty machinations of the hypocritical American Government." "It stands to reason," he would argue, "that the White House and Wall Street have only one fundamental interest in the rest of the struggle, namely, to induce the British to prolong it until Britain herself is so weakened that her possessions in the Western Hemisphere, including her capital investments, fall into American hands. Then Mr. Roosevelt will be able to claim his proud share of having broken up the British Empire."

"Don't be misled by the cheap sensationalism of reports from the American press," His Lordship repeatedly urged the English. "America is not producing the goods, she cannot produce the goods, and even if she could, she can't and won't deliver them." England, he pointed out, was in the position of "a very bad judge of horse flesh who has mortgaged all

his possessions to raise money for a bet on some cockeyed nag and finds that his creditor won't even hand over the loan money.

"Should England be lost, Churchill would place the British Navy at the disposal of the Frankfurters, the Baruchs, and the Morgenthaus. It is for these hawkies that the British people are asked to go through hell in the tragic months to come. Already in exchange for fifty coruscating cockleshells¹ Churchill has ceded to the United States century-old colonies, nominally for ninety-nine years, in practice forever. But this is only a modest beginning. Canada is also on the list. That illusory, that phantom danger, that awful menace to America which Roosevelt has conjured up for his own sweet purposes will grow so terrifying some day that, out of considerations of pure friendship of course, Canada will be given the benefit of American occupation."

For his American listeners, to whom he addresses himself three nights weekly, Lord Haw-Haw relies mainly on bluster, threats, and confusion tactics. "America can boycott German goods," he snarls, "she can forbid school children to study the German language, she can tell her citizens to turn off their short-wave radios, but she will never be able to prevent the German influence from spreading all over the world." The Lend-Lease Bill? This is what Lord Haw-Haw thought of it: "For us in Germany the passage of the bill was no more sensation than the news that a pup has been born in Omsk or that an ass has died in Oshkosh." "You in the United States," he sneers, "hope to take over the remains of the British Empire after Europe has been forced into accepting a negotiated peace. The only fly in the American ointment is that Germany will never acquiesce in any negotiation proposals. Winners do not negotiate. They dictate."

¹ A reference to the "destroyer-base deal" of September 3, 1940.

Simultaneously, for his American audience Haw-Haw plays up the fact that Britain is in her death agony: "The all-out attack against England is ready to be unleashed. . . . England (after the war) is not going to be the prosperous clearing house, the busy money mart, the arduous sweatshop, which the financial democrats visualized as their paradise on earth. It is going to be a little island, smitten with defeat, bankrupt beyond hope of solvency, incapable of feeding its people."

Although the all-out attack has so far failed to materialize, Haw-Haw goes on talking the same blue streak: "The symptoms of neurosis and confusion among the enemy become more pronounced. The spirit of England is well illustrated by the behavior of the two women in Sussex who shot a British airman and then quietly buried him in a ditch, hoping the unhappy error would not be discovered. . . . Shipping in the waters around Britain has practically come to a standstill. Roosevelt can vapor, Roosevelt can brag—but sinkings continue. . . . Famine stalks side by side with Winston Churchill today. England will become a land of skeletons by the wayside."

In October, 1941, Haw-Haw pulled an ingenious stunt to increase his audience in the United States. On the evening of the fourth, the Berlin radio abruptly declared: "We wish to announce that the world-famous radio commentator, Lord Haw-Haw, has been banned from the air." No reason for the ban was given. The story was news, and gained Haw-Haw some publicity in the American press. Berlin then informed listeners that on the seventh Haw-Haw in person would deliver a talk to the United States, explaining "Why I was banned from the air." The result: more publicity. After this build-up Joyce came to the microphone and blandly announced: "I was not banned from the air by the government of the country of which I am a citizen—Germany

—but of the country in which I was born—America.” He then denounced NBC and CBS for repeatedly refusing to carry his talks, and charged that there was “an organized conspiracy in the United States to prevent people from hearing the truth.” He complained of this “petty discourtesy” to himself, contrasting it with the courteous treatment accorded to American radio correspondents in Berlin, and then plunged into his usual propaganda themes. If Haw-Haw expected to win an overnight following with this piece of ballyhoo, he must have been sadly disappointed.

In his *Blitz-und-Donner Krieg* against England, Haw-Haw is assisted by two fellow traitors—“Sinister Sam,” and a gentlemen nicknamed “Weepy” by radio listeners in the United States, because of his plaintive microphone manner. “Sinister Sam” is probably Norman Baillie-Stewart, the “Officer of the Tower” long believed to be Haw-Haw himself. Baillie-Stewart, a Scotsman and former captain of the Seaforth Highlanders, was seduced by a Nazi siren into selling military secrets to the Germans. Detected and court-martialed he served a year’s sentence in the Tower of London, and when released followed his Mata Hari to Berlin, where he was promptly enrolled by the radio authorities.

“Weepy” is a former English actor, an insignificant wastrel who sold his voice to the Nazis for the sake of a steady job.

Not a pretty crew, the radio traitors, yet their broadcasts have vigor, frequent touches of drollery, and an unmistakable note of sincerity that often amounts to passion. Nothing half-hearted about their treachery—it is on a grand scale and in the grand manner. There is something about these British voices, earnestly propounding—in impeccable accents—the monstrous dogmas of Dr. Goebbels, that holds the listener spellbound, with an incredulous, disgusted fascination.

The spy, the saboteur, the assassin, is a creature of the

night, who works silently, alone, underground—and freely risks his life. The radio traitor is ten times more damned. He commits high treason in cold blood daily, almost hourly, for months, perhaps years on end. His treachery is public, loud, insistent, and unashamed. His risks—except in the event of defeat and capture—are no greater than those of the ordinary civilian in wartime. And what he seeks to destroy is not one object—a powder plant, a factory, a battleship—but his own country; the whole set of institutions, traditions, and ideals he grew up with, was taught to respect and expected to defend. His is total treachery—the most sordid product of World War II.

CHAPTER VII

RADIO'S BATTLE OF FRANCE

THE story of Paris-Mondial, the only short-wave radio station in pre-armistice France, is a melodrama in two acts with a grim epilogue. The controlling interest in the station was owned by Albert Sarraut, who while France was at war successively held the posts of Minister of the Interior and Minister of Education. Sarraut was a businessman-politician whose "inside" knowledge of the rackets flourishing in France gave him enough "on" a number of the leading figures in the country to produce, if he wished, a duplication of the Stavisky scandal. Paris-Mondial, located at 103 Rue de Grenelle in Paris, was run for Sarraut by his former private secretary, Jean Fraysse, who did not speak English and had never visited the United States.

From the time of its inauguration in 1937 until the outbreak of war, the station had been run as a profitable private enterprise. Though the government officially assumed control of it in September 1939, Fraysse and Sarraut saw no reason why the previous happy state of affairs should not continue. Consequently virtually nothing was done to put Paris-Mondial on a wartime footing. No move was made to install new equipment though the existing setup was technically five years behind the times. The same eager poets and distinguished academicians continued to read their little poems

and elegant dissertations to a world at war. The same classical dramas, nineteenth-century comedies, and string quartets were broadcast in complete disregard of listeners' requests and suggestions. As for patriotism, flag waving, war slogans, martial programs, *tout ca c'est vieux jeu*—it was terribly old-fashioned; people were not interested in that sort of thing in 1939. True, the war had to be fought and won to put an end to the unending crises that had made life insupportable. But France was secure behind the Maginot Line and the less said about the whole tiresome business, the better. Such was the attitude of the men who ran Paris-Mondial, which, to the rest of the world, represented the wartime voice of France.

The Foreign Office, it is true, made continual efforts to remedy this state of affairs. In theory it was empowered to dictate the station's policy. But M. Fraysse made it clear to the officials at the Quai d'Orsay that drastic interference would mean a showdown with Sarraut, and the gentlemen at the Quai had their very good reasons for avoiding such a disagreeable and dangerous contingency.

Paris-Mondial began broadcasting to the United States in the spring of 1938.¹ As late as the spring of 1940 its signals were for the most part inaudible in this country because of poor equipment and the fact that its programs were blurred by powerful Latin American stations transmitting on practically the same frequencies—a snag that could fairly easily have been remedied but was not, until it was too late.

Most of Paris-Mondial's programs were supremely ill chosen for the average American listener, interested chiefly in getting a vivid picture of wartime life in France and first-hand news from the war fronts. Throughout the winter of 1939 less than a quarter of the time on the station's "North

¹ Harold N. Graves, Jr., *War on the Short Wave*. (New York: Foreign Policy Association, "Headline Books," 1941.)

American Service" was devoted to news and comment in English. There were instead concerts of chamber music and folk songs rendered in a tremulous falsetto that was highly unsuitable for short-wave transmission. There were learned papers on the French Romantic Spirit, the poetics of Ronsard, or more recondite themes. Highbrow philosophical discussions or tedious documentaries on "Health in the French Army" took up much of France's potentially valuable North American broadcasting time.

One of the more dismal aspects of this tale of ineptitude was the way in which the talent of Americans on the scene was allowed to go to waste. On Paris-Mondial's English-speaking staff were several experienced American writers, who naturally knew what an American audience would want to hear and how best to present it. These Americans, however, were given little hand in the preparation of talks and newscasts, and most of the time served merely as announcers. The policy makers of the station more or less dictated what was to be said, and entrusted the writing of programs to Frenchmen. The work of translation was done by a staff that included several Frenchmen and a Hungarian. As often as not, a program drafted in French would be handed to the American announcer a few minutes before the time of his broadcast or just as he stepped up to the microphone, with the result that the English of Paris-Mondial was comically erratic. Despite urgent pleas to have the station's program schedule adjusted to American listening habits, the best programs—news and topical talks in English—reached this country in the middle hours of the day when short-wave reception is at its worst and few people are likely to be tuning in to foreign stations.

More sinister was the fact that the low salaries paid by the station had discouraged the best domestic talent, leaving the way open for several Fifth Columnists to gain an entry into

the studio as program writers. These subversive elements did not confine themselves to turning out suspiciously mild broadcasts with subtle overtones of defeatism, but energetically intrigued to sabotage suggestions for a more warlike radio policy and stoutly opposed recommendations for closer co-ordination between Paris-Mondial and the BBC.

The story of France's domestic broadcasts was in many ways similar to that of Paris-Mondial—government efforts to put radio on a wartime basis nullified by the intrigues of private interests while nepotism and graft kept the best men out of the studios.

At the beginning of the war it was hoped that radio might be a great force in keeping up the morale of the troops by helping to kill the tedium of long hours of inactivity in the Maginot Line, and receiving sets were dispatched to regiments at the front to encourage listening. The authorities, however, with characteristic laziness and complacency, failed to provide a vigorous, entertaining wartime program service. The *poilus* listened to the French stations and were not amused. Unfortunately they *were* amused, and their interest was held, by the French radio traitors broadcasting from the German station of Stuttgart.

The "Traitors of Stuttgart" were two renegade French journalists, André Obrecht and Paul Ferdonnet, who several months before the outbreak of war had crossed over to Germany and sold their voices to the Nazis. During the winter stalemate they spoke only the language of sweet reason. Identifying themselves wholeheartedly with their listeners, they overflowed with praise for the sturdy virtues of the "*Français moyen*," dwelt sentimentally on the charm and beauty of France, and harped insistently on the theme that this wretched war was completely unnecessary and could be stopped at any moment but for the Jews, the plutocrats, the small group of *bellicists* (warmongers)—and the perfidious

Britanniques. Their anti-British propaganda was particularly successful; the extent to which anti-British slogans caught on both among the French troops and civilian population was sadly underestimated by the London and Paris authorities, with tragic results.

As Frenchmen, the radio traitors knew just when emotion should give place to logic, and were adepts in the art of persuasive reasoning. "French listeners," they would argue, "you are told that in *Mein Kampf* Hitler decided on the destruction of France. You are too logical not to understand that this book, being a human work, has its human side—in this case an echo of the popular anti-French feeling which prevailed in 1924. There are reasons for modifications of *Mein Kampf* which you can see for yourselves. You must see that policy toward France has changed, when you see that Hitler concluded an agreement with Russia. . . . If in a few days, facing the British danger, the German state could make an alliance with Russia, you must see that no preconceived ideas exist in Hitler's mind, and that he directs German policy according to events and circumstances." ²

At the same time, the *poilus* were constantly reminded of their dear ones at home and their cherished plots of land, while for civilians the radio traitors painted a gruesome picture of the carnage that would ensue when Britain finally forced her puppets in the French Cabinet to order a frontal assault—by the French Army—on the impregnable Siegfried Line. Thanks to the warmonger Daladier and the Jew Mandel, clamored the radio traitors of Stuttgart, Lord Halifax had become the Foreign Minister of France and the Quai d'Orsay had abdicated to No. 10 Downing Street.

² Simultaneously the Germans were being urged to give pocket editions of *Mein Kampf* as Christmas presents so that they might have the Fuehrer's words at hand at all times. Buyers were solemnly assured: "Just as Hitler has not changed, so not a word of this book has changed."

Like their fellow traitor William Joyce, Obrecht and Ferdonnet were masters of sarcasm and invective. Their programs were seldom dull. With the aid of German spies and Fifth Columnists in France they were able periodically to astonish listeners with some spectacular stunt. One day, in Dieppe, four English officers had a mild argument with the waiters in the Café Triomphe; exactly nine hours later Stuttgart was reported to have broadcast an exact description of the incident, giving the names and ranks of the British officers involved. In April 1940, the Czech army in France was ordered to march from the town of Azde on the Riviera to the town of Pezenas. That same night one of the radio traitors gave a detailed account of the operation, so detailed that he was able to report it was raining slightly when the regiment arrived at Pezenas.³ The members of a French aviation unit, whose base had been repeatedly bombed by the Germans, learned from Stuttgart the first news that its camp was being transferred to a new site. "Of course that won't make any difference," said the voice from across the Rhine, and proceeded to tell members of the unit the exact location of the new site.⁴

The legend of the omniscience of the radio traitors was such that they were very frequently credited with wholly mythical scoops. A story was current, for instance, that they had revealed well ahead of time all the points to be visited by the King of England on his tour of the front. After carefully checking records of Stuttgart broadcasts, French officials found this to be sheer fantasy.

Thanks in part to the failings of the French radio, but more particularly to the cleavages in French opinion and the general apathy of the French toward the war, radio traitors

³ These anecdotes were told me by a reliable staff member of a French radio station. I cannot, however, vouch implicitly for their accuracy.

⁴ John B. Whitton, "War by Radio," *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1941.

Obrecht and Ferdonnet soon acquired a wide following across the Rhine. The Paris authorities made matters worse by their inconsistent and blundering policy in the matter of Radio Stuttgart. The French press was allowed to print schedules of enemy broadcasts, but the sending of receivers to the army was stopped in an effort to discourage listening. It did not occur to these authorities that the problem might at least to some extent have been solved by improving the caliber of French domestic programs.

Act II of the drama of radio's Battle of France began with the success of the German invasion of Norway. Shaken out of their indifference, the directors of Paris-Mondial installed a new 100-kilowatt transmitter, switched to a new frequency to avoid interference from Latin America, and threw out most of the obviously futile programs in favor of more news and talks in English. The Americans on the staff were belatedly given a freer hand, and encouraged to bring home the actuality of war to their listeners in the U. S. A. The microphone of Paris-Mondial was now carried to the bedside of a wounded member of the American Field Corps in a Paris hospital, and Americans were told by their compatriot how German fliers delighted in aiming at "the Red Cross painted on the top of our ambulances." Another U. S. citizen gave a harrowing eyewitness account of the machine-gunning of Belgian civilians on the open roads. A few days later listeners on this side of the Atlantic heard the sound of bombs dropping on Paris—recorded and broadcast by the French radio.

First-hand reports of events at the front, civilian defense measures, and work in the factories were introduced by a colorful addition to Paris-Mondial's American contingent—a Mr. Vincent Schmidt, who described himself as "a soldier of fortune," and claimed to have fought in the First World War, in China, in Abyssinia, and in Spain.

The French Overseas Service was beginning to be at long last an effective ally of the BBC when Germany delivered her crushing blow in the West. Immediately Paris-Mondial became the somewhat frantic mouthpiece of France's pleas for American aid. Unprepared, however, for a national crisis, it was hopelessly disrupted by the panic that swept France in the dark days of June. Almost two whole days of broadcasting were lost when Paris-Mondial was evacuated from the capital to Bordeaux (June 10 and 11). And thereafter confusion prevailed as program schedules were ignored and speaker after speaker begged America for "airplanes, cannons, tanks"—which obviously could no longer affect the issue.⁵

The French domestic radio failed even more lamentably to rise to the national crisis. Having from the start obstinately clung to a policy of presenting a ridiculously optimistic picture of the military situation, it did not dare to acquaint its listeners with the desperate news from the front. Instead it kept repeating two-day-old communiqués that spoke vaguely of "withdrawals to pre-established positions." This policy served to encourage the wildest rumors and drove listeners, anxious to learn the worst, to tune in to Radio Stuttgart for the bulletins of the German High Command. And this is what French soldiers and civilians heard, along with the "news," during those nerve-racking days when their country's fate hung in the balance:

"Force your Government to make peace or drive it out. *Hoist the White Flag!* Force the fleeing English to look after themselves. These cowards, who have no word of honor, don't deserve any better. Time presses. The existence of your nation, the existence of every one of you, is at stake. Unite, gather yourselves together, and demonstrate for peace!"

⁵ Harold N. Graves, Jr., *War on the Short Wave* (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1941.)

This was typical of the third degree to which French radio listeners, already distraught by the sudden destruction of their long-cherished illusion of security, were subjected whenever they tuned in to Stuttgart to ascertain the latest claims of the enemy. But German strategy did not stop short at frontal exhortations to surrender. It sought not merely to terrify but to create as well "mental confusion and contradictions of feeling," and to destroy existing ties. And so the German radio held forth to the French some hope of salvation, promising to the soldiers good treatment if they surrendered, to the nation advantageous peace terms if France were to cut herself loose from her perfidious ally.

To all this French stations had no reply. During the last days of the Battle of France, the French radio collapsed completely. Communications with the front had broken down; the studios had lost half of their staffs in the wild stampede from Paris to Bordeaux; to a nation frantic for the least scrap of real news they had nothing to offer—except gramophone records! To drive home its triumph Stuttgart gloatingly broadcast a list of French radio employees who had been singled out for punishment as "enemies of the Reich."

Article XIV of the Nazi armistice terms provided that all French transmitters be silenced and surrendered intact to Germany. At 2:30 A. M. on June 20, the voice of the Third Republic was heard from Bordeaux for the last time.

EPILOGUE

When Nazi Germany's total war machine had reduced France into signing a separate peace, it was only the *Blitzkrieg* that was halted. The radio bombardment continued unabated. All stations in the occupied area were mobilized by the Nazis who recruited a new contingent of radio traitors from the murky corners of Paris journalism. Long before

Nazi spokesmen ventured to speak of "total collaboration" on the part of the vanquished, Germany's radio offensive made her ultimate objective apparent: to keep the unoccupied area crippled and prostrate and eventually to reduce all of France to a state of abject servitude. All the while, to the outside world, German spokesmen broadcast words of love for the fallen foe, so cruelly betrayed and deserted by the cowardly British.

In no other radio offensive was the strategy of confusion carried to such lengths as in German broadcasts to the French people after the armistice. The first step was to fill listeners with a crushing sense of shame and humiliation. They were told their fate had been richly deserved and that atonement for their criminal folly would have to be long and painful. When Marshal Pétain ordered further rationing measures, the conqueror jeeringly exulted that the French were now having to take their medicine. Nazi-controlled Paris stations daily provided the disgusting spectacle of one French traitor after another ranting about the rottenness of the people of France and their way of life. They had been selfish, grasping, lazy, these Nazi hirelings "confessed" shamelessly. They had irresponsibly countenanced the "mischievous diplomacy of the French Foreign Office." They had allowed themselves to become corrupted by international Judaism. In strident tones the German radio thundered: "The crime must be avenged and the culprits punished."

"Why must the Parliamentary clock get out of order as soon as the hour of truth has struck?" demanded a Nazi spokesman. "Why do its fingers never point to the hour of justice and the hour of retribution? There is always talk of righting wrongs, but never of punishing them. We require action."

The Vichy Government obeyed orders. French democracy voted itself out of existence. Plans were announced to put

Daladier and others on trial. But the German radio was not appeased. "The gigantic trial instituted by the Vichy Government," said a Nazi spokesman contemptuously, "is only a vulgar stage effect designed to throw dust into people's eyes. All are responsible for the situation in which the country finds itself. How can the Men of Yesterday build the France of Tomorrow? The Parliamentarians of Vichy must not cherish the illusion that their indecent haste to adopt pseudo-totalitarian forms will mitigate the harshness of their punishment." And Marcel Deat himself obligingly appeared before the German microphone to broadcast anti-Vichy propaganda.

Further to confuse the conquered, the German radio often advocated a policy contradictory to that of the Nazi Government.⁶ While the latter frowned on the idea of French statesmen returning to Paris, Nazi broadcasters insisted: "You will not find inspiration among the pals of the pals and the cronies of the cronies of the comradely republic, but here in Paris, in the midst of this sensible, brave, and proud people that is so truly French. Come here, observe it living, and you will find the confidence that is required to do great things."

All the while a fierce campaign was being waged to induce the conquered people to reconcile itself to defeat and to seek for "collaboration, not revenge." The French were told to emulate the German virtues of industry and sobriety. Business leaders were urged to forget about profits. Rich and poor alike were reminded of their responsibility for the many stranded without food, homes, or decent clothing. German welfare organizations were praised to the skies and held up as an example of Germany's highly developed social conscience. The duty of all Frenchmen, the German radio

⁶ Harold N. Graves, Jr., *War on the Short Wave*. (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1941.)

reiterated, was to work and work hard for the construction of the Reich's New Order in Europe.

Lest Britain's resistance give hope and courage to France, German broadcasts to the French people at all times pictured the island kingdom as in her death agony: "The food situation in England is disastrous. . . . The people of England are being asked to feed on the grass of the meadows like cows. . . . Britain's plan for coal production has gone completely bankrupt. . . . British aviators avoid combat with the Germans and escape whenever they can. . . . Britain will be completely annihilated by plane bombardments. . . . Her people live in terror. . . ." The French were told that the English were training with "sticks and umbrellas," and that two-and-a-half million British soldiers were without shelter because there were no camps in which to lodge them. On one occasion a Nazi spokesman concluded characteristically: "England reminds one of a huge chicken run in which the mother hens are chasing their chicks in all directions to put them out of reach of the hawk that is hovering above them. But the hawk may swoop down on the chicken run."

As the war entered its third year, German efforts, by radio and otherwise, to bludgeon the *people* of France into collaboration seemed to have achieved little. Yet there was a time when anti-British feeling in France was strong. The initial success and subsequent failure of the post-armistice radio offensive against France bring out clearly the strength and limitations of the radio weapon.

Before the true character of German rule was clear to the conquered, and while their bitterness in defeat was intensified by the clashes at Oran and Dakar, Nazi broadcasts were a powerful factor in stimulating anti-British sentiment throughout France. As soon as the Germans proved beyond all shadow of doubt that "collaboration" meant virtual enslavement, German radio propaganda encountered stony re-

sistance. In France the Germans were guilty of a serious strategic blunder: they made no effort to conceal the fact that their actions and their propaganda were completely out of step. Every Frenchman could see that England was not crushed, that the New Order contained not the shadow or semblance of order, and that the much-vaunted "reconstruction" of France was to be nothing short of total brigandage and systematic spoliation. The policy of the conquerors provided the most crushing refutation possible of the most plausible claims of German propaganda.

CHAPTER VIII

BERLIN'S BENEDICT ARNOLDS

THE high-powered short-wave transmitters of the Third Reich bombard the United States twelve hours daily with propaganda in the "American language." The morning "raids" begin at 6 A.M. (E.S.T.) and last until 9 A.M. "This special bulletin," says Berlin, "will scoop your morning paper and send the family off to the office whistling and cheery. And, ladies, please put off your morning shopping till you have heard the bargain news which comes to you free from 4,000 miles across the Atlantic." The second and main onslaught starts in the early afternoon and continues until well past midnight. In addition, most of Germany's short-wave broadcasts beamed at England can be heard clearly in this country.

According to a Berlin radio announcement, German broadcasts contain, "regardless of the war, a choice assortment of broadcasting viands—sparkling musical champagne and other tasty delicacies . . . as well as the regular news features." About four hours of Germany's "North American" broadcasting time is devoted to the spoken word, and English, or rather "American" is the main language used.

Germany's North American Service is slanted for people of varying tastes and levels of culture, though the majority of programs are directed at the masses. For those whose home listening preferences center on "Vox Pop" or "Amos 'n'

Andy" Berlin presents the colloquial dialogues between "Jim and Johnny," and "Fritz and Fred—the Friendly Quarrelers," and the "Letter to Iowa." Jim and Johnny are supposedly two Canadians: Jim, a kind-hearted and amazingly well-informed milkman, lectures his sadly ignorant and naïve friend Johnny on European affairs as he delivers the daily quart. Fritz and Fred are a German and an American who "chew the rag" at the microphone of the Berlin short-wave station. Fred hesitatingly supports the British point of view until demolished by the compelling arguments of the canny Fritz, who does some heavy-handed wisecracking on the side. Both Johnny and Fred are supposed to be representatives of the average, "honest but bewildered" American or Canadian who is naturally sympathetic to the British but is opposed to another war for the benefit of international finance. Jim and Fritz feed them German propaganda slogans which they receive as sudden revelations of the divine truth. Johnny usually runs off—but not until the end of the program—to tell it all to his wife, who is amazed at his sudden understanding of world affairs and as a result has begun to treat him "with great respect." Berlin does not even neglect a special bait for henpecked husbands!

Also for the less sophisticated is the "Letter to Iowa"—a straight talk addressed to "Dear Harry and the folks back home in Iowa," and "Hot off the Wire" a dramatic monologue.

In all these series, the language used is a folksy, idiomatic brand of American, packed with would-be wisecracks. Each program in a series is devoted to putting across one single idea; only the simplest reasoning is used and long terms are laboriously elucidated. All arguments are vividly connected with Americana.¹ Churchill, for instance, is a "gangster,"

¹ Harold N. Graves, Jr., "Berlin Calling America," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, December 1940.

compared with whom "such desperadoes as Dillinger and Jesse James were mere pikers," and the contraband control of the British Government is likened to the "cleaners' and dyers' protective associations" of racketeering days. Occasionally, a program is ushered in with the refrain of some popular American song—"Home on the Range," or "The Lone Prairie." In short, every effort is made to put the listener at his ease and create an atmosphere in which to accept the Nazi point of view would seem the patriotic and common-sense thing to do.

For more serious-minded listeners, the German radio presents each evening several topical talks and a question-and-answer period called "America Asks—Germany Answers." The topical talks are introduced by highly melodramatic titles such as "The Lash," "The Creeping Shadow," "Greed," "England's Last Hour." Intellectuals are catered to by several series of elaborately documented lectures—a weird combination of facts, half truths, lies, and "doctored history"—variously entitled, "British Disregard for American Rights," "The U.S. and Germany—Past and Present," and "Mirror of German Progress."

To transmit its message to the people of the United States, Germany has assembled a motley crew of men and women, some fanatics, some frustrated, embittered misfits—the counterparts of Berlin's British and French radio traitors—only too willing to sell their American accent and knowledge of American life for Nazi ration cards.

"LORD HEE-HAW"

The Fuehrer of Berlin's North-American short-wave radio corps is a tall, lanky German-American, Fred Kaltenbach by name, introduced to listeners as "Lord Hee-Haw." Kaltenbach, who speaks with an unmistakable midwestern drawl,

was born and bred in Waterloo, Iowa, where his father was a butcher. He was a studious, introspective youth who, upon leaving school, became a teacher. In the World War he enlisted in the United States Army and rose to the rank of lieutenant in the Coastal Artillery, but never saw active service. In 1936 he went to Berlin to take a Ph. D. and was converted—heart and soul—to Nazism. He married a German girl, who was a secretary on one of Goering's aviation magazines, and later signed up with the Nazi propaganda authorities.

Kaltenbach revisited the States once, in May 1939, when his father was dying. On that trip he earned \$25 by addressing Waterloo Rotarians on the virtues of the Nazi regime. One Rotarian acidly suggested: "If you like it so much why don't you go back there." Fred went—and stayed. The "Dear Harry" to whom Fred addresses his "Letters" over the air is Harry Hagemann, a former schoolmate, now a lawyer in Waverly, Iowa, who is considerably embarrassed by Fred's weekly effusions.

Kaltenbach stoutly lays claim to a dual patriotism. He considers Germany his "mother" or "the land of my fathers," and describes America as "my native land" or "my sweetheart." In November 1937, he wrote to a former acquaintance in this country: "We German-Americans with our traditional conservatism cannot stand by and see our American spiritual heritage threatened by Bolsheviks like Labor Leader Lewis and his ilk. We still cling to those ideals of homespun Democracy which Lincoln stood for. The German element helped Lincoln save the union. Maybe we are today called to save America." To save America Fred spends a good part of his time at the mike sneering at "DD—which means dynamic democracy or damned dumb," and otherwise seeking to foment a second Civil War.

Oddly enough, Lord Hee-Haw received his title from the English, who sometimes pick up his talks to this country

and Canada. Comparing him with Lord Haw-Haw, they decided that he too deserved to be elevated to the peirage of radio traitors, and the title stuck. Kaltenbach welcomes the added publicity and signs off, "This is England's Lord Hee-Haw, who will live up to his title by giving British pretensions in this war the merry, merry hee-haw!" He has taken to opening his programs: "Lend or lease me your ears."

Kaltenbach appears at the microphone of the Berlin radio in a variety of roles. He is "Mr. Reader" who announces many of the topical talks. He is Jim, the know-all Canadian in the series "Jim and Johnny," and honest American Fred in the dialogues between "Fritz and Fred." The author of the "Military Review," and of the series "British Disregard for American Rights" is again Lord Hee-Haw. Whatever may be the feelings of the "folks back home in Iowa," Fred Kaltenbach is certainly earning his ration cards.

Evidence that Kaltenbach at one time had a following in this country was provided by the fan mail which he acknowledged in his "Letter to Iowa," advising correspondents to send their letters via air mail "where the British snoopers can't get at them." He gave his business address as "Iowa. In care of the German short-wave station, Berlin."

Not all the letters so received were complimentary. On one occasion, a woman's club in Tampa, Florida, wrote Fred as follows: "Our circle gets a great deal of fun out of your anti-English broadcasts for the same reason that causes us to be slyly amused at hearing a street urchin abuse an old gentleman who occupies a high place in society. But remember the urchin still remains the child and the old gentleman the pillar of society. So with the English and the Germans."

Berlin's Lord Hee-Haw suffers from an inordinate fondness for puns, jingles, name calling, and wisecracks—however feeble; his style is folksy and informal, larded with American idiom. Ridiculing "Roly-poly Windsy" Churchill's state-

ments regarding British losses at sea, he exclaims, "Figures don't lie but liars can figure." Chamberlain he used to call "The Umbrella Man," Eden is "The nincompoop—famous for his good tailor and his bad speeches," and Duff Cooper is referred to as "the other Pharisee."

Kaltenbach's fertile imagination gave birth to the "BLTC" or "British Lion Tamer's Club," (although Fred modestly attributed this honor to George Washington), and to the "New BBC," which was the "Bullitt-Biddle Corporation—Atrocity Manufacturers Unlimited." He also put Monrovia on the map—a mythical American republic that behaved just as Dr. Goebbels would have liked to see the United States behave.

Apparently devoid of any sense of the ridiculous, Kaltenbach earnestly passes on to his listeners the most brazen claims of the Berlin Propaganda Ministry. Thus the German invasion of Russia was excitedly announced as "a close call for Europe." "If Germany hadn't been ready to save Europe from that Red aggression," said Jim (Kaltenbach) to the milkman, Johnny, "those Bolshevists would have walked right through and mowed us down." And Johnny obediently gasped: "Gosh, yes, that was a close call all right for Europe!"

After the President's Fireside Chat of May 27, 1941, Kaltenbach played a record of Mr. Roosevelt's speech cutting in his own comments, e.g.:

Roosevelt: "Every dollar of material we send helps to keep the dictators away from our own hemisphere."

Kaltenbach: "Why this needless concern, Mr. President? Adolf Hitler is a poor sailor. He hates the sea. I am sure he would never undertake a boat trip so far from home."

Roosevelt: "Germany would literally parcel out the world."

Kaltenbach: "Now come, now come, Mr. President. You know as well as I do that Adolf Hitler is not in the real estate business. . . ."

Though Kaltenbach often defeats his own ends with this kind of elephantine humor, he has exercised enough restraint to put over some of Berlin's most vicious propaganda ideas on his broadcasts. In an effort to foment class warfare in this country, Lord Hee-Haw has frequently taken a straight communist line. Attributing all of the world's troubles to the use and existence of money, he has repeatedly suggested that everything would be just fine for the poor working man if money were permanently abolished. He has urged Canadians to secede from the British Empire while simultaneously inciting Americans to annex all of the British possessions in the Western Hemisphere. He has charged that the "Roosevelt Column" was busy stirring up civil war in Latin America so that the United States could "take over." He has clamored for an anti-Semitic pogrom, a sit-down strike against the Administration, and other revolutionary measures.

A good deal of Hee-Haw's time has, of course, been spent telling Americans that Britain's was a lost cause. "Kid London," he would argue, "is outclassed by Socker Berlin," and blithely mixing his metaphors he kept urging "Dear Harry" not to bet his money on "the wrong horse," because, said Kaltenbach solicitously, "I'd sure hate to see my American friends grab the short end of the purse."

Though a fanatical Nazi, Kaltenbach is apparently "too American" for the liking of the German authorities and has been arrested several times for gate-crashing some forbidden ceremony to get first-hand material for his broadcasts.²

ROVING REPORTER

Edward Leopold Delaney of Glenview, Illinois, known to short-wave listeners as E. D. Ward, is the roving reporter

² William L. Shirer, *Berlin Diary* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1941.)

who has carried the microphone of the German radio in the wake of the Reich's conquering armies. As each successive capital fell, E. D. Ward was on the spot to report the entry of Hitler's goosestepping legions, and to sing paeans of praise for the "irresistible might of Greater Germany." He even did a stint in Rome where he waxed more than usually eloquent over the shocking behavior of American diplomats.

When there are no newly conquered cities to visit, Ward operates from the Berlin short-wave station, which introduces him as "an objective observer" for whose views the authorities "are not responsible." This wholly unwarranted claim stems perhaps from the fact that Ward is technically attached to the Foreign Office and not to the *Reichs Rundfunk Gesellschaft*.

Berlin's "objective observer" is a self-styled "Irish-American" and onetime ham actor, burlesque barker, theatrical press agent, and author of tawdry fiction, who has spent most of his life in and around Manhattan or playing stock in this country and in Australia. Delaney was born of a poor Irish family, somewhere in Illinois. His dashing good looks encouraged him to look for a job on the stage. For two years he was on the road in *Get-Rich-Quick Wallingford*, and in 1915 appeared in Australia as The Killer in *Seven Keys to Baldpate*. His first book, *The Lady by Degrees*, appeared in 1934, and was quickly followed by *The Charm Girl*, boosted as "the screamline correspondence of a radio charmer and her girl friend."³

Always somewhat of a mystery man, Delaney bobbed up in New York in the fall of 1939 on a liner that carried survivors of the torpedoed *Athenia*, then promptly shuttled back to Germany and was next heard of at the microphone of the Berlin short-wave station.

³ *Time*, May 20, 1940.

Like most of Berlin's propagandists, he has made a half-hearted attempt to justify his position. "America is my natal land," he confessed one day and went on lamely, "but I'm not so blind that I can't see where we can learn something from others. I myself am one of those most in need of education. . . . I had become a bored and cynical no-man. . . ."

After the close of military operations in France, Ward began to devote increasing attention to the internal affairs of this country. "The real enemies of the United States," he keeps asserting, "are in the service of the Government. Care for American interests went out with the Model-T Ford." "According to confidential reports the Duke of Windsor is going to be the First Viceroy of Britain in Washington," Ward suggests darkly, "sort of assistant to the President. Or would the President be subordinated to him? Who knows? Not the people of America. They'll be told when the details are all worked out—only then. Just now you're being informed in advance by E. D. Ward in Berlin. Good Night."

"PAUL REVERE"

Kaltenbach and Delaney, though they received their share of publicity, were never able to capture the imagination of listeners in the way William Joyce, alias Lord Haw-Haw, had done. So Berlin tried out a third personality on its American audience. In the spring of 1941 German advance program schedules announced dramatically that on April 18, the 166th anniversary of the most famous ride in American history, Paul Revere would ride again—to save Americans from the madness of their corrupt rulers.

On April 18 nothing happened; Berlin mumbled lame apologies and begged listeners to contain their impatience until the following week. This time, preceded by the thudding of hooves and the strains of "Yankee Doodle" on the

piccolo, fife,¹ and drum, Dr. Goebbels' Paul Revere anti-climatically took to the air and stumbled through as crude a program as Berlin had ever given its American listeners. Not long after, smitten with the infectious confession urge of Berlin's Benedict Arnolds, "Paul Revere" blurted out his story, revealing himself to be Chicago-born Douglas Chandler.

Chandler was educated in Baltimore,⁴ tried his hand at the advertising business, and after an interlude as a naval officer in the World War wound up as columnist for the *Baltimore Sunday American*. In 1924 he was married in style at Bar Harbor, Maine, to a descendant of John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the United States. The stock market crash wiped him out, and the subsequent depression and "miasma that enveloped Washington" stifled his adventurous spirit—so he claimed. For a breath of fresh pure air, Chandler betook himself with his wife and two small daughters to Germany, where he eventually worked his way—his speciality was articles on racial subjects—into the serene presence of Adolf Hitler. Some time after the outbreak of war, the German Government "accepted" Chandler's "offer" to broadcast to America. "I was overjoyed because America is my home, and I love it," he explained somewhat illogically. "I am in no way compelled by a need to earn money. . . ."

How well this volunteer radio traitor loved his homeland was quickly demonstrated. Offering to match his two children—now 12 and 16—against "any pair of youngsters producible at home," Chandler argued that credit for their upbringing must be given to "this system"—i.e., National Socialism. Then he went on to refer to his beloved country as "Uncle Sam's flophouse for European down-and-outers," and finally plunged headlong into such propaganda clichés

⁴ *Time*, June 9, 1941.

as that Roosevelt deserved the “meddle medal” for carrying out “Jewish plans for world domination.” Since then Chandler has been just another mouthpiece of Nazi confusion and dissension propaganda. As a candidate for the post of America’s Lord Haw-Haw, “Paul Revere” was a flop.

“PHILADELPHIA SOCIALITE”

Meanwhile, a sort of American Lady Haw-Haw has been clumsily doing her bit for Nazi Germany at the microphone of the Berlin station. Constance Drexel, grandiloquently introduced to listeners as “a Philadelphia socialite and heiress,” is acknowledged even by the Nazis to be “*wirklich dumm*” (just plain stupid), and they concede regretfully that her programs are “*schrecklich*” (terrible). She was hired, they admit, simply because she was the only American woman around willing to sell her voice to Dr. Goebbels.

Constance Drexel, who is approaching her fifties, was years ago a reporter on the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*. Long residence in the Reich causes occasional Germanisms to creep into her speech. Just after the outbreak of war, which found her in Berlin, she was tried out by an American radio network—but promptly dropped.

Drexel’s job has been to sell Nazi *Kultur* and its accomplishments to appeasement-minded Americans. At the beginning of the war she assiduously covered the social activities of the American colony. Later she spent most of her time enthusing over the too, too wonderful cultural life of the Third Reich, based—Miss Drexel asserted—on “those aesthetic principles handed down from Ancient Greece, that is Truth and Beauty.” “I can reassure my compatriots,” she keeps repeating pompously, “that a German victory may mean several good things for us all, including America.”

At times Drexel drops the role of *Kultur* saleswoman for a

more flagrant kind of treachery. One such occasion was when the German Government published documents which allegedly proved American diplomats had encouraged London to declare war with pledges of American support. "I was among those who saw the documents," she assured her listeners, "and had no doubt they were the genuine article." Another time was when the U.S. Government sent the *American Legion* to repatriate American citizens stranded in the war zones. "It is possible," Miss Drexel suggested, "that the government *deliberately* sent the ship through the war zone in the hope that it might create an international incident which would arouse American public opinion to the point of entering the war."

"FIGHTER FOR CATHOLICISM"

A late recruit to the corps of radio traitors is Jane Anderson, presented as "the world-famous Catholic, twice condemned to death by the firing squad in Spain, and whose lectures in the United States were endorsed by the Archbishop of Washington." After the invasion of Russia, traitor Anderson hysterically ballyhooed the Holy Crusade against Bolshevism, all the while proclaiming shrilly that the Roosevelt Administration was guilty of "diabolical, infernal sabotage against the Catholic faith." So venomous does the Nazis' "Fighter for Catholicism" wax on the subject of the U.S. Government that it is quite impossible to tell which is her No. 1 enemy: Russia, Britain, or her own country.

She has charged Roosevelt with holding direct secret radio communication with Joseph Stalin, she has accused the "Red Anti-Christ" of beating children "black and blue for their religion," and has shrilly denounced the infamous Churchill for allying himself with the devil incarnate in the Kremlin.

Jane Anderson is more adventuress than evangelist; she is

not and never has been a bona fide Catholic. If her microphone hysteria is any clue to her personality, she is probably mentally unhinged.

"O.K. SPEAKING"

Among the leading speakers on Berlin's North American service are a man and woman who could not be strictly classed as radio traitors since both are German subjects, though one has lived fifteen years in this country and lays claim to a sort of *Ersatz* Americanism. This speaker is an unusually reticent, German-accented commentator, a Jekyll-and-Hyde personality, who alternately appears as "Dr. Anders," "Dr. Koischwitz," and "Mr. O.K."

As Dr. Anders or Dr. Koischwitz this ubiquitous figure is a highbrow salesman of Nazi *Kultur*. He conducts the so-called "educational" programs—"1000 Years of German History," "Mirror of German Progress," and the "College Hour," a feature specially designed for American students. His approach on these programs is a mixture of tortuous psychology and mystico-fatalism. Sometimes he sees the war as the product of "inscrutable" historical forces, with whose "predestined evolution" America should not presume to interfere. Germany's triumph, he suggests, will be the inevitable triumph of youth and vigor over old age and decay. At other times, he falls back upon the injured-nation argument—that Germany was cheated and humiliated at Versailles and now is seeking "a living space quietly to develop free from outside interference."

As Mr. O.K. this speaker's technique is very different; the pseudoscholar becomes a professional muckraker. Starting off every paragraph with a "confidentially," he poses as "The Man Who Knows," and claims a mysterious insight into the ways in which the American people are being duped by their corrupt leaders. "There are certain facts," O.K. asserts darkly,

each of the occupied countries. In all V broadcasts the speaker was supposed to be Colonel Britton.

The third momentous development in the story of the V was ushered in on the night of June 27, when the V symbol was transcribed into sound. Somebody (perhaps Colonel Britton) had struck upon the idea of incorporating the Morse signal for V into British broadcasts. It immediately occurred to all concerned that this Morse signal (. . . —) was the rhythmic theme of numerous pieces of music, in particular of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, one movement of which, based on this theme, is called "Fate knocking at the door." On his June 27 broadcast, Colonel Britton introduced the V sound to his audience. The next day, the BBC's program for French listeners carried a special feature entirely built around the V sound. Not only were the theme of the Fifth Symphony and the Morse signal abundantly used, but the feature demonstrated in a striking manner how every sound in the daily life of a French village or town could be made into a V: the school mistress calling her children by clapping her hands in V rhythm; trains rattling through the night; dogs barking and cocks crowing at dawn; customers calling for the waiter in the village cafe; the blacksmith hammering on his anvil—all created a V symphony worthy of the best sound effects of a René Clair film. A V song with words of hope and confidence in the liberation of the oppressed countries first went out in the French program service to the accompaniment of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. This was followed by Colonel Britton's broadcast on July 18 announcing for July 20 the mobilization all over Europe of the "V Army," the innumerable battalions of underground resistance. Mr. Winston Churchill sent this message to the people of Europe:

"The V sign is the symbol of the unconquerable will of the people of the occupied territories and of Britain; of the

had spread in a number of European countries, notably in Czechoslovakia, where the letter V recalls the words of John Huss: "*Pravda Vitezi*" (Truth shall prevail), chosen by Masaryk as the motto of his presidential ensign. There the Germans mixed ridicule with punishment in their attempts to stamp out the progress of the V emblem. In France, the Nazi-controlled paper, *Petit Parisien*, under the headline "Idiotic inscriptions make innocent victims," referred to the issuing of 6,200 summonses in Paris against the owners of buildings on which inscriptions had been found. A few days later, Radio Paris stated that the street urchins who scribbled V's on walls had "foretold our Yugoslavian victory." The collaborationist press of Unoccupied France also endeavored to ridicule the "puerile chalking on walls." Ridicule had little effect, and at about the same time it was reported that both in Belgium and in France it had become almost useless to write any more V's on walls and pavements: they were so numerous that a few more or less made no difference.

"COLONEL BRITTON"

The second stage in the V campaign began with the appearance of the mysterious, invisible broadcaster who called himself "Colonel Britton." Britton's identity was one of the most jealously guarded secrets in England; when one American reporter obtained permission to interview him it was on the understanding that the Colonel would remain concealed behind a lofty partition.

Britton, who spoke with the voice mannerisms of the traditional Colonel Blimp, issued the directives for the V-campaign on his Friday night talks for English-speaking listeners in Europe. His instructions were then taken over by the BBC's foreign contingent and broadcast in the language of

scriptions appearing on the walls and were ordered to see to it that the children did not leave school with any chalk in their pockets.

It was from France that most of the evidence of the success of the V campaign reached the BBC. At Angoulême, on April 5, a listener described V's and "Vive de Gaulle" inscriptions as "growing like mushrooms on the best sites, for which advertising firms in peacetime would have paid huge rents." Another said that each morning the front of the Hotel du Roi René at Aix-en-Provence, where the German Armistice Commission was housed, was covered with V's "so that a man has had to be stationed there and does nothing else but wipe them off. It is so in all our towns." At Tarbes, the birthplace of Foch, on April 12, there were V's stuck on all the walls, with the mottoes printed between the two arms of the letter: "France for the French: send the Boches back to Boche-land." "Tarbes gave birth to a victor: she does not want a collaborator."

At Rouen and Le Havre, Feldkommandant von Bartenwerffer published a special order against writers of V's: "As the walls and pavements are covered with inscriptions revealing sympathies for movements and powers hostile to the Germans," he rendered landlords responsible for the inscriptions which might be found on their property and also on "the walls, trees, and lampposts which are near their property. Unless the inscription campaign ceases, the whole population will be fined and punished." Letters from every province of France came in to say that "the Battle of the V's has been won." The pro-Nazi paper, *L'Emancipation Nationale* (quoted by the Swiss paper, *Tagwacht* of May 8) admitted that "the so-called Gaullists had won the battle of the chalk."

Sometimes with the official sanction of the Allied governments in London, sometimes without, the use of the V sign

they are legion. Let the occupier, by seeing this sign, always the same, infinitely repeated, understand that he is surrounded, encircled, by an immense crowd of citizens eagerly awaiting his first moment of weakness, watching for his first failure."

Almost immediately the Oberfeldkommandant at Brussels was compelled to send to the Burgomaster a letter ordering him to take steps to put an end to the writing of V's. Pro-German Flemish separatists had formed an association called VNV; everywhere Belgians struck off these letters and replaced them by VVV, to which they added RAF as an unmistakable sign of their sympathies.

Evidence from Northern France that the appeal of the BBC's Belgian service had been heard and enthusiastically followed suggested the extension of the "V Campaign" to France. The organizers of the French program, "*Les Français parlent aux Français*," prepared a special feature on the V sign which was broadcast on March 22. The next morning the walls of Marseilles were covered with V's. On March 26 an American correspondent cabled to his paper from Vichy that "for several nights" anti-German inscriptions had become so numerous at Moulins that a fine of 400,000 francs was inflicted upon the city; a curfew order was enforced from 7 P.M. and, as a reprisal for their behavior, the inhabitants were not allowed to go out of their houses after 2 P.M. on Sunday, March 30.

The German station, Radio Paris, at once began to complain of a "recrudescence" of inscriptions, drawings, and stickers on the walls of the French capital; on April 2 it broadcast an order announcing that the owner or tenant of any building on which anti-German inscriptions were written would be fined, and that anybody caught chalking on walls or sticking posters would be prosecuted. School teachers in the North of France were made responsible for the in-

express the feelings of both Flemings and Walloons, which could be easily written on walls in the dark, and which would have a meaning in both the national languages of Belgium. Of the letters of the alphabet the easiest to scribble blindfold was the letter V.

On January 14th, 1941, M. de Laveleye said to his fellow-countrymen:

“I am proposing to you as a rallying emblem the letter V, because V is the first letter of the words ‘Victoire’ in French, and ‘Vrijheid’ in Flemish: two things which go together, as Walloons and Flemings are at the moment marching hand in hand: two things which are the consequence one of the other, the victory which will give us back our freedom, the victory of our good friends the English. Their word for Victory also begins with V. As you see, things ‘fit’ all round. The letter V is the perfect symbol of Anglo-Belgian understanding.”

Not many weeks elapsed before news of the chalking of V’s on walls reached the BBC from Belgium, from Northern France, and from Holland, where the Flemish broadcasts of *Radio Belgique* have a faithful audience. The old spirit of *Till Eulenspiegel* was alive against the invader all over the Low Countries. The German army might march through the streets of Brussels with crooked crosses on its flags and on its armbands; but Belgian urchins laughed at them as they raised two fingers in V shape or quickly chalked a V on the pavement on their way to school.

From the first, Victor de Laveleye had thought of the new symbol also as a means of undermining German morale. In his very first broadcast on the V sign he said:

“You have every interest in knowing how many among you want liberation. All the patriots of Belgium must have a rallying emblem; let them multiply this emblem around them; let them see it written everywhere; let them know that

the credit side, namely the inevitable anti-German reaction because of the very fact of occupation. Very soon information received from the occupied countries of the West confirmed tendencies which had already become clear in Czechoslovakia and Poland: the visual expression of their feelings was a permanent need of the oppressed peoples. They were not allowed to exhibit their national colors, or such valued emblems as, for instance, the portrait of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands. Therefore, emblems at once assumed new importance in their eyes: everywhere they were flaunted in the faces of the Germans. Prohibitions became stricter, and the ingenuity of the people was soon at work to find alternative means of expression. In Holland, people offering a banknote in payment for the smallest purchase began to fold it the shape of a W; orange bus tickets were greatly treasured and placed in their hatbands by patriotic Hollanders; and it soon became clear that any British broadcasts giving publicity to such methods of visual expression were particularly successful. These broadcasts gave ideas to large numbers of Frenchmen, Belgians, and Dutchmen, who quickly put them into effect, very often with improvements. But there still remained to be found a symbol which could express not only the patriotism of one or another country, but their common will to resist the Germans until the day when they could successfully throw them out. What was needed was a symbol of European solidarity and co-operation.

The choice of the V symbol for use in all the BBC's European broadcasts was the result of trial and error combined with a certain amount of elementary planning. Victor de Laveye, the BBC's Belgian program organizer, had taken interest in the problem of the visual expression of Belgium's will to resist. He was dealing with the particularly difficult problem of a bilingual country. After much thought he came to the conclusion that a symbol was necessary which could

CHAPTER XIV

V FOR VICTORY

*Do not give way,
Never despair,
We'll get them yet.
Hitler beware!*

*Chalk up a V
On every wall
Till you are free.*

*Show the vile Hun
That you've no fear.
And that you know
Victory's near.*

*Hitler beware!
Do not forget,
Chalk up a V.*

ONE of the problems that confronted the BBC broadcasts to Europe at the time of France's collapse was how best to counteract the effect of the physical presence of the Germans on the people in the occupied countries. Not only was Germany able to broadcast all day long in the language of any given occupied country whereas Britain's time and transmitter facilities were limited, but the weight of German propaganda was increased by the printed word (skillfully manipulated by Goebbels' agents) and by the actual presence of Germans in the streets of every occupied town and village. Britain and her Allies in London had to depend on the spoken word. Germany also had available other powerful means of propaganda—those which appeal to the eye and its vivid memories.

It so happened, however, that a great asset remained on

of the BBC's German speakers have been distinguished Englishmen of left-wing views—liberal intellectuals, trades union leaders, and Labor M.P.'s. One of the hardest-hitting regular spokesmen on these transmissions is Lindley Fraser, professor of political economy at the University of Aberdeen and former visiting fellow of Princeton University and Brookings Institute in Washington, D.C. Thomas Mann has written a monthly program for this service. Vincent Sheean has broadcast several times during visits to London; Quentin Reynolds has addressed a talk to "Shicklgruber," and followed it up with another to "Schicklgruber's gabby little man, Goebbels."

WILLI: Less than that nowadays. It seems the insurance companies have recently reduced this estimate to about forty-six days.

KURT: But that's murder. We can't carry on our U-boat campaign at this rate!

WILLI: You might be right, Kurt. Doesn't seem like it.

KURT: But then, how are we going to conquer that damned Island? I suppose by invasion, after we have finished with Russia.

WILLI: Yes—*after*. Perhaps we can't wait that long. Strictly between ourselves, we still have a lot of air-borne troops in Norway.

KURT (*thrilled*): So that's the idea. I always thought the Fuehrer had something up his sleeve, Willi. That's grand; our Fuehrer is a genius.

WILLI: Hm . . . what d'you think? If a U-boat sailor on active service lives forty-six days—I wonder what's the life of an air-borne soldier? Compared with these lads, the U-boat men will probably seem like Methuselahs.

KURT (*shocked*): I've told you before, Willi, its intolerable how you speak in that high cynical way about these matters. It's disgusting.

WILLI (*dryly*): You're right, Kurt, it is disgusting. War and death are disgusting. In fact the only way we propagandists can keep ourselves from vomiting daily is by adopting what we call 'a high cynical' attitude. Well, I must be going. *Heil Hitler*, Kurt.

KURT: *Heil Hitler*, Willi. (*Thoughtfully to himself*) The average life of a U-boat man is forty-six days.

What of the voices that carry Britain's message to the German people? Most of them are anonymous; they are the voices of political exiles who before the outbreak of war were forced to flee the wrath of the Nazis. But a number

KURT: America? I don't understand at all.

WILLI: You see, at one time we used to shout a lot, especially to other countries, that England was starving. And the result was that every second family in America started sending food parcels to England, which in fact was not necessary at all.

KURT: These damned Americans—always interfering with other people's business. Never mind, our U-boats will soon stop that.

WILLI: Kurt, you unlucky bird, why must you keep on speaking about things which must not be mentioned?

KURT: You are not going to tell me that we aren't really sinking any English ships?

WILLI: My dear Kurt, there is a similar hitch as with the hunger story. If we go on announcing the sinking of millions of tons a month as we have until now, we shall soon have sunk the entire British merchant navy, and then the *Volks-genossen* will start asking themselves awkward questions. Confidentially, that's the reason why we only claimed to have sunk 400,000 tons last month.

KURT: Yes, but I heard a different explanation of that on the radio. These long summer days have been unfavorable for U-boats.

WILLI: And last winter the Fuehrer said that the long summer days were just the right time for U-boats.

KURT: Did he? Bless my soul! So he did! I remember. But tell me, Willi, which *is* the best time for U-boats?

WILLI: Well, no season at all, it seems. We learnt something very disquieting at the Ministry the other day. Life insurance companies in Switzerland and other neutral countries have always estimated the average life of a U-boat man on active service at sixty-two days.

KURT: Sixty-two days? Is that all a U-boat man can expect to live? My God!

grocer; she was complaining that she had no vegetables, and why was that? The papers had said there would be plenty of vegetables this summer—a high tide of vegetables. Usual grumbles by women. I had to give her a lecture.

WILLI: Dear me, Kurt, you ought to be in my profession; you are a born propagandist. But tell me, how did you explain away this absence of vegetables to the poor woman?

KURT: I said there was no real lack, the actual reason is the lack of transport, and that our transport must be used in the first place for our troops in the east to supply them with everything. This must be understood by every good German. It's the shortage of wagons.

WILLI: And the ships.

KURT: Ships? Why what have the ships to do with it?

WILLI: Quite a lot, my dear Kurt. The fact is that Germany is almost as dependent on shipping as England. But we propagandists take great care not to mention it.

KURT: I don't get you, Willi. Ships? We are not an island.

WILLI: Nevertheless in peacetime a large part of our transport was by water. When our ships are sunk, naturally our railways can't hope to cope with the overburden and strain.

KURT: But I didn't know that our ships were being sunk.

WILLI: I bet you didn't. There are a lot of things between Heaven and earth—or sky and water—which you don't know, and we propagandists keep absolutely mum about.

KURT: Anyway, I am glad the English are worse off than we are. They must be nearly starving. By the way, I am surprised you propagandists don't make more of that point.

WILLI: We told the Press to pipe down on this, too.

KURT: For heaven's sake, why?

WILLI: Because you see if we go on saying truly and honestly that the English are starving, next year the *Volks-genossen* will want to know why they are still alive and fighting. Besides, there is this trouble with America.

“But there *was* a second winter, and a third is at hand.” And so it goes.

Dramatization, perhaps the most powerful way of presenting propaganda, has been skillfully exploited by the BBC in programs ranging from an amusing parody of the Cologne Carnival—complete with fanfares, music, and all the appropriate sound effects—to the gripping serial *Vormarsch Der Freiheit*, a sort of “March of Time,” which dramatized the struggle against Nazism. One deeply moving episode in the *Vormarsch* depicted the trial of Belgian civilians before a German court-martial; another reconstructed the raid on the Lofoten Islands; a third presented a life of Mr. Churchill.

Then there are informal dialogues that quietly put across some telling propaganda thrusts. There is Frau Wernicke, the Berlin washerwoman, who has never become a Nazi. She chatters in the shopping queues or in an air-raid shelter and innocently makes fools of the Nazis with their own arguments. Her indiscretions once landed her in a concentration camp for a while; but the BBC saw fit to have her released and brought back on to the air again in splendid form.

Another regular “character” of the BBC’s German-language transmissions is Lance-Corporal Adolf Hirnschal, who, in letters to his “beloved wife Amalia,” exposes the simple doubts, fears, and grouses of the common soldier.

There are also “Kurt and Willi”—Kurt Kruger, a naïve schoolmaster, and Willi Schimaski, a hard-boiled official from the Propaganda Ministry—who meet regularly for a drink and a chat at their favorite café near the Potsdamer Platz. Kurt is one of those Germans who innocently swallow the Party “line,” but is disillusioned at every turn by the cynical Willi. This is how it goes:

WILLI: *Heil Hitler*, Kurt. Sit down, the brandy is waiting.

KURT: *Heil Hitler*, Willi. Sorry I’m late. It was the green-

order will once and for all do away with the mob rule of party fanatics and insane leaders, terrorists, spies and cut-throats, bullies and blackmailers, gangsters and brutes."

Such is the substance of the BBC's psychological offensive against German morale. The forms it has taken are many and various, some of them the most ingenious devised in radio warfare.

British radio has shown remarkable thoroughness in slanting programs for the different sections of its German-speaking audience. There are broadcasts at dawn designed for workers getting ready to set out for the factory, and in the afternoon for the middle classes, civil servants, and intellectuals. Two talks a week deal specifically with labor problems, and once a week a talk is directed to peasants. The German armed forces have their special programs in which music and propaganda are skillfully interwoven. There are special programs for the Austrians and others in the dialects of Berlin and of the Rhineland. In most of these broadcasts the names of prisoners are read, four or five at a time at the middle or toward the end, as a bait for listeners. After the sinking of the *Bismarck*, the BBC broadcast the names of the survivors, fifteen each day.

One of the most telling propaganda devices used in this war has been the BBC's practice of playing snatches from recordings of speeches by Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels, to prove the men liars by their own words. Hitler is heard screaming: "I want no Czechs." The announcer adds pointedly: "The Chancellor said he wanted no Czechs—but he did the opposite." "Hitler predicted the immediate defeat of England," says the BBC, and a record reminds the listener of the Fuehrer's boasts. "That was eighteen months ago," the announcer recalls gleefully, "but England is still going strong." "Hitler promised there would be no second winter of war, remember?" Again the Fuehrer's voice is cut in.

his behind. Every German victory widens the areas that can be attacked. There is the eternal danger of a violent war at sea, in the air, and on land. And from within, there is the constantly growing resistance, at once open and underground, of those sullen and invisible soldiers who are preparing the European revolution. This is the course chosen by the man who claims to walk with the unerring intuition of a somnambulist, a course that leads to defeat, chaos, destruction, and a final downfall into utter darkness." "Naturally," the BBC adds bitingly, "you will hear much more victory talk from the German radio. Goebbels, unless his throat is cut in the interim, will fight to the last microphone. It will all go to the time of the Wagner opera *Götterdämmerung*, which you may translate as the Dusk of the Gang."⁶

However awesome its prophecies, however sinister its warnings, the British radio is careful to remind the German listener that *he* is not the enemy. "You too, German listeners," it points out sympathetically, "you too are living in an occupied country. The judges will not pass sentence on the German people but on the regime that the German people has been forced to endure since 1933. We know the abyss there is between the leaders of the Third Reich and *you*. When the day comes for revenge do not let it be halted, as it was in 1918. Do not let anyone else do the work of revenge for you. Let the German people itself rise up and exact punishment!"

What then is the role of Britain? It is to lead the renaissance of a new Europe. "Destiny has entrusted England with the leadership of the freedom-loving, national, revolutionary forces in Europe. The collapse of the National Socialist interlude is bound to come. In Germany there have so far been three revolutions. The fourth is approaching. A true

⁶ Siegfried Wagener. "We're Listening," *Chicago Times*.

tive capacity is nearly twice as large as that of all Europe. America demonstrated this in 1919 when she had shipbuilding facilities sufficient to build 80 large liners of the size of the Bremen. Every German soldier should know what that means.”⁴ Speakers fresh from this country—Vincent Sheean, Erika Mann, and others—have warned of the dreaded consequences of American intervention. “In one way or another,” concludes the BBC, “the North American continent is likely to provide the answer to the Axis.”

Unrest in Europe, the terrifying prospect of a revolt of the nations enslaved by Hitler, is another theme with which the BBC seeks to implant fear and defeatism in the minds of its German listeners. A “well-known Belgian Socialist” declares: “The Belgian people wants to be free and will be. And the more criminal the rule of the oppressor, the more terrible will be the final reckoning.” A Dutchman tells of clashes with the Nazis in Holland, and adds sardonically: “The bodies of Germans who have fallen into canals are being found with increasing frequency.” The Norwegians are said to have put up large signs in their cities during the night ordering all loyal citizens to stay away from the German movies, which are fit only “for Quislings and prostitutes.” In one of the BBC’s gripping dramatizations a priest, under torture, admits: “There is a man who hates the Nazis. He will never submit.” The Nazi inquisitor asks: “Who is he?” *The Priest*: “A Czech.” *The Nazi*: “I know. But where does he live?” *The priest, dying*: “EVERYWHERE!”⁵

In this light, what are Hitler’s much-vaunted conquests but a source of greater weakness? “‘No one climbs so high as he who does not know where he is climbing’,” says the British radio, quoting Oliver Cromwell. “A tyrant is like a baboon. The higher he climbs the tree, the more he exposes

⁴ Siegfried Wagener. “We’re Listening,” *Chicago Times*.

⁵ *Ibid.*

for discontent. For the workers it has denounced "the riotous living of the Party bosses," and has attacked "Ley's bastard socialism, which is really an imperialism of the worst sort—an exploitation by a ruling class." For the small savers, it has played up the inevitability of inflation: "The tendency toward an uncontrolled credit inflation is increasing. When one person after another wishes to draw out his savings, you will discover that there is no money to pay you back." And the housewife has been sharply reminded that in Germany: "Fats are scarce; beer has considerably risen in price; coffee has disappeared. The collapse of retail trade is admitted even in print."

Despite the success of German arms, the specter of a defeat far more terrible than that of 1918 is constantly held up before the eyes of German listeners. Confronted by the limitless resources of the British Empire, by the vast industrial power of a United States pledged to the destruction of Hitlerism, and by the spreading unrest in Europe, what can the Germans hope for but a long and exhausting war certain to end in defeat and bloody revolution? Thus reasons the BBC. But to this hideous prospect it invariably offers a common-sense alternative: Revolution—a quick excision of the Nazi cancer that will restore peace, freedom, and the decencies of life to every German.

"First defeat, then revolution," is a favorite theme of the British radio. "It is possible to win so many campaigns, so many battles that it kills you. The Germans always win every battle but the last, the final one. The last battle has yet to be fought. And when it comes we here in England have no doubts as to its outcome."

Not one day has gone by without Germans being reminded that the American colossus is aligned against them and is "engaged in destroying Germany." "The United States is now waging all-out war against Germany. America's produc-

Day in, day out, the British radio has attacked "the Nazi parasites—men who have made a sewer of the German language," and has denounced in picturesque language the manifold sins of Goebbels ("the jackal"), Goering ("the dope fiend"), Streicher ("the very mention of his name makes decent Germans want to rinse their mouths"), Himmler, and all the others. "Think of the crimes and corruption of your leaders," exclaims a British spokesman. "These leaders speak of equal sacrifices for all. It makes me want to laugh! Has Goebbels told you of his castle, his country house, and a 50-room mansion in Berlin? And Goering too needs *Lebensraum*—a hunting place, a large Berlin mansion, and a summer resort at Dach. The eight years of the Nazi regime have been fat years for the Nazi leaders but lean ones for the German people. . . . You get a full ration of lies, but only a half-ration of bread."

"National Socialism," the BBC declares, "has occupied so much of German soil that there is hardly any room left for real Germans. It is a beast, something rather like an enormous bedbug. . . . And what good does the greed of the party bosses do the German worker? How much longer will he stand it? Not until Nazi rule is annihilated, banished forever from Germany and from Europe will it be possible to build a new and better order. . . . Germany's New Order is an age-old capitalistic maneuver designed to break the solidarity of the workers. But you are strong, and we trust you, German workers, German soldiers, German women, to use rightly the power that lies in your hands. One day there will be revolution in Germany that will liberate the people. And when it comes, Nazism will go and there will be an end to espionage, to torture, to hunger and to hunger wages, and the Ministry of Propaganda will perish."

In playing up the theme of social justice the BBC has not neglected to focus its listeners' attention on specific causes

—and then to wreck the Nazi offensive with Fifth Column work.

Twelve men and women are responsible for the French-language transmissions of the BBC. They include a painter, a famous cartoonist, an actor from the Comédie Française, several newspapermen, a cinema technician, and a soubrette from the Paris stage.

To Italy the BBC broadcasts five news bulletins a day, and on this service Colonel Stevens, formerly British military attaché in Rome, has become an established personality. Evidence that he has a wide following in Italy is provided by Radio Roma's persistent attempts to "jam" his programs. But Italian "jamming," like the Italian army, is apt to mistake the time and lose its way into the bargain, and has at most only a slight nuisance value.

The European Service also includes five periods a day in Dutch, one specially designed for Dutch seamen, and four periods in Polish, in Czech, and in Norwegian. On the latter King Haakon and the Crown Prince have spoken a number of times. The Belgians, who of course are covered by the French service, also have a special program in Flemish on alternate days. News is broadcast three times daily in Serbo-Croat and Turkish, twice daily in Danish, Greek, Magyar, Spanish, and Rumanian, once in Albanian, Bulgarian, Finnish, Slovene, and Swedish.

The BBC sends out four hours of German-language programs a day—eight newscasts and four special features. This service differs radically from anything else put out by British radio and has been the subject of much controversy in England, where many have objected strongly to what they consider the totalitarian-style propaganda techniques employed. Whether the use of such methods would shock or even be noticed by anyone conditioned to Dr. Goebbels' outpourings seems highly doubtful.

is the backbone, but talks, sketches, dramatizations, and other feature programs have an important place.

The BBC's French-language service is undoubtedly its most effective and has a tremendous audience, judging from the thousands of letters that have reached the BBC through underground channels and by ordinary mail from the so-called unoccupied area. It consists of six daily newscasts, a morning and evening "magazine" program, each lasting half an hour, and several special features. On these broadcasts the BBC has been particularly successful in launching slogans and ditties—set to the tunes of popular songs—that have caught on all over France. "Musso" was the butt of one ballad set to the music of "Funiculi, funicula," while another, based on the catchy refrain of the pre-war hit "Why Does My Heart Go Boom?" sang of the spirit of England and mocked the "Glous-glous" who lived in mortal terror of a watery death in the Channel. The French transmissions of the British radio have also presented wartime dramatizations on such themes as England's increasing strength and the exploits of the Free French forces.

Radio has played a more directly military role by serving as the channel through which instructions on resistance to the Nazis have regularly been issued. So eagerly did Frenchmen respond to the initial orders to oppose the invader with all the means in their power that the British and the Free French leaders in London were forced to enjoin them to go more slowly and not recklessly throw away their lives. Listeners were counseled not to attempt to escape to England without careful preparations, and were later urged by General de Gaulle himself not to kill Nazis until Britain was ready to come to their aid. However, when Frenchmen were called upon to join Hitler's "Holy Crusade" against Russia, the British Radio encouraged them to volunteer for service

for the first time gave the BBC the initiative in the war of nerves.

By the winter of 1940, the lackadaisical approach, the out-moded prejudices, and the pussyfooting politeness which had characterized the early broadcasts of the BBC had to a large extent disappeared. In their place appeared a firmer touch and a new verve, while in its special features British radio showed increasing versatility and imagination.

In its code of ethics the BBC has worked out a more realistic policy. On the score of truth it has sought in general to live up to pre-war standards. As far as possible "news" and "views" are kept separate and distinct, and in the former the conventions of factual reporting are strictly observed: Hitler, for instance, remains Hitler or even Herr Hitler, and the enemy is still the enemy, without benefit of adjectival adornment. In talks, features, and dramatizations, however, British radio has become more outspoken; Il Duce may be referred to as "the roaring bullfrog," Goebbels as "Hitler's jackal," and the Nazis as "bloodstained murderers"—a change in policy which causes some of the more conservative souls in England to shake their heads in disapproval. Not that the BBC—except in its German-language transmissions—goes in for name-calling on any large scale; it has simply stopped pulling its punches. While British propaganda remains fundamentally different in character from the hate and hokum of the Axis, it has begun to pack a powerful load of verbal TNT in the word-shells aimed at the continent of Europe.

The BBC's main European service is on the air twenty hours a day, and a second service carries broadcasts for Spain, Portugal, the Balkans, and the Scandinavian countries. All European languages are covered, including Albanian, Icelandic, and Luxembourg patois. In these transmissions news

had a distasteful sound to English ears, and was generally associated with the lies, bluster, and name-calling favored by the totalitarian powers. It was considered undemocratic, ungentlemanly, something essentially "foreign." Further, the BBC was proud of the standards of truth, honesty, and good taste it had striven to maintain, and felt that these standards would go by the board if it were to embark upon high-pressure propaganda. In this uncomfortable frame of mind, British radio set out to wage war against the most formidable propaganda machine ever created, one developed by years of experience to a high point of efficiency, unfettered by any standards of decency or fair play, and backed by an army and an air force before which the European neutrals quailed.

By and large the first efforts of the BBC to fight a gentlemanly propaganda war against an expert and unscrupulous enemy were conspicuously unsuccessful. The early broadcasts were dull, unimaginative, lacking in pace and vigor, and there was no co-ordination with the French radio. But through disaster came progress. After the Norwegian campaign a decided improvement was noticeable in the caliber of British transmissions, which had just been fortified with an appropriation of \$15,750,000 for the coming year. Mr. Duff Cooper's appointment to the Ministry of Information resulted in the infusion of more "pep" into BBC programs, and the fall of France ended what might be termed the "formative" period of British radio propaganda. The loss of Britain's major continental ally left to the BBC the whole burden of waging war by radio against the Axis, and it set about tackling the job in somewhat the same spirit as the RAF braced itself to trade blows with the *Luftwaffe*. The third or aggressive period in British broadcasting was inaugurated by the V-for-Victory campaign, which was the most conspicuous allied victory on the psychological front and

from hand to hand, and in Czechoslovakia anything broadcast by the BBC is known throughout the country within a few hours. Some continental papers have even printed jokes about children telling the time from the emptiness of the streets at the hours when the BBC is on the air.

One of the most striking concrete achievements of the BBC was its success in bringing back into the struggle against Hitler the soldiers, sailors, and fliers of the nations defeated by the Reich's armies but not conquered in spirit. After the fall of France, the facilities of the British radio were at once thrown open to the Polish commander-in-chief and to the Czech military administration in London. Messages were transmitted instructing Polish and Czech soldiers with the French armies to keep in touch with the British command; Czech and Polish pilots in France were told to fly planes to Britain, and those in North Africa were told to seek out the nearest British landing ground. Within a few months hundreds of these fliers and thousands of Czech and Polish soldiers were fighting in Britain's armed forces.

Of still greater strategic importance was the role of the British radio in snatching the merchant shipping of conquered countries from the grasp of the Nazis. In response to messages sent out by the BBC, hundreds of sea captains of the nations attacked by Hitler steered their ships into British ports and thereafter have sailed the seas in the service of the allied cause.

The propaganda problem confronting the policy makers of the BBC was one of terrifying complexity. The European Service, started on September 27, 1938, when Mr. Chamberlain's speech on the eve of Munich was broadcast in French, German, and Italian, was less than a year old when Germany invaded Poland, and had until then consisted mainly of factual news bulletins in which any propaganda bias was largely unconscious. The very word "propaganda," in fact,

fact that their fellow countrymen are “intoxicated by the mirages of the BBC.”³

Norwegians who have escaped to England have reported that in Norway it is considered “bad form” to ring up friends or call on them during the hours when the BBC is broadcasting in Norwegian, and that far more people listen to London than to their own German-controlled home stations. Confirmation of the BBC’s success in Norway has come from the Germans themselves. In August, 1941, General Wilhelm Redeiss, Nazi chief of Police for Norway, admitted in an interview with the *Deutsche Zeitung* that the pro-British group was “gaining for its anti-German plans”; he blamed British broadcasts for “increasing instances of impudence and provocative behavior to uniformed and civilian Germans.” Shortly after this—so devastating was the effect of British, and American, programs—Gauleiter Terboven felt compelled to order that all receiving sets in Oslo and the vicinity be confiscated. Even then he had to resort to a house-by-house round-up by the military to bludgeon the Norwegian civilians into surrendering their radios.

Travelers from Denmark have reported that almost every household tunes in regularly to England. In Holland, both the BBC’s newscasts and its Free Dutch Government program, “Radio Oranje,” are well received and have intensified resistance to the Nazis. In Poland, where the Germans have made even the possession of a receiving set illegal, it is known that two-men suicide squads take down and mimeograph the texts of British (and American) broadcasts, which are then widely circulated in leaflet form. Forty-five minutes after the fall of Tobruk to the Allies was announced, the news was flashed by grapevine across the country. Indeed, among all of the conquered countries clandestine news sheets based on the bulletins of the British radio are circulating

³ Ivor Brown, “Getting The World’s Ear,” *The Listener*, March 6, 1941.

United States that Germans were disregarding the ban on listening to foreign broadcasts “with astounding openness,” and those who respected it were considered “great cowards.” A Nazi paper, the *Flensburger Nachrichten*, even angrily admitted that “Some Party Members are still seduced to listen for foreign broadcasts and spread them further.” So popular is bootleg listening that the Gestapo has long lists of offenders whom it cannot arrest because there would not be enough room for them in all of the jails in Germany. It contents itself with cracking down on those relaying “foreign propaganda”—if it can catch them.

But the Germans have a number of ways of telling their friends what the *auslaendische Rundfunk* is saying: “Last night I dreamt the British bombed Hamburg,” or “Herr Pinneberger tells me they’re having a hot spell in Duesseldorf.” Somehow the word gets around.

In Paris one day an American visited a large department store and was flabbergasted to discover a long line of customers in front of the shoe counter. He learned that they were all taking the British radio’s advice—to buy as many pairs of shoes as possible before the Nazis plundered all remaining stocks.²

After one of its broadcasts to France, the BBC received as many as 139 letters. A Frenchman, signing himself “*un ancien combattant*,” wrote in to say: “Although I am in occupied France, *with the invaders in our very house*, we listen to your transmissions, which are of course forbidden. According to conversations I hear the whole of France listens to you.” In July 1941, the Royalist daily, *L’Action Française*, complained that “too many” Frenchmen persisted in listening to the British radio and drawing their information from it, and pro-Axis French writers have repeatedly deplored the

² John B. Whitton, “War by Radio,” *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1941.

CHAPTER XIII

THE BBC INVADES THE CONTINENT

*“To erect a dam of truth against the
Never-ceasing torrent of lies and rumors.”*

AMONG the Nazi authorities in the occupied countries of Europe there is great indignation over the spread of a crime so heinous it has been branded with the black name of “Churchillism.” This crime, as defined by a Nazi publication, consists in “sitting in cafés in order to spread insiduously lying rumors broadcast by the radio of London, according to which London is always right and Berlin is always wrong.”¹

The Nazis’ increasing concern over “Churchillism is just one proof of the success of the BBC’s psychological invasion of the continent. There are many others. From the persistent “jamming” of BBC German-language programs and the pains taken by the Nazis to counter on their home service the arguments advanced on these transmissions, it is clear that the British radio has a sizable audience within the Reich, despite spying and savage persecutions. In 1940 nearly 1,500 men and women in Germany proper were sent to concentration camps or had their heads cut off for listening to foreign broadcasts. Yet the following summer, reports reached the

¹ Pierre Lazareff and Waverley Root, “Uncensored,” August 7, 1941. Syndicated by Press Alliance, Inc.

affairs, for example when the Annual Estimate for broadcasting is presented. Before war broke out, it was decided that, in the event of war, the BBC should work closely under the guidance of the Ministry of Information. The liaison between the Ministry and the BBC involves close daily co-operation. The regular meeting on policy held by the Minister are attended by BBC representatives, and representatives of the Ministry attend similar meetings by the BBC."

The BBC is not, however, an official mouthpiece. Its news service is not provided by the Government—though many people wrongly assume this to be the case. When Mr. Duff Cooper was Minister of Information he declared: "I am all in favor of permitting not only violent statements to be made by independent persons but criticisms of the Government. . . . I believe it is right that we should keep the BBC as a public forum—in so far as it does not interfere with the prosecution of the war—where all opinions should be freely voiced." Thus the censorship applied to BBC broadcasts does not go beyond the general principle of wartime censorship in Britain; that is to say, it is military, not political. So long as no information valuable to the enemy is disclosed BBC speakers are free to say pretty much what they please short of making defeatist or seditious utterances

ernment. It is an independent, non-profit-making body financed by the ten-shilling license fee of every radio listener in England. It has no shareholders and no sponsored programs. Its Board of Governors consisting of seven members is appointed by the Cabinet. The Board of Governors has met regularly all through the war to transact their business.

The *BBC Handbook* (1941) explains the present status of the Corporation as follows: "The Corporation maintains broadcasting stations under License from the Postmaster-General, with whom it has also an Agreement containing certain general provisions as to the way in which the broadcasting service shall be carried on. At the beginning of the war certain of the powers reserved to the Postmaster-General were transferred to the Minister of Information. The powers thus transferred relate mainly to program matters, hours of broadcasting and the possible control of the service in emergency. In peacetime the Postmaster-General had the right, in case of emergency, to take over the BBC's stations. No Postmaster-General has ever used this power, nor was it exercised at the outbreak of war. The right still stands, but it has been transferred in wartime to the Minister of Information.

"Another power thus transferred to the Minister is that of veto over programs. The Minister is authorized, as was the Postmaster-General in peacetime, to require the Corporation to refrain from sending any broadcast matter, either particular or general, that he may specify by a notice in writing. The only *general* restriction in force today upon the matter that may be broadcast is a veto upon the broadcasting by the BBC of its own opinions upon current affairs; the BBC has always been under this restriction. . . . Under the License and Agreement, Government Departments can, on request, secure that their special announcements are broadcast.

"Parliament has regular opportunities for discussing BBC

and one activities and problems implied in the organization of a nation in wartime.

In addition radio proved itself the most convenient and effective vehicle for instructions on first aid, fire fighting, et cetera, and has given the lead to several nationwide campaigns. The listener was exhorted to look out in the black-out, to save and salvage, to avoid careless talk and to silence rumors, to evacuate his children and stay put himself, to shop economically and cook wisely.¹ The "Dig for Victory" campaign brought with it talks on how to grow food; and a certain Mr. Middleton, famous in England for his talks on gardening, instead of holding forth on carnations, waxed eloquent over carrots and string beans. Bulletins and educational features for farmers were widely expanded. Cookery talks became a daily feature and were enlivened by original methods of presentation. For example, two well-known variety stars, "Gert and Daisy," staged a skit which educated the housewife without her noticing it. Recipes for new dishes that would make the best of wartime rations won a regular place on the Home Service—and incidentally will probably have a permanently beneficial effect on British cuisine. They are given at 8:15 A.M. and have an average audience of five and a half million. British radio also went Spartan for the first time and began broadcasting two sets of early morning exercises set to music. The BBC's audience research bureau reports that about a million women and three-quarters of a million men perform their daily dozen to this musical accompaniment. There is one old lady of ninety-five who does both sets of exercises.

The status of the BBC in war as in peacetime is not comparable to anything in the American radio setup. The British Broadcasting Corporation is incorporated under royal charter and is *owned* by the British people, not by the Gov-

¹ *BBC Handbook*, 1941.

became in effect an alternative to the Home Service for listeners of all kinds. The emphasis is on light entertainment, the primary purpose being to provide programs suitable for group listening in canteens, barracks, and dugouts. Typical programs are "Any Questions?" a quiz feature on the lines of "Information Please"; "Radio Reconnaissance," in which vital topics of the day are briefly analyzed by experts; "The Crowd Roared," a reconstruction of history-making sporting events; and "Partnerships," which dramatizes the story of how famous entertainment teams first came together and achieved success.

The business of "keeping in touch" receives special attention on the Forces Program. For troops from the Empire there are weekly "letters" describing events in their home countries. The Canadians have their "Beaver Club Quiz," while for the Indians there is a special Sunday morning broadcast in Hindustani. A series of "Voices from Home" programs, designed to soften the hardships of separation, carries greetings—accompanied by request musical numbers—from parents, relatives, and sweethearts to British and Empire troops serving abroad, and from the dominion and colonial contingents in England to their folks in Canada, the West Indies, Australia, New Zealand, and other parts of the Empire.

Another major if more prosaic role of British radio in wartime has been to convey to citizens on the home front the host of new regulations and instructions entailed by modern war. For this purpose a special period was set aside at a peak listening time, and on it have been broadcast details of the measures for the evacuation of children, the ABC of air-raid precautions, blackout instructions for householders and motorists, how to register for ration books or enroll as a blood transfusion volunteer—in fact, all the thousand

and of the home front, playwright J. B. Priestley has become a national institution.

Perhaps the most outstanding of all the wartime programs of the BBC are its serialized dramatizations, spectacularly presented with background music and elaborate sound effects. Of these the most memorable to date has been "The Shadow of the Swastika," which, with thirty-five actors and actresses and a thirty-five-piece orchestra, faithfully reconstructed the rise to power of the Nazi Party and the reasons why Britain went to war with Germany.

Listener participation—an important means of heightening the sense of national unity—has been widely developed by the BBC. The microphone has been set up in canteens and factories during the luncheon hour, and concerts have been provided by artists chosen from the workers themselves. There have been regular broadcasts from air-raid shelters, with microphone interviews, or songs and turns by the shelterees themselves. Spelling bees have been conducted between teams representing the air-raid spotters, fire fighters, and other services. A solemn precedent has been broken to introduce running competitions with hundred-pound prizes, the proceeds of which go to war charities. The first of these brought in half a million entries each with a two pence half-penny stamp for the Red Cross Fund.

Another wartime innovation is "Music While You Work"—mid-morning and mid-afternoon programs specially designed to lessen strain and alleviate the monotony of work in factories. These broadcasts are heard by 750,000 men and women, and factory managers report that they have had an important effect on the morale and efficiency of British labor.

On February 1, 1940, the "Program for the Forces" was added to the Home Service. Opening with a 6:30 A.M. reveille and running on until 11 P.M., it was originally designed to serve the British troops then in France, but soon

scene of Britain's war effort. They have spoken from an airplane, made recordings on an Atlantic convoy, and broadcast an eyewitness account of "How it feels to be in a tank in action"—the latter from the Libyan front. They have repeatedly been under fire, and on one occasion two were machine-gunned by a Messerschmitt while recording a dogfight over the Channel. In another memorable broadcast from Hell-Fire Corner by these tin-helmeted radio men, British listeners heard the shellfire of the first German long-range artillery bombardment of the port of Dover. BBC correspondents have broadcast from the Maginot Line, from Finland, from the front lines during the Battle of France, and from the war fronts in North Africa.

The defense of Britain has been vividly dramatized by the BBC in such programs as "Spitfire over England," "If the Invader Comes," "Watchers of the Sky," "Balloon Barrage," "Swept Channels," an account of the perilous work of the minesweepers by the famous British writer "Taffrail," and "Battle of the Flames," the story of London's fire fighters told by Herbert Morrison, Minister of Home Security. Similarly Britain has been depicted on the offensive in "Bomber over Berlin," "The Work of the Corvettes," and "The Patrol of the *Salmon*." The contribution of Britain's allies has been described in "*Vivat Polonia*," "Czechoslovakia Fights On," and "Comrades in Freedom," in which Free Frenchmen, Dutchmen, and Norwegians have participated, while the increasingly important role being played by women in this war receives recognition in "Women Hitting Back," and "Calling All Women."

One of the most popular wartime "actualities" has been the "Postscript" to the 9 o'clock news. In this, pilots, naval gunners, ambulance drivers, fire fighters, members of all the services, have told their stories, while on the Sunday-night Postscript, which gives a brief survey of the state of the war

phies of such figures as Swift, Whistler, and Samuel Butler proved highly successful.

Variety, with a wartime twist, became more popular than ever, and several BBC shows acquired a following similar to that of the more successful "soap operas" in this country. An outstanding favorite was a program with the transatlantic title of "Hi, Gang!" and a transatlantic cast consisting of Vic Oliver, Bebe Daniels, and Ben Lyon. Incidentally, the title of one of the BBC's shows, "It's That Man Again!" became the standard announcement in movie theaters to inform the audience that an air raid had begun.

Wartime broadcasting naturally brought a great increase in talks by Cabinet Ministers and other Government spokesmen, who explained the work of their individual departments or commented on the progress of the war. In addition, there was established a series of special war analyses delivered by experts representing the army, the navy, and the air force. On Saturdays, the British listener heard the "American Commentary," which has made the name of Mr. Raymond Gram Swing a household word in Britain, and similar broadcasts from the Dominions became a regular wartime feature.

It is probably in the field of actuality or radio *rapportage* that the BBC has done its finest work—far superior to anything put out by the German radio. On the home front, the BBC's recording van has busily toured dockyards, hospitals, munition factories, and ARP centers. Special features such as "Going to Press"—an on-the-spot description of a newspaper office during an air raid; and "Any Fares Please?"—an informal sketch of fifteen minutes at a bus depot—have given an extraordinarily vivid picture of London under fire. There have been broadcasts from the Strand during a bombardment, from a canteen at Euston Station at the height of the Blitz, and from a bomb crater at St. Paul's! BBC field reporters have carried their portable microphones to every

damaged. The first time, millions must have heard the explosion of the bomb; the announcer reading the news on the Home Service drew a sharp breath and carried on as usual. The news in German, which was being broadcast simultaneously, likewise continued without interruption. The second hit also occurred at the peak transmission time and, though it caused several casualties, there was no break in programs. Throughout the whole of the Blitz only one program—a ten-minute news bulletin—went astray.

Even the German radio has been moved to pay tribute to this achievement. In a transmission for Australia and the Far East, a Nazi spokesman remarked: "London goes on with its radio programs as if nothing had ever happened—people singing in shelters; reports from a cricket match; nice and clever people make their talks; there is more dance music than before; male and female announcers face the mike as briskly and nicely as if the air raid were a thing they heard of in a fairy tale. I think we must respect them for this."

One of the first things that happened to British wartime broadcasting was that the BBC discovered it had overestimated the home demand for news. Eventually the number of regular news periods was reduced to six—7 A.M., 8 A.M., 1 P.M., 6 P.M., 9 P.M., and 12 midnight. Approximately sixteen million persons listen to the 9 o'clock news and almost as many to the 6 o'clock service. But surprisingly enough the number of bulletins listened to by the average person is less than two a day.

The curtailment of theater and cinema programs and sports events created a tremendous demand for "live" broadcast entertainment. The drama output of the BBC soon became prodigious and ranged from Shakespeare, Shaw, and Barrie to the whole of the contemporary theater. Several films, among them *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town*, were adapted for dramatic presentation on the air, and dramatized biogra-

control panel may be set up alongside the kitchen sink. Variety performers have often slept on mattresses hastily laid out in the gallery of an old theater, while some glamorous crooner unglamorously garbed in trousers, sweater, scarf, and overcoat broadcast torrid love songs to the Empire at 3:30 in the morning from a ramshackle, drafty stage warmed only by a smoky stove. One BBC unit has its quarters in what used to be a popular night club, where workaday bunks have been rigged up along the exotically decorated walls. And it is not unusual for broadcasters to find themselves working amidst tin hats, gas masks, sandbags, stirrup pumps, and fire-hoses.

Another whole field of wartime radio problems relates to defense. It involves such questions as the building of blast walls and the organization of an air-raid warning and shelter system that will operate without disrupting programs. As is the case in large industrial establishments, the BBC has its own firemen, guards, and roof spotters, the latter always ready at the approach of enemy aircraft to pull a lever and thus flash the blue light that sends men to "action stations" far beneath the sand-bagged walls.

After the lessons learned from fifth-column activity in Europe, the BBC is taking no chances. Vital centers are guarded by armed sentries with orders to shoot at sight any unauthorized visitors. Every member of the staff must produce his pass before entering or leaving the premises. At Broadcasting House in London the studios are separated from the reception desk by a high wire fence. And for all European broadcasts a second person sits beside the speakers to make sure that no private messages or information to the enemy can be slipped into a censored script.

A number of the BBC's staff have been killed and wounded at their posts both in London and in the country, and Broadcasting House has twice been hit and seriously

nouncers for the vastly enlarged World Service that wags suggested the BBC should put up a sign saying: ENGLISH SPOKEN HERE.

The basic principle in the wartime organization of British broadcasting has been dispersal, decided upon primarily to minimize the vulnerability of radio under bombardment but also to relieve congestion. Dispersal naturally made liaison more difficult and necessitated an elaborate system of communication by telephone, teletype, and dispatch rider. But these minor problems were quickly surmounted.

Whole units of the BBC are now scattered throughout the provinces, and their staff members have gone into billets, put up in country pubs, or taken over country houses and established communal living quarters. Owing to the rationing of gasoline most of them are forced to go to and from work on bicycles. Every country broadcasting center is equipped with its own dormitories, clinic, canteen, lounge, air-raid shelters, and bombproof underground studios, that have been aptly described as "the front-line trenches in the war of nerves." Some have even set up a "country club," in one of which the BBC, breaking all precedent, opened its first bar.

As many of the services run night and day, arrangements must provide for conditions in which an outgoing shift cannot get home through the Blitz and an incoming shift must arrive early or be delayed because of bombing. An entire show will be ruined if some of the actors or musicians are held up by a raid. To guard against this, night shows are now recorded in the daytime for reproduction in case of emergency.

Wartime broadcasting has produced some odd improvisations. The microphone, usually associated with a highly modernistic setting, may stand on a kitchen table or in a bedroom with an emergency oil lamp hanging from the ceiling. A

a voice with an exquisitely bored, impeccably impeccable Oxford accent. The possibility that the enemy might “fake” British broadcasts made it vital to enable listeners to recognize instantly the authentic speakers of the BBC. So the voice at the microphone became a personality with a name, and listeners were now told: “This is the news—and this is Alvar Liddell reading it. . . .”

The third casualty was the announcer’s stiff shirt which, until the outbreak of war, had been seen—and often heard—at the microphone, whenever there was a studio audience. It now became a relic of peacetime and in the basement of Broadcasting House in London there hang two dusty dinner jackets, tragi-humorous mementos of the peaceful revolution which took place when the BBC went to war.

Both these changes had the advantage of humanizing the BBC in the eyes of the public. Previously it had been regarded, not without some reason, as a “starchy,” overly dignified concern, typified by a memorable cartoon in *Punch* which depicted an exquisitely groomed announcer in tails and white tie standing stiffly at the microphone, one arm majestically pointed aloft, and proclaiming with great solemnity: “Ladies and Gentlemen!—a Gramophone Record!” The war, however, personalized British broadcasting and introduced a new and welcome note of informality. The style and mannerisms of each announcer became familiar to the public, and every listener had his or her favorite, just as in the United States.

Many people had confidently expected the outbreak of war would mean the suspension of broadcasting in England. Instead, broadcasting expanded by leaps and bounds, and in a very short space of time the BBC had doubled its staff. The white-walled precincts of Broadcasting House, just off Oxford Circus, were subjected to an invasion of new talent. So great was the recruitment of foreign writers and an-

On the standard band, radio signals betray the whereabouts of the station to enemy aircraft. BBC technicians immediately put into operation a system which confused transmissions from the navigational point of view. It meant, among other things, that listeners instead of having the many wave lengths of the regional and national programs were restricted to a single program (to which a second was later added). But the wisdom of this move was convincingly demonstrated when all-out aerial attacks began. The BBC remained on the air under intensive and continuous bombardment. In Germany, on the other hand, stations were (and still are as this is written) forced to leave the air without warning when aircraft approached, sometimes with a grimly comical effect—such as when Lord Haw-Haw was suddenly silenced in the middle of some contemptuous reference to the RAF's "imaginary" raids on Germany.

The BBC's system of transmission does not, of course, give such good reception during heavy air raids as under normal conditions, but the falling off in quality, though it may spoil the enjoyment of a symphony concert, is hardly noticeable when listening to speech. In order to improve reception the BBC has from time to time added new wave lengths and now radiates its domestic programs also on the short waves, which have the advantage of giving no guidance to aircraft.

The outbreak of war caused three major casualties at the BBC. The first was television, which, after two years of daily programs, had successfully established itself as a pioneer venture. It faded out with a Walt Disney short, ending with the words of a caricatured Garbo: "I tank I go home." The other two casualties represented a far more solemn break with tradition than the passing of television. The announcer lost his anonymity—and parted with his dinner jacket.

In peacetime, the BBC announcer had been just a voice—

CHAPTER XII

THE BBC GOES TO WAR

At 8:15 P.M. on the evening of September 1, 1939, British radio listeners heard for the first time a now familiar announcement: "This is the BBC home service." It was the most momentous occasion in the history of British broadcasting. It meant that the BBC had gone to war.

The switch-over to a wartime basis, which involved a total transformation of the whole seventeen-year-old system of broadcasting in the British Isles, was accomplished in exactly ninety minutes. From Whitehall, a message was signaled to every transmitting station and studio of the British Broadcasting Corporation. All over the country, BBC engineers opened their sealed orders and sprang into action. Soon all transmitters began telling listeners of the two wave lengths on which alone they would be able to pick up British broadcasts. Notices were flashed to the press and a telegram announcing the change was displayed in every post office. Within an hour and a half, the Home Service was being sent out on the 449.0 and 391.1 meter wave bands. At 9:26 P.M. a foreign-language service on 201.1 meters was started for listeners in Europe.

In the short transition period from a peace to a war footing, British radio engineers had dealt effectively with the most crucial problem confronting the wartime broadcaster.

the same revolution out to destroy brute materialism wherever it shows its ugly head.”

Throughout the fall and winter of 1941, the Rome radio strove desperately to banish the Italian people’s sense of inferiority arising out of Italy’s junior status in the Axis partnership. Whenever some slightly unusual event took place in Rome—the visit of a foreign diplomat or a speech by a prominent Fascist official—the EIAR would bombastically inform its listeners: “The attention of the world is fixed upon Rome,” or “The world awaits, with breathless expectation, the outcome of these fateful developments.” More direct attempts to give a fillip to national morale took the form of pep talks by prominent Fascist personalities. Thus on one occasion the well-known editor Mario Appelius told listeners sternly: “The German people will see to the solidarity of their Home Front and we must look after our own. It is essential that every nonmobilized man, woman, old person, and child should have the spirit of a soldier. Our armed forces grasp 50 per cent of our country’s victory. We at home must hold the other 50 per cent.” It was clear at the beginning of 1942 that the Italian radio knew it was addressing a spiritless and war-weary nation.

ning to give the British people a stab in the back. . . .The British public deserve to be put on their guard. If they want to save a goodly portion of their Empire they had better sue for peace quickly. . . ."

As seen through the eyes of Rome broadcasters, the position of the United States is steadily deteriorating. "American aid," Rome keeps repeating, "cannot avert the defeat of Britain and then America will be faced by a United Europe." "In the meanwhile, commercial exchanges between the United States and South America have shrunk to about one-third of their normal value." Rome speakers then go on to picture the United States as torn by internal strife and heading toward revolution.

Without any show of conviction, Italian speakers have pointed the path of good sense to their American listeners. "It is absurd to imagine that an Axis victory would be a menace to the U. S. A.," they have asserted. "The alleged threat that the Axis powers constitute to the United States is nothing but a figment of British propaganda. The aims of the Axis powers are concentrated in Europe and the African colonies. They are prosecuting this war in order to free their own nations as well as Europe from the British hegemony which the United States themselves once found unbearable and against which they were at war twice." Rome then parrots Berlin's slogan: "America for the Americans; Europe for the Europeans."

It is perhaps significant that Italian broadcasters have felt compelled to touch upon the delicate subject of relations with Germany. "Do we hate the Germans?" asked one Rome commentator with surprising bluntness. "Not at all. We like them personally very well. . . . We have experienced that great virtue of love. Between us there is an absolute relationship, something that was never dreamed of between the French and the British. Germany and Italy are children of

When attacking the United States, Fascist broadcasters have no pitfalls to fear and in this field they do themselves proud. "What is happening in the United States is one of the most colossal mystifications in history," according to Radio Roma, which harps persistently on "the illusion that the United States is still a democracy, while they are in reality an oligarchy." "The American people," says the Italian radio, "are being sacrificed to the golden calf." American "money power" is the villain of the piece. "This money power exploits Roosevelt's megalomania. . . . Roosevelt is in the hands of the money power. And that is why he does not want to stop the blood business." In this dark conspiracy American workers who will not do their bit are to be "mowed down by the electric chair." "The conduct of the American authorities toward their working classes is really too dreadful," says Rome sympathetically, and goes on to speak of police "excesses" and "unprincipled capitalist rule."

At the same time, in broadcasts to England, Rome seconds Berlin's "stab-in-the-back" thesis, arguing that U. S. aid to Britain is a ruse "to take over the British Empire." "Roosevelt is intoxicated with the notion of power both for himself personally and for the United States as the heir of the British Empire. . . . America's ultimate aim, so far as England is concerned, is clear. The United States want to drive England out of Central and South America, forcing her to liquidate the colossal holdings that have ever been a thorn in the flesh of North American finance. . . . In consideration of what the world of tomorrow is likely to be, it is inconceivable that the Washington Government should allow such an occasion to oust England . . . to slip. Besides the loss of her economic position in South America, England will also have to resign herself to the sacrifice of some other parts of her Empire. Americans have already betrayed a certain interest in Canada. . . . All the time Roosevelt is secretly plan-

Canal, and so on and so forth; Rome's military analysts were beside themselves with joy. When the British recaptured Sidi Barrani, Rome scornfully asked: "What of it?" and dismissed this erstwhile strategic outpost as a worthless conglomeration of mud huts in the desert.

For some time after the invasion of Greece, Radio Roma bravely kept up the pretense that the Fascist armies were advancing victoriously, sweeping everything before them. Eventually the communiqués of the High Command themselves gave the lie to this victory theme. Whereupon Radio Roma self-righteously hailed Italian military reverses as proof that Italy had been unprepared for Greek aggression. And finally, when the reverses became a rout, Rome simply ignored the war and spoke of other things.

As a matter of fact there was a good deal to speak of: the Italian collapse in Libya and a series of naval defeats in the Mediterranean. To explain these was a relatively easy task. The retreat in Libya, Rome commentators declared, was "part of the strategic plan," while the encounters in the Mediterranean had, of course, been deliberately sought by the Italian fleet. "The wear and tear on the British Navy is precisely what we want," Rome propagandists explained, in the tone of a patient schoolmaster unraveling some problem in mathematics to which the obvious solution is not the right one. Just when it began to appear that Italy's "strategic plans" called for the evacuation of the whole of North Africa and the sinking of the whole Italian Fleet, the Germans providentially came to the rescue in the Balkans and North Africa, and Rome was able to trumpet news of shattering "Axis" or even "Italian" victories, which, said the Italian radio, "had never been in doubt." Thereafter "Axis" victories were won for Radio Roma by the Nazis in Crete and in Russia, and fantasy provided more specifically Italian triumphs on the battlefields of a dream world.

Pound did his fair share of sniping at the United States' foreign policy, and at Americans and their way of life.

The tactics of Radio Roma in its broadcasts to this country are simply an imitation of those used by Berlin, which were described in an earlier chapter. Radio Roma cannot permit itself a foreign policy of its own; such differences as exist between programs from the two Axis countries are circumstantial not strategic. Rome, for instance, acutely conscious of its unhappy military and political position and more apprehensive than Berlin of the military strength of the United States, is apt to boast and to bluster more noisily, is shriller in its threats and warnings, and more hysterical in its abuse. Thus while Berlin for the most part contents itself with describing President Roosevelt as a "liar," "forger," "cheat," or "tool of international finance," Rome spurns such mild forms of invective and refers to him as "the disfigured son of the ghetto," or sinks to the level of slanderous limericks. On one occasion, it actually informed its listeners that the President had been confined to an asylum for the insane.

Whereas Berlin has been in a position to back its threats with the strength of its own war machine, Italy has been constrained to invoke the might of other powers. When the United States was contemplating the seizure of German and Italian vessels tied up in American ports, Rome bleated: "This might entail very serious consequences, such as Japan's participation in the war." For some strange reason Italian broadcasters have imagined that Americans stood in awe of the Japanese, and they have constantly brandished the threat of Nippon's wrath in the face of U. S. listeners.

The Italian radio's attempts to cover up the failure of Fascist arms have provided some amusing examples of propaganda acrobatics. When Sidi Barrani was first captured by the Italians it was a strategic outpost of incalculable importance, the springboard for an attack on Egypt and the Suez

wistfully conjured up dream fantasies of its own—wish fulfillments of non-existent Fascist triumphs on land, air, and sea—while indulging all the while in vitriolic attacks on President Roosevelt and the foreign policy of the United States.

As this is written Rome's North American Service lasts two and a half hours each evening; it includes two newscasts and two talks in English and in Italian. The programs in Italian are addressed to "*Italiani d'America*" (Italians of America). In addition, all broadcasts in English for the British Isles are also beamed at the United States. The North American Service has been noteworthy chiefly for the presence of a golden-voiced woman announcer, Evenia Ernesta Andreani, and a disgruntled American poet, none other than Ezra Pound.

Miss Andreani, who possesses the finest voice and most seductive microphone manner of any international propagandist, is the daughter of a retired Italian artillery officer and an American (Kentucky) mother. She was educated in Florence; England; and Pasadena, California, and began working for the EIAR in 1933, first on the English news service and later as fulltime announcer on the "American Hour," when this program was inaugurated.

Ezra Pound, who had lived for many years in Italy, was first heard on the air by American listeners in February 1940, when he urged his compatriots not to get into the war "merely to oblige a few society ladies who have been buying munitions shares in what they hope is a bull market." Thereafter he sought assiduously, though with singular incoherence, to sell Fascism to the United States by praising—and in such a way as to appeal to employers and workers alike—the advantages of the social and economic policy of "Brother Benito"—as he calls Mussolini. At the same time,

rectors," 1,000 workers and technicians assisted by more than 3,000 "collaborators." In 1941, news for foreign countries took up nearly 10 per cent of all Italian broadcasting time.

The EIAR publishes a weekly journal and an expensively printed and magnificently illustrated yearbook celebrating the achievements of Fascist radio. In this yearbook is set out in grandiloquent phraseology the Fascist conception of the role of radio: "Invincible as an arm of propaganda, disciplined and willing instrument of the regime, the Italian radio brings to foreign peoples, together with news in foreign languages, information and precise and objective comments on Fascist Reality, destroying legends and obliterating insidious falsehoods. Radio must be a great educator and in Italy it is. . . . From all the antennas of the EIAR there fly like a flag on an enormous flagstaff the high ideals which give a powerful and radiant spiritual continuity to the Fascist Regime. . . . Newscasts of the Italian radio span the world, carrying the idea of Justice and order and the spiritual comfort of Art—of the arts in which Italy is supreme. From the feats of the army, radio has found themes for grandiose, fascinating, picturesque commentaries. . . . It introduces itself wherever the idea of Italianness affirms itself. An immensity of space and horizons, a formidable extension of space—and over all there runs, fulminating and limpid, the thought of Rome, the name of Rome eternal, giver of civilization, bringer of progress, rejuvenated and revived by the genius of Mussolini!"

Unfortunately for the EIAR, the "feats" of the Italian army have hardly lent themselves to "grandiose commentaries," the genius of Mussolini has been at a low ebb, and the "fulminating and limpid" thought of Rome has consisted of the propaganda clichés of Berlin. Consequently the Italian Radio has fallen on hard times; it has repeated, parrotlike, the effusions of Dr. Goebbels and his Nazi satellites or has

CHAPTER XI

RADIO ROMA: BERLIN'S BRANCH OFFICE

THE Italian radio, one of the pioneers in the field of international broadcasting and possessed of a first-class technical set-up, became but an echo of its German lord and master after Italy's entry into the war. Nazi broadcasters—notably E. D. Ward and Mr. O.K.—have been sent to Rome by the Reich's *Rundfunk* to tell the Italians exactly what to do and how to do it. And when reception in this country is poor on the German frequencies, Berlin's programs for North America are recorded and dispatched to Rome for transmission westward.¹ Italy's servile compliance with the Nazis' every wish has, however, gone unappreciated. In October 1941, Berlin inflicted upon its Italian "branch office" the supreme humiliation. The Nazis drew up a list of eighty radio stations in Axis and occupied countries to which the Germans were allowed to listen; Radio Roma was not among them!

Fascist Italy probably has a keener sense of the importance of radio than any other country in the world. Despite the parlous condition of Italian finances, the *Ente Italiano per le Audizioni Radiofoniche* (EIAR) is operated on a lavish scale. It boasts more than a dozen powerful transmitters—five for overseas service—twenty-nine buildings, fifteen "di-

¹ Harold N. Graves, Jr., *War on the Short Wave* (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1941.)

front of the German embassy in Santiago, Chile, the German radio explained that "Chilean Bolshevik papers, paid for by Moscow, were allowed to cheer on these agents of the Roosevelt Column."

Shortly after this, when the Argentine Government took action against Nazi agents and against certain Nazi-controlled newspapers, the *Reichsender* complained bitterly: "Could it be that the Argentina has fallen as low as Bolivia in allowing the actions of the government to be prescribed by Roosevelt? The Germans in Argentina who have played such an active part in the cultural and economic development of the country have every right to demand protection against systematic defamation."

The German short-wave service for Latin America became, after the outbreak of war, as elaborate as that for North America.¹ As in the case of German broadcasts to England and the United States, native speakers lead the assault on the Latin Republics. Spanish "journalists" have appeared regularly at the microphone of the *Reichsender*. Speeches by Franco's Foreign Minister, Serrano Suñer, have been relayed from Berlin as well as from Madrid. And Lords Haw-Haw and Hee-Haw have their Spanish counterparts in "Don Juan," "Don Antonio," and "Don Fernando Torres."

¹ Harold N. Graves, Jr., *War on the Short Wave* (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1941.)

country to create the bond which will reaffirm before the world the true grandeur of the Spanish race. We know that our children must enjoy a grandiose renaissance. The European drama will be repeated in America."

These are the main themes of Axis propaganda to Latin America. Within this broad framework can be found the greater part of the arguments advanced by the Axis in its radio war on the U. S. A., or their counterparts. For instance, while U. S. listeners are told that British contempt for them is "too well known to deserve mention," the Latin Americans are informed by Rome: "'Colored man' was the [English and American] description for all Spaniards. While for the snobs of the City and the New York bars the only proof that Spaniards existed was the little houses of Majorcan style and the surviving pictorial extravagances of the old Picasso."

The inferiority of Yankee culture is another pet subject of Axis speakers. "The Hollywood film has never been and never can be a means of spreading culture, especially in our countries who derive their civilization from Latin roots. The United States is a nation whose cultural level is lower than our own." Axis stations go on to stress the physical degeneracy of American youth, the failure of the rearmament effort, and the disunity within the United States, which is pictured as tottering on the brink of revolution.

Even anti-Axis demonstrations in the Latin Republics have been grist to the German radio's propaganda mill. "Roosevelt and the Roosevelt Column are responsible for the anti-Nazi manifestations in Chile and Argentina," declared a German spokesman in November 1941. In Buenos Aires, "counterfeited documents were smuggled into a German community house and into the baggage of German diplomats," while in reference to an anti-Nazi demonstration in

The second major theme of Axis propaganda to the Latin Republics is "Yankee imperialism." "Everybody in South America," declares Zeesen in Spanish, "knows that the policy of Yankee imperialism is nothing else than getting possession of the nations of Latin America by hidden and false means. Throughout the nineteenth century the United States have gradually encroached on the territories of Latin America. . . . Despite expressions of Pan-American solidarity, the histories of the republics of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Mexico, and Santo Domingo, well demonstrate the aggressiveness of Yankee imperialism. The United States today is being true to her past, and while uttering fine phrases about solidarity is really thinking in terms of her own interest. The shadow of the Yankee colossus looms large over Ibero-America."

This line of reasoning is backed by the familiar argument that the U. S. Government is seeking to prolong the war in order to inherit the British Empire. Zeesen speakers have even gone so far as to say: "The American people hope that England will win the war, yes. But American politicians hope that England will die. . . . The United States imperialists want to see the British Empire ruined. Their purpose is to exhaust both England and Germany so that the United States of America may eventually dominate the whole world."

While Berlin hammers away at these themes, the Spanish and Italian radios elaborate the concept of an Iberian imperial renaissance. "Much has been said about Spain's spiritual empire in America," says Madrid, adding plaintively: "This seems wrong to us, since we have not got the material power due to us according to this title. But would it not be interesting if Spain reclaimed these lands which she discovered, civilized, and which are still part of her spiritual empire?" And Rome chimes in: "Spanish-American youth will finally overthrow the old commercial and Jewish intrigues, and will carry the red-and-gold flag of their mother

businessman of seeking arbitrarily "to fix prices of the various products of the Latin American countries." Those who refuse to come to an agreement, it charges, will be "boycotted by the Anglo-American buyers." "America today," Zeesen reiterates, "is obviously aiming at economic control of the southern continent. She is taking advantage of the European war to push ahead with her plans for financial hegemony." Washington's scheme for "an American cartel" is said to be designed "to place Latin American economic independence under the North American yoke. The dictatorship of the dollar seeks to enslave all people and to bring about the ruin of their economies. South America will never be independent as long as it is chained to the will of Wall Street. In a word, American policy is one of extortion." "No wonder," Axis stations chorus, that "Latin Americans are indignant at the Yankee imperialism."

All the while, special appeals are directed to each of the countries south of the Rio Grande. Guatemala, for instance, is told that "the great economic disorder which reigns" is due to the interruption of commercial exchanges with Europe and the fact that "despite great promises of help, the United States does not pay an adequate price for the coffee from Guatemala, where the entire economic life is based on the export of coffee."

Though it plays up the underhand and sinister intrigues of North American Business, the Axis takes care to represent the United States' efforts to impose "a hemisphere dictatorship" upon Latin America as doomed to certain failure. "Americans in their heart realize that the German system is the system of the future," says Zeesen, "and that their own system contains innumerable errors. Europe will find a way to do without the United States and its products. In the struggle between Germany and the United States it will be the United States who will suffer."

cial benefits for South American exporters. In the first place, Germany buys the raw materials which she needs, and at the same time supplies manufactured products which South America needs. . . . Industrialized Europe is unquestionably the best partner of economic unions like Central and South America because Europe, and more particularly highly industrialized Germany, needs all the surplus of Central and South America—coffee, cotton, skins, wool, sisal—in exchange for chemical products, machinery, steel, et cetera, which are required by Central and South America. In this way your national economy is developed. Germany is ready to co-operate in the development of national industries in Central and South America so that they become independent of outside exploitation. Foreign capitalistic methods do not work in this way, and foreign capitalists have not the slightest interest in helping South America's national economy." The inevitable conclusion—a leitmotiv of Axis propaganda to Latin America—is that "all attempts by Latin American countries to make up for the loss of their European markets by an increase of intercontinental trade or assistance from the United States have failed dismally."

When it speaks of "foreign capitalists," the German radio refers primarily to the United States. "Roosevelt," Zeesen tells the Portuguese, "intends to impose certain political and economic ideas on the South American countries before the final clarification of the European situation has been reached. . . . The United States will take over South American surplus products on a gold basis or a dollar basis, so that South American countries will be tied down to the American economic system and will be prevented from entering into bilateral treaties with Germany or other European countries. All the beautiful words about Pan-American solidarity are hollow and without meaning."

Breaking into Spanish, Zeesen accuses the North American

CHAPTER X

THE AXIS SPEAKS TO LATIN AMERICA

WHEN the Axis speaks to Latin America, the No. 1 enemy is not Britain but the United States. The offensive, obviously planned by and directed from Berlin, is launched from four points simultaneously—Zeesen in Germany, Radio Roma, Radio Falange Madrid, and Vichy, France.

Each of the Reich's "stooges" has its special role. Madrid reminds Latin America that Spain is the "fatherland" of all Spanish-speaking peoples. It asserts its claim to those parts of the New World that Spaniards discovered and colonized, and talks grandiloquently of a great Spanish imperial renaissance in which "Ibero-America" will proudly figure. Rome keeps telling the Latin Americans (in Spanish) how right Madrid is, parrots Zeesen's anti-U. S. propaganda, and seeks (in Italian) to keep alive the spirit of Fascism and sympathy for the Axis among the several million Italian immigrants in the Latin Republics. Vichy's role is to exploit the Latin American's deep-rooted admiration for French culture and things French by endorsing the New Order and helping subtly to build up the case against the United States.

The appeal of the Axis to Latin America is predominantly an economic one. Its broad argument is well summarized by this broadcast from Zeesen to Brazil, in Portuguese: "The German system, with its compensation trade, provides spe-

shrewd Yankee business man." And on another occasion Kaltenbach broadcast these words of encouragement to "persecuted" German-Americans in the United States: "Don't let it get you down. You can be proud of the German blood that presses through your veins. People whose opinions really count will admire you for sticking up for Germany."

Whether the German radio is actually broadcasting messages in code on its regular transmissions is problematic. That special transmitters have been used for this purpose was dramatically revealed in the fall of 1941 by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Scotland Yard discovered in the spring of 1940 that two German stations, the Telefunken near Berlin and the Hamburg, were using code on their regular programs to England in an attempt to communicate with Fifth Columnists. The announcer, after dealing with what he termed "news," would say: "Now you are to listen to a talk." Later he would vary the phrase to: "A talk will now be given," or "Now there is to be a talk." Each variation conveyed information or instructions to the agents in the same way as the onetime popular music-hall thought reading act. Similar devices may well have been used in broadcasts to the United States. At one time it was suspected that certain German programs contained in simple code the precise working details of a campaign to slow down production in U. S. plane and munitions plants.

Even if Nazi broadcasts did contain messages in code, it would be of secondary importance. Nazi Germany's radio war on the United States is essentially a psychological onslaught and its tactics are those of "infiltration," not of direct attack. With the breakdown of direct communication between Germany and this country, radio has become the most important channel through which Dr. Goebbels can seek to spread confusion and dissension in the U. S. A.

ized and met regularly to listen to Berlin. Thus in various ways the arguments of the German radio—assiduously circulated by word of mouth—reached far beyond the homes of individual listeners and “infiltrated” into this country’s political debates. All of which throws light on why Berlin speakers went to such pains to dream up easily remembered quips, puns, and catch phrases. Short-wave broadcasts were an ideal means for transmitting to Hitler’s supporters in this country propaganda designed for wholesale redistribution among Americans. By radio, the experts of the German short-wave stations could tell their friends in this country exactly what to say and how to say it.

Not infrequently a passage from a German broadcast was couched in the form of a direct order. Shortly after the outbreak of war American Hitlerites were urged to form a subversive group to be called “The Link”—the same name as the fifth-column organization previously operating in Britain. On the eve of a meeting of the Kyffhauser Bund—a German war-veterans group—in New York, General Rheinhardt of the German Army, speaking over the Berlin short-wave station, called on the members of this organization to vote for “unity with the Reich.”

Later, Fred Kaltenbach told “the folks back home in Iowa” exactly how he would like to see them behave: “If I were back home in Iowa I should ask myself: what should be my attitude toward the present Administration? I should refuse to support any measures intended to help England. I would do everything in my power to help my friends, my neighbors, keep out of the European mess. I should refuse to support any man for Congress who has expressed himself in favor of helping England. I should join up with and take an active part in any organization pledged to absolute neutrality and non-intervention. I should urge the administration to bury the hatchet and *face up to the New Order like a*

improvement. Indifferent to American suggestions, Berlin wished to draw attention in some dramatic manner to its North American Service—and succeeded. A German spokesman later announced proudly that the telegrams were piled a foot deep at the headquarters of the Reich's foreign broadcasting service. He also admitted a trifle wistfully that many of the messages contained no constructive ideas and were obviously sent with the sole purpose of depleting the Nazis' exchequer. Sample comments fully bear out this contention:

“God Save the King—and God help you.”

“Please broadcast an account of the funeral of Adolf Hitler.”

“Please send me some hairs from Hitler's little moustache as a pipe cleaner.”

“Why is Goering so fat and the rest of the Germans so thin?”

BERLIN BROADCASTS AND AMERICA'S FIFTH COLUMN

Notwithstanding these various attempts to promote his programs to the United States, Dr. Goebbels must have known that the number of Americans he could reach in this way was bound to remain comparatively small. In all probability this fact caused him very little concern. The vital function of Nazi Germany's North American Service was to act as a direct link between the Propaganda Ministry in Berlin and Nazi agents in the United States, who were strictly enjoined to keep tuned to these broadcasts for the “party line” and latest slogans, and were periodically reminded by German speakers to “tell this to as many people as you meet.” It is known that in various parts of the country, but especially in the Yorkville section of New York City, listening groups with a semi-military code of discipline were organ-

with income; the higher the income group, the more listeners.³

Americans who listen to European short-wave broadcasts are usually men; a number listen because they are unusually radio-minded; a good many do so in the hope of learning the European news faster and more directly through short-wave than through any other medium. Not a few are intrigued by the dramatic quality of short-wave programs. In general, they do not expect accurate, impartial reporting and are well on their guard against propaganda. About six persons believe German programs are "all propaganda" to every one who believes the same of British programs.⁴ Most significantly, in almost every case short-wave listeners are more keenly interested and active politically than non-listeners. Thus the ultimate influence of short-wave broadcasts upon American opinion is much greater than the actual number of listeners would indicate.

The German radio has made periodic attempts to increase the size of its audience in this country. Its speakers occasionally boost the pleasures and benefits to be derived from the ownership of a short-wave receiver. Another trick has been to appeal to the American's sense of fair play with the argument: your newspapers deliberately print twisted and false reports about Germany; tune in direct to Berlin and hear what the other side has to say for itself. A third bait has been question-and-answer programs in which the listener is flattered by hearing his queries answered in detail across the Atlantic. Berlin's most spectacular audience-angling stunt was to extend to all Americans an invitation to cable, collect, their comments on German programs and suggestions for

³ In his Erie County survey, however, Professor Lazarsfeld found that "contrary to expectation short-wave ownership was not related to economic status."

⁴ Edgar A. Schuler and Wayne C. Eubank, "Listening Reactions to Short-wave Broadcasts," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, June 1941.

cent of those interviewed owned a radio that could pick up short-wave programs, and that 17 per cent of the total sample listened to short-wave programs at least once a week. These figures are likely to be too high as no recheck was made.

A poll of telephone subscribers in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, conducted by Messrs. Edgar A. Schuler and Wayne C. Eubank revealed that 15.6 per cent of this group were current or recent listeners, and that 14 per cent had listened at some time or other to German programs.²

A similar inquiry in Princeton, New Jersey, gave a listening audience of 13.3 per cent, while a survey conducted by Professor Lazarsfeld in Erie County, Ohio, showed that 36 per cent of a carefully selected cross-section owned a short-wave receiver and that 10.4 per cent listened to news by short wave.

From these several surveys it is possible to draw further general conclusions about short-wave listening. News programs are by far the most popular; music ranks a poor second; the audience for talks is very small indeed. England seems to give the best overall reception and Germany is very close behind. Comparatively few listeners confine their attention to one country, but about half listen to London most frequently, while approximately one in seven prefer Berlin. The majority tune in to Europe only sporadically—between three to ten times a month. Fewer than 10 per cent (of listeners) do so every day (that is less than 1 per cent of the total adult population). A good many people complain of the difficulty of obtaining advance information about short-wave programs. In general, listening seems to be more widespread in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and East Central sections of the country, lowest in the West Central, South, and Pacific areas. The popularity of listening is closely correlated

² Edgar A. Schuler and Wayne C. Eubank, "Listening Reactions to Short-wave Broadcasts," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, June 1941.

will be shown, he has other more important objectives for his elaborate and costly North American Service.

The most general survey of short-wave listening was made in January 1941 by the American Institute of Public Opinion for the Princeton Listening Center.¹ This was conducted along the usual lines of public-opinion polls, the sample investigated being carefully selected so as to give a true cross-section of the adult population.

Slightly under one person in three claimed to have a radio on which he or she could hear short-wave broadcasts directly from Europe, while 10:8 per cent of the total sample stated they had actually listened at least once during the previous month to *European* short-wave programs. A breakdown showed that 10 per cent had listened at least once to broadcasts from England, 5.94 per cent to broadcasts from Germany, 2.6 per cent to those from Italy.

These figures were found on a recheck to have been too high; a number of those queried admitted they had in their first reply confused short-wave broadcasts direct from Europe with rebroadcasts of programs from Europe on American stations. The Listening Center, after further investigation, concluded that the total audience for any and all European short-wave broadcasts must lie between 5 per cent and 10 per cent of the adult population, that is between 3,000,000 and 7,000,000 listeners. The German radio's audience *on any given day* was estimated to be in the neighborhood of 150,000.

Though the other surveys of short-wave listening were probably not as thoroughgoing as the Institute's, their results are worth recording. A nationwide survey conducted in 1940 for the Columbia Broadcasting System showed that 45 per

¹ I wish here to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Professor Harwood Childs for permission to draw on his comprehensive article on short-wave listening in the United States in the June 1941 issue of the *Public Opinion Quarterly*.

increase of German power in Europe. . . . The victory of the culture-minded German nation will not mean the end of what Americans call their way of life. Why, the German army even has 'art officers' who advise Generals so that they may spare places of historic interest. . . . German churches, far from being turned into National Socialist offices, still are serving God. . . . The commerce and trade of the United States will not suffer any losses from a German victory. . . . The fight for a lost cause may be thoroughly honorable in itself. But if the lost cause has nothing to recommend itself except capitalistic policy, it hardly behoves a young, vigorous nation like the United States to stand in the way of progress and the New Order. . . . Today we (in Germany) are fighting the same fight for Germany which George Washington fought for America. Which true American is able to take offense unless he is an exponent of British plutocracy? . . . One often hears in America that the propaganda of the totalitarian powers repeats and repeats that democracy is a decadent form of government. That is an error, a grave misconception. What is attacked is not democracy as such but the decadent forms of democracy, a democracy of the plutocrats, a democracy of the money bags, a democracy which exploits the masses for the benefit of the few."

Such are the content and strategy of Berlin's radio war on the U.S.A.

WHO LISTENS?

The several surveys made indicate that the size of Berlin's short-wave audience in this country is relatively small. Here a caution is necessary. Dr. Goebbels is not so foolish as to think that he can reach and influence a large section of the American public directly through short-wave broadcasts; as

hopeless failure of America's war efforts. "Mr. Stimson," said a German speaker once, "informed the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate that the United States Army possessed less than 1,000 planes, *none* of which could be regarded as up to date. Out of the United States aircraft production in 1940, the army and navy together had obtained *only* some 400 planes." America's fleet, Berlin repeats insistently, is quite inadequate to cope with a war against Japan. The physical degeneracy of American youth and the poor morale of men in the armed forces are themes on which Berlin dwells happily and at length. "The U. S. air force needs at least 2,200 recruits a month," says the *Reichsender*, "but it cannot obtain more than 1,300."

Yet another line taken by the German radio has been that it is cowardly and un-American to think that Uncle Sam needs a first line of defense in England. "When I was a kid in Iowa," said one of Berlin's American speakers, "my friends would have resented the very thought that America could not take care of herself in a fight unassisted, and it is as true today as it was then. The passage of the Lend-Lease Bill was a shameful admission that the American people are not able to defend themselves, that they have become a *nation of softies*. I wonder what Andrew Jackson, General Grant, or old Teddy Roosevelt would have said to the charge that American security depends on saving England."

To prevent the spirit of appeasement from dying, the German radio has never altogether abandoned the language of sweet reason. Listeners are assured that "The German Government and the German people have only the friendliest of feelings for the United States, the home of so many American citizens of German descent. Let it be said once and for all, a German victory in this war is no threat to English democracy—and certainly not to American democracy. . . . The good people of America will hardly be disturbed by an

has become a fact. It knows that the moment Germany's New Order is established it will be thought less of in Ibero-America. . . . [So] fear is being inspired with all propaganda means and the almighty dollar in order to draw the South American nations closer and closer to Uncle Sam." "But," the German radio concludes exultantly, "the United States can never replace Europe as a market for South America."

Efforts to demoralize listeners take an ingenious variety of forms. To instill terror the German radio seeks to bring home dramatically to listeners the devastating striking power of German arms. Here is a typical account of an air raid over England: "We are only a few feet above the surface of the Channel, and with a leap are over the cliffs of England like a horse jumping hurdles. We miss hilltops by a hair's breadth. The tank traps and barricades which have been erected along the roads are so close we can almost touch them. In a village through which we pass we see the frantic masses running pell-mell into all available doorways and air-raid shelters. Bicyclists careen into the gutters and ditches. The whole countryside is in a state of hysterical confusion, but we pursue our . . . search of our military objective. And there it is at last—a flying field. The two groups before us have already made a weighty impression on British soil, and now we unload our little contribution. Bombs crash into the hangars, followed by deafening explosions. Sinuous tongues of fire leap into the air. Oh, boy, there's a picture no artist could paint!"

Along with this go periodic "scare" broadcasts depicting the massacre that will ensue if this country's allegedly inexperienced troops come up against the invincible land armies of the Reich. Imaginary but nonetheless hair-raising figures of killed and maimed are somberly retailed to strike fear and horror into the hearts of American listeners.

Part of Berlin's demoralization tactics is to sneer at the

sham air-raid alarms that are being staged from New England to New York, are the greatest pieces of circusing since Barnum. The supine public seems to be accepting it as if it were a mandate from God Almighty. . . . It is at times like this the nation needs a speaker like Father Coughlin, who was taken off the air. . . . People are infuriated at the manner in which the nation is being hoodwinked into accepting the views of the warmongers . . . one could scarcely expect a Messiah to be found among those on the Atlantic seaboard who alternately have imbibed the Communist theories, the socialist hypotheses and the doctrines of the Talmud." "The United States," Berlin concludes, "is ripe for a change of leadership," and, hinting at revolution, it predicts that, "It is only a matter of time before a new leader will spring up amongst you."

Another pet subject of the German radio is the "ruthless campaign of expropriation being waged by the Government in the name of national defense." Setting itself up as the champion of democracy and free enterprise the Nazi radio denounces the way in which "jokers in the defense bill permit the Government to take over industries and plants, lock, stock, and barrel."

Simultaneously, the U. S. Government is also sweepingly accused of seeking to turn "the thumbscrews of capitalism on the world." And Berlin even finds expressions of sympathy for the British, who, in their desperate plight, are being "swindled and exploited by Yankee imperialism." "A Cuban paper," the *Reichsender* declares, "compares the North American methods in Central America with Hollywood gangster films." A "Chilean general," according to one German speaker, has asserted that "if Chile consented to military co-operation with the United States, it would lose its sovereignty." "The U.S.A.," says the *Reichsender* accusingly, "wants to take over Ibero-America before a German victory

“because of some articles by the publisher that are calculated to be regarded in the wrong light.” Pan-Germanism, the *Reichsender* declared innocently, was “only a defensive device. There would be no pro-Germans in the U. S. if there were no pro-English. . . . The German element in America is the only genuinely neutral and patriotic one.” “That German-hating Amazon, Dorothy Thompson” was berated because, “contrary to thousands of other women,” she did not consider Hitler handsome. All those who believed in aid to Britain were sneeringly referred to as: “150 per cent Americans.” A Nazi broadcaster then talked of the “Sixth Column”—the goofy guys who believe in the “Fifth Column.” Another complained that “a dachshund was tortured and blinded by children in South Dakota”—because of its German name.

The passing of the Lend-Lease Bill caused the Berlin radio to step up the tempo and intensity of its onslaughts on the United States; its tactics since that date have been those used in broadcasts to enemy countries.

German speakers venomously criticize unemployment, slums, disease, and crime in America. American landlords are accused of being “interested only in collecting substantial profits,” with the consequence that “the poor cannot afford homes.” A large class of Americans are said to regard “honest work, especially manual labor, as barbaric. . . . Such families are able to live on the labor of others.” Regularly the German radio interjects: “Is the United States a democracy any longer?”

Berlin’s diatribes against the President, the press, and the Administration have maintained a high pitch of animosity. “Hypodermics of hysteria poison,” said Berlin, just before the German declaration of war on the United States, “are being injected into the American people. Never before has a nation been so mesmerized as are the people of the U. S. today. That rehearsal of air-raid shelter piffle, and the

and for encouraging their young men "to offend Germany." They were ridiculed for being "more than 50 per cent superstitious—because they live in fear." One speaker even went so far as to assert bitterly: "For the past 50 years America has been more or less anti-German—long before anyone heard of Adolf Hitler."

The *Reichsender* complained angrily that "privately owned American short-wave stations" were broadcasting "twisted and false reports about Germany," and Berlin spoke of the "pure British attitude of the American press." Petulantly the German radio concluded: "Soon it will be time for burning German textbooks and smashing German cameras and mouth organs. German music will be banned from the stage and Liberty Cabbage will be more toothsome than good old Sauerkraut. Friends will not wave to each other on the street—the raised arm might be mistaken for the German salute!"

By the summer of 1940, the anti-Semitic campaign on German broadcasts to America was approaching a pitch of hysteria. As many as three or four talks a week were devoted to urging Americans to banish or "quarantine" the Jews in this country. Other groups against whom Berlin assiduously worked to foment hatred were industrialists, financiers, and the wealthy classes in general—"who enjoy an easy life through speculation," Berlin told its listeners.

As the Nazi campaign to stir up civil war in America gathered in intensity, more and more ballyhoo was thrown in to camouflage the real "bombs for the mind." British aviators were accused of "deliberately" seeking to destroy the American Embassy in Berlin, while Germany was fighting "to make the world safe for the U. S. mails." One day the *New York Enquirer* and its publishers were praised for daring to give a true picture of Germany's war aims; a few days later listeners were told the *Enquirer* had been banned in Germany

Calling for economic co-operation with Hitler's New Order, the German radio insisted upon a political Monroe Doctrine for Europe. "If Europe is ready to respect the Monroe Doctrine, is it too much to expect the United States to refrain from interfering in the affairs of Europe? Germany agrees that what the United States does in Mexico and Central America and how she treats her Negro subjects is her own business. How about more reciprocity in this respect?" Invariably Nazi broadcasters concluded with Hitler's dictum: "America for the Americans, Europe for the Europeans."

Several times, however, direct assaults on the Monroe Doctrine were recorded. "If there had always existed a Monroe Doctrine in America," argued the German radio on one occasion, "there would never have been a United States. Conditions change from time to time, and frontiers must be left to change with them." It then went on to discuss openly "the ultimate division of territory in America."

All this time, the offensive against Americans, the American Government, and the American way of life had been developing all along the line. Berlin complained of "irresponsible American diplomats," and spoke of Washington's "coterie of calamity warriors." (Exactly the same terms had been applied in the past to the governments of Czechoslovakia, Poland, France, and England.) The German radio claimed that Britain had been "encouraged" to declare war by the promises of America, and had then been betrayed. "England," said a Nazi speaker on the eve of the 1940 presidential election, "is the Poland of U. S. interventionists."

Americans were now accused of being "believers in class distinctions," "loafing around drugstores," "suffering from a money mania," or "clinging to old forms and willfully shutting their eyes to new developments." They were censored for allowing their young to be "perverted by the movies,"

and economic self-interest. A frank and jovial cynicism replaced Berlin's former piety.

"It's good business to be on good terms with the winner" became the leitmotiv of German broadcasts to America. On this theme Berlin elaborated as follows: "Germany is going to win the war. Why not face up to the facts and make up to the winner? Why quarrel with the dominant power in Europe at a time when that power not only has tremendous allies, but is slated to play the leading commercial part on the continent after the war? Self-interest should prompt the American people to get ready to capitalize on the big trade boom coming to Europe after peace is made. . . . The small countries of Europe made haste to leave the sinking British ship—a very clever point of view, don't you think?"

Part and parcel of this policy was a resolute campaign against the Administration's efforts "to institute a system of purely Pan-American economics." In language reminiscent of German broadcasts to England during the Polish crisis of August, 1939, Germany insisted on her right to trade with South America, and attacked what it termed Cordell Hull's "Cartel Plan." "The United States will have to renounce the idea of interfering with the trade that Germany is carrying on with Latin America," declared the German radio, and in blunt terms this country was warned that "Europe will not accept American economic exploitation as a substitute for London domination. The rest of the world does not depend on the United States, but the United States depends on the rest of the world. . . . Germany cannot be blamed if she takes her business elsewhere. Is it wise, then, for America to adopt an attitude of animosity? War will not be brought about by German provocation but by America's self-invitation. A policy of good-neighborliness toward Germany is guaranteed to be more of a safeguard than ten Maginot lines."

living space. . . . Germany's living space is Central Europe —allotted to her by Nature."

The German radio assured its listeners that the seizure of the Polish Corridor was no different from the annexation of Texas and New Mexico in 1846, and likened the conception of *Lebensraum* to the Monroe Doctrine. Another time, appealing to the left-wing section of its audience, who had previously been informed that in Nazi Germany "there are no slums or tenement districts," Berlin pictured the Reich as fighting for "a solidified European system instead of the arbitrary profiteering of capitalist interests." Such was the policy and message of the German radio in its broadcasts to America during the period of military stalemate in Europe.

The change-over to aggressive tactics was at first very gradual. The strategy of winning friends continued after the invasion of the Low Countries, but alongside of it appeared the beginnings of a strategy of demoralization. Hitherto mild criticisms of the American press and American diplomats in Europe were transformed into bitter and reiterated attacks. Berlin accused Ambassadors Kennedy and Bullitt of having taken "a considerable hand in the preparation of the war," and went on to suggest that they were acting under orders from the White House. The press was roundly abused for being the tool of "Jewish international plutocracy," and for printing "nothing but lies about Germany." This interim period ended with the fall of France. With surprising suddenness, the German radio launched a large-scale offensive designed to undermine its American listeners' faith in the leadership, policies, and institutions of this country. To camouflage their destructive criticism, Nazi broadcasters employed for a time a tone of bluff geniality.

The basically "moral" appeal of the first months was now abandoned in favor of an appeal to "Yankee horse sense"

miss the American crowds when we hold our next summer's musical festival." The American people were congratulated on their "steadfastly neutral attitude," and the United States was described as "the home and refuge of the principles of Liberty." Mr. O. K. assured his listeners: "A German victory is no threat to American democracy. At bottom there is far greater similarity between American democracy and National Socialism than there is between old-fashioned English class distinction and Americanism."

To drive a wedge between America and Britain, and at the same time subtly to discourage American defense preparations by making "national preparedness" synonymous with "intervention in Europe," was another major objective of German propaganda during these early months of the war. To inflame anti-British feeling in this country, Berlin daily reminded its listeners in the United States that their independence had been wrested with their life's blood from the hands of the English tyrant. England had sided with the Confederacy in the Civil War only to perpetuate dissension and hatred between the States. England was lawlessly seizing American mail to gain access to American business secrets. "It is not surprising," concluded the German radio, "that Britain has never produced a Lincoln. The English gentleman, when exposed in his true colors, turns out to be nothing but a disgusting brute."

In striking contrast to all this was the just, friendly, and humane policy of National Socialist Germany. "Germany," said the *Reichsender*, "is the most peace-loving country on earth. In the last three centuries England has waged 144 campaigns, France 89, but Germany only 39—of which 14 were against Austria and 16 against Bavaria to establish the unity of the Reich. We did not want this war; it was forced upon us; and we did not want to go to war against Poland either. Germany stands for progress. She is fighting for a

CHAPTER IX

RADIO WAR ON THE U. S. A.

GERMAN broadcasts to the U. S. A., after following the familiar pattern of Nazi radio strategy, reached the stage of open hostility with the passing of the Lend-Lease Bill. After that date the United States was clearly regarded as being in the enemy camp.

The first sympathy-getting phase lasted from the outbreak of the war until the invasion of Norway. In order to acquire a following Berlin set out to amuse. To avoid giving offense it used, most of the time, American speakers. These made a point of emphasizing their "Americanism," and when referring to "the Germans" adopted the pose of semi-detached observers.

During this period, radio listeners were treated, in the main, to the picture of an America loved and admired by the Nazis, an America whose ideals, traditions, and material interests bound it to National Socialist Germany. "Both the German Government and the German people have only the friendliest of feelings for the United States," the *Reichsender* reiterated during this period of courtship, and multiplied its protestations of respect and affection for Americans. A series of talks was devoted to the glorification of America's great historic figures. A taxi driver was brought to the microphone to say: "We love America and Americans and shall

of a Raymond Gram Swing prompted by Goebbels, Goering, Ribbentrop, and Ley.

Gertie, in short, gives the impression of being a pre-Hitlerite flapper who has turned military strategist, political prophet, and interpreter of National Socialism since joining The Party. For one caller she throws light on a doubtful news item: "Hello. Yes, I read this rumor about the tunnel from France to England. It just shows the nervous condition of the English. Impossible for the Germans? Oh, I wouldn't say that. However, I personally think they would not need it." For another she explains the strategy of the German counterblockade; for a third the intricacies of the dive bomber; for a fourth she describes in glowing terms the treatment of prisoners in Germany. And for those Americans who fail to realize the delights of life in the Reich, Gertie introduces little items like this one: "In Germany the zoos are famous for their beautiful naturalistic settings. Why, the Berlin zoo is probably the largest collection of animals in the world, and I'm told that animals feel quite at home. For mountain goats and the like, rocks were formed into romantic cliffs which reach the height of 45 feet, and a small desert was made for the lions. I'll say a day at the Berlin zoo must be nice!"

One of Gertie's special assignments has been to encourage Americans to buy short-wave radios. Addressing herself to her imaginary girl-friend in Pittsburgh, she periodically puts in a free plug for the radio manufacturers. "I still don't know why you don't have a short-wave radio. Oh, I see, you went to your grandmother's last night and tuned in to Berlin. Didn't I tell you it came in like a local station? You've missed a lot already. Never mind—there will be plenty more interesting from Germany in the future."

dark, Mephistophelean." His lectures, though filled with racial propaganda, were extremely popular, so popular that his classroom was always overcrowded. No doubt Koischwitz' liberality with A's and his willingness to skip written examinations were a deliberately calculated bait. At any rate in those days he had a goodly audience for his diatribes against "degenerate Western literature," the frauds perpetrated by Jewish writers, and his violent assertions that people "think with their blood not with their intellect." He himself was author of *A German-American Interprets Germany*, described by a colleague of his as "one of the most viciously clever pieces of Nazi propaganda circulated in the American classroom." In 1939 Koischwitz took a leave of absence from teaching to visit Germany. Not long afterward his broadcasts to America began, and Hunter College engaged a new professor of German Literature.

"GERTIE"

The ingenue of the German radio is a squeaky-voiced young woman with a beer-and-pretzel accent who is affectionately introduced as "Gertie"—short for Gertruda Hahn. Gertie is supposed to be a switchboard operator on the (mythical) "Pittsburgh Tribune." Her program, "Hot off the wire," is a dramatic monologue in which she reads letters from her boy-friend Joe, correspondent for the "Pittsburgh Tribune" in Berlin, to Nancy, her girl-friend, a resident of Pittsburgh like herself. The letters either gush with praise for the Nazi régime or seethe with indignation against "Rosenbloom and Finkelstein"—the editors of the paper—because, Joe complains bitterly, "they change my wires about and won't tell the truth about Germany." Periodically, Gertie's reading is interrupted by 'phone callers who ask her to interpret the cables for them. This she does with the fluency

"that Washington officialdom is concealing from the public," and he is always clamoring that "alien elements are administering American policy and diplomacy."

Each time a Nazi agent has been arrested by the FBI, O.K. has launched a diatribe against the fifth-column "psychosis" cooked up by "incompetent government leaders to cloak their delinquencies" and muzzle the opposition. "Confidentially," he would ask, "is there a fifth columnist in your community, or perhaps a whole gang of them? You can never tell nowadays. Do you know what a fifth columnist looks like; how he behaves; what he does? What people used to call 'opposition' is now called the fifth column. It's a disease, a devastating epidemic."

O.K. seems to take special delight in personal attacks upon President Roosevelt. "Roosevelt," he said, after the United States had announced its intention to give aid to Russia, "is keen on equipping the Russian army with boots because he has a share in the shoe industry and would stand to profit by it personally." Another time O.K. announced happily that "the especially large and strong gorilla sent to the President as a symbol of the spirit of the Free French" was dead. "The gorilla," said O.K. sympathetically, "preferred death to life with the President. . . . The monkey is dead, but the monkey business goes on."

Anders-Koischwitz-O.K. once referred casually to his "fifteen years' experience as a teacher and lecturer in the United States." For a change he was here telling the unvarnished truth. This radio propagandist is the Otto Koischwitz (hence the pseudonym Mr. O.K.) who taught German literature from 1926 to 1939 at Hunter College in New York, where students several times voted him "my favorite professor."

A former pupil of his ⁵ has described Koischwitz as "thin,

⁵ Excerpts from Lillian Ross in *PM* August 11, 1941. Copyright 1941 by The Newspaper *PM*, Inc.; reprinted by special permission.

fate awaiting Nazi tyranny. So long as the peoples of Europe continue to refuse all collaboration with the invader, it is sure that his cause will perish and that Europe will be liberated.”

Colonel Britton added: “The V Army must be a disciplined army. When the moment comes it will act in such a way that the Germans are powerless. But wait for the word.”

At this time an American radio commentator described the V campaign as “the most amazing piece of propaganda devised in this war.” The next tribute came from Goebbels. If the written V had caused German anger, the Propaganda Ministerium was quick to realize the danger for the German armies of occupation of the never-ending singing, whistling, and tapping of the V sound by the people around them. Goebbels therefore decided to take over the V and thereby neutralize it, if not in the eyes of the occupied populations at least in those of the *Wehrmacht*. Hilversum, and then other German-controlled stations, began to broadcast the Fifth Symphony and either to ridicule English attempts at using this noble German music for propaganda aims or to pretend that the V sign and sound were German inventions.

Then Goebbels mobilized his heavyweight broadcaster, Hans Fritzsche, who announced that the V was the initial of the old German victory cry, “Viktoria”; indeed it was the rallying sign of all the peoples of Europe “united in the struggle against Bolshevism.” The V, said Fritzsche, could be seen everywhere, “even on German army cars and lorries.” And so it could, since Frenchmen and Belgians had made it their duty to draw, chalk or even to cut with glaziers’ diamonds large V’s on the bodies and windshields of German cars. French villagers or workmen would affectionately pat a German soldier on the back and leave him displaying a large chalked V, which had been transferred from chalked V’s on the palm of their hands. Parisian ladies in the Metro

were known to use their precious lipsticks to write sprawling emblems of victory on the backs of the *Wehrmacht!*

Goebbels now tried homeopathy and advised the German army to put their own V's on their cars; he even had one placed on the Eiffel Tower. In Amsterdam, a thirty-foot-wide banner was hung from Queen Wilhelmina's palace bearing the words "V for the victory which Germany is winning for Europe on all fronts." And the strains of the Fifth Symphony were played by all German-controlled radio stations.

The German army may have been deceived; but nobody in the occupied territories was. The Czechs laughed as they saw German V's appearing all over Prague and they quietly chalked RAF after them. In France, the Germans scarcely dared to attempt to take over the V after the first few days of Goebbels' counteroffensive. Even the Italians used the V as a promise of Britain's victory; in Germany, a traveler from "the thin end of the Axis" used the V sound to call a waiter in a restaurant; asked what it meant, he said: "Everyone in my part of the world knows this sign."

The combined efforts of BBC broadcasts and of Goebbels' counteroffensive rapidly spread the V sign throughout south-eastern Europe. In Sofia, people friendly to Britain were seen to go around carrying copies of the newspaper *Vjestnik*. In Budapest, people greeted each other with the words, "*Wie Geht's?*" In Vienna, the song "*Wien, Wien, nur du allein*" suddenly became very popular. British pilots flying over the coast of Northern France noticed fishermen standing up in their boats holding up each pair of oars in V shape; in Holland, British pilots saw men running across fields and holding their arms up in the shape of a V.

When the "V Army" had been mobilized it became clear from evidence received from all the occupied countries that the emblem, still valuable as a rallying symbol, could also

increasingly be linked with the idea of joint action for the common cause. It was equally clear that constant renewal of the symbol was required. This was strikingly demonstrated by the success in France of such variations of the V campaign as the writing of H beside V to remind Petain of his own dictum: "Honor commands us to do nothing against our former allies." The chalking of T for traitor on the doors of well-known pro-Germans was also effectively carried out.

When the history of the war is written it seems likely that the V campaign will appear as something more than a propaganda stunt. It has certainly done much to make the people of occupied countries conscious of their national and international solidarity.

The Germans have paid another tribute to the use of the V emblem—and to the instructions sent by radio to the "Hundred Million Allies" of Britain in Europe—by confiscating radio sets. But the experience of Poland, where the Nazis first did this, has shown that nothing can stop what Goebbels has called "the intellectual invasion of the Continent by the British radio"—an invasion of which the letter V will remain the symbol.

CHAPTER XV

LONDON CALLING THE WORLD

"Bombers or no bombers, these broadcasts will continue to send out the latest news of Britain's war effort and the varied heroism of average men and women who will not be conquered."

THE short-wave transmitters of the BBC radiate 78 news bulletins—300,000 words—a day and many other programs besides for listeners overseas. At the outbreak of war foreign-language programs totaled 44 hours a week; the figure is now well over 150—in 40 languages and dialects. News bulletins follow one another round the clock, reaching in their own language, and as far as possible at their most convenient listening times, the citizens of almost every country in the world. The BBC's broadcasters include a sheik, a bullfighter, several characters from the bazaars of Cairo, and a professor from every university in Europe.

The Overseas Service, now the Fourth Arm of Britain's war effort, is the continuation of a well-established peacetime job—the Empire Service, which started as a pioneer venture of its kind nine years ago. The Empire Service in 1942 includes special services for every Dominion and colony with programs in such languages as Hindustani, Maltese, Burmese,

and Cypriot. Canada is further serviced by a unit of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation which accompanied the first overseas contingent to its training camp at Aldershot and has since worked closely with the BBC. A Canadian commentator broadcasts from England a regular series of talks entitled: "With the troops in England," which tell the folks back home what their boys are doing in camp. Australia and New Zealand have their daily radio "magazine," and special news commentaries are addressed to the Australians serving in Egypt, introduced with their theme song "Waltzing Matilda."

For South African listeners and for the South African and Rhodesian forces in East Africa the BBC presents a special entertainment feature entitled: "Songtime in the Laager"—the laager being the ring of wagons in which the early trekkers used to fight off the attacks of marauding Zulu and Matabele tribesmen. "Songtime in the Laager" is broadcast half in English, half in Afrikaans, with English and South African guest stars and a popular twenty-year old singer, Antijie Van Linschoten, who croons lullabies in Afrikaans. Programs for India are organized by a member of the Indian Civil Service with a staff borrowed from All India Radio. And aircraftsmen from Jamaica have occasionally put on a special show for the West Indies, once winding up with a wartime version of the Jamaican Song, "Slide Mongose" that went:

"Hitler come with him bluff and shoutin',
Say Brown Boys don't worth corn meal dumplin',
But we-all gwine show him somepin',
Slide Hitler!"¹

In exchange the English have heard a regular series of programs originating in Canada, South Africa, India, Australia,

¹ Ivor Brown, *The Listener*, April 3, 1941.

and New Zealand, that give on-the-spot coverage of the Empire's war effort.

THE NORTH AMERICAN SERVICE

For the first eight months of the war the BBC had no special service for the United States. Programs for Canada could be heard in this country but their slant was decidedly for an Empire audience. On May 28, 1940, the British radio addressed itself specifically to Americans for the first time. Its speaker, Vernon Bartlett, opened with these words: "I am going to talk to you three times a week from a country that is fighting for its life. Inevitably I'm going to be called by that terrifying word 'propagandist.' But of course I'm a propagandist. Passionately I want my ideas—our ideas—of freedom and justice to survive."

As this is written, the BBC's North American Service opens each evening at 4:15 P. M. (E.S.T.) and runs until 11:30 P. M. Selected British programs are rebroadcast regularly on the standard wave band by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, by 138 independent American stations, and by the Mutual Network. This service sets out to bring to listeners a complete chronicle of the Empire's war effort and life on the home front. Into the microphone of the BBC the composite voice of Britain speaks. A Cabinet Minister, an RAF pilot, a veteran sea dog, a society hostess (now driving an ambulance), an air-raid warden, a movie star, a small shopkeeper—each and all tell their tales.

The regular speakers of the BBC are drawn from all walks of life. The most forceful perhaps is J. B. Priestley, the well-known author, an outspoken champion of social reform and a severe critic of the old order and the policy of muddling through. Priestley, who speaks with an amusing "North Country" accent, specializes in informal reports about the

home front, based on daily interviews with "the ordinary people, in whom I pin my faith."

Vernon Bartlett, whose voice mannerisms resemble those of Raymond Gram Swing, is the BBC's foremost political analyst. One of the few Independent Progressive members of Parliament, he shares Priestley's liberal point of view. He has served as correspondent for leading London newspapers and was a merciless critic of appeasement.

Leslie Howard, the actor, has appeared on "Britain Speaks"; other members of the BBC's movie contingent are Richard Greene and Robert Donat. David Low, the cartoonist, has been heard on a series of talks entitled "Democracy Marches," which has also boasted Rose Macaulay, the novelist, Professor Julian Huxley, and Wickham Steed, the dour Scotsman who was formerly editor of the London *Times*.

One highly effective speaker is Herbert Hodge, the London taxi driver, who has become the BBC's most famous "character." Hodge's reputation as a raconteur among London taxi drivers set a BBC talent scout on his heels several years ago. He was tried out on an English equivalent of this country's "We, the People" program, and made an instant hit. Since then, he has been a regular speaker for the BBC—but continues to drive his taxi.

The BBC devotes a great part of its North American Service to reporting on the many aspects of the war and the various branches of Britain's war effort. An air-raid warden explains his duties; a sea captain describes an Atlantic convoy; a pilot tells of the Coastal Command's round-the-clock vigil over the British Isles. Listeners are conducted over a munitions factory, an advanced bomber station, a subterranean bomb-proof studio of the BBC itself. On these broadcasts an escaped Pole has reported on the horrors of life in conquered Poland. Second Officer Hawkins has described the epic of the *Jervis Bay*—the merchantman whose suicide duel

with a Nazi raider in the Atlantic saved a convoy of thirty-six ships. And an American pilot of the Eagle Squadron has told the folks back home in Hollywood: "It's quite a long hop from guiding visitors round the studios to herding an eight gun Spitfire around over London."

The human side of the war has not been neglected. From an East End home that had been destroyed by bombs, the BBC brought three small boys—aged four to seven—to tell listeners how it feels to be buried alive. Two series of "outside" broadcasts, "London After Dark" and "London Carries On"—both incidentally rebroadcast by two of the networks in this country—gave spot descriptions of London under bombardment. At the same time, the BBC's featured commentators have done their own "scouting" in the streets, in the pubs, and in the factories. Touring London after one particularly destructive raid, J. B. Priestley reported finding these signs on the shop fronts: "More open than usual," "If you think *this* is bad, you should see our Berlin branch," "Hitler was our last customer—will you be our next?" One of the BBC's Canadian observers saw an air-raid warden go to his post among the falling bombs "with his monocle neatly inserted in his eye." Another British commentator, praising the morale of Londoners, told this story about a little man driving a switch engine in a freight yard. "There was a heavy raid on the yard in progress but he went on solemnly shuttling back and forth, getting his trains into their proper places, and the only time a bomb exploded near, he pulled the string of his steam whistle and went 'cheep, cheep.' He kept this up for four hours and then went to bed."

In its eyewitness coverage of the war, the BBC has pulled off some remarkable feats. The most spectacular to date was probably Charles Gardiner's shot-by-shot description of an

air battle over the Channel in which the speaker's words were again and again drowned by the rattle of antiaircraft fire and the crash of falling bombs. This broadcast, incidentally, met with a mixed reception in England; a number of listeners were outraged that a life-and-death struggle should be treated in the same style as a boxing match. However, as a stunt in radio reporting it is worth recording:

"The Germans are dive-bombing a convoy out at sea. There are one, two, three, four, five, six, seven divebombers. Junkers 87's. There's one going down on its target now, but—but he missed the ships. He hasn't hit a single ship. There are about ten ships in the convoy but he hasn't hit a single one (*shouts of the gunners in the background: steady thud, thud of the antiaircraft fire*). There, you can hear the anti-aircraft going at it now.

"Someone's hit a German and he's coming down in a long streak, coming down completely out of control, a long streak of smoke. . . . He's going flat into the sea . . . there he goes! SMA-A-A-A-SH!

"There's a terrific mixup over the Channel! It's impossible to tell which are our machines and which are the Germans'. There's a fight going on—you can hear the rattle of machine-gun bullets. (*Sounds of a heavy explosion.*) That was a bomb, as you may imagine. Here comes a Spitfire. (*Rattle of machine-gun fire.*) There's another bomb dropping. It's dropped—it missed the convoy. You know they haven't hit the convoy in all this.

"There's another fight going on now, I s'pose about 20-25-30,000 feet above our heads. There's a Spitfire . . . there are one, two, three, five fighters right over our heads now, and here's one coming right down on the tail of what I think is a Messerschmitt. . . . Well, that was really a hot little engagement while it lasted."

In the same manner the BBC presented this eyewitness account of a bombing raid over Berlin:

"Somewhere down below, hidden in the darkness, ack-ack batteries send ripping through the clouds balls of fire which look for all the world like strings of illuminated sausages. A hundred a minute they swirl and swirl, seeking a plane. Berlin is 200 miles off but already its first line defenses have been reached. The bomber climbs to 10,000 feet. Only at long intervals does the moon climb from behind the clouds to help the observer, now intent at his front turrets. Now a river shines like ebony, now a railway appears and vanishes. Away in the distance a blast furnace glows.

"It is 2 A.M. The burning flare sinks slowly through the gap lighting up ten miles of the western outskirts of the Reich's capital. Searchlights—twenty, thirty, forty—are searching frantically for gaps in the layer of clouds above which the bombers circle. Guns, shooting on sound, throw out layers of barrage. The pilot watches the target get nearer and nearer, and turns to the left trying with all his skill to find gaps in the changing clouds. Master switch on! Bomb door open. Flare, please. Going down. (*Motor crescendo.*) Going down!

"The observer presses his hand on the bomb release. (*Series of dull explosions.*) The heavy bombs strike the Potsdam station. 'Right on the target, sir. Right on the target!' A network of lines is torn and twisted, platforms are smashed. The sputtering incendiaries, now well alight, turn the station buildings into a furnace."

Hardly less spectacular has been BBC's brilliant coverage of the war in the Mediterranean. Richard Dimpleby's eyewitness account of the fall of Bardia—picked up by the Columbia Broadcasting System's listening station in New York—was first on the front pages of American newspapers.

Bruce Anderson, of the South African radio, gave a detailed eyewitness description of the capture of Mada Pass in Ethiopia by the British, with cannon fire booming and machine guns crackling into the microphone. Similar reports were broadcast from the battlefields of Greece and Syria.

Special features of the BBC's North American Service include the "Radio News Reel"—a dramatization of the day's events on the lines of the March of Time, or, as the BBC prefers to call it, "The War in Sound"; "Answering You," in which questions sent in by American listeners are dealt with by the appropriate authorities; and "Listening Post," which analyzes the strategy of German radio propaganda. "The Stones Cry Out" tells the story of England's historic buildings destroyed by the Nazis, and on Saturday nights the American Eagle Club takes the spotlight.

TO THE LATIN REPUBLICS

To Latin America, Britain broadcasts three hours nightly in Spanish and Portuguese. This service ranks first in popularity in many of the Latin Republics and elsewhere is second only to U. S. programs. A large number of BBC newscasts are rebroadcast locally throughout Latin America and are also regularly made available to the local press. Not infrequently these programs are publicly diffused in cafés and squares by a loudspeaker system. The BBC has one picture of a crowd of 1,500 listening to the voice of Britain issuing from a loudspeaker set high up in the palm trees in a village square 1,000 miles up the Amazon.

The Latin Americans have heard translations of talks by Duff Cooper, General de Gaulle, Herbert Morrison, Sir Archibald Sinclair, and a number of other high-ranking speakers. Regular commentaries in Spanish are supplied by

Salvador de Madariaga, whose prestige among Spanish-speaking listeners in the Western Hemisphere is probably without equal. More informal talks on current events are given by two commentators with the microphone names of "Atalaya," and "P. Xysto."

The BBC's most successful feature for Latin America has been a series of programs dramatizing great events in the history of each of the Latin Republics or the lives of their great popular heroes such as Simon Bolivar or San Martin. So popular were these programs that several were recorded and repeated on local Latin American stations and articles have been written around them in Latin American newspapers. BBC program listings are carried by about 200 of the principal papers in South and Central America, and printed weekly advance schedules are distributed direct to several thousand listeners by air mail.

CALLING ISLAM!

The BBC's Near Eastern Service—the first to introduce programs in a foreign language—is on the air two and a quarter hours daily in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. It offers news, talks and commentaries, readings from the Koran, music and songs. The latter—which sound so doleful to Western ears—are either presented by "live" Egyptian or Iraqi talent recruited in London, or from recordings specially made in Cairo by the star musicians and singers of the Arab World. During the campaign in the West, an Egyptian correspondent of the BBC broadcast first-hand accounts of the fighting in Arabic, and special addresses on the Near Eastern Service have included talks by Lord Lloyd and Mr. Amery—in Turkish!

Most of these programs have been relayed on the standard

wave band by the Cairo transmitter and could therefore be heard without difficulty throughout the Middle and Near East. The interval signal on this service is a fifteenth-century Arabic melody. To keep Arabic listeners posted as to the exact hours of its transmissions the BBC publishes a fortnightly magazine in Arabic.

In its Arabic transmissions the BBC has for the most part used literary Arabic, the language of the educated classes, which differs widely from the idiom of the café and the bazaar, but is pretty well understood throughout the Arab world. About a year ago, however, colloquial Arabic and dialects were given a place on the Near Eastern Service. A bearded Moroccan known as "Ah Oui"—this being his answer to every question when he first landed in England after the fall of France—addresses Free French sympathizers among the natives of Morocco, and Captain Mohammed Ben Mohammed, a dashing officer of de Gaulle's Free French Army, sends out bulletins to his North African compatriots in their own dialect.

WHAT THE LISTENER THINKS

The Overseas Service of the BBC garners a weird assortment of fan mail. Letters have come in from places as remote as the Bechuanaland Protectorate in the heart of Africa and the Gilbert and Ellis Islands in the Pacific. A Canadian listener tells the BBC: "We listen to London every evening. Big Ben is actually getting to be one of our house clocks." From the United States the BBC receives more than 100 letters a week. A planter in the Belgian Congo has assured London radio officials that the natives, though few of them understand a word of English, listen with rapt attention to the sounds that issue from his "*nkela na mambu*" ("Word Box"). An amusing tribute to British veracity has come from

a listener in Portuguese East Africa. When he tuned in to a Portuguese broadcast from Berlin, his native boy, who understood that language, looked on sternly shaking his head in disapproval. When London was heard later the boy, who knew no English, smiled delightedly. "What makes you smile when you don't understand a word of English?" he was asked. "Boss," he replied, "my heart tells me the English white man is the one who is speaking the truth." A Turkish listener has reported: "A large crowd of over one hundred peasants listens to your daily news broadcasts. I nicknamed your interval signal, which is a great favorite here, 'the trumpet of justice.'"

Radio stations in all countries are accustomed to extravagant praise from their fans, but few have received a tribute quite like this one, from an Arab resident in West Africa: "Respectful greetings from one who admires and appreciates your humanitarian efforts on behalf of the Arabic-speaking peoples. Behold! Your weekly program (schedule) reaches me regularly—except when it is delayed in the post owing to the present war crisis brought about by that insubordinate house-painter, that insatiable and low-born tyrant, that manslayer, Hitler. May Allah destroy him and his adherents and grant humanity rest from his evil craft—a task easy unto Allah! Behold us here, constant auditors of your broadcasts, which are the greatest, the best arranged, the most richly expressed, and the most intelligible in language of all Arabic emissions!"

CHAPTER XVI

THE RADIO GENERAL

JUNE 18, 1940. Dunkirk was scarcely two weeks past, but the Battle of France was over. A newly formed French Government under Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain was ready to sue for an armistice. Throughout France all was confusion and despair.

On this fateful 18th of June, a tall, black-haired man in the uniform of a French officer walked up the steps of Broadcasting House in London. Some minutes later he was standing in a sound-proof studio, staring intently at the microphone which he hoped would help him to rally a crumbling nation. The hands of the wall-clock stood at 10 P.M., Greenwich Summer Time. A light flashed, and the announcer stepped up to the microphone. In flawless French he began: "Ladies and gentlemen, this is London. Here is the fifth French transmission of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Tonight it gives us great pleasure to present to you a man whom you all know and admire—General Charles de Gaulle.

The French officer stepped forward, and in ringing tones addressed to his countrymen the world over a resolute appeal not to lay down their arms:

"Nothing is lost for France," he thundered. "The same methods which have conquered us will someday give us

victory. For France is not alone. She is not alone. *She is not alone!*

“Behind her is a vast Empire. She can unite with the British Empire, which commands the seas, and continue the struggle. She can use without limit the immense industries of the United States. This war has not been decided by the Battle of France. This is a World War.”

“I, General de Gaulle, invite all French soldiers and officers who are on British soil to communicate with me. The flame of French resistance must not be extinguished, will not be extinguished!”

“I will speak again tomorrow.”

Such was the dramatic debut of the man who, in the most literal sense, is the Radio General of World War II. It was by radio that de Gaulle made his desperate last-minute effort to avert the surrender of the French armies; by radio he rallied those who still had heart for the fight around the banner of Free France, in London. For months he addressed himself to Frenchmen in every corner of the world—over the air waves. His orders to the scattered fighters who sought to enlist under his leadership were given by radio. After his reverses and after his victories, the General made for the nearest radio transmitter to broadcast his communiqué to the world. By the summer of 1941, he had his own radio stations—the voices of Free France—at Brazzaville in the Congo and Beirut in Syria.

True to the promise made in his first broadcast from London, de Gaulle was back at the microphone on June 19, and the next day, and many days thereafter, to speak words of hope and encouragement to all Frenchmen who shared his belief that France had lost a battle but had not lost the war. His success was immediate. Soldiers, sailors, fliers, civil servants, technicians, even civilians, somehow escaped to England to serve the cause of Free France.

On June 28, 1940, de Gaulle was able to broadcast the news that he had been officially recognized by the British Government as head of the French National Committee in London and "the leader of all Free Frenchmen." In virtue of his new position, he proceeded, with characteristic precision, to issue his first "order of the day."

"First, I take under my authority all Frenchmen on British soil. Second, there will be formed immediately a French land, air, and sea force. Third, all French officers and soldiers, sailors and aviators, have an absolute duty to resist the enemy."

"Generals, superior officers, governors, get in touch with me and save the land of France. A free France has not ceased to exist. We will prove it—*by force of arms!* Struck down today by a mechanized force, we can conquer in the future by a superior mechanized force. Such is the destiny of the world."

And the French rallied to his cry. Less than a year after the collapse of France he had gathered more than 50,000 volunteers to fight with him under the standard of Free France—the standard under which Joan of Arc had fought to liberate France from another invader five centuries before. In the skies, 1,200 Free French airmen were battling the *Luftwaffe*. On the sea, more than 100 merchantmen and 21 warships were helping the British to keep the ocean lanes open.

De Gaulle, from the start, recognized the true character of Petain's government of straw men at Vichy and did not mince his words when speaking of its actions: "Two paths were open to France," he told his listeners. "One was the path of surrender and despair. This was the path Vichy chose to tread. The other was the path of honor, and of hope. That is the one which my comrades and I have chosen. This is the call of France, crying out for deliverance!"

Vichy revoked de Gaulle's citizenship, court-martialed him *in absentia*, and condemned him to death. De Gaulle turned to France's glorious past to prove that not he and his followers, but the men of Vichy were the traitors: "Would Joan of Arc, Richelieu, Louis XIV, Napoleon, or Clemenceau ever have handed over all of France's arms to her enemies, to be used against her own allies? Would Duquesne, Tourville, Courbet ever have entrusted to the enemy's tender mercies a French fleet that was still intact? Would Montcalm ever have evacuated without even a struggle the strategic points of an Empire? NO! The spirit of France rests with those who are continuing the struggle, with those who will not give up, with those who will be there when victory is won!"

On August 27, 1940, the Radio General received news of an important success—the Chad Territory had rallied to the cause of Free France; and he spoke up with redoubled vigor: "The courageous decision taken by the Chad Territory will fill all Frenchmen with pride. The enemy thought by an abominable armistice to finish with France. *The enemy was wrong!* France, crushed, humiliated, sold into bondage, is starting to climb out of the abyss. The Frenchmen of the Chad have just given proof of this. By their admirable example they have given the signal for the uprising of the *whole French Empire!*"

Nearly half of the French Empire heeded his cry—French Equatorial Africa, the Cameroons, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, the group of smaller French islands in the Pacific, and the French holdings in India.

Throughout the following year de Gaulle was heard regularly from London and occasionally from his own colonial transmitters. By radio he announced the organization of a Free French Government, belabored the "traitors" of Vichy, bolstered the courage of his troops in Africa, appealed to the world for aid, and called constantly for yet more volunteers.

His voice was now eagerly awaited by "bootleg" listeners in a France that was beginning to despise "collaboration" and seethe with unrest. And de Gaulle assiduously fanned the flames of revolt: "The duty of all those in occupied France who may find themselves forced to work under Hitler's saber or the knife of Mussolini is to resist—with all the means in their power. It must never come to pass that Frenchmen contribute to forging for the enemy arms that will slaughter other sons of France."

In celebration of Joan of Arc Day, May 11, 1941, de Gaulle staged by radio a demonstration of protest against the Nazi conquerors. He suggested that Frenchmen everywhere unite in one thought—the freedom of their country. Between the hours of 3:00 and 4:00 in the afternoon, all those in France were instructed to come out on to the streets, parks, and promenades of cities and villages. "They will walk individually, or in families, or in groups of friends. *Absolute silence will reign*. But by looking into one another's eyes they will speak their common desire and fraternal pledge: 'The enemy will not get the better of us. Some day he will be driven out.'" The demonstration was a success, for later news leaked out of Paris that 40 persons had been arrested in that city alone.

Following the Allies' victorious 33-day campaign against the forces of Vichy in Syria, de Gaulle made his first address specially designed for the United States from his own station at Brazzaville. His words were well chosen: "In the history of the world the greatest achievements of the greatest peoples have been their struggles for freedom."

De Gaulle is superbly equipped by nature for the role of Radio General. He has a genius for martial oratory that is in keeping with the best Gallic traditions; his style is heroic without bombast; the words "hope," "courage," "glory," "victory," roll naturally from his lips. He loves repetition and

long lists of names, and knows how to marshal them into sonorous periods that build up to a crashing climax. His speeches convey the spirit of a victorious army on the march, with the band playing and the flags proudly flying. It is impossible to hear him without being stirred.

A droll weakness of the Radio General is that despite his professional ease at the microphone and tremendous fervor when launched on a theme, he is often slow in taking his cue and listeners hear the announcer whisper: "*A vous, mon General*" (Go ahead, General).

Unquestionably the Free French movement owes its existence as much to the power of radio as to the aid of the British Government. By what other means could one man have rallied around him tens of thousands of fighters from a defeated nation and a far-flung Empire? But for radio, which was able to spread the message that a Free France existed and would fight on, Frenchmen all over the world would surely have resigned themselves, however reluctantly, to defeat. Radio made possible daily communication both with France and the colonies. It was the voice that carried de Gaulle's stirring call to arms into the homes of his countrymen. It enabled him, starting from scratch, to form a new French army, and to bring a new France, a fighting France, back into the struggle against Hitlerism.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MIGHTY VOICE OF THE KREMLIN

IN WORLD WAR II, the radio voice of Soviet Russia, the only country to broadcast propaganda by radio in the First World War, was the mightiest in the world—a 500-kilowatt transmitter, by far the most powerful ever built.

Years before other nations had realized the possibilities of international broadcasting, the Third Internationale mobilized radio to preach the doctrine of class solidarity and world revolution. But though Moscow had a flying start on the rest of the world, its radio propaganda for English-speaking listeners remained ponderous and unimaginative as compared with the efforts of later contestants.

“The rotten foreign capitalists,” Moscow repeated monotonously, “the Fascist, reactionary, chauvinistic dictatorships are exploiting the workers of the world. In Germany, in Italy, in Bulgaria, the working people have no rights of any kind.”¹ The U. S. S. R., listeners were assured, was fighting for the oppressed. Had she not provided her own citizens with the most liberal constitution in the world? Was not the life of the Russian proletarian a paradise compared with that of his exploited comrades in foreign lands? Here Moscow would break off to regale its audience with long readings from the oracles of Marxism.

¹ *Radio News*. May, 1938.

On another front, Russia was waging with greater effectiveness a savage radio war against Nazi Germany. Moscow programs were the first to be outlawed for German ears, and in order to make sure that "loyal" citizens would not be tempted to disobey the injunction against listening, the Nazi radio went in for systematic "jamming" of Russian transmissions. While Moscow engineers dodged this interference by nimbly switching wave lengths, Russian announcers gleefully retailed scandalous stories about the leading Nazis and urged German workers to rebel against the tyrannous rule of these "parasites." This was the situation when the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact of August 1939 left Radio Moscow's spokesmen posturing miserably at the microphone with nary a word to say.

The outbreak of war gave them a new motif: "The Soviet Union has never sought and does not seek war with anybody. It refused to fight with Great Britain against Germany, and with Germany against Great Britain. It does not try to convert others to its ideals by means of the bayonet . . . The Soviet Union desires trade and economic relations with all countries . . ."

The war with Finland, of course, scotched talk of peace on Russian broadcasts. But no sooner was an armistice signed with the Helsinki Government than Moscow reverted to its policy of playing down the war in the West. Even the spectacular German victories of the spring of 1940 failed to excite the Russian radio.

Half of all Russian news dealt with the home front, one quarter with the domestic affairs of non-European countries—labor conditions in the United States received periodic attention—and only one fifth with the European war. Home news came first and consisted mostly of reports of progress in various branches of public activity in the Soviet—announcements of new oil wells discovered, new schools

opened, and various scientific achievements. The wonders of the Soviet Paradise were consistently held up to the listener.² (These were also the theme of a Girl Scout serial featured by the Russian radio—the story of a young lady from a wicked capitalist country who suddenly found herself in happy Sovietland.) The second part of Moscow newscasts presented terse, up-to-the-minute bulletins from the warring capitals, and news of the Sino-Japanese conflict, if there were any Chinese successes to report. Items were read alternately by a man and a woman in excellent English, and the tone was that of polite teatime conversation.

A striking peculiarity of Moscow programs was the prominent play given to absurdly inconsequential domestic items. The productions of the Moscow Art Theater and descriptions of intracity basketball games were solemnly reported to the world. A large catch of fish in the Caspian Sea was considered an important news event, and the Moscow radio would even take time off to announce that a half-ton sturgeon had been bagged by some enterprising comrade. The all-time high in incongruity was reached when, at the height of the *Blitzkrieg* in the West, the Soviet opened its afternoon news with the proud announcement that the mushrooms in Moscow gardens were doing nicely that spring.

On June 22, 1941, as Hitler's armies invaded the Soviet, half of Germany's most powerful radio transmitters hurled a thunderous verbal barrage at the Russian armies, frenziedly urging all to "revolt and surrender." Immediately Moscow's superstations clarioned their defiance. Berlin tried to "jam" Moscow; Moscow tried to "jam" Berlin. And as nine million men were locked in battle from the Arctic to the Black Sea, a war of unparalleled intensity began to rage on the ether.

One evening late in August 1941, Germans listening to a news program of the Berlin radio were astounded by an

² Ernst Kris, *Mass Communication* (Chicago University Press.)

extraordinary interruption. "Lies, lies," cut in a strange voice from out of the night. The Nazi announcer continued: "The German Armed Forces have won new victories." "Don't you believe it. The Blitzkrieg has been stopped for nine weeks," countered the intruder. "The Luftwaffe has shot down 109 Soviet planes," shouted the Berlin speaker. "And how many German planes were shot down?" was the quick rejoinder. And so it went.³ The German announcers tried rattling off their items at double speed. It was no use. The Ghost Voice was too quick for them. The Berlin radio dropped its newscasts and hastily rushed a brass band onto the air. The brasses blared, the musicians sweated and gasped for breath, but The Voice could still be heard—unmistakably—in the background. The frantic Nazis cut in raucous sound effects to drown out The Voice. Band, sound effects, and The Ghost Voice together produced a bedlam that must have caused every sane listener to switch off his radio.

Later that same evening, in between musical selections, the Berlin station tried anxiously to tear off a news announcement. Immediately The Voice popped up out of nowhere, and once again there was utter chaos. Finally, in desperation, the *Deutschlandsender* went off the air and listeners were begged to tune in to other stations.

The heckler who had performed these astounding feats mysteriously described himself as "a man of the people," but his salvos were eventually traced by the Nazis to the giant transmitter of RWL—thirty miles from Moscow. The British gleefully nicknamed him "Ivan the Terrible" and "Mike the Mad Russian." Soviet officials in London guessed he might be a former Viennese journalist, Ernst Fischer, who had been working for the Moscow radio. They also hinted slyly that Foreign Vice-Commissar, Solomon Abramovich

³ The Voice's remarks quoted in this chapter were recorded in England by the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Lozovsky, who spoke flawless German, might have had a share in bedeviling the Nazis.⁴

Behind *The Voice* lay a revolutionary discovery in radio technique. Somehow, Russian engineers had found a way of synchronizing their wave lengths with those of the German stations, thus making it possible for Ivan to cut in whenever the Nazi announcers paused for breath. It was indeed a sad state of affairs for Dr. Goebbels' underlings. Not only were their words flung in their teeth, but listeners were further regaled with the tempting spectacle of someone talking back and getting away with it.

What was more, the puckish wave-length crasher continued, night after night, to bait Nazi newscasters with a machine-gun fire of pointed repartee.

NAZI ANNOUNCER: German bombers went into action last night. . . .

THE VOICE: Have you any left?

ANNOUNCER: "British bombers attempted to raid. . . ."

THE VOICE: "You bet they did!"

ANNOUNCER: "Italian planes scored hits on British ships in. . . ."

THE VOICE: "Don't make me laugh."

ANNOUNCER: "Der Fuehrer's headquarters announces. . . ."

THE VOICE: "More fairy tales. . . ."

ANNOUNCER: "This is the end of the news. . . ."

THE VOICE: "But lies will be on the air again tomorrow."

Sometimes *The Voice* struck a more serious note, and interjected remarks such as these: "The beginning of the end of Hitler has commenced. . . . On the eastern front one German division after another is being annihilated. I am telling you Hitler will send all your soldiers into a mass grave. . . . Murder and arson, that's what Hitler means. Down with the warmongers who will ruin the German peo-

⁴ *Time*, September 8, 1941.

ple!" But the light touch was never absent for long. A call to revolution would quickly be capped by a succession of whimsical sallies.

The Voice did not content himself with tracking down and wrecking German newscasts. He would pop up like a jack-in-the-box in the middle of talks and feature programs, always with the perfect comeback on the tip of his tongue. Cutting in, for example, on a sports broadcast in which new records were being announced, The Voice chuckled: "Dr. Goebbels has just set the greatest sports record of all time. He has annihilated 5,000,000 Russian soldiers without moving from his desk."

One night, after driving the Berlin station off the air, The Voice generously pinch-hit for Dr. Goebbels himself. In perfect imitation of the little doctor, The Voice dramatically presented a special announcement: "Hitler's Blitzkrieg has collapsed! He has lost the war against Britain. He has lost the Battle of the Atlantic and the battle in Asia Minor. German casualties in Russia exceed 2,000,000 men. The German army is bleeding to death. Germany must lose to Britain, Russia, and the U.S.A."

Tickled by this new pastime, The Voice next went on to mimic the Fuehrer himself. So cleverly did he do the job that the United Press Listening Post in New York reported it sounded exactly as if Hitler were speaking. Here is the text of the bogus Hitler's broadcast:⁵

"Foreign propagandists have accused me of having an inferiority complex. This is not true. I never had an inferiority complex. I always knew that I am the greatest man Germany has had for centuries, perhaps for a thousand years. But I am not only the greatest German. I also have the greatest mouth any man ever had in world history.

⁵As recorded by the United Press Listening Post in New York.

"Now about the war. Today is the second anniversary of this war. I promised you that this year would be the decisive one, but I don't let myself be disturbed by Bolshevik propagandists who know nothing about propaganda. I will make this war last so long as I like and if I say it will last 30 years, it will last 30 years. You know my patience.

"I will lead this war up to the last German. And now about the sacrifices. Every German family has to sacrifice to me two members of its family. . . .

"Don't let us be influenced by defeatists who say to you that this war will not last forever. That is foreign propaganda. German soldiers are dying for me and not for those foreigners. And when 8,000,000 have died I will take all the responsibility. . . . And now one more word. The enemies of the German people are speaking of peace. There will be no peace. I know only one aim. That is war. As long as I am the leader of Germany I will lead you from victory to victory to the final catastrophe."

Ivan's success brought a succession of ghost voices into the radio war. A Moscow heckler (who may have been Ivan) started to bedevil Radio Roma; another (who may also have been Ivan) cut in on Sofia broadcasts. A Nazi voice heavily butted into Moscow programs urging comrades to revolt. And an English-speaking "ghost," whom the British dubbed "Harassing Harry," interrupted the BBC with pot shots at Churchill, the Food Ministry, and the U. S. A.

While Ivan held the spotlight, Moscow's regular spokesmen were doing sterling propaganda work. One of these was Vice-Commissar Lozovsky himself, considered by some experts to be the world's best broadcaster. Beating the Germans at their own game, Moscow took the initiative in the war of rumors and launched widely publicized reports that Goering was in a concentration camp, that Field Marshal

Milch and General Udet ⁶ of the *Luftwaffe*, had been murdered by the Gestapo, and that Hitler had been packed off to an asylum for the insane, where he was now happily chewing carpets.

Stories of German losses and Russian heroism were handled by the Moscow radio with a verve that must have turned Dr. Goebbels green with jealousy. "Medical examination of German tank crews," said Moscow in its English feature "Episodes From The Front," "showed they suffered from chronic undernourishment . . . Russian farmers who refused to reveal the names of guerrilla fighters were whipped unconscious by the Fascist aggressors, then thrown in a heap, drenched with kerosene while they were still alive, and set on fire. . . . In Germany and the occupied territories Nazi courts-martial work day and night to keep up with rioters and saboteurs. This shows how scared the Nazis really are."

On one occasion Moscow produced a group of German prisoners at the microphone to talk to the folks back home. "Hitler has betrayed us," shouted a certain Private Jakob Putsch of the German Infantry Regiment 485. "Comrades, finish, finish this war! Join up with us." Private Paul Wol-schoff, Infantry Regiment 239, said, "Hearty greetings from the Russian prison camp to all German comrades. It's swell here, boys, and *it is safe!* How I got caught? Well, we were heavily shelled by Russian artillery. So I ducked forward, and that's how they caught me. I am grateful." ⁷

Particularly brilliant was Moscow's treatment of the special Victory communiqués from Berlin, which it called "Much Ado About Nothing—an opera in four special announcements from the German High Command. Music (the celebrated

⁶ About two weeks later Berlin announced, not altogether convincingly, that Udet had been killed in a plane accident.

⁷ Siegfried Wagener, "We're Listening." *Chicago Times*.

fanfares) by the German Propaganda Ministry." It then went on to parody three of these as follows:

"Special announcement No. 1. The High Command of the German armed forces announces that it is just as far from Leningrad as it was four weeks ago. The German armed forces accordingly have reconquered towns taken four weeks ago. . . . Special announcement No. 2. Armed units have succeeded in driving a wedge to the very gates of Kiev. Kiev, however, is so curiously built that these gates are situated no less than two hundred kilometres from the town. . . .

"Special announcement No. 3. In the central sector, the Army Group of General Field Marshal Von Bock has brought to a victorious conclusion the great battle for Smolensk. And why victorious? Because the Russians did not succeed in enticing the German armed forces nearer to Moscow. In the central sector the German armed forces stand exactly where they stood four weeks ago."⁸

About Hitler's allies, Radio Moscow had this to tell to the German people: "Hitler prides himself on his allies and Goebbels boasts about them every day. But at close range it looks different. The Rumanian radio denies the Hungarians achieved any victories. But both Hungarian and Rumanian reports stink. For more than three weeks the Slovaks have issued no war communiqué because there simply aren't any Slovak troops fighting.

"The Croats never sent any troops to help Hitler. This was wise because in spite of all the bribes offered they had no volunteers. And Hitler's great ally, Italy, slowly realized that she no longer believes in *Blitzkrieg*. Mussolini sent some troops but you don't find them on the front. Certainly not because Mussolini is a humanitarian but because he knows that his people don't want to die for Hitler, and that they'd much rather fight Hitler."

⁸"London Calling." No. 101.

The Moscow Radio called on German workers to manufacture dud shells, urged them to overthrow their Nazi overlords, and predicted that the "great and grand coalition of Soviet Russia and Britain will smash Hitler and the Fascist dogs and free the world." For the Finns it broadcast statements such as this—supposedly the remark of a high Nazi officer after his capture by the Russians: "I am an Aryan and I am nauseated by the dirty Finnish swine." For the British, Moscow declared: "The Russo-British friendship will be continued after the war." For the U.S.A., it played up the visit of Harry Hopkins and joined with its "dear friends in America" in celebrating Independence Day, which, said Moscow, "we realize to be no capitalistic feast but a genuine expression of a progressive people which has now allied itself with Russia." It then called on the American people "to assist us in striking the deadly blow at Fascism."

In the field of dramatization, so effectively exploited by the BBC, Moscow proved itself no mean adept. The climax to its dramatic efforts came on the anniversary of Napoleon's entry into Moscow, for which occasion the Russian radio staged a mock dialogue between Hitler and Bonaparte. After predicting Hitler's inevitable destruction, the make-believe Napoleon declared contemptuously: ⁹ "I'll tell you what you are. You're nothing but a crazy imitator of me—a mad corporal who compares himself with a general. Away with you." And Napoleon concluded in a sepulchral voice: "Hitler, choke and die!"

If words could choke Hitler, Radio Center Moscow would have done it long ago.

⁹ Siegfried Wagener, "We're Listening," *Chicago Times*. August 3, 1941.

CHAPTER XVIII

PENNY WHISTLES FROM THE FAR EAST

WHEN Japan went to war against the United States, Shanghai had more radio stations than any other city in the world. Seven nations were broadcasting in twelve languages to a few thousand Europeans and over three million bewildered Chinese.

Against a background of tinkly oriental music the Chungking radio station advertised "exquisite" bombproof shelters chiseled out of solid rock.

Tokyo broadcast Italian opera, talked grandiloquently of New Orders, and informed Americans in pidgin English that "war is a great crime."

Saigon in Indo-China, was blandly telling the world: "The greatest concern of the French population here is the fact that wine stocks are running low."

From "down under" the Australians were sending out programs that reached America when most respectable citizens were asleep in bed.

To a radio listener perched on some strategic vantage point to catch every whisper of the radio war in the Orient, the whole business sounded like something out of *Alice in Wonderland*. But the unreality was an illusion. However picayune or inept the efforts of some of the broadcasters might appear,

radio was playing its part in the struggle for power in the Far East.¹

Shanghai, the hub of conflicting interests in the Orient, was in itself a microcosm of the world's struggle on the air waves. At the beginning of the China "incident," there existed in Shanghai 35 privately owned Chinese stations, two government ones, and five operated by foreign interests. Radio in China was an informal affair; stations were located in lofts, private homes, and stores. In March 1938, after the Japanese entry into Shanghai, a Japanese Control Board was established to bring all stations in line with Nippon's New Order. The majority of the Chinese-owned stations that refused to submit to Japanese control, were shut down; others were seized and put to broadcasting Japanese propaganda; five were maintained for the express purpose of "jamming" unfavorable programs from the foreign-owned stations in the International Settlement.

Of these foreign stations two were operated by American interests, two by the British, one each by the Russians, Nazis, Italians, and French. One eight-year-old American station, "The Call of the Orient," presented a popular news commentator, Carrol Alcott, whose "provocative pro-British reports" greatly incensed the Japanese. Once weekly it sponsored a program entitled, "The Free French Speak to You," and every Sunday there was "Uncensored News From Norway" by a local Norwegian resident. The second American station sponsored by the *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury* broadcast news daily in three Chinese dialects as well as English. The leading British station, "The Voice of Democracy," operated by the *North China Daily News*, rebroadcast BBC programs throughout the Orient in ten languages. After the German invasion of Russia, "The Voice of the

¹ Throughout this chapter I have drawn on *The China Weekly Review* for 1940 and 1941.

Soviet Union in Shanghai" joined the anti-Axis propaganda lineup.

The Japanese brought every form of pressure to bear on these foreign stations—the Nazi one, of course, excepted. One American station and the French station were bludgeoned into reducing their power. Another American station was ordered to change its frequency to one already being used by a Japanese transmitter. When it refused to comply with the order, the Japanese attempted to blackout its programs by moving one of their own stations onto the same frequency. This maneuver, however, was foiled by the Americans who quickly skipped to a new frequency. The Japanese fared better when they clamped down on the *China Weekly Review's* news summaries; by insisting on a censorship, which the editor rejected, they forced these broadcasts off the air. More direct methods were used in an attempt to silence Carrol Alcott; a Japanese terrorist threw a bomb into the station while Alcott was on the air—but without fatal results.

Meanwhile, into the surcharged ether around Shanghai, the local Japanese stations poured out Nipponese propaganda in Cantonese, Mandarin, and English. Using *Domei* reports for their newscasts, the Japanese made their Chinese programs bitterly anti-British and anti-American, but showed greater restraint when broadcasting for British and American listeners. The Japanese were backed up by the German station, "Shanghai Calling," which made a special point of attacking the veracity of the English-language press of China and featured anti-British propaganda in Hindustani, beamed at India. This Nazi station boasted both of Shanghai's local "Haw-Haws"—two Chinese-born German brothers who spoke excellent English.

Westward in Chungking, the key international station of "The Voice of China" sought valiantly to keep the Chinese cause before the world's listeners, pledging steadfast alle-

giance to the fight for democracy and pleading daily for American support. "Am I my brother's keeper?" asked a Chinese announcer launching an appeal to the American Red Cross. "Yes! the American people have said to the Chinese millions who need their help." ²

The Voice of China, a voice crying out for aid across thousands of miles of ocean, consisted of four short-wave stations. The main one at Chungking, capital of Nationalist China, broadcast to the world in twenty languages and dialects. English, German, French, Dutch, Japanese, Malay, Arabic, Hindustani, and Chinese took up the greater part of the broadcasting day but several obscure dialects were squeezed in so as to hit the minorities of the Orient.

Compared with European broadcasts, this Chinese station was strangely dispassionate in its references to the enemy. In fact, with characteristic Chinese politeness, the Voice of China never used the word "enemy." And while it did attack outspokenly the Chinese traitors whom Tokyo had set up as puppet rulers on the continent, its hatred of Japan was subtly expressed. This Chinese reserve, a refreshing novelty in the war of words, was perhaps one aspect of China's readiness to face a long drawn-out war with Japan.

Every broadcast from Chungking contained a sober statement of China's calm determination "to keep on fighting until the last Japanese soldier is expelled from its territory." "We will continue to fight," Chinese speakers assured the world, "until we gain our national independence and freedom so that the spirit of our late leader, Sun Yat-sen, will rest in peace. . . . China has many outlets; Japan cannot close them all."

To impress upon the friends of China the crucial importance of these "outlets" and of increasing the flow of aid that

²Siegfried Wagener, "We're Listening." *Chicago Times*.

was reaching China through them was the main function of Chinese international broadcasts. "A few years ago," said Chungking, "nobody paid much attention to Burma. Now China seeks outlet through it, her back door. The Burma Road is the lifeline of Free China. . . . We must remember that wishful thinking is no match for lightning war. Our hopes are that you of the United States will see in the Burma Road not only a strategical link between China and the outside world but also a bond between eastern and western Democracy. . . . The anti-democratic forces of the world have united. Why should not the democratic forces of the world also unite to protect their security and freedom?"

Oddly enough, the Chinese radio appreciated the need for publicity and, as a promotion stunt, once successfully conducted an essay contest for listeners in the United States, the subject being "How to improve Chinese-American relations." The winner was given a \$1,200 prize and a trip to China by clipper.

Chinese programs beamed at the United States can have had but a small audience outside of Chinese nationals; the narrow scope of their news would have discouraged anyone but an ardent supporter of China from listening, while unannounced changes of frequency made reception a game of hide-and-seek. But that Chinese international broadcasts did reach a scattered audience throughout the world was shown by letters received from listeners all the way from Batavia to Budapest. There was a farmer in Kansas who assured Chungking he was a faithful listener, and a helpful gentleman from Brooklyn, N. Y., wrote in to say that he passed on the Voice of China's news to the Arabic papers in Manhattan.

Inside China about a dozen government stations strove to keep up the morale of the home front. These were engaged in an unending struggle to dodge the "jamming" tactics of the watchful Japanese. They did, however, manage to force

their information through to the Chinese living in the occupied territory, and there it moved swiftly from mouth to mouth through underground tea-house channels. In addition, the supporters of Chiang Kai-shek operated "roving stations"—hard to "jam" because they were constantly changing their wave length—which broadcast to the native population national hymns, calls for recruits, and pep talks on the aims and ideals of the nationalist government.

An idea of the fantastically confused conditions under which broadcasting went on in China was provided by reports from American radio correspondents covering the Chinese side of the Sino-Japanese war for listeners in the United States. "Getting a broadcast off from here is really a story," wrote Melville Jacoby,³ NBC's representative in Chungking to his chief, Abe Schechter, NBC's director of news and special events. "Take this morning's 4½-minute affair for example. You ride for hours in rickshaws, ferry-boats, etc. and there are no telephones. Getting out to another studio (the main one is out of commission) is a matter of wangling a car, then five gallons of gasoline, getting a sleeping soldier out of the car and the driver out of bed.

"Then you get to the studio out in the country and find all the engineers arguing about what GMT means to Chungking. Finally you are ready to start talking and you find some coolie has swept your papers off the desk and you have to dash out a minute before program time to find them. During the broadcast, the coolie holding the lamp over your head so you can read starts mumbling into the microphone."

Describing an attempted broadcast, which failed to materialize, Jacoby told of working 48 hours, running across the city and back between raiding planes, and with a completed story dashing to the Chengtu station via rickshaw at

³ *Broadcasting*, September 1, 1941.

4 A.M. "We were scheduled to meet Chungking (XGOY) at 6 A.M., and stand by for the program which was to go out at 6:45 A.M. our time. At 6 a coolie appeared at the station; at 6:10 someone else. I ranted and raved about contacting Chungking, to no avail. No one seemed to know about the program. Finally I aroused the station director and he said it was too early to broadcast to America and just yawned. Then the governor's aide arrived, and he said he came late because he knew I couldn't get through to the U. S. anyway.

"All this after I had carefully explained in detail just what was happening and we had staged a dress rehearsal the day before—even to checking clocks which is an unusual practice in this fair land. In the meantime Chungking, and I presume RCA, had been standing by. The Chungking announcer calling us got so mad, he spluttered."

JAPAN CALLING!

While the Chinese struggled to put their case to the world, Japan swelled the Orient's contribution to the "battle of many tongues" with broadcasts from thirty-eight stations totaling 500 kilowatts of power. Fifteen stations in China, at Peiping, Tientsin, Nanking, Canton, and Shanghai, strove to keep the conquered peoples in line. Meanwhile, fourteen hours daily, several 50-kilowatt transmitters poured Nipponese propaganda into Australasia, Russia, Europe, Latin America, and the United States. Taking their cue from Berlin, the Japanese had plunged seriously into the business of long-distance persuasion.

Of all totalitarian radio propaganda, Japan's was the most faithful day-to-day reflection of the country's official policy. Unlike German (and therefore Italian) broadcasts, which showed unmistakable signs of long-range advance planning, Japanese programs registered, chameleonlike, every change

of temper in the Tokyo government. Their attitude toward the United States during the last six months of 1941 strikingly illustrates this point.

Whenever this country foresaw a crisis in the Orient and was taking a firm stand, Japanese broadcasters would play the innocent and blandly ask what all the excitement was about. "There is a ghostlike rumor still persisting abroad," a Tokyo spokesman would purr, "that an imminent crisis is lurking in the Far East. But all indications point to the fact that this highly advertized crisis is going to end up as another false alarm." This particular speaker then went on to "try and take this whole thing apart and see what is raising the foul odor down in the region of the South China Sea." The cast of characters "supposedly" drawn up in this "proposed drama" was listed as "French Indo-China, Thailand, the Netherlands East Indies, and the Philippines—the defenseless little nations about to be gobbled up by the big bad wolf, Japan. The hero is to be the British Navy and the Australian land forces, with good old Uncle Sam standing by all set to give the finishing blow that will knock the big bad wolf out and make the world safe for democracy."

But Japan, it seemed, was too busy with China to indulge in such adventures, and anyway there was the wicked Russian bear growling in her backyard. The fact of the matter was that Uncle Sam had become excited by his own saber-rattling. "The Japanese people are really at a loss to understand the meaning of peace as defined by the democracies. The display of military and naval might by the United States can hardly be regarded as an invitation to peace."

Came a time when Germany was egging her Asiatic partner into action. The tone of the Tokyo radio would promptly become stronger. First, in the approved Japanese style, a cautious insinuation by Keisuke Sugiyami, "noted" Tokyo commentator. "I am not in a position to deny that an emer-

gency may soon arise between the United States and Japan." The reason for this, according to Tokyo, was President Roosevelt's policy of bringing pressure to bear on the Axis powers. Then the Japanese would get tough: "Japan is not so weak a country as the United States believes. Suppose Japan becomes so embittered that she takes up arms? Who will *shiver* most at the *dashing action* of Japan? It will be the Dutch East Indies, for both Britain and America will be frightened if their challenges are accepted."

In the mouths of Japanese propagandists, the aims of the United States became dark and devious. "President Roosevelt is trying to convert the European war into a world conflict. We hope that Chancellor Hitler has awakened the American people and its government to the folly of bringing destruction to America itself. . . . Two obstacles which lie in the path of America's greed for world power are Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia. The attitude of the United States has not only failed to separate Germany and Japan, but has brought them closer together."

At this stage threats and warnings would come thick and fast. "The United States is trying to restrain Japan as a world power. But Japan's determination to construct a New Order in East Asia will never be broken by Britain and the United States. Japan is ready to accept their challenge if they care to resort to such a measure. . . . No longer is the military campaign a conflict between two nations. It is now resolved into a gigantic struggle with those forces that seek to obstruct and interfere with the natural development of a peaceful order. Japan is determined to establish a New Order which is compatible with the well-being of the nations within the sphere of a greater East Asia. We will feel no antagonism toward any nation as long as that nation keeps its hands out of a sphere beyond its own shores."

President Roosevelt was then termed "that monomaniacal

person, who poses as an international police chief. . . . He seems to think the fatalistic struggle between nations can be measured by the moral standards of individuals. He thinks the wars now being fought in Europe and Asia are conflicts between good and bad children. Is there any more fantastic interpretation of history than this?"

Americans were then warned that Japan would not tolerate their "needless interference," still less their aid to the "Chinese bandits." Inflamed with its own big words, the Japanese radio would wind up by noisily asserting that if war should come America would stand convicted of being its "author and instigator."

Having worked up a climax of threats and bluster, the Japanese radio would execute an abrupt about-face each time Tokyo concluded that the United States was ready to take stern measures against further Japanese aggression in the Pacific. Verbal bayonets would quickly give place to verbal olive branches, and Japanese broadcasters would suddenly adopt the language of honey-sweet reason. "Only the utmost of tolerance," Tokyo would say anxiously, "can at this late hour avoid war, a war which would destroy friendly relations of eighty years' standing. It is the duty of both Japanese and American statesmen to compromise. Japan expresses her intent to do so. . . ." Thus after weeks of braggadocio, Japanese commentators, obediently following the official line, would eat humble pie—until Berlin again reminded Tokyo that the "master race" of the Orient was losing face and goaded the Tokyo militarists into fresh trouble-making.

A good many of Japan's radio activities struck a note of pure whimsy in Western ears—the symphony concerts in which Japanese orchestras tackled Mozart, Beethoven, and Bach; the Nipponese rendition of swing music designed to entertain the poor swing-starved Americans; and the pidgin English of Tokyo announcers. Equally diverting were the

broadcasts of a certain lady professor, Agnes Ballin, who held up as an example to American womanhood the virtuous conduct of Japanese women. Three rules, she said, governed their lives: "Obedience to their parents, obedience when married, obedience to their children." And, the lady professor added admiringly: "They never retire until a late hour and *never* until their husband does." To clinch an argument about the rights and wrongs of U. S.-Japanese relations, a Nipponese commentator pointed out triumphantly that the Land of the Rising Sun was over 950,000 days old, the United States a mere 60,000! And as dramatic evidence of the solidarity between Italy and Japan, Tokyo proudly announced arrangements for the exchange of regular broadcasts of opera between the two countries. Listeners were told in all seriousness that China, by continuing the struggle, "risks to lose her independence." "War is a crime," Tokyo solemnly informed the world, adding querulously: "But President Roosevelt tells us war is permissible and even absolutely necessary for the protection of democracy. For the survival of democracy war is no crime. Even the happiness of humanity must be offered on the altar of democracy." Tokyo forgot that Americans remembered who started this "war is no crime" argument.

While the Japanese radio was a political weathervane faithfully registering the changing outlook in Tokyo, another station in the Far East likewise reflected changing world conditions. When France was fighting beside Britain, the powerful international station at Saigon, capital of Indo-China, was the voice of the Third Republic and of the French Empire, blanketing the Pacific and the Antipodes with anti-Nazi broadcasts. After Compiègne, Saigon became the mouthpiece of Vichy. Marshal Pétain was praised to the skies for having "given the people fresh confidence," while de Gaulle and the Free French were severely discountenanced. In

obedience to Berlin-inspired orders from Vichy, Saigon sent out favorable reports of Hitler's speeches; but, thanks to its relative isolation from Europe, it could afford occasional flashes of independence. On one occasion, for instance, Saigon dutifully retailed the Fuehrer's latest crop of invasion threats but subtly added Thomas Hardy's story of the shepherd who watched Napoleon studying the coast of England in a row-boat. During this phase of its swiftly changing career Saigon was decidedly friendly toward the United States in order to encourage the shipment of food supplies to France. Came the Japanese occupation of French Indo-China, which made Radio Saigon just another outlet for Nipponese propaganda, and kindly remarks about Uncle Sam were henceforth few and far between.

THE VOICE FROM "DOWN UNDER"

The challenging laugh of the Kookaburra bird was the signal that Australia's international station at Sydney was on the air. This transmitter had long performed the important function of covering the BBC's "blind spots" in the Pacific. But while fighting manfully for the British cause, the men from "down under" had sent out programs with a decided Australian tinge, a personality all their own, giving the Australian point of view and telling of the Dominion's war effort.

"It is not enough for us to produce tanks and planes," Sydney explained. "We have also to man them. Australia is more than fulfilling her commitment in this scheme. Australians are fighting side by side with British squadrons in all theaters of the war. The original handful of 150 men has grown to three army divisions."

While the Australians were fighting in Libya, East Africa, Greece, and Syria, Sydney suddenly took the radio spotlight

with eyewitness accounts from the battlefields—gripping tales of heroism and adventure, such as the story of the men who, disguised as Arabs, escaped from Tobruk with the aid of a Bedouin girl.

Sydney naturally kept a wary eye on developments in Japan and paid special attention to the Orient in its news bulletins. After the sudden outbreak of hostilities in the Pacific, the short-wave broadcasts of the Australian radio became a vitally important source of news from this theater of war.

Another job the Sydney station tackled energetically was that of broadcasting throughout the Pacific the doings of de Gaulle and his Free Frenchmen, about whom Saigon was so purposefully silent. Like the BBC, the Australian radio analyzed German and Italian broadcast propaganda in a weekly feature entitled "The Truth of It Is."

The greatest disadvantage of Australian short-wave transmissions to this country lay in the fact that, being for the most part broadcast in the evening from the other side of the world, they arrived in the United States in the early morning. And unfortunately, at 7 A.M., even the best foreign programs were of little interest to Americans.

The Australians realized this deficiency and, since the transmitters they had in operation in 1941 could not get a clear signal through to America except when it was dark on the transmitting end, they started building a giant 100-kilowatt station with which to reach potential listeners in the United States. Plans were laid down for broadcasts to four zones, Southeast Asia, East Asia and Japan, North America, and South America, in English, French, Spanish, Dutch, Cantonese, Malayan, and Tamil. Thus the Voice of Australia would be heard clearly throughout the world.

CHAPTER XIX

THE SECRET STATIONS: VOICES FROM OUT OF THE NIGHT

AFTER sunset on the evening of May 19, 1938, a large grocer's truck, bearing the label of a butter and eggs concern, backed out of a garage in the little Austrian town of Horn and drove off into the country. It proceeded at a good speed for five or six miles, then, reaching a deserted-looking spot, pulled to the side of the road under a clump of trees and extinguished its headlights.

The three men in the driver's seat began moving the packing cases at the front end of the truck until there was room for them to clamber inside. In the center on a bench was a small radio transmitter with portable antennas, which were quickly rigged up on the top of the truck. At 8 P.M. one of the men began speaking in German into the microphone. "This is the Austrian *Freiheitssender* . . ."

Just over a month before this, Austria had been swallowed up by the Reich. Europe was in the throes of a "war crisis," and Austrian troops, forced to serve in the German army, had been massed along with several regular Nazi divisions on the weakest part of the frontier between Czechoslovakia and the new German province of Ostmark (Austria). It was to those Austrian troops that the Freedom station addressed itself, inciting them to sabotage and to mutiny in the event of war.

"This is not an Austrian war," was its slogan. "Austrians don't fight in a foreign uniform or in a foreign cause."

The results of the Freedom station's transmissions were soon apparent. Austrian soldiers detailed to mass guns and supplies along the Czech border had to be punished for deliberately slowing up operations. Deserters fled across the frontier. One night a huge sheet of flame shot through the glass roof of the Wiener Neustadt powder factory; a second later half of it was blown sky high. In the Steyr tank factory in the province of Styria, a group of workers threw spanners and iron bars into the machinery, holding up production for days. Ten of the culprits were hanged. Nevertheless, incidents continued. Workers would "accidentally" thrust their fingers into the machinery that ran the assembly line. Each time it took twelve hours to repair the damage. All anti-Nazi workers paid one mark each a week into a secret fund to provide for the wives and children of those who lay in hospital with their fingers missing.

The Nazis did not take this lying down. Aided by technicians of the German radio, the Gestapo was able to narrow down to within a radius of a few miles the area in which the mobile Freedom station was operating, and proceeded to comb the countryside. One night the butter and eggs truck was stopped. The Freedom broadcasters knew that anyone searching their truck from the rear would not locate the transmitter unless they removed at least two dozen cases. But they knew too that the Gestapo was very thorough, and decided to make a break for it. Two escaped to Czechoslovakia; the third was shot dead.

On the Czech-Austrian frontier the two survivors set up another mobile Freedom station, which broadcast three times a day until the Munich Agreement. From their associates still in Austria they learned that their slogans were being chalked up nightly on the walls of houses in Vienna:

"We want to eat like fat Goering," "Kurt [Schuschnigg] is better than Adolf," "*Wir wollen Otto von Gottesgnaden und nicht den Verbrecher von Berchtesgaden*" ("We want Otto, who rules by the grace of God, and not the criminal of Berchtesgaden"). After Munich, the Czech police, now under orders to suppress anti-Nazi activities in the country, forced the station off the air.

This is the life and death story of the first Austrian *Freiheitssender*, one of the many Freedom stations that for years broadcast, secretly and out of the night, their hatred and defiance of the Nazis. If the complete saga of these pirate stations could be told, it would be one of the most thrilling chapters in the history of underground movements. But too many members of the Freedom Front are dead; and of the others, some guard their secrets for fear of betraying friends or relatives; some have grown accustomed to their cloak of mystery and cling to it with a childish sort of pride. One can only recount episodes in the melodrama, introduce here and there one of the actors, and attempt, by speculating from tantalizingly slender clues, to fill in some of the gaps.

Perhaps the first clandestine transmitter heard was one operated from the German-Czech frontier by a man named Formis, a member of Otto Strasser's "Black Front." On January 24, 1935, Formis was found shot in his hotel at Zahri, forty miles from Prague, and thereafter his station was silent.

The famous *Deutscher Freiheitssender* spoke up for the first time two years later. "Hallo! Hallo! This is the secret transmitter of the German Communist Party calling!" came the announcement, one night in January, 1937.¹ "If this station should be traced and ourselves captured, all arrange-

¹F. Elwyn Jones, *The Defense of Democracy* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1938), quoted by Thomas Grandin in *The Political Use of Radio*.

ments have been made to carry on from another place." Throughout its career, the *Freiheitssender's* spokesmen sought to convey the romantic impression that they were broadcasting in deadly peril under the very nose of the Gestapo. It is now known that the *Freiheitssender*, during the early part of its career, was located in Barcelona, Spain. Its operators did run the risk of being kidnaped or murdered by Gestapo agents, but the danger was hardly as acute as they would have had listeners believe. In September, 1937, Franco's successes caused the Freedom broadcasters to flee from Barcelona. They resumed operations shortly after from a ship "somewhere in the Baltic."

The appeal of the *Freiheitssender* was to the working classes and this is what it said: "We have good reason for talking to you today, because we know that you were an opponent of Hitler before he came to power. You voted Left at the elections. You belonged to a trade union. You used to read the workers' papers. You may or may not have belonged to the Socialist or Communist Parties. When Hitler came to power and destroyed all working-class organizations, you resigned yourself and thought: 'We can't do anything. We've just got to wait.' You have now waited for four years. In your heart you have remained an enemy of the Brown Dictatorship. We ask you today: 'What are you waiting for?' Because if anything is to happen it depends on you and all the others like you. It is time you started taking your place in the struggle against the Brown Dictatorship. . . ." ²

The *Freiheitssender* continually harped on the theme of low wages, miserable living conditions, and the inevitability of a war which all feared and none wanted—unless Hitler and his gang were overthrown. It kept in close touch with distinguished German exiles abroad and was often able to

² Thomas Grandin, *The Political Use of Radio*.

broadcast talks specially written by them. The Nazis were furious and made desperate attempts to blot out its transmissions. "*Achtung! Achtung!*" the Freedom announcer would say. "Turn your dial a fraction and find us near this wave length.³ We are changing our frequency slightly to eliminate jamming." And the broadcast would continue, loud and clear.

Meanwhile the Gestapo was making frantic efforts to track down the secret transmitter. Eventually a Freedom station—but a different one—was captured in Germany, mounted on a cunningly camouflaged truck. One Ernst Niekisch was tried in January, 1939, with twenty associates, and sentenced to hard labor for life. The broadcasts of the Communist *Freiheitssender* continued, and now opened with the Nazis' own slogan "*Deutschland erwache!*" ("Germany awake!")⁴

Other countries also had their secret stations. From somewhere either in the Baltic States or in the Soviet Union itself a clandestine transmitter, claiming to be the mouthpiece of a mysterious "League of Liberators," clamored for revolution against Stalin and "the Red Overlords."

Italy had its anti-Fascist "Libertad Milan," France its "Radio-Corse Libre," Ulster its secret "Irish Republican Station." Even in the United States, a clandestine transmitter broadcasting Japanese propaganda was reliably reported to have been discovered on the West Coast.⁵

The outbreak of war made underground radio activities doubly hazardous and produced the "phony" secret Freedom station which identified itself with the nation it was addressing but was operated from enemy territory under the direction of the enemy.

One of the most effective of these *Ersatz* Freedom stations

³ *The Political Use of Radio*, Thomas Grandin.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

was the one at Fécamp in Normandy, France. Its chief spokesman, who quite enchanted the allied and neutral press by the way in which he bedeviled the Nazis, quickly acquired a reputation on the radio front. The French papers quoted daily from his broadcasts, and christened his station "Radio Liberté." Jonah Barrington Ward of the London *Daily Express*, who had made Lord Haw-Haw famous, bestowed upon him the melodramatic title of "Invisible Rudolf—the Voice of Austria."

Ward described him as "The Man Who Slap-Chats Hitler . . . a magnificent voice . . . probably white-haired, dashing, moustached, and desperate." (Rudolf, an ex-Viennese lawyer now in America, is thirty, has fair hair, is clean-shaven, and looks the reverse of desperate!)

Rudolf's specialty was the coining of slogans which at night would be mysteriously painted in huge letters on the street corners of Vienna. "Everything will soon be rationed in Germany—except blood." Or "The trader says good morning. The workman says good morning. The profiteer shouts, 'Heil Hitler!'" He would play recordings of popular Viennese tunes, and interrupt a piece to say airily: "Jolly tunes, *hein?* Funny thing, you know, they're banned in Germany—non-Aryan." Then with a chuckle he would turn on the record again. All his broadcasts ended with the battle slogan: "We Austrians want to leave the Reich."

On December 21, 1939, helped by crowd effects, he imitated a speech by Hitler as it might have taken place in the Berlin Sport Palast. He promised, in Hitler's voice, that the Gestapo would soon leave Austria. Shortly after, signs began to appear on the walls of houses in Vienna demanding that the Fuehrer keep his promise.

The Austrians did not stop short at slogan painting. Shortly after the outbreak of war, the Austrian garrisons in Vienna, Innsbruck, and Gratz mutinied. Austrian troops

had to be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia because they fraternized with the Czechs; 6,000 of them deserted and fled to Yugoslavia. In the winter of 1939, the railway line from Vienna to the Swiss border was blocked 32 times by sabotage. Austrian women hindered the mobilization by laying themselves across the railway lines in front of trains leaving for the front; they demonstrated against the food shortage by depositing on the streets empty baskets bearing the sign: "We thank our Fuehrer." Hundreds were arrested and sent to the Oranienburg concentration camp. But passive resistance continued.

Even on French soil Rudolf's life was in danger; the French radio system was honeycombed with Fifth Columnists. Although the location of the Freedom station was known only to the French Foreign Office and to the directors of the National Radio, Rudolf began to receive threatening letters, postmarked in Paris, which were addressed to him by name at his hotel. Soldiers with machine guns had to be posted around the transmitting house.

When Rudolf's station was menaced by the German advance, he and his staff moved to Paris and from there to Bordeaux. After the armistice was signed with Germany Rudolf escaped to Spain, beating the Gestapo to the frontier by four hours. Now he is on the air again, speaking from the United States to Europe—another of the voices of freedom that Hitler has been unable to silence.

Since then two Freedom stations, operated by groups of anti-Nazi exiles in England, have been bombarding the German people with revolutionary propaganda. One calling itself "The German Freedom Station" broadcasts on a wave length of 30.9 meters and uses the signal: "*Achtung! Achtung!* Here is Germany calling!" "Germans, look for the truth," it says. "Listen to our broadcasts. You must realize that he who condemns the Nazis need by no means be an

enemy of Germany; but he who is a friend of the Nazis can never be a true friend of Germany. A true friend of the German people loves freedom. . . . Today the Nazis have driven us like a herd of foolish sheep, to fight other people and rob them of their liberties, because we have lost ours. What we called slavery before, we are to call Liberty now. What we felt as shame and misery before, we are to feel as honor and pride now. What was once Fatherland for us we now have to call Party. And those who were once called scoundrels and exploiters we have to call leaders now. If you understand that, you will recognize the leaders for what they are—*misleaders of our people*. . . . Can the eyes of the German people be opened before they too are drawn into the abyss? . . . The whole Nazi swindle would be finished if we would but awake. The elegant SS man would be in shabby mufti if we started to laugh about the Nazi class. Even Goebbels would buckle on his club foot again, if his goosestep were to provoke laughter instead of awed wonderment. . . . But there is no laughter in us. There are more tears in Germany than laughter. Mothers are weeping for their sons fallen on the battlefield, weeping for the children they wish to protect from British bombs. And men, men who love Germany, they are weeping too because their country is in the hands of gangsters. The only ones who shed no tears are the rascals now in power. For them, Germany is only a means to an end. They are the ones who wanted this war. The Nazis are going too far. Even the most easy-going, the most peaceful of us won't stand it much longer!"

This station also has conducted what it calls "Advanced Lessons in Sabotage Through the Radio Waves" for workers in the Reich's industrial areas. "Lose as many man-hours as possible," the announcer urges. "Pretend you are sick. Stretch your vacation a few days longer. Faint near your machine. Hold your breath and smoke a cigarette imme-

diately afterward. This will make you feel very bad. Forget to oil your machines, throw file dust into their works. If you are in an air-raid shelter, act as if you were afraid to go back to work. Simulate fear and run home. Take more time for lunch. Find every excuse you can to work not at all or as little and ineffectively as possible.”⁶

Then there is the “Radio of the European Revolution,” which broadcasts every hour from 7 to 7 on a 31.2 meter wave-length propaganda similar to that of the BBC on its German-language transmissions. “What lies your radio is telling you,” it says. “For instance the one that British pilots bomb only workers’ homes. . . . You in Germany are slaves, but perhaps you have forgotten that too. . . . What has become of all that talk about invasion? Months ago Hitler said: ‘Wait, I shall come.’ And now it looks as if there won’t be any invasion. . . . A comrade writes us from Oslo that the Nazis are afraid to leave their homes as soon as night falls. Every night the windows of Nazi homes are smashed. The number of arrests is increasing. But one thing only is certain: the more force is used, the stronger will resistance become.” Occasionally the “Radio of the Revolution” adopts a more frivolous tone, makes fun of “fat Goering,” and refers to the notoriously profligate Goebbels as “our Puritan Goebbels.” When the movie, *The Great Dictator*, was released, this station announced that Victor Emmanuel and Mussolini had staged a very private showing to gloat over the spectacle of Hitler and the Nazis portrayed as figures of fun.

Britain too has its “phony” Freedom stations—run by English traitors in the Reich—each slanting its propaganda appeal for a specific group or class. The most vociferous has been the “New British Broadcasting Station,” which opens its programs with the signature tone of “Loch Lomond” and

⁶ Siegfried Wagener, “We’re Listening.” *Chicago Times*.

closes with a cracked record of "God Save the King." At the beginning of the war it sought to direct the activities of the British Fascists, and later hammered away at the theme that Germany was winning the war and that the British had better make peace before they were utterly destroyed. The director of the "New British Broadcasting Station" is in fact none other than William Joyce, Lord Haw-Haw.

The "Christian Peace Movement Station" claims to speak for that movement and addresses itself to the pacifists. The "Workers Challenge Station" appeals to the extreme left wing of the British proletariat, and takes a straight Communist line. "Radio Caledonia" preaches Scottish nationalism and is meant for the shipworkers of the Clydeside. According to BBC technicians, all these stations are operating from within 100 miles of Berlin.

After the German invasion of Russia, a self-styled Russian Freedom station, obviously German-controlled, urged Russian peasants not to destroy their crops and stores, warning of terrible reprisals against those who followed the "scorched earth" policy.

Ever since the outbreak of war, mysterious voices supposedly broadcasting from within Nazi-controlled territory, have periodically been picked up by vigilant listeners. One such claimed to be broadcasting from apartment houses in Prague—each day from a different location—another from Northern Norway, another from Hungary, several from Holland, and two or more from Austria and Bavaria. In the fall of 1941 a French Freedom station, which signed on with the first six notes of the "Marseillaise," was heard on wave lengths of 31 and 40 meters. If any of these stations was really operated inside of occupied Europe, it was a suicide venture. Modern technical equipment makes it an easy matter for engineers of the German radio to detect the whereabouts of a bootleg transmitter.

One pirate station that may or may not be the real McCoy has been picked up in Sweden and even in the United States. It calls itself "*Gustav Siegfried Eins*" and claims to be operated by associates of Rudolf Hess, who, it once said, had built up a widespread organization in Germany to make peace with England and form an Anglo-German alliance against Russia. One time it asserted that several months before his spectacular landing in Scotland, Hess, while on a visit to Madrid, had planned to fly into British territory at Gibraltar only to have his plan rejected by the British Governor there from whom he had sought permission by telegraph.

This station's speaker, who introduces himself as "The Chief," waxes particularly bitter on the subject of SS and SA men. On one occasion, infuriated because some Storm Troopers had received Iron Crosses for such routine duties as murdering Jews and Communists, the Chief exploded: "Up to now it has not been the practice in Germany for hangmen to be decorated with military medals and orders or honor . . . Our comrades in the Air Force must make sixteen flights against the enemy before being recommended for the Iron Cross, First Class. . . . Do any of these filthy pups of the SS know at all what that means?"

"Sixteen times against the enemy! Sixteen times expose your backside as you smack into the hell and never mind what may become of you, watching the bullets of the enemy machine guns whip between your legs. . . .

"But when such a louse as Funk shoots 7,532 Jews and Bolsheviks without even taking his other hand out of his pants pocket—that pig—well, then he gets the Iron Cross, First Class. . . .

"This gang of drunken, filthy swine besmirches the honor of every honest German soldier who lies buried with an Iron Cross on his chest."

"*Gustav Siegfried Eins*" periodically refers mysteriously to "particularly close connections with the German Air Force." Its propaganda takes not an anti-Nazi but an anti-Himmler and anti-Gestapo line, and is incidentally as anti-Semitic and anti-Bolshevik as the Berlin radio. A neutral informant in close touch with members of the Nazi Party has asserted that station "*Gustav Siegfried Eins*" is located in Germany, that its whereabouts are known to the Gestapo, and that its operators cannot be arrested because the power behind them is a figure so prominent that his disgrace would cause a disastrous upheaval on the home front. This figure is, of course, Hermann Goering.

CHAPTER XX

U. S. RADIO'S "GOOD-NEIGHBOR" POLICY

WHENEVER President Roosevelt makes an important speech his voice is heard by some 20,000,000 radio listeners in foreign countries. The President's words are hurled through space on short-wave beams by an "effective" 70,000 kilowatts of driving power in a dozen different languages. For non-English-speaking peoples the engineers allow a sentence or two to be heard, then fade out Mr. Roosevelt's voice, and bring in the appropriate translation. Here is but one measure of what U. S. international broadcasting means today.

This is a far cry from this country's status at the beginning of the war, when the United States, with only two short-wave transmitters of 50 kilowatts and over, was distinctly a second-rate power on the radio front. Britain had at least seven short-wave Big Berthas; Italy had six, three of them of 100 kilowatts; the Third Reich eight or more. But in 1942, U. S. international broadcasters are operating thirteen transmitters with an aggregate power of over 700 kilowatts, increased more than tenfold by the use of directional antennas. Six private companies are doing the job of making Uncle Sam's voice heard overseas—The National Broadcasting Company, the Columbia Broadcasting System, Westinghouse, General Electric, the Crosley Corporation, and a non-commercial organization, the World Wide Broadcasting

Foundation. Between them they flood the ether with more than 2,500 different programs a week. A seventh organization—Associated Broadcasters, Inc.—has obtained permission from the Federal Communications Commission to set up a station in San Francisco that will blanket the Pacific and the Orient, and also Latin America, sixteen to twenty hours a day with programs in English, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Japanese, and possibly Thai, Russian, Chinese, and Korean.

The outbreak of war, soon followed by alarming reports of increased Axis radio propaganda activities in Latin America, helped to put U. S. short wave on the map. The State Department was gravely concerned, and U. S. radio men, partly out of fear of federal interference, partly for reasons of prestige, decided to take up the cudgels of international broadcasting with a vengeance.

The first step was a migration of radio executives, experts, advisers, engineers, and other brainsmen to survey the field in Latin America. Back after weeks of flying research, each had before him a new kind of map—the radio map of Latin America in 1940. It told this story:

South Americans are the world's foremost radio enthusiasts. They own about 4,000,000 sets—half of them equipped with short-wave bands. Community listening is so popular that U. S. experts reckon on an average of nine listeners per radio. Fan letters reaching U. S. studios are often signed by from ten to twenty names—all listeners to one set! A good number of the cafés and village parks have a loudspeaker blaring all day long. In Guayaquil, Ecuador, one of the local bus companies has installed radio receivers in its cars and this idea has caught on elsewhere.¹

¹ Incidentally, the old rumor that the Germans have for years been distributing free short-wave sets to encourage listening to their overseas programs

The South Americans do not appear to regard turning to short wave as a stunt for radio fans. In the countries on the equatorial belt even the local stations are short-wave, because atmospheric conditions play havoc with long-wave transmission. In proportion to population, no other section of the world contains as many short-wave stations as South America, which has 200.

Further, throughout the continent listeners still depend largely on foreign programs, since their domestic stations provide little variety, most of them being operated on less than a shoestring. A profit of \$35,000 was tops in 1939 and the smaller "coffee pots" eke out a precarious existence on the proceeds of classified ads, which cover anything from patent medicines to SOS signals for the return of stray dogs or bargains in real estate.

The well-conditioned South American short-wave audience long ago whetted the appetite of the Axis propaganda ministries. While this country obligingly continued to regard international broadcasting as a doubtful sort of prestige item, Germany and Italy were selling their message to the South Americans over high-powered, ultra-modern transmitters. As late as the winter of 1939 the signal strength of U. S. stations was a faint buzz compared with that of the Axis.

This was perhaps the main reason for the lack of popularity—at that date—of U. S. broadcasts. There were at least two others:

The quality of short-wave reception is dependent upon a number of influences, such as atmospheric conditions, the

has been exploded. In 1940, The National Broadcasting Company made a careful checkup in all of the Latin American countries and received these answers: "We've heard this was happening in some other country, but it hasn't happened here." "We heard that some sets were going to be given away but we haven't seen them yet." "Not here. But they're doing it in Germany." Finally one exchange professor said he knew that the Germans had presented one of the clubs in Rio with a set. But NBC had given *two* sets to *two* clubs in Rio, so the U. S. A. was at least one up!

time of the year or of the day, and so forth. To provide constant good service to any given area, the frequencies should be changed as conditions change. American stations had been broadcasting on one or two frequencies at a time, whereas their European rivals used from three to six *for a single program*. To make matters worse, while it was difficult to “jam” trans-Atlantic broadcasts, U. S. transmissions were repeatedly blurred by local interference. In Guatemala, for instance, a high-powered diathermy machine was used to blot out U. S. broadcasts.

In its whole approach to South America, U. S. radio was a decade behind the Germans and Italians, who had made a painstaking study of listener tastes and prejudices. It was the same story as in the schools, retail trade, air lines, and a score of other phases of life in South America. German immigrants patiently became acclimatized, overcame prejudices and obstacles, and—while retaining their national consciousness—grew to be a force in their adopted countries.² These nuclei provided an expert volunteer advisory board for the radio policy-makers in the fatherland.

But short-wave listeners in Latin America were still less than a quarter of the total radio audience. Nothing if not thorough, the propaganda ministries of Rome and Berlin had for years been reaching the long-wave listening public in the Latin Republics by sponsoring their own programs on local stations. The latter, ready to grab any sort of spot cash, adopted a “buy-as-much-time-as-you-like” policy. An American broadcasting official, returning from a trip through Ecuador, Peru, and Colombia, reported that listeners in those countries, fed on a diet of Axis broadcasts, firmly believed that England had brutally attacked Norway, Belgium, and Holland and that the Nazi humanitarians had been forced to protect these countries against the piratical Britishers.

² *The Pan American*. November-December 1941.

A few South American governments cracked down on foreign-sponsored programs. But in 1941 Germany was still spending \$250,000 a year on propaganda in Brazil and as much in Argentina, and a good deal of that went into local radio. On one station in Santiago, Chile, the Nazis sponsored fourteen broadcasting periods a day. In Peru, a radio station was bought by a group of no apparent financial means—straw men for Dr. Goebbels. In Bolivia, the Government was forced to silence the powerful “Radio America” for broadcasting “intensely Nazi propaganda” (July 10, 1941). In Mexico and El Salvador, government agents uncovered bootleg Nazi short-wave stations broadcasting propaganda locally and code messages to the Reich. A number of these clandestine transmitters were also believed to be active on the tiny, uninhabited islands that dot the Caribbean, busily reporting the movements of ships.

After surveying radio conditions in Latin America, U. S. broadcasters were more or less agreed on the three essentials of an effective policy: improved transmission through increased power; expanded service with the emphasis on specially built programs in Spanish and Portuguese; a tie-up with local stations for the rebroadcast in Latin America of U. S. short-wave programs. The changes they inaugurated soon produced impressive results. A survey made in Argentina in the spring of 1941 showed that U. S. programs, two years ago “a poor third” behind their Axis rivals, were now in the lead, and that listeners considered U. S. signals the strongest.

U. S. stations are now broadcasting a total of more than 700 hours a week to Latin America—nearly three-quarters of them specially programed in Spanish or Portuguese. The most important broadcaster as this is written is NBC, with two powerful stations WRCA and WNBI at Bound Brook,

New Jersey, equipped with directional antennas that give them an effective power of 1,200 kilowatts. Practically all of the programs NBC beams southward are specially prepared by the Latin American Division of its 70-man international bureau.

CBS, too, though later in the field, is vigorously tackling the job of international broadcasting. To ensure perfect reception, Columbia's international stations, WCBX and WCRC, have been equipped with two powerful new transmitters situated on the 1,200-acre short-wave transmitting site of the Mackay Radio and Telegraph Company near Brentwood, Long Island. Each of these stations is able, thanks to their narrow beam antennas, to radiate an effective power of from 1,200 to 1,500 kilowatts—a 450 percent increase over previous signal strength. Nine frequencies are available to Columbia's new stations. Crosley's 75-kilowatt station WLWO at Cincinnati is also on the air to Latin America 17 hours a day, with 24 programs in Spanish, the rest in Portuguese and English.

NBC, CBS, and Crosley, realizing the limitations of short-wave transmission, have individually made arrangements with a total of some 200 local stations in Central and South America for regular rebroadcasts of their programs on the standard waveband. In this way they expect to reach practically the entire radio audience south of the Rio Grande.

General Electric has been a short-wave broadcaster since 1926, and its three stations—WGEA, WGEO, and KGEI—on the air 24 hours a day, are old friends to the world's radio listeners. KGEI, in Belmont, California, beams programs down the West Coast of South America and also broadcasts to Australia and the Far East. Its newscasts are picked up regularly in Chungking by Madame Chiang Kai-shek, who translates them to the Generalissimo. General Electric's staff handling foreign programs is rapidly growing. Like those

of the other companies, it is comprised of American citizens with a wide knowledge of the countries to which they are speaking.

Westinghouse has built a new station, WBOS, at Hull, Massachusetts, which transmits news in English, Spanish and Portuguese to South America "every hour on the hour," and a regular "Sports Page of the Air." The World Wide Foundation in Boston concentrates on educational work. Its elementary English courses have been followed by 1,000 Latin American families, who have even used the radio university's Spanish-English textbooks and mailed in their exercises for correction. And from one of its stations a pretty Chinese girl, Miss Pin Pin T'An, has bravely been trying to teach the world basic English—a simplified language in which 850 words do the work of 20,000.

To sum up: on any week-day evening, South Americans can choose from at least ten different U. S. programs at a dozen places on their short-wave dials.

The most popular and important program in international broadcasting is the newscast. Latin Americans are beginning to retch at the daily dose of lies, hate, and hokum that the Axis powers call "news." Thousands of listener-letters from the Terra del Fuego to the Rio Grande, from the Andes to the Argentine Pampas, gush praise for "the truth and objectivity" of U. S. news programs—and clamor for more.

U. S. broadcasters are transmitting to South America some 500 newscasts a week—more than half of them in Spanish and Portuguese—plus several commentaries by prominent "news analysts." The chief complaint has been that there is too much English. A U. S. business man in Buenos Aires has acidly pointed out to one of the big companies, "Broadcasting to Latin America in English will not produce results any more than if the Chinese broadcast to us in Chinese."

Music—of all varieties—ranks second to news in South

American listener preference. “Live” swing music by most of the big-time bands is beamed southward every night by U. S. stations. The more serious-minded are catered to with symphony concerts, conducted by Toscanini and Bruno Walter, and operas from the Metropolitan in New York with all the announcements and comment in Spanish and Portuguese.

Because of budget restrictions, efforts at entertainment features for Latin America have as yet amounted to little. Most of them have been domestic programs—Amos 'n' Andy, Jack Benny, Dr. I. Q., The Breakfast Club, et cetera, and half a dozen soap operas—simultaneously rebroadcast southward via short wave. Even if all Latin Americans understood English—and most of them do not—the humor of these programs would still be as foreign to them as that of *Punch* to the average Yankee. Some time ago NBC decided to put things right and began by taking Charlie McCarthy off the air to South America. This was unfortunately a dud choice. A deluge of angry letters clamored for Charlie's return. South Americans brushing up on their English said they especially liked this program because Charlie was so easy to understand.

But McCarthy is an exception. U. S. broadcasters realize the dismal futility of feeding the South Americans U. S. funny men, and are casting around for talent and ideas.

In the winter of 1941 NBC was turning out a “comic” script in Portuguese, which was a howling success, and the same sort of program was prepared in Spanish. RKO advertised over short wave by presenting dramatizations of scenes from its movies. NBC also gave the South Americans “Great Voices of Victor”—a pageant of the lives of world-famous singers interspersed with operatic excerpts—and sketches about the lives of Hollywood movie stars announced by Olga Andre, ex-leading lady of the Ziegfeld Follies. All the companies catered to the movie-struck South Americans with

news and chit-chat about Hollywood. Sporting events likewise figured prominently on short-wave program schedules, and this was one of the fields in which greatly expanded coverage was being planned.

From Schenectady, General Electric sent out a *Travelogue*, talks on science and farming, a commentary on articles from *The Reader's Digest*, and "New York Echoes"—impressions of a roving reporter. Westinghouse offered free studio facilities to several colleges and let them work out their own dramatic programs in Spanish and Portuguese.

In Spanish newscasts and other special broadcasts the war effort gets a big play. Every time a new battleship is launched or a new record is achieved by an American plane, the story is dressed up and sent out to South American listeners. It is all done without any noticeable boasting: just plain statements of fact designed to impress the listener with American power and efficiency—the best possible antidote to Axis ballyhoo about U. S. decadence.

Part of U. S. radio's Good-Neighbor Policy is the regular practice of staging big shows on short wave in celebration of all South American national holidays. In 1941, for instance, on Argentina's independence day, NBC presented a 33-piece symphony orchestra led, of course, by an Argentine guest conductor, half an hour of swing music from one of the smart New York hotels, and an address by Argentina's Ambassador to Washington. The whole proceedings were rebroadcast from Buenos Aires by the Radio Splendid network and reached several million listeners. Another good-neighborly gesture has been to persuade visiting South American bigwigs to step up to the microphone and say a few words to the folks back home. (The notable was then presented with a picture of himself at the mike and went off very, very happy.)

All scripts beamed southward are checked and double-checked for slips that might offend the sensitive South Americans. There is one U. S. broadcaster who will never forget the storm of protest that followed a short-wave debate on hemisphere solidarity, in which a bungling U. S. professor brightly suggested that this country promptly annex Mexico and Panama.

A constant nightmare of U. S. studios is the fear that their programs are misfiring, and they do all they can to get the fellow at the other end to speak his mind. A canny dodge to encourage fan mail is to send replies with the latest commemoration stamp, which the South Americans, many of them keen philatelists, love to get. A very successful audience-angling stunt has been to flatter listeners by asking them to send in their poems—every South American hamlet has its poet laureate—to be read on the ether. Then there is always the old stand-by of offering listeners free photographs of their favorite movie actor, radio star, prize fighter, sports ace—or short-wave announcer.

Of all U. S. programs beamed southward the biggest attractions have been President Roosevelt's speeches, which are generally re-broadcast by well over 200 local stations, and draw huge crowds to the loudspeakers in the bars and public squares. Messrs. Cordell Hull, Jim Farley, and Wendell Willkie also have a large following in South America. Spanish and Portuguese announcers have learned to put up such a good imitation of these gentlemen's voices, style, and speaking mannerisms that the average South American listener thinks he is getting the genuine article—and is mightily impressed.

REACHING FOR TRADE THROUGH THE ETHER

U. S. private broadcasters have dug manfully into their pockets to provide an effective counterblast to Dr. Goebbels'

campaign of lies and slander. The American chains have set aside some \$3,000,000 for 1942's operating expenses, and with a total of roughly \$10,000,000 invested in equipment for international broadcasting, U. S. radio men are beginning to look to short-wave commercials—authorized by the FCC in May, 1939—for some return on their money.

As things stood in January, 1942, American broadcasters had little hope of making their overseas service a paying proposition. At that date NBC was the only broadcaster with a substantial revenue—\$150,000 a year—and it expected to remain in the red for the duration.

The story of NBC's foreign business really begins with the history-making broadcast of the Louis-Godoy fight. Previously NBC's lone short-wave commercial was a \$25,000-a-year contract with the United Fruit Company. The Louis-Godoy fight was rebroadcast by over 130 Latin American stations and produced 35,000 fan letters. Adam Hats then and there took out an exclusive contract for all subsequent fights and started at scratch a distribution service in seven Latin Republics. The experiment was a success; in next to no time short wave put Adam Hats on the heads of this country's good neighbors to the south. Other clients quickly appeared on the scene. The Texas Oil Company sponsored Metropolitan opera programs to South America, and made separate arrangements for rebroadcast with 26 local stations. The Hotels Astor and Waldorf Astoria in New York sent out music from their grill rooms to attract the patronage of prospective visitors from Latin America, and apparently got results since both renewed their contracts. Other companies used short wave to advertise pens, records, and washing machines south of the Rio Grande.

NBC offered two kinds of service to its short-wave clients: the use of two 50,000-watt transmitters (WRCA and WBNI) at \$300 an hour; and a more elaborate and expensive service consisting of a short-wave program plus rebroadcast on local

Latin American stations. The latter was used by the Standard Oil Company, which sponsored four news commentaries a week by Raymond Gram Swing translated into Spanish; by Camel Cigarettes, which presented a series of sports broadcasts, and by the Kolynos Company. The direct short-wave service without local rebroadcast was favored by most of NBC's clients, who were not yet ready to meet the greater cost of the more elaborate setup.

Crosley, with lower rates than NBC, had also built up a sizeable short-wave business. Clients that had used its facilities included the Firestone Tire and Rubber Export Company, Moore-McCormack Steamship Lines, and *The Reader's Digest*, which broadcast summaries of the articles in its Spanish edition. Crosley offered the same types of service as NBC plus the use of “spot announcements,” which made it possible for an advertiser to buy so many minutes on the station's own programs to plug his product. Renewal of contracts originally written for only 13 weeks proved that short wave was opening up new markets.

Westinghouse had one sponsor. General Electric, feeling that the whole business was still in the experimental stage, offered free time to anyone who would go to the trouble and expense of building suitable programs. Among those who had used General Electric facilities were the Tidewater Associated Oil Company, which presented digests of articles from *Newsweek* under its Veedol banner, the Condé Nast Publishing Company, and the American Express Company.

As this was written CBS was just stepping into the business of short-wave commercials with its Latin American network.

U. S. RADIO AND THE GOVERNMENT

When this country emerged as one of the leading radio powers, the Government naturally became vitally interested in what the private stations here were telling the world. As

the U. S. went to war, advice on programing for Latin America was given by one government agency—the Nelson Rockefeller Committee—which was doing extensive survey work in the Latin Republics and making recommendations to the private companies. Among other things the Committee compiled a list of “all white” Latin American stations—that is, those known to be free of any Axis sympathies or influence—and made this list available to private companies in this country. Mr. Rockefeller’s experts were also studying the all-important problem of publicizing U. S. transmissions south of the Rio Grande. The Department of Commerce was distributing a printed weekly program schedule covering the operations of all U. S. stations, and the broadcasters themselves kept regular listeners supplied with advance program information. But it was agreed that enough had not as yet been done to tell listeners when, where, and how to tune in to U. S. broadcasts, and the Rockefeller Committee was working to get daily listings printed in all of the South American papers.

The Federal Communications Commission confined itself strictly to the job of mechanical operation and was specifically forbidden to censor any program.

A third government agency concerned with international broadcasting was the Defense Communications Board created in September 1940 by President Roosevelt. One of its subcommittees composed of representatives of the broadcasters, the FCC, Navy Department, State Department, Office of Government Records, National Association of Broadcasters, and Mr. Nelson Rockefeller was concerned with the role of short wave in wartime.

U. S. broadcasters, aware of their grave responsibilities, were doing their level best to keep in step with the broad lines of national policy. Further to ensure effective action the private companies appointed their own co-ordinator, who

saw to it there were no contradictions and unnecessary duplications of service, and incidentally acted as unofficial liaison officer between the broadcasters and the State Department.

U. S. broadcasts to Latin America were essentially a part of this country's Good-Neighbor Policy. They aimed to please, inform, and win friends. With U. S. transmissions to Europe it was a very different story. There U. S. radio was out to make the continent too hot for Hitler. And, by all accounts, it had already done a good job of singeing the Nazis' whiskers.

LATIN AMERICAN RADIO MISCELLANY

South and Central America have 709 radio stations (U. S. 913). . . . The clock in the main radio station in Mexico City has no second hand. . . . A station in Costa Rica has for its slogan: "Always anti-Nazi, always anti-Fascist!". . . A station in Santiago, Chile, sells time to the Nazis, the British, an anti-Fascist Italian group, and the de Gaulle party. . . . Three different U. S. religious groups have sponsored programs on South American stations. . . . President Roosevelt's "Fireside Chat" of May 27, 1941, was rebroadcast in Spanish and Portuguese over nearly 300 South American stations. . . . An old lady in Santiago de Cuba wrote to an NBC announcer to tell him that his description of the horse show at Madison Square Garden reminded her of the *Concours Epiques* in the Paris of Napoleon III. . . . Argentinians are exasperated by a program read in a Chilean accent. . . . Several stations in Mexico, with a signal potentially as strong as any in the world, spend most of their time broadcasting advertisements for patent medicines. . . .

CHAPTER XXI

UNCLE SAM TALKS BACK

IN AUGUST, 1941, the U. S. Government decided to give the private operators a helping hand in the task of providing an effective counterblast to Nazi Germany's world-circling propaganda on the air waves. A group of experts was assembled under Colonel William Donovan, Co-ordinator of Information, to build up a special program service, which would be dovetailed in with the activities of the individual companies.

The new bureau, recognizing the crucial importance of timing, has arranged to have transcriptions of Nazi programs, recorded by the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service, handed over to it promptly for immediate scrutiny so that no lie or distortion of the German radio goes unchallenged for very long. The American version of the facts is put on the air before Dr. Goebbels' propaganda has had time to sink into listeners' minds.

Exploiting for the first time the strategic possibilities of democratic co-operation on the radio front, Colonel Donovan's bureau has also made arrangements with the British Broadcasting Corporation to have U. S. short-wave transmissions relayed from England to the continent on the standard waveband. Thus programs that previously have been available only to the small minority that owns and takes the

trouble to operate a short-wave receiver are now brought within the reach of every radio listener in Europe. In this way radio has become in the fullest sense the spearhead of the democratic political offensive against Hitlerism.

U. S. stations pour roughly 100 hours of programs a day into Europe. About half the time is taken up by music and entertainment; the rest is devoted to newscasts, reviews of American press comment, talks, and "special features." Whether programs consist of news, comment, or out-and-out pep talks they all pack a powerful wallop on a continent stifled by censorship and sick to death of the babel of lies and more lies. At any rate the Germans seem to think so. Throughout the occupied countries listening to American stations is *strengst verboten*. What is more, if it can spare a transmitter for the job, the German radio "jams" American programs by broadcasting loud, raucous noises over U. S. wave lengths. In the summer of 1941, the German-supervised press of the Vichy Government warned Frenchmen in the unoccupied zone not to believe the "tendentious" news given out by the American radio, and, when this proved ineffective, imposed a total ban on listening.

U. S. RADIO'S "FOREIGN LEGION"

The international division of any American Broadcasting Company looks like a weird combination of newspaper office, travel agency, schoolroom, theatrical agency, and mail department. The walls are plastered with maps and photographs. A loudspeaker in one corner gives out the latest program while the teletype machine in another brings in the latest news. A battery of clocks remind writers and announcers that 8 P.M. in New York is 7 P.M. in Mexico, 9 P.M. in Argentina, 2 A.M. in Berlin, 3 A.M. in Cairo, 10 A.M. in Tokyo. In one part of the room typewriters pound furiously

to meet a deadline. In another half a dozen men and women, their programs finished, lounge over their desks chatting in three or four languages. Along one wall there is usually the "mailboard," with hundreds of envelopes addressed to the station from every corner of the world.

The heavy responsibility of making the United States heard throughout Europe rests with an extraordinary band of men and women, the "Foreign Legion" of American radio. Almost all of them are American citizens who have spent the greater part of their lives abroad and speak, read, and write anything from three to a dozen languages. The best of them have an old-time city reporter's nose for news, a radio man's sense of timing, for they do their own announcing, a fiction writer's talents, for they prepare their own dramatic scripts, a good radio voice, and an instinct for showmanship—not to mention a tough constitution that will stand up to high pressure work for long stretches of the day or night and a diet of drug store sandwiches. To their listeners they are the voice of America.

One of the veterans of the European service is Fernand Gustave Auberjonois, chief of NBC's French division. Auberjonois was born in Lausanne, Switzerland, thirty-two years ago and grew up with Igor Stravinsky's children while his father, a well-known artist, was doing the sets for Stravinsky's ballets. He graduated from Lausanne University, put in some more studying at Zurich and Oxford, and became Paris correspondent for several Swiss newspapers. After a spell with the Havas News Agency in New York, Auberjonois joined NBC's international division in 1937 and made the first daily broadcasts to France from this country.

Now he is broadcasting three hours a day in French and is receiving an astonishing fan mail response from France, the French and Belgian colonies, and French-speaking listeners in Haiti. The Haitian Government has bestowed upon

him the Order of Honor and Merit “for service to the cause of Pan-Americanism,” and a Haitian listener has sent him to wear around his neck at the microphone an ouari bean—guaranteed to prevent “spells of dizziness.”

There is at least one incident in his career as an international broadcaster that Auberjonois is not likely to forget. On June 18, 1940, it was his voice from New York that told his 18-year-old brother—caught in a farmhouse somewhere in France in the backwash of defeat and desperate for some real news—that Marshal Pétain had asked for an armistice.

Auberjonois’ staple broadcasts are newscasts and press reviews but of increasing importance are the special features in which he can lash out at the pro-Nazi clique in France. Typical of these was a mock interview with Fernand de Brinon, Vichy’s delegate to Paris. “Is it true, M. de Brinon,” he asked, “that you have devoted the greater part of your life to working for Franco-German rapprochement, the more so since Hitler came to power?” And NBC’s de Brinon—also Auberjonois—replied with a weak “Yes.” By the time the ninth question was reached. “Who are you fooling now, M. de Brinon—the French, their American friends, or your chief, Marshal Pétain?” the studio de Brinon was too utterly confounded even to answer.¹

Again on July 14, 1941, the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, Auberjonois composed a special dramatic program broken into by peals of the Bell of Liberty, and snatches of the “Marseillaise” and capped by addresses by Charles Boyer and Colonel Donovan. The following winter, he introduced a new series of broadcasts entitled, “Hitler Betrayed by Himself.” These were based on Hitler’s own speeches and writings since *Mein Kampf* as compiled by Count Raoul de Roussy de Sales and published under the

¹ *Time*. May 26, 1941.

title, *My New Order*. One voice presented Hitler's promises, another recalled his performances. The Fuehrer was heard lying to Chamberlain, lying to the French, and lying to Stalin.

NBC's all-important broadcasts to Germany are in the hands of Major John H. Marshing, who was born in New York, educated in Germany and France, has lived and traveled in fifteen countries and crossed the Atlantic 21 times. In the last war he served in the trenches and later was attached to General Pershing's Military Intelligence Service. In addition to his regular 15-minute newscast and press review, Major Marshing presents every day at 2 P.M. (8 P.M. European time) a two-minute news summary in German for those who do not care to risk listening to longer programs.

The saddest job of any international broadcaster is that of Edward Kulikowski, who twice daily from Columbia's microphone in New York sends news into the blackout of conquered Poland. Kulikowski, a former member of the Polish diplomatic service with diplomas in law and economics from Warsaw, Paris, and Oxford, speaks five languages and has fought in two wars. In the *Blitzkrieg* of September, 1939, he was captured first by the Russians—but talked his way to freedom—later by the Germans, who put him in a concentration camp, from which he promptly escaped. He was caught, drafted into a German labor battalion, and again escaped. Hiding in a forest, he met up with a Polish game-keeper who owned a radio set. Together they scoured the dial for news, and eventually picked up an American station—broadcasting the results of a rhumba contest in New York! Kulikowski vowed that if he got out alive he'd see to it that news in Polish, real news, was broadcast to his people. That is the job he is now doing at CBS, and to the free Poles serving with Britain's forces in Scotland and the Middle East, or scattered throughout the few remaining neutral

countries, he has become a familiar figure, affectionately known as "Uncle Kuli."

Vaso Trivanovitch, CBS's Serbo-Croat announcer, is considered such a dangerous influence among the Yugoslavs that the Nazis have tried to "steal" his voice. In April, 1941, Trivanovitch received a cable from the Yugoslav Refugee Government in Palestine telling him that a fake Trivanovitch in Berlin, claiming to be speaking from New York, had been sending out tall stories about the U. S. to Yugoslav listeners.

The Crosley Corporation's powerful station WLWO—"Radio Cincinnati"—started broadcasting to Europe in July 1940, in English, French, and German.

Although it is the everyday hammering away at the truth that matters most, international radio men like to dwell on their more spectacular victories. One of these was the part played by the World Wide Foundation's station WRUL in Boston in helping the British Broadcasting Corporation snatch the Norwegian merchant marine from Hitler's grasp after the invasion of Norway. The Germans had browbeaten Norwegian shipowners into broadcasting repeated messages to their ships at sea to return immediately to the nearest Norwegian port. The BBC and WRUL promptly countered by informing the captains of the 1,000-odd Norwegian merchantmen on the high seas of the true state of affairs at home, and urged them to head for the nearest neutral or allied port, which virtually all of them did.

The power of radio was again dramatically demonstrated in Yugoslavia. Broadcasting in Serbo-Croat from station WRUL in Boston, Dr. Svetislav-Sveta Petrovitch, former Paris correspondent of the Belgrade *Pravda*, soon acquired a large following. Within three weeks of his first appearance on the air, the U. S. State Department was advised by Arthur Bliss Lane, its Minister in Belgrade, that Petrovitch was a potent force in Yugoslavia. In cafés, hotels, libraries, and

homes Yugoslavs gathered several times daily to hear his exhortations to take up arms against "the German oppressors." Assessing the causes of Yugoslavia's decision to fight for its independence the American Legation in Belgrade informed the State Department: "Everybody has been listening to the (Petrovitch's) broadcasts which whipped up hatred against Germany."

WRUL was born in the mind of Walter Lemmon, who as a young Naval Lieutenant was appointed special radio officer to Woodrow Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference. When the President's radio apparatus was not in use for official business, Lemmon and other enthusiasts would get up little programs for the A. E. F. Lemmon was immediately impressed with the possibilities of international broadcasting. On the trip back across the Atlantic he talked to Wilson about his radio idea for cultivating international understanding—a radio university to act as an exchange of world culture. The President promised to do something about it, but never did.

Lemmon retired from the Navy and threw his energies into radio research. Eventually the sale of one of his inventions—single-dial tuning control—brought him enough money to proceed with his long-cherished plan. In 1931 he was granted a license to build WIXAL, an experimental short-wave station. And in 1935, when short-wave sets appeared on the market at a price that most people could afford, the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation was formed with the aid of substantial donations from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Endowment, the Sloan Foundation, and Thomas J. Watson, president of International Business Machines.

World Wide operates a 100-kilowatt and a 50-kilowatt transmitter in Boston, both equipped with directional antennas that enable them to aim a powerful beam at any point

on the globe, and has obtained a license to set up a third transmitter. Over its main station, WRUL—known throughout Europe as “Radio Boston”—World Wide sends programs eastward eight hours a day in fifteen different languages. A special feature has been the Friendship Bridge to England over which refugee children have sent messages to their relatives at home, and American notables—Mrs. Roosevelt, Dorothy Thompson, Admiral Stirling, Eddie Cantor, Joan Crawford, and other headliners have short-waved pep talks to the British.

WRUL's elastic program schedule has expanded with every addition to Hitler's New Order. When the Nazis fomented the revolt in Iraq, WRUL hired Fuad Muffarij to broadcast daily in two Arabic dialects to the Middle East. When Hitler called on France for “total collaboration,” Jules Romains, Henri Bernstein, Eve Curie, and other distinguished French exiles stepped up to WRUL's microphone to urge the French not to collaborate at all. (Incidentally, these talks were rebroadcast in Europe by the BBC, and by General de Gaulle's station at Brazzaville in French Equatorial Africa.) When Hitler double-crossed his ally Soviet Russia, WRUL broke into Russian, and made arrangements with Moscow to have its programs rebroadcast by 100 stations in the U. S. S. R.

WRUL's “Hello Norge” hour is conducted by a former announcer of the Oslo station who escaped from the Nazis on a sled train with the group of men who carried Norway's gold up north and shipped it to England on small boats. Hendrik Van Loon has supervised programs to Holland, assisted by Onno Liebert, formerly of the Hilversum station, who made his getaway as cook on a Swedish ship and eventually reached this country via Siberia and the Pacific. WRUL also has a special “Spirit of Holland” feature for the Dutch

East Indies, and its Danish programs have been rebroadcast in Iceland.

A measure of World Wide's success is the bitterness with which it has been attacked by the Axis press and radio. In the spring of 1941, the Italian official news agency issued a special communiqué denouncing WRUL, and the German short-wave radio commentator "Mr. O. K." has repeatedly assailed this station for "emitting fabrications and propaganda." "The World Wide Broadcasting System in Boston," O. K. complained, "daily issues messages instigating resistance against Germany. Rarely has such effrontery ever been shown as that of this radio system."

Until this year all WRUL's activities have been covered by an annual budget of \$100,000—a proof of how much radio can achieve on how little, when it takes up the cudgels for Democracy with vigor and enthusiasm.

. . . AND THE WORLD LISTENS

Somewhere in Portuguese East Africa there is a man with a wooden leg who walks three miles every night to hear an American broadcast on his next door neighbor's short-wave receiver. A London listener tells a station in Boston: "You have no idea the comfort it has been while the bombs are thudding all around to hear you on my portable wireless, which I have now on the floor beside me." A Czech enthusiast writes: "Your broadcast is a bright star in the heavens of American liberty shining into the darkness of our oppressed life."

Letters like these, seeping through the dikes of censorship into the studios of American international radio stations, acknowledge the United States' belated rise as a world radio power. Many of the writers risk severe punishment when they tune in on an American wave length. But hundreds of

thousands, perhaps millions of people, are doing it just the same, cannily using the springs of their beds or a wire behind their picture moldings as a clandestine aerial to pick up U. S. transmissions.

In response to the hundred-million-odd words a year broadcast by U. S. stations comes a constant stream of listener-letters—some heroic, some pathetic, some just plain corny—from every part of the globe. Listeners in Europe are desperately grateful to American stations, and when they can write in to prove it, they do. From Italy, where the penalty for listening to foreign stations is three months in jail and a \$25 fine, U. S. broadcasters have received more than 4,000 letters since the outbreak of war. A listener somewhere in Wales thanks the “kindly American voice, telling of kindly activities, of kindly people—the message that decency, sheer decency does exist.” A Frenchman says: “Go on giving us news, the real truth. Lies have done us too much harm, leave that to them.” Most mail from Europe carries the same plea: “Don’t forget us—It’s so good to hear your words of cheer.” A letter smuggled out of Germany declares: “Most Germans listen to foreign reports and not to those here. We are just as uninformed as in the Middle Ages. The impudence with which they lie is unbelievable.” Even from Poland, where all normal communication with the outside world is forbidden, Red Cross postcards with the printed words “I am well” have reached U. S. stations to show that the writer was still listening.

A sergeant in the Foreign Legion writes in from Ksar es Souk, Morocco, to request CBS to play the Foreign Legion’s March. A Polish soldier interned in Switzerland asks CBS to help him locate his brother-in-law “who is staying somewhere in the United States.” From the “Sol de Oro” mines 3,000 feet up in the mountains of Peru comes a request for “the song of my alma mater: *Fight the Team across the*

Field." A business-minded South American remarks tersely: "I like your programs having special interest for the price of coffee in New York." A Bolivian suggests helpfully: "If propaganda is going to be given out, be more subtle with it than the Nazis are." A French priest in Alaska writes: "I enjoy your programs in Spanish, especially your descriptions of the fights at Madison Square Garden." A British listener would like "speakers drawn from humbler walks of life, first-hand pictures of your everyday domestic life—just warm little bits and pieces of laughter and tears from the hearts of your working folk to the hearts of ours." A listener in Sweden reports he enjoyed hearing the running of the Saratoga Cup. "I placed a bet on Isolator, who won. But so far I haven't been able to collect." An optimist in Casablanca, Morocco, asks Fernand Auberjonois if he or any of his friends would care to buy "a clock with chandeliers that belonged to Napoleon" to prevent its falling into the hands of "you know whom."

Eighty percent of the letters from unoccupied France are pro-British—perhaps a rough index of sentiment in France today. Many of them declare: "The leaders who favor collaboration should be hanged," and end "Long live the United States! Long live France!" A good many French listeners send U. S. stations letters to be forwarded to General de Gaulle. In the strategic port of Dakar American stations have a number of staunch listeners. Letters have come in from Ruyigi, Thysville, and Moerbeke-Kwilu in the heart of the Congo; from Oran and Tlemcen in Algeria; from Aruba in the Dutch West Indies; from a Norwegian wireless operator in the Arctic, and the radio officer of a British battleship; from Australia, India, Egypt, and Turkey; from Czechs in Wisconsin, Polish fliers in Canada, a Norwegian sailor in a Chicago hospital, a group of eighty Italian coal miners of Piney Fork, Ohio, and from a mis-

sionary stationed among the headhunters of Borneo. Even in Lapland there is a poor family that for years saved up to buy a radio and now listens every night to broadcasts from America.

CHAPTER XXII

LISTENING POST

SHORTLY before the outbreak of war, the British Broadcasting Corporation inaugurated its "Monitoring Service" to keep a check on the stream of broadcasts that poured over the ether. The other European powers were quick to copy Britain's idea. Germany, Italy, and France each set up an elaborate network of listeners and analysts to comb the air waves for clues to the policy of the other powers. The Scandinavian countries followed suit on a smaller scale. By the time war was declared almost every nation of any importance—except the United States—had its "Third Ear" cocked to developments on the international radio front.

In order to obtain the best reception the BBC's monitoring service was scattered over the English countryside. Listeners took to the hills and the woods, living in small huts or in bomb-proof underground shelters. All these "listening posts" were linked by telephone and telemeter connections.

The BBC's revised wartime schedule calls for coverage of 230 broadcasts a day, from over forty countries, in some thirty-five languages including Maltese, Kurdish, Mandarin, Cantonese, and several Arabic dialects. Upwards of four hundred polyglot listeners, each with an intimate knowledge of the nations on his "beat," record, transcribe, and translate a total of nearly 1,000,000 words a day.

The listener or "monitor," sits in front of a powerful receiver, earphones clamped to his ears, a pad and pencil ready to hand. He is covering, say, Berlin's "North American" service. Fred Kaltenbach's Iowa drawl floats in over the air waves. "Click" goes a switch, setting in motion a recording machine connected up with the transmitter. A shiny black wax cylinder begins to revolve slowly, gathering a gray coating of fluff as the steel needle traces the speaker's words on its surface.¹ While the program is being recorded, the monitor makes pencil notes of its salient points. This double coverage, which calls for intense concentration and some high-speed scribbling, is part of the routine of any streamlined monitoring service. The business of transcribing verbatim a whole recorded program takes an experienced operator the best part of forty-five minutes. If anything of immediate importance comes over the air, the monitor's notes enable him to submit the item to a "Flash Supervisor," who decides whether to send it to London. A flash, say, to the Admiralty, reaches its destination in exactly two minutes.

The BBC's Monitoring Service keeps a large editorial staff busy condensing the unwieldy mass of incoming programs into a daily 50,000-word digest, which represents a vital summary of what the air waves are saying. This is mimeographed and distributed to the government departments. Another set of editors combs enemy and neutral programs for verbal ammunition for counterpropaganda. In a central office "somewhere in England," operates the board of higher strategy, a group of men and women who are masters of the technique of culling valuable strategic information from the wild but purposeful hodgepodge of broadcast propaganda. Their weekly report goes to the Foreign Office,

¹ After they have been transcribed these cylinders are put through an electrical "shaver," and are then ready for use again. The average life of a cylinder is 50 programs.

the Cabinet, the army, navy, and air ministries. For total radio warfare has brought into being a brand new kind of military intelligence. From the analysis of broadcast propaganda radio sleuths are able to read, with a fair degree of accuracy, what is going on in the enemy's mind, to uncover his weaknesses and sometimes to foresee his intentions.

Britain's radio analysts are hard-headed psychologists who apply to radio propaganda a combination of the methods of Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Sigmund Freud. They do not look beyond the actual words that come in over the air waves. They are not concerned with truth and falsehood; they are not interested in "facts" or "inside information." The basic premise they work on is simple: every word of broadcast propaganda has a purpose. Find the purpose, examine the motives behind it, and your enemy's plans stand revealed.

Suppose, for instance, that Nazi broadcasters were suddenly to start systematically accusing British bombers of showering poison-gas shells on German cities. Your radio analyst would ask himself: Why should Germany, at this particular moment, be charging Britain with the use of poison gas? He would seek an answer by projecting this question against a background of Germany's past propaganda strategy. He would note that heretofore the German radio, by way of self-justification, had accused Britain of the very crimes she was on the point of committing herself. The obvious conclusion would be that Germany herself intended to resort to poison-gas warfare against the British Isles.

A justificatory propaganda barrage like the above is now a dead give-away of the broadcasting country's intentions. It was nevertheless the tactic used by the Nazi radio to give a moral complexion to the German invasion of Norway.

Late in March 1940, German stations began harping insistently upon the theme that Britain was criminally planning to extend the theater of the war to Scandinavia. A pitch of

complete hysteria was reached when Britain mined Norwegian coastal waters, and the Oslo Government was savagely denounced for unneutrally aiding and abetting the piratical Britishers. To Britain's radio analysts the conclusion was inescapable that Germany herself had designs upon Norway.

Generally the German radio does not reveal its plans with such obliging directness, and more complex methods of analysis are required. But your radio analyst knows exactly where to look for clues. Words left unsaid are important signposts. Deliberate contradictions are footprints in the sand. He pays special attention to any contrasts between what the German radio is telling the world and what it is broadcasting for domestic consumption. He keeps a sharp lookout for differences between German statements to one country and to another. He watches carefully for emphasis or repetition of a particular argument. Most importantly, he keeps detailed charts of propaganda trends, for these provided the most reliable barometer of impending military or political action. Each and all of these sources have proved their value in radio analysis.

In the fall of 1940, for example, German broadcasts to England and to the rest of the world were harping persistently on the imminence of invasion, while the German people were hearing very little about a projected attack on the island fortress and were not encouraged to expect one. British radio intelligence was thus able to suggest to the military chiefs that the Reich had in all probability abandoned plans for an invasion of England, and that her all-out "invasion propaganda" was designed to divert British naval units from convoy duty to home waters, thereby seriously weakening the Empire's vital lifelines. In this, and in several other instances, analysis of radio propaganda has been

of direct strategic importance in helping Britain to anticipate important developments in the war.

AMERICA'S EARS

It was not until the spring of 1941 that the United States Government entered into the business of monitoring the air waves for propaganda secrets. The first systematic monitoring of foreign broadcasts in this country was done by private organizations, who were chiefly interested in the news possibilities of short-wave programs.

Just before the outbreak of war, NBC and CBS, alive to the importance of what was said by international broadcasters, set up listening posts to cover the Fourth Front.

Their foresight has been well rewarded; short-wave pickups have proved to be such a valuable news source that a teletype service has been furnished to press associations, news magazines, and New York newspapers, some of which are also doing their own monitoring. Columbia's listening station beat the cables with the report of King Leopold's surrender. The first full text of Marshal Pétain's speech announcing France's capitulation came off an NBC short-wave recording. It was a short-wave listener who first reported the full contents of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Pact, General de Gaulle's announcement of the capture of Libreville, the news of Rudolf Hess's flight to England, and the German invasion of Russia.

The short-wave listening station operated by the Columbia Broadcasting System is situated in a thoroughly insulated wooden shack on the edge of a field near Roosevelt, Long Island, far from traffic or electrical interference. Here four technicians keep a round-the-clock watch on foreign broadcasts. On one of the receivers, they pick up scheduled news and propaganda broadcasts, on another they monitor capitals

in the news for special announcements, on the third they patrol the air waves in search of anything new or unusual. Columbia's Long Island pickups are fed by private telephone wire to the New York City listening station, which is an integral part of the news and special events department in the CBS building on Madison Avenue.

Columbia's listeners and translators sit at a long table taking notes from the thousands of incoming words, every one of which is simultaneously recorded on an Ediphone machine. In the small hours of the night, when the network is silent and most of Columbia's huge building is in darkness, lights still burn in the listening room as CBS monitors ceaselessly patrol the Fourth Front.

Much of what is heard is merely a repetition of press association stories or previous broadcasts. So Columbia's short-wave editors cull between 5,000 and 15,000 words of news and propaganda for verbatim transcription. A routine bulletin must be transcribed, written up, and transferred to the teletype machine in anything from four to ten minutes after it has left the foreign station, an important bulletin in less than one minute. This calls for speed, accuracy, and sound news judgment on the part of Fourth Front reporters.

Each day the chief of Columbia's short-wave listening post discusses short-wave propaganda trends with CBS writers and commentators, who have found this a valuable aid to interpreting the news from abroad.

Perhaps the most dramatic demonstration of the value of constant short-wave listening occurred when Premier Reynaud's government resigned, just before the French capitulation to Hitler. The cables were jammed; Press Wireless Service broke down; there appeared to be no way of receiving vital news from the emergency capital at Bordeaux. However, the Bordeaux-Lafayette short-wave transmitter was still functioning, and Columbia's correspondents, Eric Sevareid

and Edmond Taylor, got permission to go on the air whenever they pleased, without censorship.

After half a day in which the press associations had been unable to file any of the swiftly moving news from France, Columbia's listeners in New York, who had been monitoring Bordeaux without a moment's break for the past forty-eight hours, suddenly heard: "Calling CBS Listening Station in New York! Calling CBS Listening Station in New York!"—and Severeid brought correspondents of the major press associations to the microphone to dictate their dispatches into Columbia's recording machines in the New York listening room. Within five minutes, the story of France's death agony was pouring over the telephone to the press associations' desks. And for several hours, news from Bordeaux flowed only through the CBS short-wave listening station.

NBC operates two short-wave listening posts. The master station—situated in a quiet section of Bellmore, Long Island—is equipped with eight receivers and linked to the NBC news room in New York by telephone and teletype, and a microphone line. The latter makes it possible for any of the monitors at Bellmore to be cut in on a network program if an important news item comes in via short wave. NBC's second listening post was set up in August, 1941, in North Hollywood, especially to cover the increasingly vital Pacific area. It is keeping a close watch on broadcasts from Tokyo, Chungking, Australia, Manila, and the Dutch East Indies.

While NBC and CBS are in the monitoring business chiefly for news, the U. S. Government's Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service is concerned primarily with propaganda.

The FBMS—a branch of the Federal Communications Commission—was inaugurated in March, 1941. Only one American organization had previously had such a wide interest in foreign transmissions. This was the Princeton Listening Center—a branch of Princeton University's School of

Public and International Affairs created to study the role of radio in modern war. In eighteen months the Listening Center had amassed records of some 10,000,000 words of broadcast propaganda, and its staff had successfully developed techniques of analysis similar to those employed in Britain. The Center was able to contribute both experience and personnel to the new Federal unit.

The FBMS started work with an emergency grant of \$235,000, and later received an appropriation of \$809,000 for the fiscal year 1942. Its staff consisted of 350 listeners, translators, technicians, and analysts. Of the FCC's existing 91 listening posts—previously used to patrol the domestic air waves for subversive radio activities—the most strategically located ones were turned over to monitoring foreign programs twenty-four hours a day. The Orient is covered from Portland, Oregon; broadcasts aimed at Latin America are intercepted at Kingsville, Texas; the post at Santurce, San Juan, P. R., listens to Eastern Europe; the rest of Europe, all of Africa, and the Near East are covered from Silver Hill, Maryland. Representatives in England report on European broadcasts. The work of condensation and analysis is done both in the field and in the FBMS' headquarters in Washington.

At noon every day the FBMS sends to the White House and to the Departments of State, War, and Navy a digest of the foreign propaganda picture. In addition it flashes spot bulletins to the relevant authorities and issues weekly summaries of propaganda methods and special analytical reports.

The air waves do not yield their secrets cheaply; 750,000 words—three-quarters of them in foreign languages—have to be transcribed and translated daily. At least seven hours are required to “process,” i.e., translate, analyze, and report on one hour of broadcast material—an index of the amount of work being done by Uncle Sam's “New Silent Service.”

Even in the short space of time the FBMS has been in operation it has established itself as a valuable adjunct to military intelligence. It was this "New Silent Service" that detected in Axis broadcasts to Latin America the seeds of the disturbances between Peru and Ecuador in 1941, and early intimations that Germany had decided to attack Russia and that Japan intended to occupy Indo-China were received through the air waves.

CHAPTER XXIII

RADIO: SPEARHEAD OF THE DEMOCRATIC OFFENSIVE

THE subject of propaganda for Democracy, which forms the logical conclusion to this book, is a delicate and highly controversial one. There are still a great number of people who, at the very mention of the word "propaganda," grow suspicious or sternly disapproving. Propaganda is in the doghouse, and there is a widespread feeling that it belongs there—and nowhere else.

This attitude is in part a hangover from the experiences of the last war and more directly a result of the one perhaps unconscious but probably most far-reaching propaganda victory of Dr. Joseph Paul Goebbels: propaganda, already associated with fictitious atrocity stories, was so thoroughly discredited by Dr. Goebbels' use of it that it became synonymous with the most blatant and obnoxious form of lies, threats, and name-calling—a weapon fit only for bullies and international gangsters. In the democratic countries it became a cliché that propaganda was "a very bad thing."

Rejecting the use of propaganda as an instrument of policy, the democracies consoled themselves with the belief that what people wanted all the world over was something called The Truth, and that in the long run The Truth would prevail. If the question: "And in what way is The

Truth to be presented?" was raised, the answer would be, as likely as not, that "straight news" or "factual information" were best calculated to win friends and allies, keep up spirits on the home front, counterbalance the enemy's slander, and help shatter the enemy's morale. Thus it was acknowledged that the democracies must "fight back," but it was felt that they must do so with "information," not with propaganda. The difference between the two was generally taken for granted without further elaboration.

Webster defines propaganda as "any organized or concentrated effort or movement to spread a particular doctrine or system of doctrines or principles." The word was first used in a religious sense; it meant "propagation of the Faith." Hence in Rome, the committee of Cardinals set up in 1622 to supervise missionary work was called the "Propaganda College." Propaganda, in fact, is simply "persuasion," and the criterion of propaganda is to consider not the truth or falsehood of a statement, but whether or not any attempt at persuasion is involved. If "news" or "information" are intended to have a persuasive effect they are just as much propaganda as *Mein Kampf*.

Propaganda, i.e., persuasion, obviously cannot in any sense be "bad in itself." It is used to help in the fight against cancer, to raise funds for charities, to make citizens keep the streets clean or induce them to invest in Defense Savings Bonds—and no noticeable objections have been voiced to the use of propaganda for these purposes. The objection to propaganda is therefore really not one to propaganda in general but to a *special kind of propaganda*, the kind which is a government monopoly and resorts to any and every expedient to compel servile obedience at home and spread confusion and terror abroad. Nine people out of ten who see nothing but evil in propaganda are in fact thinking of "totalitarian propaganda."

But there is another kind—democratic propaganda—which is highly desirable, necessary in fact, to help democracy survive the present emergency. It differs from the totalitarian product in at least three vital respects: it is not a state monopoly; it appeals to man as a reasonable individual and not as a member of the herd; its persuasive force is based not on lies, threats, and abuse, but on the virtues of the democratic way of life.

The Good-Neighbor Policy is democratic propaganda with the irreproachable goal of building a better understanding and solidifying closer ties between this country and the Latin Republics. The sober, factual, and remarkably accurate news bulletins broadcast to Europe by American radio stations are propaganda in that their effect is to encourage faith in a free press and radio and the other forms of democracy. The fact that the above are propaganda for democracy is surely nothing to deny shamefacedly.

Unfortunately, the essential difference between democratic and totalitarian propaganda has not been greatly stressed in Britain and the United States. The situation created by Dr. Goebbels has on the whole been fatalistically accepted, and propaganda—even for Democracy—has been taken to be something inherently evil. Instead of making a determined effort to remove from the mind of the public the obnoxious connotations of the word “propaganda,” democratic propagandists have sought to evade a delicate issue by calling their product “information.”

This verbal finesse has had unfortunate results. Having labeled their efforts “information,” democratic propagandists have tended to lose sight of the fact that their primary object was persuasion. Some of them have actually prided themselves that they were not seeking to persuade anybody to do anything. Further, whereas the military chiefs might readily have grasped the fact that “persuasion” plays a major strategic

role in time of war, they can hardly be blamed for feeling that "information" was a luxury that must always be subordinated to military considerations, however trivial.

This, then, has been the chain of events in the democracies: because of the stigma attached to the whole idea of propaganda, it was labeled information, and because information appeared a luxury, it was relegated to a backstage role in the war or defense effort. In Britain, for instance, it was made completely subject to the stern and often unreasonable censorship of the army, navy, and air-force chiefs, many of whom clung to antiquated notions of the role of words in wartime, while in this country billions had been spent on the national defense effort and the United States' objectives had been clearly defined by the President, before any practical attempt was made to counter Nazi Germany's worldwide psychological offensive.

The result of all this has been to leave the initiative to the Axis in the one field in which the democracies could have mobilized forces immeasurably more compelling. It was Adolf Hitler, posing as the apostle of progress through revolution, who first came forward with plans for a New Order, offering social justice to all and specific benefits to each class or nation. It was Hitler who, while bent on enslaving great areas of the world and bludgeoning the rest of it into co-operation on his terms, was ready to produce detailed blueprints showing each and every country exactly how it would benefit by an Axis victory. Admittedly the New Order was a fraud and the blueprint that promised part of Ecuador to Peru was matched by one that promised part of Peru to Ecuador. Nevertheless, in a number of countries, some of the people were fooled enough of the time for their will to be so paralyzed that one lightning military stroke destroyed them utterly.

If the Nazis, whose every action has given the lie to their

foreign propaganda, have accomplished so much by means of psychological warfare, surely the democracies can achieve far more. Every nation in the world, the people of Germany and Italy included, is their potential ally. And the most priceless gifts are theirs to offer—liberty for the enslaved, for those silenced the right to speak freely, for the persecuted tolerance, for all peace, sanity, and the restoration of civilization. To neglect this strategic advantage by seeking to defeat Hitlerism with arms alone will mean an immeasurably longer, bloodier, more agonizing, and more destructive war. Yet the all-out democratic offensive on the psychological front is still not under way, and there are many who still fight shy of the idea of propaganda for Democracy.

The need for such a democratic offensive and the broad form it should take were admirably set forth in an editorial in the *New York Herald Tribune* of May 16, 1941. "In a great historic clash of systems and ideas," that paper wrote, "in a moment when the ideological weapon has been brought to heights of unparalleled effectiveness, the American democracy has scarcely even given thought to arming itself in this critical field. . . . An American Goebbels is neither needed nor desired. It is not a matter of lying propaganda and intellectual terrorism; it is a matter of spreading the American and the democratic case aggressively throughout the world."

This book is only concerned with the part radio can play in the democratic offensive. It will certainly be an important one; for with almost all of Europe quarantined from contacts with the outside world, radio remains the one major channel through which the democracies can launch their assault on the enemy's morale and transmit their message of hope and encouragement to the "Hundred Million Allies" in the occupied countries.

THE ALL-OUT OFFENSIVE BY RADIO

Short-wave broadcasts in general can hope to reach only a limited audience. As noted earlier in this book, arrangements have been made by the United States for its programs to Latin America to be rebroadcast locally and for its programs to Europe to be sent out on the standard wave band from a BBC transmitter in England. This is a vital step forward, for rebroadcasting is probably the solution to the reception problems that confront the long-range broadcaster. Strategic points in those territories engaged in the struggle against Hitlerism could be linked together to form a vast, world-embracing radio network that would bring the voices of the democracies, loud and clear, to listeners in every part of the globe. Cairo, for instance, is favorably located for rebroadcasting programs intended for the Near and Middle East. Programs to and from the Chinese hinterland could be relayed from some point in the Pacific. Batavia in the Dutch East Indies, (if it can be held against the Japanese,) and Vladivostok in Siberia could similarly be used as relay points.

The content of programs and style of delivery remain problems which only the experienced broadcaster is competent to solve; only a few general remarks will be hazarded here. There clearly can be no blanket formula for democratic propaganda. The particular form it takes must depend upon a variety of factors. Of these the most important is the tradition of journalism in the country addressed. Some nations are accustomed to a highly partisan type of journalism, to colored news and violent editorials which appeal to the emotions and not to reason. Such peoples will hardly be impressed by a cold, sober presentation of the democratic case. Elsewhere, in France for instance, a more reasoned, intellectual approach is required; emotionally the French are highly susceptible to certain appeals, indifferent to others;

there are certain types of oratory to which they are accustomed and which they admire. All these factors deserve full and careful consideration in broadcasts to France. For the Orient another style of persuasion will prove most effective, and for Latin America yet another.

A further primary requirement—and one which democratic radio has been inclined to neglect—is that whatever the broadcast it must *compel attention*. A tedious program or a casual, off-hand style of delivery does cruel injustice to the listener who is taking his life in his hands to tune in to a foreign station.

As this book is written, most British and American talks and newscasts to Europe last fifteen minutes—rather a long time when it is remembered that the Gestapo is keeping a watchful lookout for bootleg listening. Terse, five-minute bulletins and short, punchy pep talks—repeated at more frequent intervals—would seem more suitable considering reception conditions in occupied Europe.

Democratic propaganda could be as aggressive as anything Dr. Goebbels puts out without resorting to lies or half-truths. Their hard-earned reputation for honesty is the chief drawing card of democratic broadcasters; they are living up to this reputation and do not intend to sacrifice it. But there is no reason why democratic truths should not be advanced with all of the fervor and all of the enthusiasm that go into broadcasting the products of the Goebbels lie factory.

Obviously Germany's total war on the mind can only be met and defeated by a counteroffensive that is also "total." The democracies will have to mobilize all their ideological resources and throw them unreservedly into the fight. It is not enough for them to provide "straight news," and "factual information," while waiting for the truth to prevail. They will have to explain their case with feeling as well as logic, appeal to the heart as well as to the intellect. Without de-

parting from the truth, they will have to use *intelligently, expertly*, every device of persuasion known to man to spread their case "aggressively throughout the world." A number of British and American broadcasters are doing precisely this—the BBC's transmissions to France are a case in point. But on the whole the radio propaganda of the democracies lacks the compelling force of totalitarian propaganda.

Above all—and this is where the propaganda of the democracies has been a total failure—persuasion, to be truly effective, must show in detail to each and every man what specific benefits he stands to gain by a democratic victory. Thanks to the research of Dr. Karl Haushofer's Geopolitical Institute in Munich, the Berlin Propaganda Ministry has complete and expert data on the economics, politics, history, and geographic ambitions of virtually every state, every people, every racial or religious minority in the world. Its propaganda is planned accordingly. Arguing with facts and figures the Berlin radio has sought to show each nation, and groups within that nation—American cotton growers, Argentine ranchers, Arab nationalists, and Swedish industrialists—how an Axis victory would bring to them economic advantages or the satisfaction of other ambitions.

Take the case of Argentina, for example. She is told by the Nazis that she is the only "white nation" in South America, and should therefore be the Fuehrer State of that continent. She is promised the Falkland Islands—after an Axis victory. German speakers show in what ways the Argentinians are being exploited by U. S. control of their public utilities. And daily the German radio explains, plausibly and in detail, how much the country stands to gain by severing economic ties with the United States and doing business with Europe—the "natural and logical" market for its products.

The propaganda of Democracy has so far confined itself to denouncing the horrors of Nazi tyranny or has been couched

in high-sounding generalities, abstractions which, however priceless the things they represent, should be the first premises of democratic propaganda, not its beginning and its end.

The suggestion that democratic propaganda pass from the general to the specific brings up two problems. The democracies will need the advisory services of expert bodies possessing the kind of information assembled by Dr. Haushofer's Geopolitical Institute and the several research organizations that work closely with the Berlin Propaganda Ministry. Secondly—and this is probably the key to the whole issue—they will have to draw up a working blueprint of their war aims and plans for the peace, and one that goes far beyond the eight principles of the Atlantic Charter.

It might seem that the future is too uncertain, the task of winning the war too formidable for experts to play at map-making or spend their time pondering a solution for the economic problems of this country or that. Propaganda, however, can obviously play a vital part itself in the job of winning the war, and it has by now become evident that democratic propaganda will continue to lack a compelling force until it passes from abstractions to concrete facts, from liberty to the problems of political geography that vitally concern the peoples to whom it is addressing itself, from social justice to economics and labor policy, from civilization to a practical scheme for the fair distribution of raw materials, from peace to plans for recovery and reconstruction, from ideals to bread—and perhaps butter.

Persuasion helped win the last war. Wilson captured the imagination of the world with what then seemed a concrete set of principles on which to build a better world. The very fact that the promises contained in the 16 points were not fulfilled has led to a skepticism, a disillusionment, a materialism, out of which the majority of mankind will be shaken not by eight sweeping generalities but by a thousand-point blueprint of a new democratic world order.

APPENDIX: HOW SHORT WAVE WORKS

WHEN a stone is thrown into a placid pool the waves undulate outward in gradually weakening circular ripples; so it is with the impulses radiated by long- and medium-wave radio transmitters. The distance at which these impulses can effectively be received depends upon a complex of factors, but seldom is it more than several hundred miles. The short waves used for international broadcasting, on the other hand, travel skyward and there encounter a layer of ionized gases, known as the ionosphere or Kennelly-Heaviside layer, whence they are reflected back to earth at great distances from the point of transmission.

This description is a slight over-simplification. Actually, long-, medium-, and short-wave transmitters radiate two series of impulses—"ground" and "sky" waves. But in long- and medium-wave transmission, it is the ground wave that reaches the listener with the maximum effect; in short-wave transmission the ground waves fade away within a short distance from the point of broadcast, while the "sky" waves continue bouncing from the ionosphere to the earth and back all the way round the world. These "sky" waves create reception areas of several thousands of square miles wherever they strike the earth. The "silent" distance between reception areas is referred to as the "skip distance."

The position of the ionosphere varies from 70 to 250 miles above the surface of the earth. When it is nearest, the "skip

distances" are relatively short and the same radio wave provides a number of good reception areas. When the reflecting layer is high, the "skip distances" are long and there are fewer areas of reception.

While the phenomenon of a bouncing sky wave is responsible for the tremendous distances covered by short-wave impulses, a man-made device has made it possible to "aim" these impulses so that any given area can be reached with a maximum of power. Arrangement of radio antennas determines the angle at which the sky wave strikes the Kennelly-Heaviside layer and hence *how far away* it will come back to earth. International broadcasters train their antennas on the ionosphere in much the same way as a soldier aims a trench mortar. If they are broadcasting a relatively short distance they use a high vertical angle. When they wish to reach listeners many thousands of miles away they increase their range by taking a low angle. Furthermore, the *width* of the area toward which signals will radiate is also controllable by "directional" antennas. The effectiveness of such antennas is illustrated by the fact that a 5-kilowatt station with a highly directive antenna will put as strong a signal into England from the east coast of the United States as a 130-kilowatt station operating without directional antennas. Thus the analogy of waves undulating in widening concentric circles, used to describe long- and medium-wave transmission, should be replaced for short-wave transmission by one of ripples of radio energy that proceed outward and upward—in *only one segment of the circle*.

In this country's Latin American transmissions, for example, beams from the United States are pointed at a vertical angle of 10° which brings the signals down near Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires on their third "hop" from New York. The width of these beams is usually about 20° ; this provides excellent reception on either side of a line drawn

down the middle of South America. A beam wide enough to encompass the whole continent would give a weak signal on the power now being used.

In all types of short-wave transmission, the vertical angle at which impulses are fired into the ionosphere is determined solely by the distance to be covered. But the width of the beam varies according to the size of the area aimed at; the wider the beam, the less distance can be covered with a given amount of power. Thus in point-to-point communication, such as the transoceanic radio-telephone service, or the broadcasts of American radio correspondents from foreign capitals heard on this country's domestic stations, the beam used has to be extremely narrow so that the thin strip of electromagnetic energy will exactly hit the receiving antennas. Point-to-point communication, which operates in the same way as a spotlight, has the advantage that little power is required even for distances as great as from here to Australia. In ordinary international broadcasting, however, the beam is cone-shaped, much like the ray of a floodlight, and at least 50 kilowatts of power are needed to provide a strong signal two or three thousand miles away. In consequence, all U. S. international broadcast stations are required by the Federal Communications Commission to operate on a minimum of 50 kilowatts *and* to use directional antennas giving a further tenfold increase in power.

The use of such directional antennas does not mean that only listeners directly aimed at will hear the program, but simply that they will hear it better. A certain amount of energy not issued through the major beam is dissipated in smaller, secondary beams that shoot off at a tangent on other courses. Moreover, the main beam, widening gradually, may be strong enough to circle the earth completely. The whole process can be compared to the use of a flashlight in a dark room; nowhere in the room is it completely dark, but within

the cone of illumination there is much more light. Thus listeners anywhere in the world may hear, under favorable atmospheric conditions, programs beamed at entirely different areas, as for instance the priest in Alaska, mentioned earlier in this book, who picks up NBC's broadcasts to Latin America.

WHAT ARE FREQUENCIES?

When an engineer talks about the upper or lower "frequencies" of a voice, sound effect, or musical instrument, he means simply the upper or lower tones of the sound in question, which are distinguished for him by the difference in their frequency or vibration. The term "frequency" refers, more accurately, to *the number of times a sound wave, a radio wave, or a light wave oscillates or vibrates per second.*

When you strike middle C on a piano the resultant sound makes 256 complete cycles every second. When you tune in to domestic radio station WOR "at 710 kilocycles on your dial," the program is being sent out to you on a radio wave vibrating 710 kilocycles, or 710,000 cycles per second. International broadcasting utilizes much higher frequencies, with signals ranging from 6,000 to 26,000 kilocycles—or 6,000,000 to 26,000,000 separate oscillations per second. The relation between "frequencies" and "wave lengths" is simple and direct. To ascertain the actual wave length in meters of a given frequency, all that is needed is to divide that frequency into the distance a radio wave travels in one second, i.e., 186,000 miles or 300,000 kilometers. For example, WOR's 710-kilowatt frequency has a wave length of 300,000 divided by 710; that is, 422.5 meters; NBC's international station WRCA, when using the frequency of 21,630 kilocycles, sends out waves 13.8 meters long (300,000 divided by 21,630).

From the above, it is obvious that the higher the frequency the shorter will be the wave length.

Stations transmitting on the long and medium wave are able to stick to one frequency (i.e., one wave length) and give good reception whatever the atmospheric conditions. Not so with short-wave transmission. In order to provide continuous good service, the frequencies used have to be chosen with regard to the changing conditions prevailing in the ionosphere over the route along which the broadcast has to travel. As a result of the action of the sun, these conditions vary: 1) from day to night, 2) from winter to summer, and 3) over an eleven-year time cycle. These variations make it necessary for short-wave broadcasters to alter their frequencies continuously. If a frequency is too high for prevailing conditions, the radio impulses will shoot through the ionosphere and never be bounced back to earth at all; if the frequency is too low, the impulse will lose most of its energy in the ionosphere.

In the daytime, the atmosphere around the earth, expanding under the heat of the sun, pushes the Kennelly-Heaviside layer higher into the stratosphere. Under such conditions high frequencies are required. At night, when the ionosphere is closer to the earth's surface, low frequencies are more suitable. In winter the greater range between daytime and nighttime temperatures causes a correspondingly greater range in the changes of the ionosphere's position, and therefore calls for the use of a wider span of frequencies. From summer day to winter day the change is from high to still higher frequencies; from summer night to winter night it is from low to still lower frequencies.

A further variation in conditions in the ionosphere, caused by sun spot activity, completes its cycle every eleven years. The present state of the cycle is such that all frequencies will have to be very slightly scaled down until 1945.

What has been said about changes in working frequencies applies to any one particular point in the ionosphere. Unfortunately for international broadcasters, however, their transmission routes often pass from day into night, from night into day, from summer into winter, and from winter into summer, as for example in broadcasts from the United States or Britain to Australia. This means that conditions in the ionosphere will vary widely along the route, and the frequency adopted has to be a compromise that will suit the most unfavorable conditions encountered.

To take one practical illustration of these problems, consider British broadcasts to North America. The whole route lies in the same seasonal zone, so one complicating factor is eliminated. But the sun sets in England some five or six hours before it does in the eastern part of North America, so British broadcasters are often transmitting from darkness into daylight. Thus for its daytime service to North America, the BBC uses a "medium" frequency of 17,000 kilocycles. After dark *in England*, this is lowered to 11,000 kilocycles. For a few hours—in winter roughly from 6 to 11 P.M., E.S.T.—there is an "all night" route between the two countries and a frequency of 9,000 kilocycles gives optimum reception. Then it is dawn in England, and programs are again sent out on 11,000 kilocycles.

SHORT-WAVE MISCELLANY

Even before a radio signal reaches the antenna from the transmitter it may run into meteorological trouble. Radio waves, unlike electrical charges, run along the *outside* of wires and not through them. The diameter of the antenna wires and of the lines connecting the transmitter and antennas is carefully related to the dimensions of the transmitting structure. If sleet or snow increases the diameter of these

wires the delicate mathematical balance is disturbed and transmission may be disrupted. The more advanced broadcasters heat their wires in winter time or encase them in copper pipes to forestall such an occurrence.

The location of the transmitter is also of prime importance. It must be free from competing electrical disturbances and must be placed with an eye to the surrounding soil, since certain soils absorb electro-magnetic waves to a much larger degree than others. Topography, on the other hand, needs little consideration. In sending its radio-telephone signal to the Orient from inland California, the Bell System transmits straight *through* the coastal mountain range, some 2,000 feet high.

Quite some publicity has been given to the hypothetical advantage of over-water as opposed to over-land transmission. Experiments show, however, that a radio signal loses 80 percent of its strength by absorption in the first mile of broadcasting over land, whether the land be at the transmitting or the receiving end, while *after* the *first* mile of land the loss is negligible. In other words, there must be less than a mile of land separating transmitter and receiver to realize the power advantage of over-water transmission. In most international broadcasting the initial loss of power is almost inevitable, since even when a station is located on the edge of the ocean, the vast majority of its listeners are situated more than a mile inland. Thus the highly-touted advantage of Europe's over-water transmission to Latin America, as opposed to that from the United States, is fallacious.

Short waves travel from transmitter to receiver by the shortest possible route. For instance, radio messages from the United States to Russia rocket across the North Pole and down from the Arctic. Hence short-wave engineers, when studying the course their broadcasts will traverse, use the strange-looking "azimuthal" map—centered at the point of

transmission—which retains direction but distorts area into fantastic shapes and sizes.

It is clear from the problems briefly touched upon in this appendix that the technical end of short-wave transmission is of first-rate importance. The finest programs, the most skillful propaganda, are of no avail with insufficient power, poor equipment, or incompetent engineers. Thus the skill of the men whose job is to see to it that the voice at the microphone reaches, loud and clear, receivers hundreds or thousands of miles away, is a vital strategic factor in radio warfare. In addition to their routine duties, they may be required to “jam” hostile broadcasts or, conversely, to dodge or eliminate such interference on the part of the enemy. They may be called upon to provide a channel for one of the “ghost” voices that have joined in the war of words, or to silence a heckler from an enemy station. Anonymously and far from the spotlight, they are playing a major role in the struggle on the ether.

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- Zeitschrift fuer Politik*, 13-14



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The author of *Radio Goes to War* was born in Alexandria, Egypt, in 1916 and was educated in England, first at Charterhouse, where he studied Modern Languages, later at Oriel College, Oxford, where he took a B.A. in the School of Politics, Philosophy, and Economics. During those years he spent a good deal of time traveling over France, Belgium, Italy, Central Europe and the Mediterranean area.

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In 1941, while continuing to follow closely the radio war, he worked as editorial associate on *Current History and Forum*, and did a good deal of free-lance writing. He has contributed to *Harper's*, *The American Mercury*, *Current History & Forum*, *The London Spectator*, *The Saturday Review of Literature*, and a number of other periodicals here and in England.

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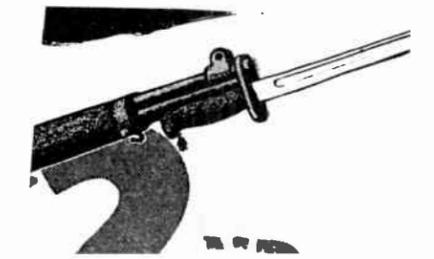
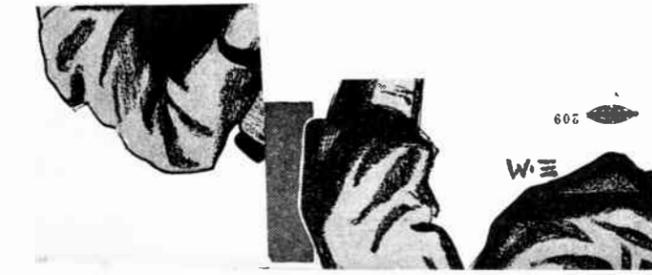
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World Radio History

RADIO GOES TO WAR

Introduction by JOHANNES STEEL

Radio of recent years has become the chief instrument of war waged psychologically. This book tells, for the first time, the whole story of this new "fourth front," which the author covered as a listener, translator, and analyst of the Princeton Listening Center, where he studied some ten million words of broadcast propaganda.

After an introductory chapter that takes the reader on a 24-hour tour of the international radio front, Mr. Rolo analyses the strategy of war by radio and evaluates the power of this new instrument of conquest. Follows a chapter on the history of international broadcasting, covering its use by Leon Trotsky in the First World War, the experiments of Dr. Frank Conrad in the U. S. A., radio in the Spanish Civil War, Nazi Germany's offensives against Russia, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, and the attempts of the Axis to win over the Arab World.

The most notable development after war began in Europe was the German radio campaign against the British Isles. Prominent in this discussion is the amazing story of the fabulous Lord Haw-Haw — "World Radio Traitor No. 1."

General De Gaulle became the first Radio General of the Second World War when he broadcast the call to arms that rallied more than half of the French Empire, and brought a fighting France back into the struggle against Hitlerism.

A gripping chapter on secret stations in Europe is based on facts supplied by a former leader of the Austrian "Freedom" movement, who himself organized anti-Nazi broadcasts from mobile transmitters operating in Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Rolo concludes with several heartening chapters on the American situation. He describes radio's important role in the "Good-Neighbor" policy, and tells the story of our "Bridge of Friendship" to England, and our successful efforts to spread, by radio, the truth throughout the occupied countries. He concludes by showing how radio can give Democracy's answer to Nazi Germany's attempts at world conquest, and thus prepare the way for a democratic victory.

A "Current History" Book