

THE 1930S HAD ALSO SEEN THE INCEPTION OF FM BROADCASTING IN THE SHORTWAVE BANDS. AS TODAY, FM SIGNALS WERE FREE FROM STATIC, AND OF HIGHER FIDELITY. IN THE EARLY 1940S, THESE STATIONS WERE ALLOWED TO EXPERIMENT ON 11 METERS, THE "APEX" BAND A; IT WAS CALLED. MANY STATIONS BECAME ACTIVE IN THIS BAND. LOCALLY, W9XTC, MINNEAPOLIS, SIMULCAST WTCN-1280.

IN 1940 THE FCC PERMITTED COMMERCIAL ADVERTISING ON SHORTWAVE FOR THE FIRST TIME. WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, IT ALSO PROMULGATED A REGULATION REQUIRING THAT "A LICENSEE OF AN INTERNATIONAL BROADCAST STATION SHALL RENDER ONLY AN INTERNATIONAL BROADCAST SERVICE WHICH WILL REFLECT THE CULTURE OF THIS COUNTRY AND WHICH WILL PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL, UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION." THE BROADCASTING INDUSTRY, THE PRESS, AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION RAILED AGAINST THIS PROPOSAL, BRANDING IT A VIOLATION OF FREE SPEECH AND BASIC DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, AND—MORE IMPORTANTLY TO THE INDUSTRY—A PERCEIVED STEP ALONG THE ROAD TO CENSORSHIP AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF DOMESTIC BROADCASTING. THIS WAS ONE OF THE INDUSTRY'S CONSTANT FEARS.

THE VOICE OF AMERICA WAS BORN OFFICIALLY ON FEBRUARY 5, 1942. IT TRACES ITS HISTORY TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OFFICE OF THE COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION BY

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IN JULY 1941 AND THE APPOINTMENT OF WALL STREET ATTORNEY WILLIAM "WILD BILL" DONOVAN TO THE POST.

XMIT-----PROP, DISINF-CLANDESTINE-SABOTAGE
RCV-----INTELLIGENCE, WAR COMMUN

THE PROLIFERATION OF OFFICES ENGAGED IN VARIOUS GOVERNMENTAL INFORMATION ACTIVITIES AT THE TIME, AND THE ABSENCE OF ANY CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE COORDINATING FUNCTION WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT, MADE DONOVAN'S JOB HIGHLY DESIRABLE. HOWEVER, HIS INTEREST WAS LESS THE COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF INTELLIGENCE THAN THE AGGRESSIVE USE OF MASS MEDIA TECHNIQUES FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE, THAT IS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF MORALE-SUBVERTING, ANTI-GERMAN FIFTH-COLUMN ACTIVITIES OF THE TYPE THAT WERE WIDELY PERCEIVED AS HAVING CONTRIBUTED TO THE GERMAN TAKEOVER OF FRANCE. DONOVAN BELIEVED IN THE USE OF FOREIGN PROPAGANDA AS AN ATTACK WEAPON IN TERRITORIES THAT WERE ABOUT TO BE INVADED, AN ACTIVITY COMPLEMENTARY TO THE MILITARY ACTION ITSELF.

THE VOICE OF AMERICA WAS LAUNCHED WHEN THE GOVERNMENT BEGAN LEASING 15-MINUTE BLOCKS OF AIR TIME OVER THE PRIVATE SHORTWAVE BROADCASTERS AND PRODUCING ITS OWN PROGRAMS. THEY INTRODUCED THEM WITH THE YANKEE DOODLE THEME THAT IS STILL FAMILIAR TO

LISTENERS OF THE VOICE OF AMERICA. THUS, AT THE OUTSET, THE VOICE OF AMERICA WAS NEITHER A STATION NOR A GOVERNMENT AGENCY, BUT A SERIES OF SHORT, GOVERNMENT-PRODUCED PROGRAMS ON LEASED FACILITIES. WHEN FIRST REAL VOA-OWNED SW?

THE UNITED STATES WAS FAR BEHIND IN THE INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING RACE, BUT AT LAST IT WAS HEADING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. THROUGH THEIR SHORTWAVE OUTLETS, NBC BEGAN BEAMING SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO LATIN AMERICA, AS DID CBS, G.E., WESTINGHOUSE AND CROSLEY. LATIN AMERICA BECAME THE PRINCIPAL TARGET AUDIENCE FOR NON-SIMULCAST AMERICAN SHORTWAVE PROGRAMMING. BY 1941 ABOUT 35 HOURS [PER DAY OF SPECIALLY PRODUCED SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE OUTPUT WAS BEING BEAMED TO THE AREA BY U.S. SHORTWAVE STATIONS.] ADDITIONAL RELAY ARRANGEMENTS WERE ENTERED INTO WITH LOCAL MEDIUM WAVE STATIONS FOR REBROADCAST OF AMERICAN NETWORK PROGRAMS.

THE UNITED NETWORKS SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, U. S. A.

BY 1942 THERE WAS LITTLE OPPOSITION TO GOVERNMENT ASSUMPTION OF NATIONAL SHORTWAVE BROADCASTING RESPONSIBILITIES, AND NBC, CROSLEY, WESTINGHOUSE, AND GENERAL ELECTRIC WERE READY TO TURN THINGS OVER.

THE NEED FOR BETTER COORDINATION, AND FOR A SINGLE NATIONAL VOICE IN WARTIME, WAS EVIDENT. MOREOVER, GOVERNMENTAL SENSIBILITIES TO THE CONCERNS OF THE PRIVATE BROADCASTERS OVER THE YEARS HAD FOSTERED CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE STATIONS AND THE GOVERNMENT. PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANTLY, NONE OF THE STATIONS WAS MAKING ANY MONEY ON SHORTWAVE. ONLY CBS AND WRUL (???) OPPOSED THE TAKEOVER, CBS BECAUSE IT HAD BEEN BEHIND THE OTHERS IN SHORTWAVE AND WAS JUST COMPLETING A SYSTEM THAT IT FELT WOULD BE COMPETITIVE, AND WRUL BECAUSE IT WAS COMMITTED TO INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING FOR NON-PROPAGANDA PURPOSES AND DID NOT WANT TO LOSE ITS UNIQUE IDENTITY, EVEN FOR THE DURATION OF THE WAR.

ON NOVEMBER 1, 1942, AMERICAN SHORTWAVE BROADCASTING WAS TRANSFORMED FROM AN ADJUNCT OF DOMESTIC BROADCASTING TO AN ELEMENT OF GOVERNMENTAL INFORMATION EFFORTS. ON THAT DATE, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ASSUMED CONTROL OF THE 14 PRIVATE U.S. SHORTWAVE TRANSMITTERS BY ENTERING INTO LEASES WITH THEIR PARENT ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE DURATION OF THE WAR.

THE PARENT COMPANIES CONTINUED TO OPERATE THE STATIONS WITHOUT PROFIT, WITH UNCLE SAM PAYING THE COSTS AND OWI AND CIAA(??) PREPARING AND TRANSMITTING THE PROGRAMS (SOME OF WHICH WERE PRODUCED IN COLLABORATION WITH CBS AND NBC). OWI USED THE

TRANSMITTERS TWO-THIRDS OF THE TIME, CIAA ONE-THIRD. ALL THE TAKEOVERS WERE FRIENDLY SAVE THAT OF WRUL, WHICH HAD TO BE SEIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

THE UNITED STATES UPGRADED OBSOLETE TRANSMITTERS AND PAID THE ACTUAL COSTS OF OPERATION PLUS DEPRECIATION (THIS WAS AN IMPROVEMENT FOR THE OWNERS, WHO HAD BEEN OPERATING AT A LOSS). CBS AND NBC WERE PERMITTED TO OPERATE DISTINCT SERVICES TO LATIN AMERICA FOR A TIME, BUT THIS EVENTUALLY ENDED.

ALTHOUGH THE OWNERS RETAINED THE OPTION OF POSTWAR RESUMPTION OF PRIVATE BROADCASTING, ONLY WRUL WOULD EXERCISE THAT RIGHT. THERE WAS SOME HOPE THAT COMMERCIAL SHORTWAVE BROADCASTING WOULD RESUME AFTER THE WAR AND PLAY A ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW MARKETS, BUT BY THEN THE BROADCASTERS HAD LOST INTEREST IN INTERNATIONAL SHORTWAVE AND WERE HAPPY TO HAVE THE GOVERNMENT IN CHARGE. NBC AND CBS CONTINUED TO PROVIDE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMING UNDER CONTRACT UNTIL 1948, THEN LEFT SHORTWAVE BROADCASTING ENTIRELY. AND THAT LEFT BUT A SMALL HANDFUL OF AMERICAN-BASED INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTERS...AND THE MIGHTY VOICE OF AMERICA.

REMEMBER THE PRINCETON LISTENING CENTER? THE PLC

CLOSED ITS OPERATIONS IN MARCH 1941 WHEN THE FCC, IN COOPERATION WITH THE DEFENSE COMMUNICATIONS BOARD, ESTABLISHED ITS OWN TWO-SECTION RADIO MONITORING CAPABILITY. ONE SECTION CONSISTED OF THE FCC MONITORING SERVICE, RADIO TRAFFIC POLICE WHOSE MISSION WAS TO SCRUTINIZE ILLEGAL OR SUSPICIOUS TRANSMITTERS. THE FCC MONITORING SERVICE OPERATED FROM 11 PRIMARY MONITORING STATIONS AND SOME 80 SUBSTATIONS EQUIPPED WITH POWERFUL DIRECTION-FINDING EQUIPMENT, SOME OF IT LOCATED INSIDE OTHERWISE INNOCENT-LOOKING SEDANS.

WORLD WAR II ALSO WITNESSED THE CREATION OF THE BIGGEST RADIO NETWORK EVER: THE ARMED FORCES RADIO SERVICE." AFRS WAS CONCEIVED AS A MAJOR MORALE BUILDER FOR AMERICAN TROOPS OVERSEAS. ALTHOUGH ITS ROOTS CAN BE TRACED BACK EVEN FARTHER THAN 1941, IT HAD ITS START THAT YEAR IN THE PUBLIC RELATIONS SECTION OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT'S MORALE BRANCH. AFRS WAS ESTABLISHED IN MAY 1942. A LOT OF AFRS ENERGY WENT INTO PROGRAM PRODUCTION. THE RESULT WAS SUCH WORLD WAR II CENTERPIECE PROGRAMS AS "COMMAND PERFORMANCE," A CREATION OF THE RADIO DIVISION OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT'S BUREAU OF PUBLIC RELATIONS WITH AN ENDLESS SUPPLY OF THE MOST POPULAR TALENT IN AMERICA; AND THE STAR-STUDED COMEDY SHOW, "MAIL CALL."

AT FIRST AFRS HAD HIGH HOPES FOR SHORTWAVE, BUT IT

SOON DISCOVERED THAT THE RELATIVE DIFFICULTY OF TUNING SHORTWAVE IN THE FIELD, COMBINED WITH THE POOR RECEIVERS COMMONLY AVAILABLE TO INDIVIDUAL GIs, MEANT THAT SHORTWAVE COULD NOT BE THE MAIN DELIVERY VEHICLE FOR DIRECT RADIO ENTERTAINMENT OVERSEAS. IT COULD AND WOULD BE USED FOR BREAKING EVENTS, LIKE NEWS, SPORTS, AND SPECIAL EVENTS, BUT THE BULK OF THE REST OF THE PROGRAMMING WAS SOON BEING DISTRIBUTED BY WAY OF TRANSCRIPTIONS, WIRED SOUND SYSTEMS, AND, IN PARTICULAR, LOW-POWERED AFRS BROADCAST-BAND STATIONS. THE FIRST SUCH STATIONS WERE SET UP ON AN INFORMAL BASIS IN ALASKA IN 1941 TO SERVE THE TROOPS BEING TRAINED THERE. ONCE AFRS WAS ESTABLISHED, THE NUMBER OF MILITARY MEDIUM-WAVE STATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD GREW FROM THREE ON JANUARY 1, 1943, TO 274 IN 1946 (THIS DID NOT INCLUDE OTHER DELIVERY VEHICLES SUCH AS BROADCASTS OF AFRS PROGRAMS BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCIAL STATIONS).

OTHER AMERICAN STATIONS SUPPLEMENTED THE AFRS ROLE IN IMPORTANT WAYS BY SERVING BOTH U.S. TROOPS AND THE POPULATIONS OF OCCUPIED COUNTRIES. ABSIE (AMERICAN BROADCASTING STATION IN EUROPE) WAS THE AMERICAN FORCES STATION IN ENGLAND. IT WAS OPERATED BY THE OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION IN COOPERATION WITH THE BBC, AND IT BEGAN OPERATIONS ON APRIL 30, 1944, USING BOTH MEDIUM AND SHORT WAVES. IT WAS MODELED AFTER THE BBC. WITH ELABORATE PRODUCTION FACILITIES,

IT CARRIED NEWS, ENTERTAINMENT, PRISONER-OF-WAR BROADCASTS, AND PROGRAMS BEAMED TO THE ENEMY. IN ADDITION, IT GAVE DAILY INSTRUCTIONS IN FRENCH, FLEMISH, DUTCH, DANISH, AND NORWEGIAN TO THE PEOPLES OF OCCUPIED EUROPE, AND TRANSMITTED CODED MESSAGES TO THE RESISTANCE. SOME OF ITS PROGRAMS WERE CARRIED IN PARALLEL BY THE BBC. IT WAS ESTIMATED THAT, AT PEAK, 80 PERCENT OF THE RADIO LISTENERS IN OCCUPIED EUROPE TUNED IN TO ABSIE.¹² THE STATION LEFT THE AIR ON JULY 4,1945.

A STATION THAT PLAYED A SPECIAL ROLE IN WARTIME WAS GENERAL ELECTRIC'S KG EL IN SAN FRANCISCO. ORIGINALLY LICENSED AS 20 KW. W6XBE, THE STATION BEGAN BROADCASTING ON FEBRUARY 18, 1939, FROM THE WORLD'S FAIR IN SAN FRANCISCO. PRIMARILY INTENDED TO SHOWCASE GE ENGINEERING, KGEI CARRIED MAINLY NEC PROGRAMMING FROM MEDIUM WEVERS KPO AND KGO. IT WAS THE ONLY SHORTWAVE BROADCASTING STATION ON THE WEST COAST AT THE TIME. THE JAPANESE SOON BEGAN JAMMING IT, AND THIS LED TO THE INSTALLATION OF TWO HIGHER-POWER TRANSMITTERS.

KGEI ALSO PROVIDED VALUABLE SERVICE TO AMERICAN TROOPS BY RESPONDING TO REQUESTS FROM GENERAL MACARTHUR TO COUNTERACT JAPANESE PROPAGANDA DURING THE BUILDUP TO BATAAN. THE STATION REMAINED ON THE AIR IN VARIOUS FORMS THROUGHOUT THE YEARS UNTIL ITS CLOSING ON JULY 31,1994.¹⁴

BOSTON'S WRUL ALSO HAD A SPECIAL PLACE IN THE U.S. WAR EFFORT. WHEN THE GERMANS, AFTER INVADING NORWAY, FORCED NORWEGIAN SHIPOWNERS TO BROADCAST INSTRUCTIONS ORDERING THEIR VESSELS TO RETURN TO NORWEGIAN PORTS, WRUL TRANSMITTED COUNTER-ADVISORIES, TELLING THE SHIPS' CAPTAINS ABOUT THE TRUE SITUATION AT HOME AND URGING THEM TO HEAD FOR ALLIED OR NEUTRAL PORTS, WHICH THEY DID. WRUL'S ANTI-GERMAN BROADCASTS IN SERBO-CROAT BY FORMER PARIS CORRESPONDENT OF THE BELGRADE *PRAVDA*, DR. SVETISLAV-SVETA PETROVICH, WERE A POWERFUL INCENTIVE FOR YUGOSLAVIA TO TIGHTEN THE GERMANS. U.S. TURNCOAT BROADCASTER "MR. O.K." (SEE BELOW) COMPLAINED REPEATEDLY THAT WRUL WAS INCITING RESISTANCE IN GERMANY.

WRUL ALSO GAVE COMFORT TO PEOPLE UNDER SIEGE, "MORALE RELIEF," AS WALTER LEMMON CALLED IT.¹⁵ "YOU HAVE NO IDEA," WROTE A LISTENER FROM LONDON, "THE COMFORT IT HAS BEEN TO HEAR YOU ON MY PORTABLE WIRELESS WHICH I HAVE ON THE FLOOR BESIDE ME. I WRITE THIS BY THE LIGHT OF A TORCH HELD UNDER THE BLANKET—SO YOU ARE RECEIVING APPRECIATION RIGHT FROM THE FRONT LINE!" A CZECH LISTENER WROTE, "YOUR BROADCAST IS A BRIGHT STAR IN THE HEAVENS OF AMERICAN LIBERTY, SHINING INTO THE DARKNESS OF OUR OPPRESSED LIFE."¹⁶ LISTENERS USED BED SPRINGS AS AERIALS, OR HID THE ANTENNA WIRE BEHIND PICTURE

MOLDING. THE BBC PROVIDED SIMILAR SUPPORT FOR OCCUPIED COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY FRANCE.

ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS WAS THE GROWTH OF CLANDESTINE BROADCASTERS: STATIONS WHOSE LOCATION, AND SOMETIMES IDENTITY, WERE AT LEAST NOMINALLY UNKNOWN.¹⁹ THERE WAS CLANDESTINE BROADCASTING IN THE 1930S, BUT THE 1940S WERE THE GROWTH YEARS.

MOST CLANDESTINE STATIONS WERE "BLACK" CLANDESTINES, THAT IS, STATIONS PURPORTING TO BE OPERATED BY ONE GROUP BUT ACTUALLY RUN BY SOMEONE ELSE, USUALLY A GOVERNMENT. A NUMBER OF BLACK CLANDESTINES WERE OPERATED BY THE PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT OF THE REICH, KNOWN AS THE EURO CONCORDIA.

THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THE CONCORDIA STATIONS WAS THE NEW BRITISH BROADCASTING STATION. ANNOUNCING THAT IT WAS OPERATED FROM ENGLAND BY DISCONTENTED BRITISH SUBJECTS, IT WAS ACTUALLY RUN BY THE GERMAN PROPAGANDA MINISTRY AND INTENDED FOR WHAT WAS IN FACT A NEARLY NONEXISTENT BRITISH PEACE MOVEMENT. IT PURPORTED TO BROADCAST UNCENSORED NEWS, WHICH WAS INVARIABLY PRO-NAZI.

ANOTHER INTERESTING GERMAN ENDEAVOR WAS RADIO DEBUNK, THE "VOICE OF ALL FREE AMERICA." IT WAS HEARD IN THE UNITED STATES ON VARYING FREQUENCIES, OPENING

WITH "STAR AND STRIPES FOREVER." IT PURPORTED TO USE A MOBILE TRANSMITTER IN THE MIDWEST, BUT IT ACTUALLY OPERATED FROM BREMEN.

THE GERMANS ALSO BEAMED BLACK CLANDESTINES TO OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING ITALY, RUSSIA AND EVEN INDIA ("FREE INDIA RADIO").

THE BRITISH WERE THE LEADERS IN BLACK CLANDESTINE BROADCASTING. THEIR EFFORTS WERE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PROPAGANDA IN ENEMY COUNTRIES, KNOWN INFORMALLY BY ITS ADDRESS, ELECTRA HOUSE, OR EH (IT LATER BECAME SPECIAL OPERATIONS ONE, OR SOI.) AMONG THE BRITISH-RUN BLACK CLANDESTINES THAT CLAIMED TO BE OPERATING FROM GERMANY IN 1940 WAS DEUTSCHER FREIHEITSENDER (GERMAN FREEDOM STATION), HEARD BROADCASTING ANTI-NAZI SPEECHES.

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A SECOND MAJOR BRITISH OPERATION WAS RADIO ATLANTIK. ITS BROADCASTS WERE AIMED AT THE GERMAN ARMED FORCES, PARTICULARLY NAVY AND U-BOAT CREWS, AMONG WHOM THERE WAS SAID TO BE A HIGH LEVEL OF DISCONTENT. HALF THE PROGRAMMING WAS POPULAR MUSIC, AND THE STATION WENT TO A GREAT DEAL OF TROUBLE TO MAKE SURE THAT IT HAD THE MOST UP-TO-DATE LIBRARY OF GERMAN AND AMERICAN RECORDINGS: MUSIC THAT WOULD APPEAL TO ITS TARGET AUDIENCE. THE REST OF THE OFFERINGS WERE NEWS AND COMMENTARY, WITH DIFFERENT PROGRAMS FOR DIFFERENT GROUPS OF

SOLDIERS.

RADIO ATLANTIK PIONEERED THE TRICK OF PROVIDING BOGUS BUT WELL-RESEARCHED AND HIGHLY REALISTIC FIRST-HAND REPORTS ABOUT AIR-RAID DAMAGE ON GERMAN CITIES. THESE REPORTS WERE INTENDED TO ENCOURAGE DEFEATISM WITHIN GERMANY. DKSA KEPT CAREFUL FILES OF FAMILY GOSSIP FROM POW LETTERS AND DIARIES, AND THESE FORMED THE BASIS OF GREETINGS AND CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES TO PARTICULAR GERMAN SOLDIERS. TO FURTHER EVIDENCE ITS AUTHENTICITY, THE DEUTSCHE KURZWELLESENDERS ATLANTIK WOULD SOMETIMES CARRY HITLER'S SPEECHES LIVE, PICKING THEM UP FROM GERMAN NETWORK STATIONS OR BY WAY OF A SPECIAL CAPTURED TELEPRINTER THAT RECEIVED GERMAN NEWS SERVICE BROADCASTS. THE STATION ALSO BROADCAST FALSE REPORTS OF THE NORMANDY INVASION. RADIO ATLANTIK, ALONG WITH ITS MEDIUM-WAVE SISTER, SOLDATENSENDER CALAIS (WHICH CAME ON THE AIR NINE MONTHS AFTER THE COMMENCEMENT OF RADIO ATLANTIK'S SHORTWAVE TRANSMISSIONS AND WHICH SPECIALIZED IN BROADCASTS TO THE GERMAN ARMY), WERE AMONG BRITAIN'S MOST SUCCESSFUL BLACK CLANDESTINE OPERATIONS, AND WERE WIDELY ACCEPTED AS BONA FIDE GERMAN OPERATIONS BY THE U.S. AND NEUTRAL PRESS.

SOLDATENSENDER CALAIS WAS SENT OUT OVER THE "BIG BERTHA" OF BRITAIN'S MEDIUM-WAVE TRANSMITTERS, A 600

KW. BBC SENDER AT CROWBOROUGH KNOWN AS ASPIDISTRA. LATER IN THE WAR THE TRANSMITTER'S REMARKABLY FAST FREQUENCY-SWITCHING CAPABILITY WAS USED TO MISLEAD THE GERMANS. THE TRANSMITTER WOULD COME ON THE FREQUENCY OF A LOCAL GERMAN STATION AFTER THE LATTER HAD SHUT DOWN SUDDENLY DUE TO BRITISH BOMBING RAIDS. ASPIDISTRA WOULD RELAY THE PROGRAMMING OF ANOTHER GERMAN NETWORK STATION FOR A TIME SO THAT THE TRANSMISSION WOULD APPEAR UNBROKEN, AND THEN THE BRITISH WOULD PROCEED WITH MISLEADING ANNOUNCEMENTS AND INSTRUCTIONS THAT APPEARED TO COME FROM THE GERMAN AUTHORITIES. THESE INCLUDED SUCH THINGS AS DIRECTIVES FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN TO LEAVE THEIR HOMES AND HEAD FOR EVACUATION CENTERS, RESULTING IN COLUMNS OF PEOPLE TAKING TO THE ROADS AND OBSTRUCTING MILITARY TRANSPORTATION.

ONE OF THE REASONS BRITISH CLANDESTINE BROADCASTING WAS MORE SUCCESSFUL THAN THAT OF GERMANY WAS THAT THE GERMANS WERE FORBIDDEN TO MAKE DEROGATORY COMMENTS ABOUT THE REICH OR ITS LEADERS. BRITISH CLANDESTINES **WERE** MUCH MORE PRONE TO BE CRITICAL OF BRITAIN AND THE ALLIES AND SUPPORTIVE OF CERTAIN NAZI ACTIVITIES IN ORDER TO MAKE THEMSELVES CREDIBLE IN OTHER AREAS.

THERE WERE, OF COURSE, SOME INDIGENOUS ANTI-

GERMAN STATIONS. ONE WAS OPERATED FROM A MOBILE TRUCK BY ERNST NIEKISCH. HE WAS A MILITANT GERMAN NATIONALIST WHO OPPOSED HITLER AND FAVORED ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HIS STATION OPERATED IN 1938. HITLER'S OCCUPATION OF AUSTRIA THAT YEAR LED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ANOTHER GENUINE CLANDESTINE, THE AUSTRIAN FREIHEITSENDER, WHICH WAS DIRECTED MAINLY AT AUSTRIAN TROOPS THAT HAD BEEN INTEGRATED INTO THE GERMAN ARMY. THE STATION OPERATED FROM A GROCERY TRUCK WITHIN NAZI-CONTROLLED TERRITORY. IT WAS TRACKED DOWN IN MAY 1938, BUT TWO OF THE OPERATORS GOT AWAY AND STARTED ANOTHER MOBILE, ANTI-NAZI STATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA THAT OPERATED UNTIL THE MUNICH AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED LATER IN THE YEAR.

THE UNITED STATES WAS FAR BEHIND THE BRITISH IN CLANDESTINE RADIO IN EUROPE. AMERICAN EFFORTS WERE MORE MODEST, AND WERE OFTEN DRIVEN BY THE TACTICAL ADVANCES OF U.S. MILITARY FORCES RATHER THAN BROADER STRATEGIC PURPOSES.

THE UNITED STATES ALSO OPERATED SEVERAL BLACK CLANDESTINE SHORTWAVE STATIONS IN CHINA. ON APRIL 28, 1945, AS THE CLOSING MONTHS OF THE WAR APPROACHED, THE FIRST OF THREE SUCH STATIONS STARTED BROADCASTING TO JAPANESE-OCCUPIED AREAS FROM CHUNGKING. IT CLAIMED TO BE RUN BY AN ANTI-JAPANESE RESISTANCE ORGANIZATION IN CANTON IND

HEADED BY LIANG TING MAN. FOR TWO OF THOSE MONTHS IT WAS JOINED BY TWO SIMILAR AMERICAN STATIONS BROADCASTING TO WUHAN AND NANKING.

AN IMPORTANT STATION THAT CHANGED HANDS TWICE DURING THE WAR WAS RADIO LUXEMBOURG. A POWERFUL MEDIUM-WAVE VOICE OF POPULAR CULTURE (AND, AMONG BRITISH LISTENERS, A MAJOR COMPETITOR OF THE HIGH-BROW BBC), RADIO LUXEMBOURG ALSO TRANSMITTED ON SHORTWAVE. IT FELL INTO GERMAN HANDS IN JUNE 1940 AND REMAINED PART OF THE REICH NETWORK FOR FOUR YEARS UNTIL IT WAS RECAPTURED, INTACT, BY THE AMERICANS.

THE WAR YEARS SAW THE BIRTH OF A NEW BRAND OF TECHNOLOGICAL EXPATRIATES: NATIONALS OF ALLIED COUNTRIES WHO WOULD BROADCAST TO THEIR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN ON BEHALF OF THE GERMANS AND OTHER ENEMY POWERS. MOST FAMOUS OF THE EUROPEANS WAS WILLIAM JOYCE, WIDELY KNOWN AS LORD HAW HAW. THERE WERE ACTUALLY TWO LORD HAW HAWS, WITH JOYCE TAKING OVER FROM THE FIRST, NORMAN BAILLIE-STEWART, ABOUT SIX MONTHS AFTER THE CHARACTER'S APRIL 1939 DEBUT. JOYCE WAS A BRITISH CITIZEN BY PARENTAGE BUT ACTUALLY WAS BORN IN NEW YORK CITY. AFTER YEARS AS A MINOR FASCIST TROUBLEMAKER IN ENGLAND, HE MOVED TO GERMANY **WHERE**, WITH HIS UPPER-CLASS ACCENT AND SOPHISTICATED MANNERS, HE WAS PUT IN CHARGE OF THE RADIO WAR AGAINST ENGLAND, MUCH OF WHICH HE FOUGHT

PERSONALLY FROM BEHIND THE MICROPHONE. HE CAME ACROSS AS AN AGREEABLE SORT, ATTACKING FIRST THE BRITISH, THEN EXPANDING HIS REACH TO AMERICA. ALTHOUGH HE HAD AN EXTENSIVE AUDIENCE IN ENGLAND, HE MISJUDGED THE MOOD OF HIS FELLOW COUNTRYMEN AS THE MILITARY THREATS AGAINST BRITAIN BECAME MORE REAL.

AMERICA HAD MORE THAN ITS SHARE OF RADIO TRAITORS, ALL OF WHOM COULD BE HEARD BY LISTENERS IN THE UNITED STATES. MISFITS MOSTLY, THE PUBLIC OUTRAGE OVER THEIR ACTIVITIES FAR EXCEEDED THEIR ACTUAL INFLUENCE UPON LISTENERS. ONE OF THEIR NUMBER, IOWA'S FRED KALTENBACK, BECAME KNOWN DERISIVELY AS LORD HEE HAW.

AMONG THE OTHER AMERICAN-BORN NAZI APOLOGISTS WAS ROVING REPORTER "E. D. WARD," ACTUALLY EDWARD L. DELANEY OF GLENVIEW, ILLINOIS. AFTER THE WAR HE BECAME A TALK SHOW HOST IN ARIZONA IN 1951, AND A MINOR ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTIVIST .

ANOTHER WAS ROBERT H. BEST, KNOWN AS "MR. GUESS WHO." A JOURNALIST DRIVEN BY HIS LIMITED CAREER ADVANCEMENT, BEST COULD BE SO RABID OVER THE AIR THAT THE NAZIS ONCE PRECEDED A SERIES OF HIS PROGRAMS WITH THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT HIS VIEWS WERE NOT NECESSARILY IDENTICAL TO THEIR OWN.

CHICAGO'S DOUGLAS CHANDLER ALWAYS MANIFESTED A DISTASTE FOR AMERICAN SOCIETY AND MASS CULTURE. AN OCCASIONAL WRITER IN THE UNITED STATES, HE WAS ONCE REFERRED TO AS A WALKING NERVOUS BREAKDOWN. CHANDLER WAS KNOWN OVER THE AIR AS PAUL REVERE. PARTLY BECAUSE OF HIS ENVY OF BRITISH ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE **TBC UNITED STATES** TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WAR, AND PARTLY BECAUSE THE ANNIVERSARY **OF THE FAMOUS RIDE** WAS ONLY A FEW DAYS BEFORE HIS FIRST BROADCAST.

WHEN IT CAME TO ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA, THE GERMANS BELIEVED IN GENDER EQUALITY: THERE WERE MANY WOMEN AMONG THEIR STARS. THE BEST KNOWN (AND BEST PAID) WAS MILDRED GILLARS, WIDELY KNOWN AS AXIS SALLY. A THEATER STUDENT FROM PORTLAND, MAINE, GILLARS EVENTUALLY WENT TO STUDY IN DRESDEN, WHERE ONE THING LED TO ANOTHER AND SHE FOUND HERSELF BROADCASTING ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA OVER THE GERMAN RADIO.

ANOTHER WOMAN IN SERVICE TO THE REICH WAS CONSTANCE DREXEL, AN EARLY FEMINIST AND PROFESSIONAL JOURNALIST WHO SAW IN HITLER'S SUPPOSEDLY REFORMIST IDEAS AN AGENDA NOT UNLIKE HER OWN. HER ON-AIR SPECIALIZATION WAS THIRD REICH CULTURAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS.

JANE ANDERSON, KNOWN AS THE GEORGIA PEACH, CAME TO THE MICROPHONE THROUGH HER DEVOTION TO

GENERALISSIMO FRANCISCO FRANCO. AN ALLURING WOMAN IN HER EARLY YEARS, SHE SUFFERED GREATLY DURING A CRIPPLING PERIOD OF IMPRISONMENT AT THE HANDS OF SPANISH LOYALISTS. WHILE WITH THE GERMAN RADIO SHE SPECIALIZED IN INTERVIEWS AND TALK SHOWS.

THE TWO MOST FAMOUS AMERICAN RADIO TURNCOATS SPOKE NOT FROM GERMANY BUT FROM ITALY AND JAPAN. EZRA POUND, WHO BELIEVED IN A SYSTEM OF ECONOMICS CALLED SOCIAL CREDIT, WHICH HELD SOCIETY'S CENTRAL EVIL TO BE THE CONTROL AND CENTRALIZATION OF MONEY, CREDIT, AND FINANCE IN THE HANDS OF FINANCIAL MANIPULATORS. THE ITALIANS THOUGHT HIS IDEAS FOOLISH AND RECOGNIZED THAT, WHILE HE WAS WELL REGARDED AS A POET, HE HAD NO FOLLOWING IN POLITICS OR ECONOMICS. THIS "PLEASANT ENOUGH MADMAN" SPENT MANY HOURS BEFORE THE MICROPHONES OF RADIO ROME, UPHOLDING AND DEFENDING II DUCE'S POLICIES AND PRACTICES AND SPEWING FORTH A VIRULENT STRAIN OF ANTI-SEMITISM ON THE SHORTWAVES. "EUROPE CALLING, POUND SPEAKING," BEGAN HIS BROADCASTS, FOR WHICH HE WAS PAID THE EQUIVALENT OF \$17 EACH. .

POUND WAS INDICTED FOR TREASON IN 1943 AND TURNED HIMSELF IN A YEAR LATER AS THE ALLIES PUSHED THROUGH ITALY. IN 1946 HE WAS FOUND INSANE, AND WAS COMMITTED TO ST. ELIZABETH'S MENTAL HOSPITAL.

THERE WERE MANY ENGLISH-SPEAKING FEMALE VOICES ON THE SHORTWAVE BANDS OF THE PACIFIC IN THE 1940S. SOME OF THESE ANNOUNCERS TAUNTED INDIVIDUAL UNITS AND SOLDIERS, ACCURATELY PREDICTED BOMBING RAIDS, PROMISED HOT RECEPTIONS AT PLANNED LANDINGS, AND TALKED TO SOLDIERS ABOUT UNFAITHFUL WIVES. OTHERS WERE JUST DISK JOCKEYS. APPARENTLY, NONE ACTUALLY IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS TOKYO ROSE, A GENERIC NAME THAT U.S. TROOPS USED WHEN REFERRING TO THESE ENGLISH-SPEAKING FEMALE PERSONALITIES, MANY OF WHOM BROADCAST FROM PLACES OTHER THAN TOKYO. IVA TOGURI WAS A CALIFORNIA-BORN U.S. CITIZEN WHO SPOKE LITTLE JAPANESE. THE LATEST TELLING OF HER STORY SUGGESTS THAT SHE BECAME TRAPPED IN JAPAN AT THE TIME OF PEARL HARBOR WHILE ON HER FIRST VISIT TO THE COUNTRY. SHE TOOK A PART-TIME TYPING JOB AT NHK, SUBSEQUENTLY BECOMING, WITH SOME RELUCTANCE, A FEMALE DISK JOCKEY ON NHK'S ENGLISH LANGUAGE "ZERO HOUR" PROGRAM, WHICH WAS PRODUCED BY PRISONERS OF WAR WHO HAD, ALSO WITH RELUCTANCE, BEEN PRESSED INTO PROPAGANDA SERVICE. HER PROGRAMS WERE MAINLY OF A FAIRLY INNOCUOUS, ENTERTAINMENT VARIETY, AND, WITH HER RATHER POOR SPEAKING VOICE, SHE WAS NOT ONE OF THE SIRENS OF THE AIRWAVES. SHE APPARENTLY BROADCAST NO ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA; INDEED, HER PRO-AMERICAN VIEWS WERE WELL KNOWN AT NHK.

FINALLY, SHORTWAVE RADIO PLAYED A ROLE IN TRANSMITTING PRISONER-OF-WAR MESSAGES FROM THE AXIS POWERS. A TYPICAL MESSAGE MIGHT GIVE THE NAME AND ADDRESS OF THE SOLDIER'S MOTHER, AND READ SOMETHING LIKE, "DEAR MOM. AM PRISONER OF WAR IN GERMANY. NOT HURT OR WOUNDED. AM TREATED WELL AND AM IN THE BEST OF HEALTH. LOVE, TONY."

FAMILIES OFTEN RECEIVED NEWS OF THE MESSAGE FROM A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT LISTENERS, SOMETIMES A LARGE NUMBER OF THEM. MOST FAMILY MEMBERS, NOT BEING KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT SHORTWAVE THEMSELVES, HAD NOT HEARD THE ACTUAL MESSAGE, AND SO THEY OFTEN RESPONDED WARMLY TO LISTENERS WHO RELAYED IT TO THEM