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Part I

Radio: International Perspectives

1

International Radio Broadcasting: It's Not What it Used to Be

Andrew M. Clark

Government-sponsored international radio broadcasting has been an important public diplomacy tool since shortwave (SW) frequencies were first used in the 1920s. This chapter defines international radio broadcasting as “the purposeful attempts on the part of stations in one country to reach listeners in other countries” (Browne, 1982, p. 3). As Browne notes, these organizations are referred to as stations even though they include different broadcast services and different languages. The different language services are all under central control. Governments have used these stations to promote a country’s messages, whether propagandistic or informational. Conversely, audiences have relied on radio broadcasts from international stations for companionship, information, and connectedness to a world they may have read about, but which has now become that much closer (Clark, 2006). From a government’s perspective there are four reasons to broadcast internationally: (1) the enhancement of national prestige; (2) promotion of national interests; (3) attempting religious or political indoctrination; and (4) the fostering of cultural ties (Boyd, 1999). This chapter focuses on how governments around the world have used international broadcasting to reach global audiences, and how changes in technology have influenced these broadcasts. Before examining the current state of international radio broadcasting it is important to take a historical perspective to understand how government sponsored international radio broadcasting has developed.

The early uses of international broadcasting

The earliest organized use of radio as a tool for foreign policy (or political communication) was in 1926, when Russia demanded the return of Bessarabia from Romania (Rawnsley, 1996, p. 7). The Russians became convinced the success of their revolution hinged on similar revolutions being carried out in all capitalist countries. This led to attempts by the Russians to influence people in other

states in the hopes that public opinion would be turned toward the Russian ideology. It also led to efforts by capitalist states to defend against the attempts (Fenwick, 1938).

International radio broadcasting via shortwave began in earnest in 1927, when the Phillips Company based in the Netherlands began broadcasting regularly to Dutch expatriates living in the Netherlands East Indies (now Indonesia). The initial goal was to increase the sale of radios by supplying programming. In 1928, Phillips began another station, PCJJ, with programming broadcast in English and Spanish (Radio Netherlands, 2000). In 1929 the Soviet Union increased its use of international radio as a tool for foreign policy. Initially, Radio Moscow started with four languages and by 1933 had expanded to 11 languages. The Soviets attempted to explain the revolution to sympathizers in the West and to “propagandize its accomplishments” (Rawnsley, 1996, p. 7). Other countries, including Germany in 1929, France in 1931, Britain in 1932, and Japan in 1934, started foreign languages services targeting audiences in different countries (Browne, 1982). However, unlike the Soviet Union, which was urging revolution in its broadcasts, the majority of the broadcasts from other countries attempted to maintain contact with expatriates rather than overtly trying to persuade the foreign populace of a particular ideological viewpoint.

The rise of fascism was a catalyst for countries to begin using their international stations to attack other nations’ ideologies or to defend themselves from such attacks. In 1935, Italy began broadcasting attacks in Arabic against the British government’s Middle East policy. Britain, in turn, responded by launching its first foreign language service in Arabic in 1938 attempting to win inhabitants of the region over to the British side (Rawnsley, 1996). Radio soon became the primary tool to disseminate information from one country to another. Radio was a more powerful and intrusive medium than anything that had been used before. Governments believed radio broadcasts could help shape or change the beliefs of citizens of other countries. They believed that if they could change the attitude of the citizens, then they could have an impact on government policy (Graves, 1941). Not surprisingly, given the troubled state of the world at that time, other countries, particularly Nazi Germany, quickly began using international broadcasting for propaganda purposes. The Nazi Minister for Propaganda and Enlightenment, Joseph Goebbels, proved adept at using broadcasting to disperse propaganda to the masses. One particularly ingenious method was the free distribution throughout Austria of 25,000 radio sets tuned to only German frequencies. This scheme ensured the Germans had a near monopoly of information (Rawnsley, 1996). Goebbels’s efforts were not confined to countries Germany occupied; they also were targeted at countries farther afield. Moreover, Rawnsley notes that the technique

of distributing free pre-tuned radios was then used by the Allies during the war and subsequently throughout the twentieth century, most notably during the Vietnam War.

Soon after World War Two began, Berlin was directing about 11 hours of programming a day toward the United States. This effort consisted of broadcasts from 6 a.m. to 9 a.m., and then from the late afternoon until 1 a.m. One third of the programming was talk, with the rest devoted to musical and variety programs. The Germans used Americans, or people educated in the States, to host the programs (Graves, 1940). The goal was to broadcast German news and programs, using people familiar with American culture, in a way that would appeal to the American population (von Stempel, 1946).

According to Herbert von Stempel (1946), then First Secretary of the German Embassy in Washington in charge of cultural relations, radio propaganda was very important to the Nazis, particularly to Goebbels. Von Stempel noted that a member of the German Embassy in the United States, referred to only as von Gienanth, would report political and technical information back to the German Foreign Office which then passed the information on to the Propaganda Ministry. He also would report themes that might prove effective in broadcasts to the United States. Not all the information was accurate; von Gienanth told the German Foreign Office that 5 million people were listening to the German broadcasts; an estimate that von Stempel said was “grossly exaggerated” (1946, p. 228). He estimated the audience at no more than 500,000 people. For technical reasons, the broadcasts from Germany did not reach the west coast of the United States, so a shortwave branch was established in Shanghai to reach that part of the United States.

The Nazis did not always establish their own stations to broadcast propaganda; sometimes they took advantage of facilities in occupied countries. In May 1940, the invading Nazi army took over the Dutch shortwave station PCJJ and used the station for propaganda broadcasts to Asia. The BBC gave the Dutch government-in-exile in London air-time to broadcast back to the Netherlands (Radio Netherlands, 2000). Thus, World War Two was being fought over the radio waves as well as on the battlefields.

In September, 1940, the BBC broadcast almost 70 news bulletins and programs in 24 languages to countries outside the United Kingdom. The British did not direct their political broadcasts only at enemy countries but also at potential allies. The British wanted the United States to join them in the war effort, and so the BBC was used to try to persuade American public opinion with the hope that, in turn, the public would have an effect on American foreign policy. Part of the problem the BBC faced was that the American public seemed leery of propaganda. There needed to be a balance between keeping opinion moving in the British favor without appearing too forceful (Graves, 1941). However,

some people felt that being forceful was necessary. Graves (1941) quoted the actor Leslie Howard:

The United British Commonwealth and the United States have surely got beyond the point of . . . niceties. We have arrived at the stage at which we must tell each other openly what is in our hearts and minds . . . I say to hell with whether what I say sounds like propaganda or not. I have never stopped to figure it out, and I don't think it matters any more. (p. 51)

The United States recognized the potential for propaganda broadcasts aimed overseas but started broadcasting later than other countries. The primary radio service used by the United States, and operated by the Office of War Information (OWI), was the Voice of America which began broadcasting in February, 1942. Although the United States had led the world in radio broadcasting, this was its first effort at government sponsored international broadcasting.

Leonard Carlton (1943), chief of the program preparation division of the Overseas Operation Branch of the OWI, recognized that understanding what international audiences needed and wanted was a learning process for the fledgling broadcaster. He said:

We have had to recognize the fact that in our most important audiences the great hunger is for very hard, factual news. Even our best friends in occupied lands distrust "propaganda," and many of them have made known that distrust to us quite clearly. They want information, hard news – the true account of what is going on, even when the news is unpleasant. American short wave radio, therefore, insists upon truth in its news as well as in the commentaries which are based upon the news. Such bitter pills as Pearl Harbor have been presented without apology. (p. 47)

Further, Leonard Carlton (1943) talking about the challenges of international broadcasting versus domestic broadcasting stated:

American domestic radio had never been called upon to face such problems as how to get a short wave message through atmospheric disturbances or through deliberate enemy jamming. Certain voices excellent on regular domestic radio were found quite unusable in international broadcasting. Problems of speaking speed, of the use of music, of humor, and of sound effects had to be solved. Faced with the urgency of war, the United States has had to solve these problems and build a world-wide radio service with great rapidity. It has had to build under many difficulties and with little previous experience in the field. It stood its first great test on November 7. There will

be other tests in the future, and for these tests it is gathering its resources in technical facilities, sense of direction, and experience. (p. 54)

In 1945, U.S. Secretary of State, James Byrnes, wrote to President Harry S. Truman that the use of shortwave “will be a new departure for the United States, the last of the great nations of the earth to engage in informing other peoples about its policies and institutions” (cited in Fitzpatrick, 1946, p. 587). Despite its slow start, the American stations had clear objectives. Then U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, William Benton, said America’s shortwave endeavors did six things:

First, they give the world news in brief; second, they give American editorial and radio comments on the news; third, they include statements on American official policy from the President, members of the Cabinet, Congressional leaders, and prominent people in all walks of life; fourth, they present news on American internal affairs; fifth they supply news from the Far East and from the American occupation zone in Germany; and finally they present features on the American way of life and American science, education, the arts, and agriculture. (cited in Fitzpatrick, 1946, p. 583)

During the Cold War these services and others continued to grow. Two of the most significant international stations during the Cold War battles were Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The two stations were developed to help fight Communism in Eastern Europe. Radio Free Europe (RFE) was established in 1949 to provide news and informational programs to countries in Eastern Europe. Radio Liberty (RL) was created in 1951 to focus on the Soviet Union. Both stations were initially funded by the U.S. Congress via the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). In 1971 the CIA involvement in the stations ended, and the two stations merged in 1975. The stations met defiance from the Soviet Union, which jammed their signals. The Soviets also increased the power of its own stations to try to counter what RFE/RL was doing. Other stations came and went during the Cold War, but these two stations remained as symbols of the United States’ opposition to Communism.

Recent trends in international broadcasting

Over 80 years after Russia first used the shortwave band to broadcast political communication, the medium is undergoing some major changes. Many of the original broadcast services still exist and have grown stronger, although the means by which the message is delivered has changed somewhat. The BBC World Service is still popular in many parts of the world, although it is facing cuts to some of its language services, Radio Moscow has become the Voice of

Russia, and the American services now include Voice of America, broadcasting in 44 languages, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Marti, Radio Free Asia, Radio Sawa, and others. Each one has its own unique purpose and identity, but each is tied by ownership to the political ideology and philosophy of its government.

Shortwave: it's still a useful technology

Shortwave as a medium for radio broadcasting is still useful and indeed vital to many people throughout the world. One such example can be found on the Pacific island of Fiji, a nation with almost 900,000 people and with historically strong ties to Britain, New Zealand, and Australia. This country has experienced four military coups since 1987 and the issue of press freedom has been a continuing problem. In 2009, the Fijian President abolished the constitution, revoked judicial appointments, and installed Frank Bainimarama, who had led two of the coups, as the Fijian Prime Minister. Bainimarama's philosophy on freedom of the press can be summed up in his statements that "freedom of speech 'causes trouble' and [free speech] must be curbed to allow the military government to do its work" (Fiji crackdown intensifies, 2009, para. 3). He went on to say "We want to come up with these reforms and the last thing we want to do is have opposition to these reforms throughout" (Fiji crackdown intensifies, 2009, para. 4). International journalists have been deported from Fiji and Internet cafés, one of the main means of Internet access for Fijians, are being closed. Radio Australia has been ordered to shut down its two FM transmitters in Fiji. Also, censorship is rampant with local news outlets being forced to submit their reports to the government to verify that the content is government approved (Fiji crackdown intensifies, 2009).

What is apparent now, as it was in 1987 when the first coup took place, is that shortwave radio is the only option for the people of Fiji to have access to unfettered news and information. Now that the BBC World Service no longer focuses on the Pacific region, the two stations that Fijians turn to for news and information are Radio New Zealand International (RNZI) and Radio Australia. As Ogden and Hailey (1988) noted after the first coup, Fijians were provided (by shortwave broadcasts) with a sense of assurance that they were not forgotten, and that the world was taking an active interest in what was happening in their country. David Ricquish, chairman of the New Zealand-based Radio Heritage Foundation, notes that "with Fiji in media censorship lockdown and media freedoms poorly understood in many of the target nations, RNZI provides local listeners with a respected and valuable news source from a Pacific perspective" (Sennitt, 2010, para. 5).

Obviously in times of crisis, news and information is the most important function an international broadcaster can provide. One of the other services that RNZI, in particular, provides is cyclone warnings and other weather-related

programming to people in the South Pacific who have no other way of getting such information (Clark, 2006). The New Zealand government has also used the station to broadcast information to New Zealand troops in Indonesia during the East Timor conflict. RNZI broadcasts 16 plus hours a day to at least 11 Pacific Island nations “using a 100kW analog transmitter installed in 1990 and one 100kW digital capable transmitter installed in 2005” (Sennitt, 2010, para. 1) with a minuscule budget of NZ\$1.9 million (US\$1.26 million). David Ricquish notes that the outdated transmitter could pose security and safety problems for not only inhabitants of various countries in the region, but also New Zealand tourists and business people visiting the various Pacific Island nations. Ricquish states, “Catastrophic RNZI transmitter failure coinciding with natural disasters or sudden political events and instability in the region could threaten the lives of New Zealanders and New Zealand’s security and commercial interests” (Sennitt, 2010, para. 6).

However, in more developed countries, shortwave has increasingly been seen as a relic of the past, and in the U.S. it may be on its way out. As part of its fiscal year 2011 budget submission, the Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) is proposing to close the last U.S.-based shortwave broadcasting facility, estimating that \$3.2 million can be saved by the closure. This proposal to severely curtail shortwave broadcasts is causing concern, particularly as there are many people in the world who still use shortwave to receive programs from stations like the Voice of America, and “countries such as China continue and even increase their shortwave operations as the U.S. draws down” (Committee on Foreign Relations, 2010, p. 8).

Alternatives to shortwave

Many international broadcasters such as those funded by the United States use the Internet to complement, or even replace, shortwave broadcasts. Now, stations are able to broadcast in real time or to archive files with broadcasts of popular programs or newscasts. No longer is there a need to listen in real time or to search for a station and barely pick it up because of atmospheric interference; listeners can listen whenever they want to a broadcast that is now crystal clear. In addition, stations provide web pages with information about the station, biographies and pictures of the staff, and transcripts or information on individual programs. Many stations also send out regular emails to subscribers with programming guides, programming details, frequency information, and more. Social networking is popular, with many of the major stations including China Radio International, Deutsche Welle, Radio France International, Voice of Russia, BBC World Service, Radio Netherlands, Voice of America, Radio Australia, and others using Facebook and Twitter. The Voice of America, for example, also uses RSS (Really Simple Syndication) feeds, podcasts, blogs, mobile service content delivery, email alerts, a YouTube channel, as well as

live streaming of its broadcasts. All of this was impossible just a few years ago but is now making the Internet more attractive to some station managers and government officials than shortwave broadcasting. One country in particular is not just using the Internet to complement its shortwave services; it is actually using the Internet instead of shortwave.

Swiss Radio International (SRI) began operations in 1935 and broadcast throughout World War Two in nine languages (German, French, Italian, Romanian, English, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, and Esperanto). According to international broadcaster and historian, Andy Sennitt, SRI “made a name for itself as a neutral voice of authority during World War II and the Cold War . . . and it established itself as one of the most high-profile and popular international radio broadcasters” (Sennitt, 2004, para. 2).

However, in March 2001 SRI announced it would cease all shortwave broadcasting. Nicolas Lombard, SRI’s Director, and Christine Dudle-Crevoisier, SRI’s Head of Communication and Marketing, said the decision to stop shortwave broadcasting revolved around the availability of, and easy access to, other media. The majority of Swiss expatriates reside in other European countries where a wide variety of media contain much information about Switzerland. In addition, the continued development of new technology made an Internet-based service more appealing to SRI. Finally, the increased competition generated by new sources of information signals a bleak future for “expensive shortwave services” (Swiss Radio International [SRI], personal correspondence, March 2001) according to SRI. The online version of what was once Swiss Radio International is called *swissinfo.ch*. The website receives more than 7 million hits each month from over 160 countries and like its radio predecessor operates in nine different languages. The Swiss really see the website as an evolution from the former shortwave radio service. The banner at the top of the web site says “75 years” and then lists “Swiss Shortwave Service, Swiss Radio International, *Swissinfo.ch*” demonstrating the technological evolution from one medium to another. In essence, the Swiss believe they have gained more than they have lost by using the Internet. The station’s audiences were never people in lesser developed countries, so from the Swiss government’s perspective the content is more important than the means by which it is delivered.

It may be understandable that smaller, more developed, countries like Switzerland would switch to the Internet or consider shutting broadcasts down altogether, but this revolution of technology has also impacted the larger stations. The problem is that governments still want to reach audiences in less developed regions such as Africa or the Pacific where Internet penetration is not high and where radio is still a primary means of communication. However, there is also a large audience for international broadcasters in more developed regions of the world; in essence, these stations have to be all things to all people and that can be expensive.

Multi-platform delivery

In July 2001, the BBC World Service, long considered the epitome of international radio broadcasting, cut its shortwave broadcasting services to North America and the Pacific. The rationale was twofold: first the move would save the service money, and second the availability of other means of transmission meant that broadcasting by shortwave was not effective. The decision did not go down well with loyal listeners in the regions affected by the decision. BBC World Service Director Mark Byford was interviewed on the BBC program, *Newshour*, at the time of the cuts and said:

It's about recognizing changes in listening patterns in different areas of the world. In the United States, one of if not the most mature broadcasting marketplaces in the world, more people are listening to us today through those FM rebroadcasting partnerships than on shortwave. And on the Internet, 168 million today are connected in the US to the net, and you can listen to the World Service on that net site in higher quality sound than even shortwave. (Save BBC World Service, 2002, p. 3)

Byford reiterated that the decision to cut transmissions to some parts of the world was all about "recognizing that we have different delivery methods for different markets and different audience groups" (Save BBC World Service, 2002, p. 3). He said that in today's world it is not possible for the BBC to be solely a shortwave broadcaster, or to switch completely to the Internet. Either way would mean the audience would decline. In his view, using the Internet to target some areas and shortwave to target others is the best of both worlds.

So far the BBC World Service seems to have negotiated the use of multiple platforms well. The service has about 180 million weekly shortwave listeners, the most of any international broadcast service. According to its website (bbc.co.uk/worldservice) its audience is 241 million if one includes radio, television, and online services. But the task of reaching so many people around the world is challenging, particularly in the current economic climate. In 2010, the BBC World Service suffered severe funding cuts with the prognosis that hundreds of jobs will be lost and that some foreign language services will be cut (Plunkett, 2010). The British newspaper, *The Guardian*, quoted a BBC spokesman as saying: "Like all of the public sector, BBC World Service is having to respond to the challenges of an increasingly difficult financial climate at home and abroad. These are tough decisions, taken carefully and with great thought. We acknowledge that they will not be popular with some of our audiences and we share their disappointment" (Halliday, 2010, para. 6). The report also noted that the Foreign Office has told the BBC to expect budget cuts of up to 25%.

Like the BBC, the United States international radio broadcasters are trying to negotiate reaching disparate audiences through multiple platforms of delivery.

The Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) oversees many of the U.S. international broadcast stations including Voice of America, Radio/TV Marti, Radio Free Asia, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Sawa, and Alhurra television. In a speech marking the 60th anniversary of Radio Free Europe's first broadcast, BBG Chairman, Walter Isaacson, called upon U.S. international broadcasting to take a new path, one that "seizes on the latest media tools and technology to stay one step ahead of those who seek to repress free information around the world" (Radio Free Europe, 2010). Isaacson said:

Our traditional role of delivering the news top down needs to be complemented by a new approach that catalyzes social networks . . . By creating peer-to-peer global communities, we help guarantee the universal human right of access to the free flow of information. (para. 1)

Isaacson's notion of a new approach to delivering information sums up where international broadcasting is going. Although the means of delivery has changed over the last 80 plus years, the mission is still the same. Governments are using broadcasting, in all its various forms, to broadcast news and information to audiences around the world. Some of the larger broadcasters such as Voice of America (44 languages), China Radio International (43 languages), Voice of Russia (37 languages), and the BBC World Service (32 languages) continue to focus on audiences in many parts of the world. Others such as Radio Australia (7 languages) tend to focus more on a specific region.

Radio Australia has been targeting the Asia Pacific region for over 70 years and its mission has become more challenging in light of technological changes. As noted earlier, the crisis in Fiji illustrates the importance of shortwave as a means of transmission for Radio Australia. However, the Asia Pacific region is vast and access to technology in the region spans the spectrum from those who have broadband, satellite, and mobile devices, to those that are fortunate to have a radio. So how is Radio Australia meeting the needs of different audiences with vastly different technological capabilities?

The new head of Radio Australia, Mike McCluskey, noted in an interview that the service has to offer content "in multiple platforms, in a multiple form of ways so that people can access the content no matter where they are, whether they are using a mobile phone type device or whether they are using a sophisticated computer" (McCluskey Takes over as Radio Australia's CEO, 2010, para. 5). McCluskey went on to note that it is not just technology that is important, but content. He said, "What's important though . . . is what we deliver, so we have to refocus on our content continuously so that we think, we know what we are delivering has power and meaning to the people no matter where they are, in other words it's relevant and it matters to me no matter where I live" (McCluskey Takes over as Radio Australia's CEO, 2010, para. 5).

One other issue Radio Australia has is that, in some parts of the Pacific, and in many parts of Asia, it is competing with local broadcasters for an audience. Radio Australia uses AM and FM frequencies in some countries and provides programming that would be almost indistinguishable from any local broadcaster. For example, one innovative program offered by Radio Australia, and specifically targeting the Asia region, is called *Breakfast Club*. This typical morning show program offers music, listener interaction, guests, and contests all moderated by two personable hosts familiar with the Asia region. One way the hosts connect with listeners is by encouraging emails and text messages to be sent to them while they are live on the air. The *Breakfast Club* has its own web page (<http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/breakfastclub/>) complete with a blog, web links, and photo galleries. The show is a viable alternative to local broadcasters in the various countries to which it broadcasts.

Just like Radio Australia, more and more stations are using AM/FM signals to reach audiences around the world with a style that is less reminiscent of traditional international radio broadcasters, and more like a modern-day music station. One such station, and from a U.S. perspective a very significant station, is Radio Sawa. Radio Sawa was launched in 2002 and uses AM, FM, and satellite to target listeners under the age of 35. Radio Sawa broadcasts 24 hours a day, seven days a week and offers news, information, and a mixture of American, European, and Arabic pop music. It also streams programming and offers news and information on its website in Arabic. The Broadcasting Board of Governors' "2008 Annual Report" stated that Radio Sawa had 17 million listeners throughout the Middle East. In 2010, the BBG noted that Radio Sawa was the second most popular station in Iraq (BBG broadcasts attract large audiences in key countries, 2010).

Clark and Christie (2005) observe that Radio Sawa's style of broadcasting can be categorized as facilitative communication in that it is designed to provide a positive view of the host country to an influential audience who may harbor distrust, or even hatred, of that country. Facilitative communication, they write, "constitutes what many international radio stations engage in including newscasts, press releases, and artistic and cultural programs . . . it serves no other function than creating a friendly atmosphere" (p. 12). It is one thing to know how many people may be listening, but it is often hard to ascertain whether such broadcasts achieve the goal of persuading the audience and influencing public opinion. In a survey conducted in the United Arab Emirates, Radio Sawa listeners had a "small but significantly more favorable view of the U.S. than non-listeners" (Clark and Christie, 2011, p. 18). As Clark and Christie (2011) note, "this could indicate some success in the U.S. government's stated objectives or, it could be that individuals with more favorable opinions about the U.S. would be more likely to listen to Radio Sawa" (p. 18). More in-depth research is needed to get to the motivations of the listeners in the Middle East and in the other parts of the world targeted by international broadcasters.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a historical look at the foundation of international radio broadcasting, and has examined recent trends affecting international broadcast stations. In many respects, despite the changes in technology, the mission of the various international broadcasters has not changed. Senator Richard Lugar, in a Senate report on U.S. international broadcasting efforts, offered a U.S. perspective on the problems that U.S. international broadcasters have faced, and continue to face:

[The U.S.] has always addressed two audiences. One audience views the United States positively, as a democracy based on the free flow of information, the freedom of expression, civic discourse and active citizen participation in government. This group will more often than not be supportive of U.S. actions and initiatives, or at least give us the benefit of the doubt. Members of the second group believe that these strengths are, instead, weaknesses and are predisposed to assume the worst about America; they reject – or worse, attack – us as a result. Successful Public Diplomacy (PD) keeps the first group engaged and increases its numbers while reducing the size and impact of the second. (Committee on Foreign Relations, 2010, p. 5)

International radio broadcasters continue to face a daunting task and in order for these broadcasters to continue to be effective in reaching their desired audiences they must be willing to embrace all forms of technology to assist in getting the message out.

The problem, as Boyd (1999) notes, is that “audiences have more reasons to listen than broadcasters do for providing programming” (p. 290). Such endeavors are often costly, and the reward may never be directly felt by the broadcaster or the host country. Is providing another voice in a country or region where the government controls the media justification enough for a government to spend millions of dollars supporting an international broadcast station? Can one measure the amount of goodwill created by such broadcasts? To what extent do these broadcasts contribute to a government’s foreign policy objectives? These are all questions that confront broadcasters daily, and also those who allocate funds. In 1943, Hawkins and Pettee wrote that “Revolutionary developments in the media have loaded the opinion process with a dynamite which it has never before possessed” (pp. 15–16). The same could be said today of the many developments in technology which are aiding broadcasters in reaching larger and more sophisticated audiences. Now, governments are being forced to examine whether radio is indeed the most efficient and cost-effective means to reach desired audiences. If so, then is it best to focus on AM and FM and abandon shortwave, or should they

focus on all three? Is the Internet a better option, and what role does video play in the equation?

A country like New Zealand cannot afford to concentrate solely on the web because to do so would be to neglect a large part of its audience. New Zealand and Australia are regional powers in the Pacific region and in order to maintain political ties and credibility in the region, and to ensure a free flow of information in the area, New Zealand and Australia must continue to provide a broadcasting service that reaches as many people as possible with a technology that the audience is comfortable with. This entails using AM, FM, SW, and the Internet.

The United States is engaged in a battle for public opinion in the Middle East and is using Radio Sawa and other stations, but, for example, it is also targeting Afghanistan and Pakistan where the language is different and the audience does not have access to the latest technology. One size does not fit all; therefore, the United States international radio broadcasting services need to be flexible and adapt to whatever challenges are encountered.

The future of international radio broadcasting is anything but certain. When budget cuts are required, these stations are often an easy target because the benefits of the broadcasts are often far from clear. However, sometimes a crisis takes place somewhere in the world and the value of an international radio station becomes very clear. Radio New Zealand was almost shut down in the late 1990s, but a military coup in Fiji provided enough evidence of the need for this station in the region to save it. For most stations their full value may never be fully known, but there is no doubt that for over 80 years international radio stations have been a valuable public diplomacy tool for governments around the world, and also a valuable resource for audiences who may have no other access to news and information than what they can get from the various international radio broadcasters.

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