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THE AD HOC STUDY GROUP

ANTI-WESTERN BROADCASTS TO AFRICA  
(SOUTH OF THE SAHARA)

Note by the United Kingdom Delegation

Anti-Western broadcasts to Africa (South of the Sahara) originate from two different groups of countries, those of the Communist bloc, and those in the African continent itself. The former are consistently anti-Western in content. The latter are variable in their attitudes and, apart from a general opposition to "colonialism", may be anti-Western only on particular issues and occasions. Both groups have greatly increased the scope of their broadcasting to Africa in the past two years, and are likely to continue to do so in the future. A chart showing the increases in these broadcasts is attached at Annex.

I. COMMUNIST BROADCASTS

2. Extent. Up to April, 1958 there were no Communist broadcasts directed specifically to Africa. In that month Moscow started broadcasts for the continent in English and French of a total duration of 3½ hours per week. By September, 1959, Moscow had been joined by Peking which began broadcasting in English and Cantonese; and the Communist total was 45½ hours a week. The first regular Communist broadcasts in an African language started in Swahili from Moscow in February, 1960. By July, 1961, Warsaw, Prague, East Berlin, Bucharest and Sofia had started transmissions for Africa; the Communist total had reached 205 hours per week. By that date also two new languages had been added: Portuguese from Peking, Prague and Bucharest, and Amharic from Moscow.

3. The two major Communist broadcasters to Africa are Moscow and Peking and these stations have a greater present and future potential for damaging Western interests than any of the others mentioned in this paper. It seems likely that the rapid expansion of broadcasts by these two stations during the past three and a half years will continue in the future and that the

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Communist powers will attempt to fulfill a promise, made in the first broadcasts in English and French from Moscow in 1958, to address the peoples of Africa in their own language.

4. Content. The content of Communist broadcasts is designed to present the countries of the Communist bloc in a favourable light and to discredit the Western position. News and comment on African political affairs is prominent but considerable attention is also paid to the Communist view on other international affairs, such as disarmament and Cuba. Emphasis on specifically African affairs varies. It is marked in the case of Moscow but much less so in the case of Peking. Peking, on the other hand, devotes more attention to international affairs than does Warsaw which devotes a large proportion of its time to describing the state of affairs in Poland. Moscow puts out Russian lessons, and programmes such as general knowledge quizzes and answers to letters, calling for audience participation. Variety is gained by using a number of announcers; and wherever possible Africans resident in, or visiting, the Communist camp are induced to comment favourably on conditions in Bloc countries.

## II. AFRICAN BROADCASTS (with a varying anti-Western content)

5. Extent. Cairo remains the leading African broadcaster. It had been the first to broadcast in an African language: 7 hours a week in Swahili in 1954. With recent increases made at the end of July, 1961, the "Voice of Africa from Cairo" now broadcasts for 68½ hours a week in English, French and at least seven African languages (one programme appears to contain different Central African languages, which have not yet been identified, on different days). In addition to these broadcasts announced as coming from Cairo, there is no doubt that the "Voice of Free Africa" in Swahili, on the air for 4 hours 40 minutes per week, is carried by a Cairo transmitter. After Cairo, the next biggest African broadcaster is Accra which has recently started broadcasting to other African countries in English, French, Hausa and Swahili for a total of 31½ hours per week, using only one of four powerful short wave transmitters under construction. Rabat has special transmissions for Africa in English, French, Arabic and Wolof for 14 hours a week. Morocco also broadcasts special programmes in Arabic to Mauritania for 7 hours a week from Rabat and 3½ hours from Tangiers.

6. External broadcasting from the other countries of Africa is less developed but it seems highly probable that almost every African country will in due course do its best to ensure that its point of view is made known by radio to its neighbours in the continent. In East Africa, Ethiopia is already broadcasting in Somali and the Somali Republic in Swahili. External services with a more general target (such as Tunisia's short international service in English, French, Italian, German and

Spanish started in July, 1961 "to give the facts about French aggression") are also presumably audible in parts at least of Africa. In Guinea, Radio Conakry expects to have a new 100 kw. transmitter in operation at Sanfonyah (eighteen miles from the capital) by the end of the year; this will presumably carry programmes designed to reach the whole of Guinea and neighbouring territories. In certain parts of the continent, domestic services in European languages (usually English or French) or in African languages, which are spoken in more than one country (e.g. Swahili which is used in broadcasts from inter alia Bukavu, Ruanda-Urundi, Nairobi, Dar es-Salaam and Zanzibar radios), are liable to attract audiences beyond the borders of the broadcasting country.

7. Content. A generally anti-colonialist tone is de rigueur in most of the newly-independent countries, even those which maintain relatively friendly relations with the West as a whole or with one particular Western country. Cairo radio is fairly consistently anti-Western and attacks the policies of the United Kingdom, France, the United States, Belgium and Portugal according to the needs of the hour and the audience addressed; the anonymous "Voice of Free Africa" in Swahili from Cairo, with its regular references to "white dogs" and "white pigs", has for long been one of the most virulently abusive stations in the whole world. Cairo radio uses members of the various African "Offices" in Cairo (which are manned by exiles and dissidents) for broadcasting some of its commentaries and may give them a fairly free hand in deciding what to say.

8. Broadcasts from African countries other than the U.A.R. have been less extensively monitored. Many are still in the initial stages of development. It is therefore difficult to describe their content. From what has been observed, it seems that their attitude is less consistent and more eclectic than that of Cairo. They may attack the colonial policies of one or more European powers while leaving others relatively unscathed. Again, countries not normally regarded as anti-Western may turn so on particular issues, as Tunisia has done over Bizerta. The youthfulness and relative instability of these countries means that a sudden switch of this sort is often liable to happen.

### III. RECEPTION OF BROADCASTS

9. For the most part transmissions are beamed generally to Africa rather than to specific areas. The exceptions are:

- (1) Peking, whose French services are beamed simultaneously to Europe and Africa and whose English services are grouped for:
  - (a) South and East Africa

- (b) West, Central and North East Africa, and
- (c) the whole of Africa and other areas;

- (11) Cairo, which broadcasts in English, Amharic, Somali and Swahili to East Africa and which transmits to other areas in Africa in at least six languages.

10. Reception is in general improved by the use of multiple wavelengths for each transmission. This has been done by Moscow radio which has been observed using up to 13 frequencies for one transmission. The other Communist countries employ smaller numbers of frequencies but all, except Bulgaria and East Germany, have more than one in use at a time. The U.A.R. and Ghana still use only one frequency for each transmission. Apart from times of severe interference, most signals can be heard strongly in all areas. The most important factor limiting the size of the audience is the scarcity of receivers in remote areas, a situation which is likely to change rapidly as cheap transistor sets become available.

#### IV. COMMUNIST PENETRATION OF AFRICAN BROADCASTING

11. In the U.A.R. As long ago as 1957 Czechoslovakia provided Cairo Radio with two 300 kw. medium wave transmitters which, however, are not beamed to territories south of the Sahara. Czechoslovakia and the U.A.R. further strengthened their radio ties early in 1959 with an exchange of programmes. Later in the same year, the USSR in partnership with Czechoslovakia and East Germany, agreed to set up factories producing radio parts in the U.A.R. East Germany also helped to establish the U.A.R. television service which started in July, 1960.

12. In West Africa. In Guinea the Communists are building the 100 kw. transmitter at Sanfonyah for Radio Conakry. It should be on the air, if not by the third anniversary of Guinean independence on 28th September, 1961, then by the end of 1961. The Soviet Union has contributed the most to this project and has provided the transmitter but East Germany and Czechoslovakia have been helping. Guineans have gone to East Germany for training in the management, planning, production and journalistic aspects of broadcasting; and East Germans have gone to Guinea to assist with the technical aspects of local broadcasting. In May, 1961, Bulgaria and Guinea agreed to an exchange of programme material in the French language. In Ghana the East Germans have built a factory for making radios. Mali evidently asked Czechoslovakia to provide a 250 kw. short wave transmitter for Radio Mali. This the Czechs were not able to undertake, but they have apparently promised to provide a 200 kw. transmitter by 1962, which would give Mali the means for some external broadcasts. It seems likely that this offer will be accepted. Since Mali became independent a year ago, the Czechs have been particularly active in attempting to gain technical control over the Mali Ministry of Information.

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13. In East Africa. In East Africa, the Soviet Union has gained a foothold in the broadcasting studios of Ethiopia and Somalia. By the terms of the Ethiopian-USSR cultural agreement of April, 1961, the Russians undertook to train Ethiopian technicians in Moscow and meanwhile to use them as announcers on Moscow's Amharic service. In 1961 the USSR offered Somalia a credit of 500 million roubles for development purposes. Part of this credit is to be assigned for expenditure on a 50 kw. transmitter at Mogadishu.

14. The I.O.J. and O.I.R.T. The Communist-dominated International Organization of Journalists (I.O.J.) was a leading sponsor of the Conference of African Journalists at Bamako in May, 1961. One of the resolutions passed by this Conference referred to the setting up of an all-African broadcasting station. A subsidiary of the I.O.J., the Association of East German Journalists, has claimed to have collected over (East German) Marks 700,000 to be allocated in part for assisting the establishment of radio and television stations in the new African states. Another front organization, the Communist-dominated O.I.R.T. (Organisation Internationale de Radio et Television) has a potential rôle in Africa. The U.A.R. is a member and there have been unconfirmed reports that Mali is also to join it.

15. News Agencies. A potentially important source of Communist influence exists in the form of news agency transmissions. Parts of the lengthy transmissions of Tass and the New China News Agency in English and French can be received in Africa. They devote a good deal of attention to African affairs, while at the same time giving a comprehensive service of world news, with emphasis on developments in the Communist bloc and the remaining "underdeveloped" countries in Asia and Latin America. The Czechoslovak news agency puts out 60 hours a week for Africa in English and French radio teletype, and the East German agency 10½ hours a week in French hellschreiber. These two agencies appear to act partly as national agencies and partly as channels for material from other satellites which do not have transmissions directed to Africa. The North Vietnamese (D.R.V.) news agency transmits for 26 hours a week in English morse for Asia, Europe and Central Africa. Both Tass and the New China News Agency offer a cheap and comprehensive service of world news with an anti-Western slant. To the extent that they can succeed in "placing" items in the news bulletins of the local radios (and in the press) they may be able to reach a larger audience than can broadcasts beamed direct from Moscow and Peking.

#### V. U.A.R. ASPIRATIONS TO LEADERSHIP

16. The U.A.R. also seeks to influence the development of African broadcasting and to present Cairo radio as the principal mouthpiece of African independence. It apparently hopes to achieve these ends by dominating the African Broadcasting and

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Television Union, which last met in Cairo in April, 1961, and by siting in Egypt the "Free Africa Radio", for which the African Peoples' Conference (Cairo, March-April, 1961) and other gatherings (such as the Conference of African Journalists at Bamako in May, 1961) have called. The title, "Voice of Africa from Cairo", recently adopted for all Cairo broadcasts to Africa, may indeed be intended to provide a substitute - under U.A.R. control - for an independent "Voice of Africa" - under multinational direction. It seems unlikely that other countries, e.g. Ghana, will let Cairo's claim to speak for all Africa go unchallenged - once they have the technical resources to present their own version of its radio "Voice".

## VI. CONCLUSIONS

17. Africa, with its high rate of illiteracy, poor communications and dearth of newspapers, is a region of the world eminently suitable for broadcasting, both local and international. The Communist powers are therefore likely to continue steadily to increase their broadcasts to Africa both in European and African languages. Such broadcasts will remain consistently anti-Western and their cumulative effect will be damaging to Western interests. On the other hand, African broadcasts to Africa, e.g. from Cairo and Accra, although they may well be anti-Western on particular themes and occasions, present only a relatively minor threat to long term Western interests.

18. The rapid development of national and local broadcasting in Africa will give the Communist powers numerous opportunities to attempt to gain technical control and influence over the development and orientation of African broadcasting systems. They will exploit every opportunity offered. In this work the East Germans, the Czechs, Roumanians and North Vietnamese have an important rôle to play in support of the major Communist powers. Communist news agencies and news services will also strive to exert their influence over the content of African broadcasting. The front organizations will be harnessed to the work of bringing about co-operation between Communist and African broadcasters.

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ANTI-WESTERN BROADCASTS TO AFRICA  
(SOUTH OF THE SAHARA)

NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK PER LANGUAGE FROM EACH STATION  
AT 31st JULY, 1961

Station	Language	Jan. 1959	Jan. 1960	Jan. 1961	July 1961
CAIRO for East Africa	Arabic	77½	81	81	81
	Swahili	7	7	7	10½
	Somali	5¼	5¼	5¼	7
	English	1¾	1¾	1¾	5¼
	Amharic	3½	3½	3½	5¼
CAIRO for West Africa	English	-	3½	5¼	5¼
	French	-	3½	5¼	7
	Hausa	-	7	7	10½
	Fulani	-	-	-	7
	Lingala	-	-	-	5¼
	Unidentified dialects	-	-	-	5¼
MOSCOW	English	5¼	14	19¼	19¼
	French	5¼	17½	19¼	19¼
	Swahili	-	3½	7	7
	Amharic	-	-	-	3½
PEKING	English	14	21	49	56
	French	-	21	28	28
	Cantonese	3½	7	7	7
	Portuguese	-	-	7	7
PRAGUE	English	-	3½	3½	7
	French	-	3	3	7
	Portuguese	-	3	3	3
EAST BERLIN	English	-	-	5¼	5¼
	French	-	-	5¼	5¼
WARSAW	English	-	-	10½	10½
	French	-	-	10½	10½
BUCHAREST	Portuguese	-	-	3½	3½
SOFIA	French	-	-	-	6
ACCRA	English	-	-	-	10
	French	-	-	-	10½
	Hausa	-	-	-	6
	Swahili	-	-	-	5¼
<u>TOTALS:</u>	Communist Bloc	28	93½	181	205
	Non-Communist	95	112½	116	181
	<u>Grand Total</u>	120	206	297	386

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Notes: (A) Broadcasts in Portuguese from Prague and Bucharest are beamed to Portugal and its overseas territories.

(B) Broadcasts in French from Peking are beamed simultaneously to Europe and Africa.

(C) Arabic broadcasts distort the picture because they are heard in a relatively small area of Africa South of the Sahara and understood by a very small percentage of the population. For this reason details of Communist broadcasts in Arabic have not been included.

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