

111TH CONGRESS }
2d Session

COMMITTEE PRINT

{ S. PR.
111-“ ”

**U.S. INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING:
—IS ANYBODY LISTENING?—
KEEPING THE U.S. CONNECTED**

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED ELEVENTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

JUNE 9, 2010



Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations

Available via World Wide Web:
<http://www.gpoaccess.gov/congress/index.html>

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

??-??? PDF

WASHINGTON : 2010

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

JOHN F. KERRY, Massachusetts, *Chairman*

CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, Connecticut
RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD, Wisconsin
BARBARA BOXER, California
ROBERT MENENDEZ, New Jersey
BENJAMIN L. CARDIN, Maryland
ROBERT P. CASEY, JR., Pennsylvania
JIM WEBB, Virginia
JEANNE SHAHEEN, New Hampshire
EDWARD E. KAUFMAN, Delaware
KIRSTEN E. GILLIBRAND, New York

RICHARD G. LUGAR, Indiana
BOB CORKER, Tennessee
JOHNNY ISAKSON, Georgia
JAMES E. RISCH, Idaho
JIM DEMINT, South Carolina
JOHN BARRASSO, Wyoming
ROGER F. WICKER, Mississippi
JAMES M. INHOFE, Oklahoma

FRANK G. LOWENSTEIN, *Staff Director*
KENNETH A. MYERS, JR., *Republican Staff Director*

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC, June 9, 2010.

DEAR COLLEAGUES: A key component of any nation's public diplomacy effort is its ability to communicate with the rest of the world—either through people-to-people initiatives or through communications such as press briefings and broadcasting. Modern-day U.S. broadcasting began with the advent of the Voice of America during World War II, beamed around the world via Short Wave radio to dissidents, underground operatives as well as our allies. The intervening years have resulted in a plethora of new forms of connecting not only with those living in authoritarian regimes but with the rest of the world as well—from FM radio to the latest uses of social media tools available on the Internet.

In addition to multiple commercial and other foreign government broadcasters competing with U.S. efforts, with different forms of media have also come different methods of repressing it. Some nations completely block American broadcasting efforts by jamming our radio broadcasts, satellite TV or Internet programming, while others imprison, torture, or kill both local and international journalists.

Tasked with ensuring the U.S. message gets through is the Broadcasting Board of Governors. The Board oversees the operations of the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Free Asia, Middle East Broadcasting Network and the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, which together broadcast in some 60 languages through radio, TV and the Internet. The Board consists of eight members nominated by the President (four Republicans and four Democrats) with the Secretary of State as the ninth member.

Congress originally established the Board in the mid-1990s to ensure our broadcasting operations were free from political pressures from either end of Pennsylvania Avenue. After 15 years, however, it has become clear that the BBG, rather than functioning as a political “firewall,” has become a political “football” as Board membership nominations have become enmeshed and blocked due to partisan politics. The Board has not been fully staffed since 2004, and the chairmanship has been vacant since 2008. A consequence of this uncertainty in leadership and direction, not surprisingly, is that the BBG has consistently ranked at the very bottom in surveys of federal employees' workplace satisfaction. Yet the need for robust leadership has never been greater.

Thus, it is my hope that, by the time this report is printed, the new Chairman and the other seven members of the Board, nominated some 7 months ago in November 2009, will have been confirmed by the Senate. Broadcasting issues related to Russia, Iran, China, Zimbabwe, North Korea, Cuba and Venezuela, where regimes do all they can to prevent our broadcasts from getting through, all demand immediate attention, as does a critical look at our Middle East broadcasting, where we are struggling for market share in a media market that only grows more crowded by the day.

With this in mind, I asked the Foreign Relations Committee staff under the leadership of Senior Professional Staff Member Paul Foldi to prepare the following report based on travels and study of these vital matters. The report addresses both the Board's staffing difficulties, as well as the key issues and countries of concern that will confront the new Board when they are in place. Staff have consulted widely with experts inside and outside the government, former officials, public diplomacy experts in Washington and around the globe, as well as bloggers, journalists and academicians. As the title of the report suggests, we must not only work harder at gaining broader audiences for our programs, we also face fierce competition to keep our listeners, viewers and readers engaged. This is the first of several reports I have asked Mr. Foldi to initiate this year addressing major Public Diplomacy issues, and I hope you will find it valuable as we address these concerns.

Sincerely,

RICHARD G. LUGAR,
Ranking Member.

U.S. INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING—IS ANYBODY LISTENING?—KEEPING THE U.S. CONNECTED

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

American Public Diplomacy 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. Impacting both groups are not only the actions, images and words of our own Nation, but fierce competition from other nations whose own interests may or may not agree with our own. One of our major tools for connecting with these audiences is through people-to-people exchanges; another is international broadcasting.

Once thought of only in terms of short-wave radio broadcasts to dissidents huddled late-night over their radios, recent technological advancements and improving standards of living have seen a virtual explosion of other communication outlets, from the greater use of FM radio to television, the Internet, social media and cell phone technology. All this has, on the one hand, greatly expanded the potential audience, but on the other greatly strained our broadcasters' ability and budgets to reach them.

The Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) was created by Congress in 1994 to oversee the operations of the Voice of America and the so-called surrogate stations: Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Free Asia, Radio/TV Marti, Radio Sawa and Al Hurra TV.¹ The first Board was sworn in on August 11, 1995, with four Republican and four Democratic Governors and the Secretary of State as the ninth member. However, since 1995, the Board has only been fully staffed for 6 of the subsequent 15 years of operations, and has not been so since 2004. The current Board has only four members (two Republicans and two Democrats), each of whom has been serving since 2002. While this is well beyond the official 3-year term

¹“Surrogates” is the name given to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (founded in 1949), the Office of Cuba Broadcasting (1985), Radio Free Asia (1996) and Middle East Broadcasting Network (2004) that the BBG oversees. The Voice of America was tasked by Congress in Public Law 94–350 to “represent America, not any single segment of American society, and [VOA] will therefore present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions (and) will present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively.” Surrogates are designed to provide the listeners in countries that have limited press freedoms with the news from inside their own countries and regions. Governments of the nations receiving these transmissions are thus very often hostile to this information and often spend millions of dollars trying to block or jam surrogate radio/TV and Internet.

of office, Board members are, by law, able to serve until replaced.² Since then partisan politics on both sides have blocked almost all further nominations.

The Board has not had a formal chairman since June 2008 when the incumbent left to become the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy for the remainder of the Bush administration. The Obama administration did not formally submit candidates for a new Board until November 2009, but action on them is still pending as this report was going to print. This is especially unfortunate because the changing circumstances that have confronted the BBG since the current Board members were emplaced in 2002, both technical and geopolitical in nature, require immediate attention; attention the current Board is understandably reluctant to address given the nominations waiting in the wings.

One of these issues is the growing concern over the ability of U.S. broadcasters to reach their desired audiences. Sometimes this is due to crowded media markets, such as in the Middle East, where our voice is one among many. Other times, our voice is silenced or suppressed, including in China, Iran, and Russia, which use intimidation to prevent local affiliates from carrying U.S. programming or use sophisticated technologies to shut down satellites, jam radio transmissions or block Internet sites. Each of these issues requires its own response, but without a new Board in place providing appropriate direction and guidance, these difficulties will only grow more pronounced. This report seeks to expand upon these issues for consideration by Congress and by the Board.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- The Broadcasting Board of Governors sets the policies and provides necessary oversight of U.S. broadcasting operations. The average vacancy rate for a seat on Board is more than 460 days (one seat has been vacant for more than 4 years). The Senate needs to confirm the current slate of nominees for the Broadcasting Board of Governors to provide needed leadership and guidance. Going forward, Presidents should move with dispatch to fill vacancies and should prioritize nominees with substantial international broadcasting experience. In the medium term, Congress must decide whether it is time to consider another management structure if Board staffing difficulties persist.
- Alhurra—the U.S. 24-hour Arabic television news channel—is expensive, and with the exception of Iraq, little watched elsewhere in this vital region. Alhurra’s budget of some \$90 million surpasses the combined budgets of Radio Free Asia (\$37 million), Radio/TV Marti (\$30 million) and VOA’s Persian News Network Television (\$17 million). Given the crowded media environment of the Middle East, either greater resources must be devoted to marketing and promotion or additional programming changes must be enacted in pursuit of increasing the channel’s market share. Should these efforts fail to improve

² See Title III, Sec 304 (c) of PL 103–236; http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=103_cong_bills&docid=f:h2333enr.txt.pdf.

the overall viewership levels, policy makers will have to decide if continuing Alhurra's operations is worth the costs.

- The Chinese Government has issued only two work visas for Voice of America Beijing-based correspondents since 2009 and, for over a year, has blocked VOA from opening a bureau in Shanghai. By contrast, China's state-run media organization—Xinhua News—has some 75 correspondents based in the United States. Since 2007, the U.S. Government has issued some 2,900 press visas to Chinese journalists and media personnel.
- Journalists in Russia are routinely abducted, tortured, and murdered with virtual impunity. The number of Russian radio stations carrying Radio Free Europe's Russian service broadcasting has declined precipitously from over 30 stations in 2001 to currently 5; VOA's dropped from 85 in 2003 to just one by 2009 as the Russian Government successfully silenced most BBG broadcasts by simply refusing to renew Russian radio station licenses unless U.S. programming was dropped. The State Department should raise this issue at the highest levels in its meetings and should monitor closely rising attempts to block BBG Internet sites.
- In Asia, according to the human rights NGO Freedom House, the six countries served by Radio Free Asia are experiencing steadily dwindling levels of press freedom, with none currently ranked higher than 132 out of 195 countries. RFA, set up in 1994 with the hope that the post-cold-war tide of democracy and liberalization would soon sweep Asia, was authorized only on a temporary basis. Congress should permanently authorize Radio Free Asia to recognize the unfortunate reality of press freedom in Asia, and put RFA on a legislative par with Radio Free Europe, Cuba Broadcasting, and Middle East Broadcasting.
- The BBG's Arabic-language Radio Sawa has an hourly format of 45 minutes of music with 15 minutes of news. As a result, Sawa was deemed heretical by many "news-only" advocates within the BBG when it appeared in 2002, yet Sawa quickly became popular with the "under 30" youth-bulge deemed critical in that region, virtually none of whom had listened to VOA's Arabic radio programming. Over time though, as its format has been copied by local stations, Sawa's listenership has declined by 25 percent. Greater funding for marketing or a change in formats may be needed.
- While Radio Free Asia is tasked with reaching a population of over 1 billion people, its marketing budget for fiscal year 2009 was less than \$2,000. The Middle East Broadcasting Network, which oversees Al Hurra TV and Radio Sawa, has seen its marketing budget fluctuate wildly from a few thousand dollars in 2005 and 2006 to \$100,000 in 2007, back to \$5,000 in 2008 to over \$1 million in 2009. Such inconsistencies wreak havoc with any long-term attempts to capture market share and must be addressed.
- The Government of Iran continues to attempt to jam both VOA's Persian News Network TV (which uses multiple satellite systems to prevent a total shutdown) and Radio Free Eu-

rope's Persian-language "Radio Farda." In February 2010, the Iranian Government arrested seven journalists who had merely held job interviews with Farda. Efforts to ensure that our programming gets through should remain a high priority.

- Critics note that some BBG entities have allowed individuals opposed to U.S. policy to air their views without any rebuttal or balanced context. While allowing such vitriol to go uncontested is clearly poor journalism, such occurrences have been the rare exception, not the norm. Nonetheless, in order for the BBG to be credible to its audience and draw in not just those who already agree with U.S. policy, its networks must be permitted to present both sides of an argument.
- Congress should revisit the Smith-Mundt legislation, which was passed originally in 1948 and later amended, which bans U.S. Government broadcasting within the U.S. for fear the government would unduly influence its own citizens. Today, however, Russia and China and other entities currently broadcast in English in the United States. Additionally, recent Arabic-speaking immigrants to the United States are able to watch Al Jazeera but prevented by Smith-Mundt from viewing Al Hurra. These realities, coupled with the rise of the Internet, which enables computer users in the U.S. to receive video and audio streams of BBG broadcasts and readily access BBG Web sites, demonstrate that aspects of the legislation are both anachronistic and potentially harmful.
- As part of its FY 2011 budget submission, the BBG has proposed closing its last U.S.-based short wave broadcasting facility, located in Greenville, North Carolina. The Board estimates a \$3.2 million dollar savings as a result of this closure. While there is no question that audience for short-wave is decreasing in some countries, policymakers need to decide if shuttering the only remaining SW facility on American soil makes strategic sense. Additionally, while the U.S. has been jettisoning its shortwave frequencies, cutting some 60 stations in the last 10 years, China has been doing the exact opposite, almost doubling its number to 284 in the same period.

U.S. International Broadcasting

– Is Anybody Listening? –

Keeping the U.S. Connected

Letter of Transmittal

A key component of any nation's public diplomacy effort is its ability to communicate with the rest of the world – either through people-to-people initiatives or through communications such as press briefings and broadcasting. Modern-day U.S. broadcasting began with the advent of the Voice of America during World War II, beamed around the world via Short Wave radio to dissidents, underground operatives as well as our allies. The intervening years have resulted in a plethora of new forms of connecting not only with those living in authoritarian regimes but with the rest of the world as well – from FM radio to the latest uses of social media tools available on the Internet.

In addition to multiple commercial and other foreign government broadcasters competing with U.S. efforts, with different forms of media have also come different methods of repressing it. Some nations completely block American broadcasting efforts by jamming our radio broadcasts, satellite TV or Internet programming, while others imprison, torture, or kill both local and international journalists.

Tasked with ensuring the U.S. message gets through is the Broadcasting Board of Governors. The Board oversees the operations of the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Free Asia, Middle East Broadcasting Network and the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, which together broadcast in some 60 languages through radio, TV and the Internet. The Board consists of eight members nominated by the President (four Republicans and four Democrats) with the Secretary of State as the ninth member.

Congress originally established the Board in the mid-1990's to ensure our broadcasting operations were free from political pressures from either end of Pennsylvania Avenue. After 15 years, however, it has become clear that the BBG, rather than functioning as a political "firewall," has become a political "football" as Board membership nominations have become enmeshed and blocked due to partisan politics. The Board has not been fully staffed since 2004, and the chairmanship has been vacant since 2008. A consequence of this uncertainty in leadership and direction, not surprisingly, is that the BBG has consistently ranked at the very bottom in surveys of federal employees' workplace satisfaction. Yet the need for robust leadership has never been greater.

Thus, it is my hope that, by the time this report is printed, the new Chairman and the other seven members of the Board, nominated some seven months ago in November 2009, will have been confirmed by the Senate. Broadcasting issues related to Russia, Iran, China, Zimbabwe, North Korea, Cuba and Venezuela, where regimes do all they can to prevent our broadcasts from getting through, all demand immediate attention, as does a critical look at our Middle East broadcasting, where we are struggling for market share in a media market that only grows more crowded by the day.

With this in mind, I asked the Foreign Relations Committee staff under the leadership of Senior Professional Staff Member Paul Foldi to prepare the following report based on travels and study of these vital matters. The report addresses both the Board's staffing difficulties, as well as the key issues and countries of concern that will confront the new Board when they are in place. Staff have consulted widely with experts inside and outside the government, former officials, public diplomacy experts in Washington and around the globe, as well as bloggers, journalists and academicians. As the title of the report suggests, we must not only work harder at gaining broader audiences for our programs, we also face fierce competition to keep our listeners, viewers and readers engaged. This is the first of several reports I have asked Mr. Foldi to initiate this year addressing major Public Diplomacy issues, and I hope you will find it valuable as we address these concerns.

U.S. International Broadcasting

– Is Anybody Listening?

Keeping the U.S. Connected

Executive Summary

American Public Diplomacy 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. Impacting both groups are not only the actions, images and words of our own nation, but fierce competition from other nations

whose own interests may or may not agree with our own. One of our major tools for connecting with these audiences is through people-to-people exchanges; another is international broadcasting.

Once thought of only in terms of short-wave radio broadcasts to dissidents huddled late-night over their radios, recent technological advancements and improving standards of living have seen a virtual explosion of other communication outlets, from the greater use of FM radio to television, the Internet, social media and cell phone technology. All this has, on the one hand, greatly expanded the potential audience, but on the other greatly strained our broadcasters' ability and budgets to reach them.

The Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) was created by Congress in 1994 to oversee the operations of the Voice of America and the so-called surrogate stations: Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Free Asia, Radio/TV Marti, Radio Sawa and Al Hurra TV.¹ The first Board was sworn in on August 11, 1995 with four Republican and four Democratic Governors and the Secretary of State as the ninth member. However, since 1995, the Board has only been fully staffed for *six* of the subsequent 15 years of operations, and has not been so since 2004. The current Board has only four members (two Republicans and two Democrats), each of whom has been serving since 2002. While this is well beyond the official three year term of office, Board members are, by law, able to serve until replaced². Since then partisan politics on both sides have blocked almost all further nominations.

The Board has not had a formal Chairman since June 2008 when the incumbent left to become the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy for the remainder of the Bush Administration. The Obama Administration did not formally submit candidates for a new Board until November 2009, but action on them is still pending as this report was going to print. This is especially unfortunate because the changing circumstances that have confronted the BBG since the current Board members were emplaced in 2002, both technical and geopolitical in nature, require immediate attention; attention the current Board is understandably reluctant to address given the nominations waiting in the wings.

¹ "Surrogates" is the name given to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (founded in 1949), the Office of Cuba Broadcasting (1985), Radio Free Asia (1996) and Middle East Broadcasting Network (2004) that the BBG oversees. The Voice of America was tasked by Congress in Public Law 94-350 to "represent America, not any single segment of American society, and [VOA] will therefore present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions (and) will present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively." Surrogates are designed to provide the listeners in countries that have limited press freedoms with the news from *inside* their own countries and regions. Governments of the nations receiving these transmissions are thus very often hostile to this information and often spend millions of dollars trying to block or jam surrogate radio/TV and Internet.

² See Title III, Sec 304 (c) of PL 103-236; http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=103_cong_bills&docid=f:h2333enr.txt.pdf

One of these issues is the growing concern over the ability of US broadcasters to reach their desired audiences. Sometimes this is due to crowded media markets, such as in the Middle East, where our voice is one among many. Other times, our voice is silenced or suppressed, including in China, Iran and Russia, which use intimidation to prevent local affiliates from carrying US programming or use sophisticated technologies to shut down satellites, jam radio transmissions or block Internet sites. Each of these issues requires its own response, but without a new Board in place providing appropriate direction and guidance, these difficulties will only grow more pronounced. This report seeks to expand upon these issues for consideration by Congress and by the Board.

Findings and Recommendations:

- The Broadcasting Board of Governors sets the policies and provides necessary oversight of U.S. broadcasting operations. The *average* vacancy rate for a seat on the Board is more than 470 days (one seat has been vacant for more than *four years*). The Senate needs to confirm the current slate of nominees for the Broadcasting Board of Governors to provide needed leadership and guidance. Going forward, Presidents should move with dispatch to fill vacancies and should prioritize nominees with substantial international broadcasting experience. In the medium term, Congress must decide whether it is time to consider another management structure if Board staffing difficulties persist.
- Alhurra – the U.S. 24-hour Arabic television news channel – is expensive, and with the exception of Iraq, little watched elsewhere in this vital region. Alhurra’s budget of some \$90 million surpasses the combined budgets of Radio Free Asia (\$37 million), Radio/TV Marti (\$30 million) and VOA’s Persian News Network Television (\$17 million). Given the crowded media environment of the Middle East, either greater resources must be devoted to marketing and promotion or additional programming changes must be enacted in pursuit of increasing the channel’s market share. Should these efforts fail to improve the overall viewership levels, policy makers will have to decide if continuing Alhurra’s operations is worth the costs.
- The Chinese Government has issued only 2 work visas for Voice of America Beijing-based correspondents since 2009 and, for over a year, has blocked VOA from opening a bureau in Shanghai. By contrast, China’s state-run media organization - Xinhua News - has some 75 correspondents based in the United States. Since 2007, the U.S. government has issued some 2,900 press visas to Chinese journalists and media personnel.
- Journalists in Russia are routinely abducted, tortured and murdered with virtual impunity. The number of Russian radio stations carrying Radio Free Europe’s Russian service broadcasting has declined precipitously from over 30 stations in 2001 to currently 5;

VOA's dropped from 85 in 2003 to just 1 by 2009 as the Russian government successfully silenced most BBG broadcasts by simply refusing to renew Russian radio station licenses unless US programming was dropped. The State Department should raise this issue at the highest levels in its meetings and should monitor closely rising attempts to block BBG Internet sites.

- In Asia, according to the human rights NGO Freedom House, the six countries served by Radio Free Asia are experiencing steadily dwindling levels of press freedom, with none currently ranked higher than 132 out of 195 countries. RFA, set up in 1994 with the hope that the post-Cold War tide of democracy and liberalization would soon sweep Asia, was authorized only on a temporary basis. Congress should permanently authorize Radio Free Asia to recognize the unfortunate reality of press freedom in Asia, and put RFA on a legislative par with Radio Free Europe, Cuba Broadcasting, and Middle East Broadcasting.
- The BBG's Arabic-language Radio Sawa has an hourly format of 45 minutes of music with 15 minutes of news. As a result, Sawa was deemed heretical by many "news-only" advocates in the BBG when it appeared in 2002, yet Sawa quickly became popular with the "under 30" youth-bulge deemed critical in that region, virtually none of whom had listened to VOA's Arabic radio programming. Over time though, as its format has been copied by local stations, Sawa's listenership has declined by 25%. Greater funding for marketing or a change in formats may be needed.
- While Radio Free Asia is tasked with reaching a population of over 1 billion people, its marketing budget for fiscal year 2009 was less than \$2,000. The Middle East Broadcasting Network, which oversees Al Hurra TV and Radio Sawa, has seen its marketing budget fluctuate wildly from a few thousand dollars in 2005 and 2006 to \$100,000 in 2007, back to \$5,000 in 2008 to over \$1 million in 2009. Such inconsistencies wreak havoc with any long-term attempts to capture market share and must be addressed.
- The government of Iran continues to attempt to jam both VOA's Persian News Network TV (which uses multiple satellite systems to prevent a total shutdown) and Radio Free Europe's Persian-language "Radio Farda." In February 2010, the Iranian government arrested seven journalists who had merely held job interviews with Farda. Efforts to ensure that our programming gets through should remain a high priority.
- Critics note that some BBG entities have allowed individuals opposed to U.S. policy to air their views without any rebuttal or balanced context. While allowing such vitriol to go uncontested is clearly poor journalism, such occurrences have been the rare exception, not the norm. Nonetheless, in order for the BBG to be credible to its audience and draw

in not just those who already agree with U.S. policy, its networks must be permitted to present both sides of an argument.

- Congress should revisit the Smith-Mundt legislation, which was passed originally in 1948 and later amended, which bans U.S. government broadcasting within the U.S. for fear the government would unduly influence its own citizens. Today, however, Russia and China and other entities currently broadcast in English in the United States. Additionally, recent Arabic-speaking immigrants to the United States are able to watch Al Jazeera but prevented by Smith-Mundt from viewing Al Hurra. These realities, coupled with the rise of the Internet, which enables computer users in the U.S. to receive video and audio streams of BBG broadcasts and readily access BBG websites, demonstrate that aspects of the legislation are both anachronistic and potentially harmful.
- As part of its FY20011 budget submission, the BBG has proposed closing its last U.S.-based short wave broadcasting facility, located in Greenville, North Carolina. The Board estimates a \$3.2 million dollar savings as a result of this closure. While there is no question that audience for short-wave is decreasing in some countries, policy makers need to decide if shuttering the only remaining SW facility on American soil makes strategic sense. Additionally, while the U.S. has been jettisoning its shortwave frequencies, cutting some 60 in the last 10, China has been doing the exact opposite, almost doubling its number to 284 in the same period.

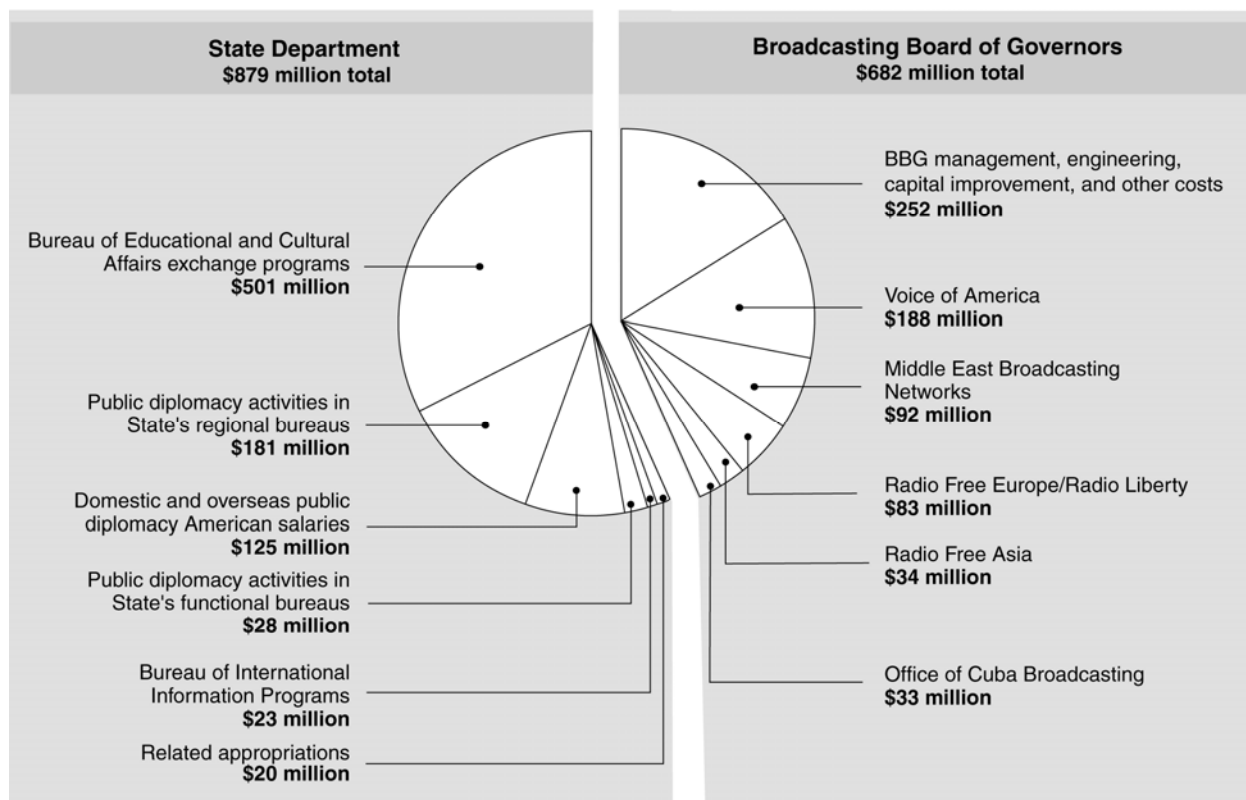
Introduction

Greater official US interest in Public Diplomacy began in the wake of 9/11 with the rise of the “Why do they hate us?” introspection. The imperative was to “move the needle” as quickly as possible from “Hate the United States” to, if not exactly “Love” at least, “Like” the U.S. The main vehicle was to be Public Diplomacy (PD), defined here as a government’s attempt to engage the local population of a country directly, rather than through official interactions with a host government. PD has many facets: from government sponsored educational exchanges, cultural events, sports and science envoys, to public statements and official actions. International broadcasting is an integral part of U.S. PD.

As the Government Accountability Office charts below show, American PD funding is divided between various offices between the State Department and the Broadcasting Board of Governors. In Fiscal Year 2008, Broadcasting received 43% of the PD budget, but in FY2010

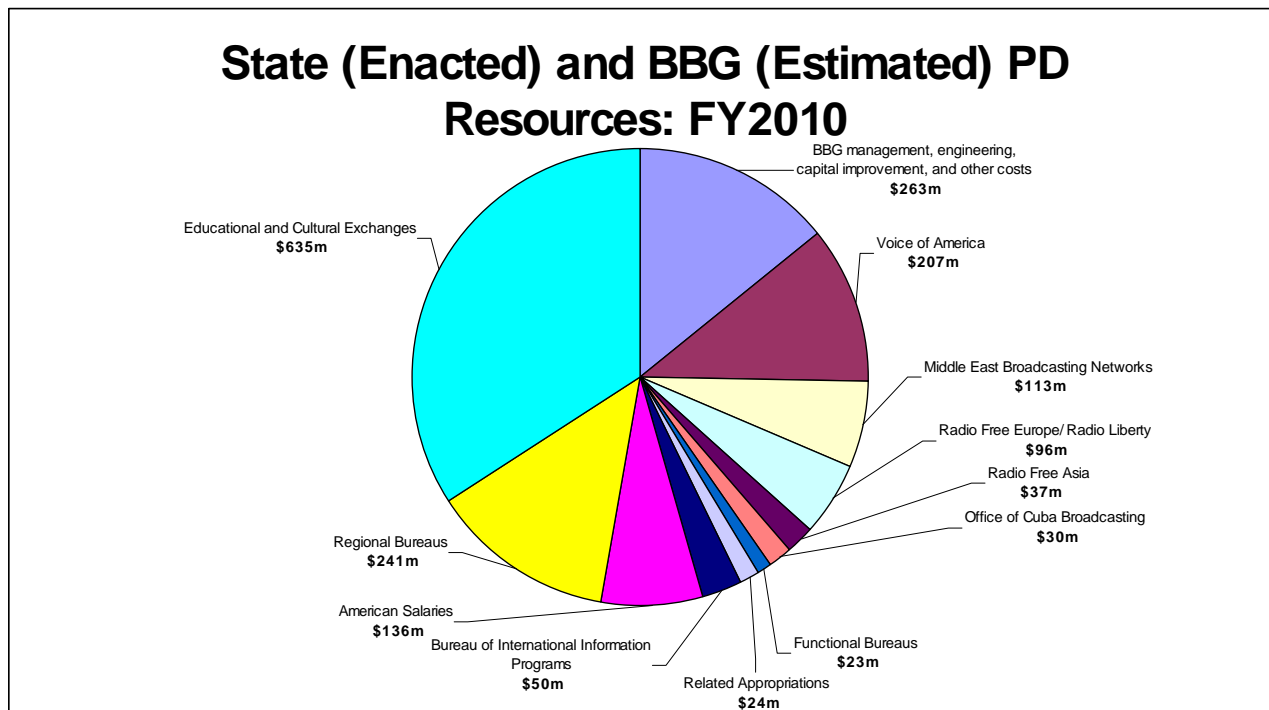
this figure had fallen to 40%, though funding for almost all of the individual accounts was increased.³

FY 2008 Public Diplomacy Spending



Source: State Department and BBG.

³ FY 2008 chart from Government Accountability Office Report <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d09679sp.pdf> FY2010 was prepared for this report by the GAO.



In the BBG, there are five main broadcasting entities: the Voice of America (VOA) which was established in 1942,⁴ Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) in 1949,⁵ the Office of Cuba Broadcasting (OCB) in 1983,⁶ Radio Free Asia (RFA) in 1996⁷ and the Middle East

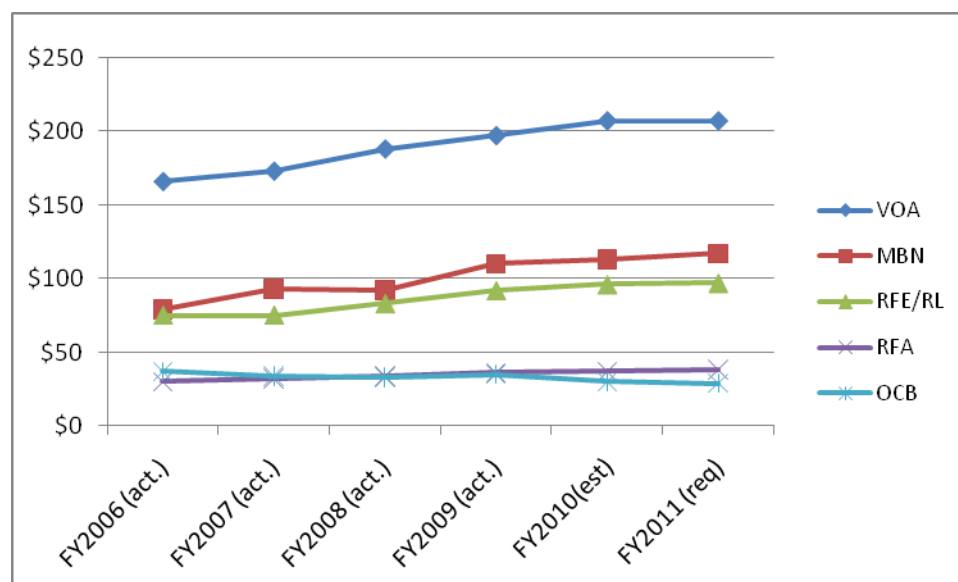
⁴ VOA was first under the Office of War Information, moved to the State Department from 1945-53, and then located in the U.S. Information Agency. In 1999 when USIA was absorbed by the State Department, VOA and the surrogate stations were kept out of the State Department and left under the control of the Broadcasting Board of Governors (which had been overseeing U.S. broadcasting from within USIA since 1995) which then became an independent entity. BBG and VOA headquarters are in Washington, DC, with transmission facilities around the world.

⁵ RFE/RL, based in Prague, Czech Republic currently broadcasts to 21 countries in 28 languages, though it is now far afield, with broadcasts now also to Iraq and Iran (since 1998), Afghanistan (2002) and the Pakistan border area (2010).

⁶ PL 98-111 The Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act created "Radio Marti" in 1983 as a surrogate station, distinct from any VOA transmissions to Cuba. Radio Marti went on the air in 1985, "TV Marti" began operations in 1990. Both services are currently located in Miami, Florida.

⁷ RFA, located in Washington, was created in 1994 by PL103-236 and began broadcasting in 1997. It currently broadcasts to Burma, Cambodia, China, Laos, North Korea, Tibet and Vietnam in major and local dialects.

Broadcasting Network (MBN) in 2004.⁸ VOA is intended to provide its listeners with news and information about the United States, the world and the particular region to which it is broadcasting. The surrogates are intended to focus their reporting on the news from inside the countries they are broadcasting to. In reality, each does a little of both to the point that some are questioning whether one or the other is necessary.⁹ As the chart below suggests, funding for US broadcasting has seen steady, and in some cases significant, increases.¹⁰



⁸ The Middle East Broadcast Networks includes Alhurra TV and Radio Sawa. Radio Sawa began broadcasting 24 hours a day on March 23, 2002. Alhurra began transmission on February 14, 2004. MBN is located in Springfield, VA a suburb of Washington, DC.

⁹ Typically, it is the surrogates complaining that VOA's language services are focusing more and more on local content. Nonetheless, VOA's Afghan service (Radio Ashna) and RFE/RL's Radio Azadi work well in tandem, with Ashna broadcasting American and international news for 12 hours in the evening, followed by Azadi covering 12 hours of local news. See [Appendix A](#) for a country-by-country analysis of the BBG products for each country including the number of hours, method of transmission and languages. Interestingly, the VOA's main webpage contains links to RFE/RL and RFA, but not Radio/TV Marti or MBN; RFE/RL links only to the BBG's main page; RFA links to VOA and BBG; Marti links to none; MBN's Alhurra links only to Sawa (and vice versa). [Appendix B](#) lists all the languages BBG broadcasts in.

¹⁰ Since 2001, the BBG has been the beneficiary of increases in funding, with its annual budget rising from roughly \$425 million to over \$750 million. This has come, in large part at the direction of Congress, as a result of launching a host of new channels. During this same time, BBG believes its global audiences has climbed some 70% from 100 million weekly to over 170 million. The one recent exception to these increases is the Office of Cuba Broadcasting's Radio/TV Marti as Congressional critics and the General Accountability Office have questioned its effectiveness. See: <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d09127.pdf> and <http://foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/56157.pdf>

Recent years have also seen a much more harmonious relationship between civilian and military Public Diplomacy efforts. This willingness to share, rather than stovepipe, resources was perhaps best displayed during the aftermath of the January 2010 earthquake in Haiti when the military loaned one of its “Commander Solo” communications planes to the relief operation for four weeks. The plane enabled the Voice of America’s Creole service to transmit for 10 hours on 4 FM and 1 AM frequency during the day as virtually all of Haiti’s radio towers or stations had been severely damaged or destroyed.¹¹

This report will examine what tools the BBG is using to accomplish its mission, what the challenges are and what have been the latest innovations. At the same time it will examine how other countries are approaching these issues in hopes of providing policy makers with a better understanding of how our efforts compare and compete in the global marketplace of information and public diplomacy.

The Broadcasting Board of Governors: The “Firewall” has become the “Football”

The Broadcasting Board of Governors was created by Congress in 1994 as an independent agency to be a bi-partisan buffer to potential political interference and to ensure its products were objective and balanced. To that end, Congress created an eight-member board evenly split along party lines, with the Secretary of State as the ninth member and one of the eight (from the party in the White House) nominated as Chairman.¹² As then-BBG Chairman Marc Nathanson said in 2001:

"It is our responsibility to serve as a firewall between the international broadcasters and the policy-making institutions in the foreign affairs community, both in here in Washington and overseas. This is a responsibility we take very seriously. Because at the end of the day, it is precisely by providing accurate news and information - sought and trusted by people around the world - that we earn and keep our credibility."¹³

However vacancies have plagued the Board, and as the chart below demonstrates, it has not been at full strength since 2004. Much of this has been due to both parties in the Senate playing politics with Board nominations. Currently, the four Board members, each of whom was

¹¹ See <http://edition.cnn.com/2010/TECH/01/26/haiti.flying.radio/index.html#cnnSTCText>. At night, powerful AM transmitters from Florida were able to carry VOA throughout Haiti, obviating the need for nighttime flights as, due to atmospheric conditions, AM has a much longer range after sunset.

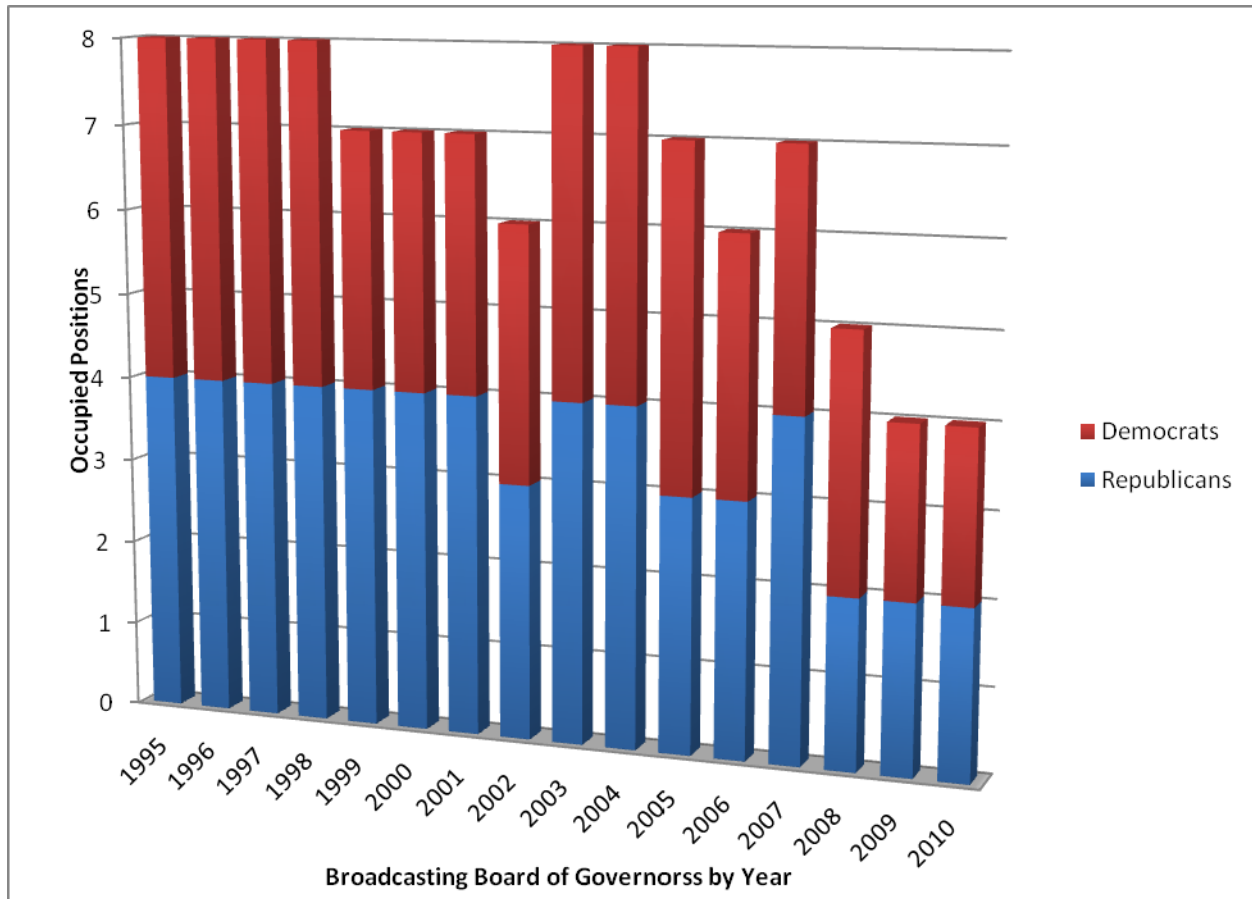
¹² Board members receive no salary, and are only paid for travel and *per diem* expenses while they are on Board business.

¹³ <http://ibb7-2.ibb.gov/bbg/board.html#nathanson>

confirmed in 2002, are serving well beyond their three-year term of office; should any one of them resign, the Board would no longer have a quorum. In spite of this, it was not until November 19, 2009, that the Obama administration nominated a full slate of eight candidates to form a new Board.¹⁴ To date, none has not been confirmed by the Senate.

¹⁴ The nominees submitted by the White House are listed below, confusingly, the party affiliations of each nominee do not always correspond with the incumbent; additionally, terms have been staggered for terms of one, two or three years in order to maintain continuity:

- Victor H. Ashe (R) (term expiring 8/13/2010) vice James K. Glassman (R);
- Walter Isaacson (D) (term expiring 8/13/2012) vice Steven J. Simmons (R) (Isaacson also replacing Glassman as Chair);
- Michael Lynton (D) (term expiring 8/13/2012) vice Mark McKinnon (R);
- Susan McCue (D) (term expiring 8/13/2011) vice Joaquin F. Blaya (D);
- Michael P. Meehan (D) (term expiring 8/13/2010) vice Jeffrey Hirschberg (D);
- Dennis Mulhaupt (R) (term expiring 8/13/2011) vice Blanquita Walsh Cullum (R);
- Dana M. Perino (R) (term expiring 8/13/2012) vice Edward E. Kaufman (D); and
- S. Enders Wimbush (R) (term expiring 8/13/2010) vice Norman J. Pattiz (D).



As the chart below shows, as of June 2010, the average vacancy for a Board position is over 470 days, with one position vacant *for over four years*. We must acknowledge that a structure that was created to be a political “firewall” has in fact become a political “football.” Unless the situation changes rapidly, it is time to consider a replacement structure to the Board to carry out its vital functions.

R/D	Board Member	Date Began	Term Ended	Term Length (Days)	Replaced By	Started	Vacancy (Days)	Avg Vacancy
R1	Bette Bao Lord	8/14/1995	11/12/2000	1917	Ledbetter	11/13/2000	1	
	Robert Ledbetter	11/13/2000	12/22/2003	1134	Rodman	12/26/2003	4	
	Veronique Rodman	12/26/2003	12/11/2004	351	McKinnon	1/4/2007	754	
	Mark McKinnon	1/4/2007	12/31/2007	361	Vacant		891	413
R2	Alberto Mora	8/14/1995	8/3/2001	2181	Simmons	11/27/2002	481	481
	Steven J. Simmons	11/27/2002	Current	2751				
R3	Tom Korologos	8/14/1995	8/5/2002	2548	Tomlinson	8/6/2002	1	
	Kenneth Tomlinson*	8/6/2002	6/6/2007	1765	Glassman	6/8/2007	2	
	James Glassman*	6/8/2007	6/10/2008	368	Vacant		729	244

R4	Cheryl Halpern	8/14/1995	11/26/2002	2661	Cullum	11/26/2002	0	0
	Blanquita Cullum	11/26/2002	Current	2752				
D1	David Burke*	8/14/1995	10/31/1998	1174	Pattiz	11/13/2000	744	
	Norm Pattiz	11/13/2000	2/28/2006	1933	Vacant		1562	1153
D2	Carl Spielvogel	8/14/1995	8/8/2000	1821	Blaya	11/19/2002	833	833
	Joaquin Blaya	11/19/2002	Current	2759				
D3	Marc Nathanson*	8/14/1995	8/5/2002	2548	Hirschberg	12/9/2002	126	
	Jeffrey D. Hirschberg	12/9/2002	Current	2739				126
D4	Edward Kaufman	8/14/1995	12/1/2008	4858	Vacant		555	555
Average Length of Board Vacancy							476	

(as of 6/9/10)

“*” denotes Chairman

This chronic dysfunction of the confirmation process has had a profound impact on our broadcasting efforts. The current Board clearly knows that its time is limited and is therefore understandably hesitant to make changes that the incoming nominees may or may not agree with. Similarly, this lack of direction or certainty of leadership has greatly eroded the morale of BBG employees. A 2008 survey of federal workers in 37 agencies found the BBG ranked *last* in indexes for Leadership and Knowledge Management, Results-Oriented Performance Culture, Talent Management, and second to last on Job Satisfaction. Perhaps even more telling, these results were exactly the same from the 2006 version of the survey.¹⁵

As detailed below, the plethora of challenges confronting U.S. broadcasting are daunting and deserve immediate attention, and cannot be allowed to fester. If the Senate truly believes that such bi-partisan boards provide an effective management and oversight tool, the new Board should be confirmed. If the Senate feels otherwise, then perhaps the time has come to abolish the Board and create a different entity that will have greater Congressional confidence.

Russia – Slowly Strangling the Media

The ever tightening censorship of the Russian media by the state has been well documented.¹⁶ Starting in 1993 under Russian President Yeltsin, through Vladimir Putin to

¹⁵ Survey results can be found here: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/documents/leadership_and_knowledge_index.pdf (Note: RFE/RL, RFA or MBN employees were not part of the survey.)

¹⁶ See the recent “Russia Fears Crackdown on Freedom” from May, 6, 2010 http://rbth.ru/articles/2010/05/06/russia_fears_crackdown_freedom.html; the 2002 International Federation of Journalists Condemnation on Russian Crackdown on Media Reporting of Chechen Militants <http://www.ifj.org/en/articles/ifj-condemns-russian-crackdown-on-media-reporting-of-chechen-militants-> ;

Dmitry Medvedev, some 200 journalists have been killed, with most murders remaining unsolved (including the most infamous cases to date, the 2004 murder of American Paul Klebnikov and the 2006 murder of Anna Politkovskaya), and with many mysteriously falling from their windows in alleged suicides or in police custody.¹⁷ Freedom House's *Freedom of the Press Index* downgraded Russia's rank from 147 in its 2004 Index to 174 out of 195 in 2009.¹⁸

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty was founded in 1949 largely to broadcast to the Soviet Union and its East European satellites the news and events going on inside their own borders. With the fall of the Berlin Wall, the onset of democratic elections and democratic practices – combined with mounting budgetary pressures and demands for individual language services for many of the former Soviet Republics – much of RFE/RL's service in Eastern Europe (with the exception of the Balkan nations, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova) has ended. Free press issues in the Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan) as well as the former Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) also kept RFE/RL busy and relevant throughout the 1990s, as of course, did Russia.¹⁹



Radio Free Europe's Central Newsroom in Prague

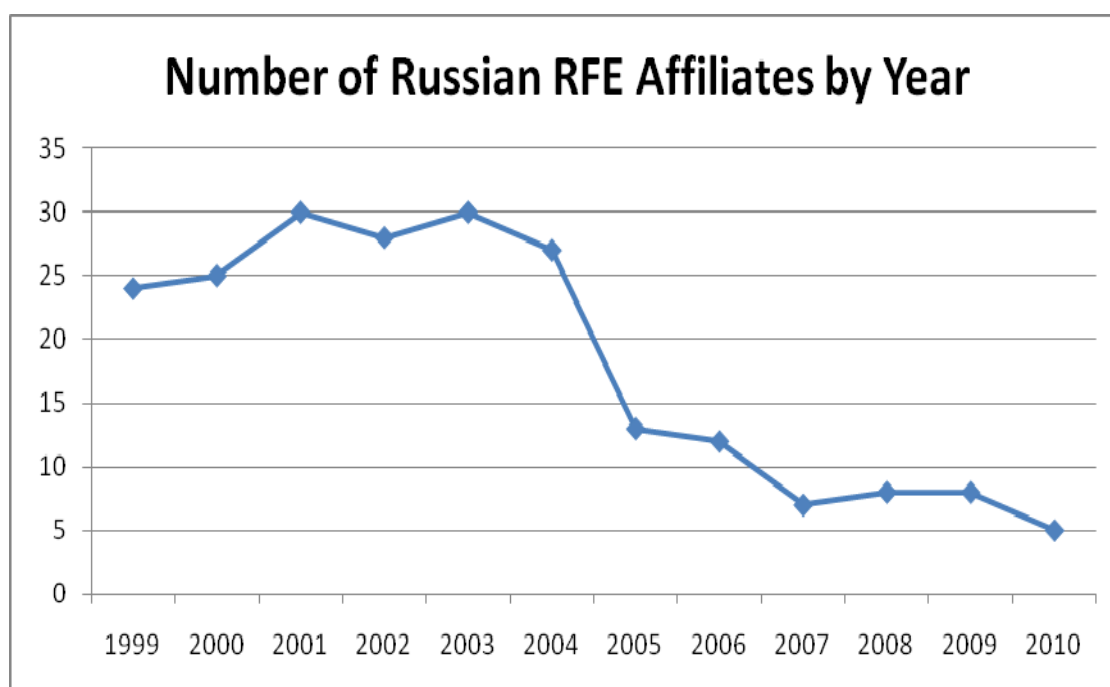
¹⁷ "Russian Journalist Dies After Beating in Police Custody"

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2010/jan/21/journalist-safety-russia>; "Investigative Journalist Killed" http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2006-10-07-russia-journalist_x.htm ; "Forbes' Russian Editor Shot Dead" http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=newsarchive&sid=aBbb15QXw0cE&refer=top_world_news-redirectoldpage a comprehensive list can be found here: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_journalists_killed_in_Russia

¹⁸ http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/fop09/FoP2009_World_Rankings.pdf While some criticize Freedom House as simply an arm of the U.S. government and therefore biased, it is worth noting that the 2009 Index ranked the U.S. #24 on its Press Freedom Index (tied with Lithuanian and the Czech Republic) and below such countries as Portugal, Jamaica and Germany.

¹⁹ See <http://www.rferl.org/> for further breakdowns on all of RFE/RL's language services.

Because of changing Russian consumer tastes, and a brief window of press freedoms, RFE/RL was able to arrange for affiliate agreements with a variety of Russian FM channels to carry the Russian-language station Radio “Svoboda” (“Freedom/Liberty”). By 2002, over 30 radio stations throughout Russia’s nine time zones carried Svoboda, but as the chart below demonstrates, the situation rapidly deteriorated. Russian officials never banned Svoboda outright. Rather, radio stations seeking a renewal of their licenses were simply told that the process would transpire much more smoothly if the RFE/RL’s programming agreements were not renewed. Currently, only four stations carry Svoboda and most are in marginalized areas. Its lone Moscow AM station is hampered by low voltage and the prevalence of overhead electric tram lines which create significant signal distortions at street level.



RFE was not alone in broadcasting to Russia, as VOA’s Russian service was, for a while, even more successful in its number of affiliates than RFE. However, effective efforts by Moscow authorities to similarly silence VOA affiliates led to VOA canceling its radio service in frustration, relying instead only on the Internet.²⁰ The fact that the Board did not even issue a

²⁰ The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), too, was forced off FM, though a year earlier, in August 2007, see: http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2007/08_august/17/moscow.shtml which tells the tale of BBC’s Moscow FM station “Bolshoye Radio” being forced off the air “The owners of Bolshoye Radio...have told

press release announcing the cancelation galled many. The fact that the decision was effected on July 26, 2008, by chance less than two weeks before the August 7 Russian invasion of Georgia, only made the situation worse.²¹

Perhaps the Board decided to let VOA Russian go silently into the night in order not to allow the Russians to “declare victory,” but it was a missed opportunity to call the world’s attention to a growing threat to a vital component of real democracies – a press that is able to tell the truth without fear of harassment, suppression or worse.



Currently, as the chart above shows, , VOA is totally Internet based. As the chart below from May 2010 of Russian-language websites indicates, this may not be such a bad investment as viewing of VOA’s Russian stories on YouTube have been strong, and VOA also just launched in March 2010 a website for mobile phone users: <http://ru.voa.mobi/>²²

representatives of the BBC Russian Service that they are required to remove BBC programming at the request of Russian licensing authorities, or risk the station being taken off-air.”

²¹ Following the invasion of Georgia, the BBG surged its Georgian language broadcasting. Currently, VOA broadcasts 14 hours in SW/week to Georgia, while RFE/RL offers four hours of radio/day via satellite, with both offering constant Internet updates.

²² <http://blogs.rnw.nl/medianetwork/voa-launches-website-for-russian-mobile-phone-users>

Russian Language Sites

	Facebook (Friends or People Like This)	Twitter (Followers)	YouTube (Channel Views)	YouTube (Uploaded Video Views)	Main website
America.gov	10,259	N/A	263	603	http://www.america.gov/ru/
Voice of America	N/A	1,079	85,805	2,302,787	http://www1.voanews.com/russian/
BBC News	1,079	951	338,640	1,393,750	http://www.bbc.co.uk/russian/
Radio Free Europe	803	747	19,702	152,721	http://www.svobodanews.ru/
Russia Today	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	http://inotv.rt.com/
Xinhua	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	http://russian.news.cn/

Iran – Tough on Journalists and Technology

The U.S. relationship with the Iranian people is a complicated one. Personal and professional links and positive memories of the United States in the older generations, many of whom were educated in American universities, have trickled down to Iranian youth, even as official media routinely denounces America as “The Great Satan.”²³ Nonetheless, with almost half of Iran’s population having been born since the 1979 revolution, greater engagement with this segment of the population is essential for American Public Diplomacy.

Without any formal diplomatic relations with Iran, the U.S. has nonetheless been engaging in people-to-people diplomacy. From 2006-8, using sports such as basketball, ping-pong and wrestling, American and Iranian teams have quietly been competing internationally but also participating in tournaments in each other’s country.²⁴ (However, since 2009 four similar sports exchanges were planned, only to be quashed by the Iranian Foreign Ministry.) Similarly, American universities have begun to initiate small-scale efforts to try to bring Iranian students to the U.S. for long-term studies. Additionally, from 2006-8, 18 Iranian university students were part of a US government program that brought them to American universities to study English, and they served as Persian language teaching assistants in U.S. classrooms (more recent programs were likewise canceled by Iran). In spite of the fact that Iranian youth face prolonged visa processing times, they have been eager to re-engage with Americans via such routes.

²³ See “Iran’s Love Affair With America” <http://www.csmonitor.com/2007/0119/p09s02-coop.html> ; 77% of Iranians favor normal relations with the US in June 2009 poll of 1,000 Iranians in: <http://www.terrorfreetomorrow.org/upimagestft/TFT%20Iran%20Survey%20Report%200609.pdf>

²⁴ <http://www.america.gov/st/sports-english/2008/July/200807241441550pnative10.19125.html> ; <http://www.payvand.com/news/08/jul/1240.html> ; <http://www.america.gov/st/washfile-english/2007/January/20070125154816attoenich0.453747.html>

Iran's complex culture is often overly-simplified in attempts to isolate a government that bent on acquiring nuclear capabilities regardless of the economic and diplomatic costs. Iranian love of technology ensured that even software issues with the Apple's iPhone were quickly resolved when the phone was first released, and smuggled phones were fetching upwards of \$1,400 each.²⁵ VOA has recognized this love of technology and created an "app" for Apple's iPhone as well as the latest Android/Google phone that allows Iranians to upload videos from their phones directly to VOA's Persian News Network (PNN) – thus making anyone with such a device a roving journalist.²⁶ This is particularly useful for PNN, for it – unlike most of VOA's other stations – focuses heavily on TV broadcasts, given that in Iran, some 94% of the population say they get their news from television, while only 35% said they use radio for news.²⁷

PNN broadcasts to Iran are currently carried on 7 Frequencies on 6 different satellites in order to avoid complete jamming by the Iranian authorities. Its 24-hour coverage is entirely live from 6pm local time to midnight. These programs are then repeated from midnight to 6pm the next day, except for an additional live hour of morning news from 6-7am (for a total of 49 hours a week of original programming).²⁸ The BBG claims that 2009 research shows that PNN "commands a weekly TV audience of 29.9% of adults in Iran" (some 13 million people); however a 2010 BBG survey now has this number down to 20%.²⁹

²⁵ <http://www.hadifarnoud.ir/unlock-iphone> ; <http://asia.cnet.com/blogs/cyberpersia/post.htm?id=63000621>

²⁶ VOA's PNN was established in 1979 as a radio service, PNN TV began in 2007. See PPN's iPhone app here: <http://itunes.apple.com/us/app/voa-pnn/id348178315?mt=8>

²⁷ PNN broadcasts 35 hours of radio a week – one hour original in the morning, then four hours of audio stream of PNN TV in the evening -- vice a total of 168 hours of TV a week.

²⁸ A complete PNN schedule can be found in [Appendix C](#). To mark the one-year anniversary of the June 2009 disputed presidential elections, PNN, in conjunction with HBO, is showing the documentary "For Neda" about Neda Agha-Soltan, the young Iranian who became a symbol of Iran's post-election protests when images of her dying moments were captured on cell phones and shown around the world, as well as making the film available on its website. Greater leveraging of public-private cooperation would provide US broadcasters with much needed content.

²⁹ See p. 16 of the BBG's FY2011 Budget Submission for the 2009 figure: <http://www.bbg.gov/reports/documents/BBGFY2011CONGBudgetSubmission-ForInternetPost.pdf> . The BBG believes the decline in 2010 was most likely due to increased jamming and greater reluctance on the part of Iranians to admitting to watching foreign broadcasts in an ever-increasingly repressive environment. The same study, a May 5, 2010 poll conducted by Intermedia and shared with Committee staff, shows BBC-Persian at only 10.2%. However, BBC was the only service in the poll, which included Iranian news media as well, that saw an *increase* from 2009, when BBC was at 2.5%. This increase suggests that PNN may be facing some stiff competition in the future.

Persian News Network			
Program	2009 Actuals	FY 2010 Estimate	2011 Estimate
Total Salaries (not split by media)	9,830,937	10,140,551	10,016,750
General Operating Expenses			
Internet	297,933	249,192	145,669
Radio	384,265	440,808	-
Television	6,900,993	7,414,126	7,288,252
Total GOE	7,583,191	8,104,126	7,433,921
Total Salaries & GOE	17,561,128	18,244,677	17,450,671

Note: Totals exclude Engineering transmission and Internet jamming costs and production costs provided by Broadcast Operations; budget information provided by the BBG.

PNN's iPhone App



U.S. broadcasting has thus empowered and elevated average Iranian citizens by enabling them to share with the world Tehran's repression of their democratic efforts. As a result, the

Iranian regime has gone to great and repeated lengths to block not only US, but many other western media outlets from transmitting into Iran.³⁰

In addition to PNN, which broadcasts from Washington, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty's Persian-language Radio "Farda" ("Tomorrow") broadcasts from RFE/RL's headquarters in Prague. Farda's programming is a mix of news and entertainment with over half the day devoted to news and information programs including talk shows and features, with some 45% of the time devoted to cultural programming and music. Farda reaches Iran either through AM radio transmissions from the United Arab Emirates (1575 AM) or through numerous shortwave stations, in addition to the Internet.³¹ Tehran routinely blocks Farda's radio and Internet, with Farda relying on proxy servers to get around this where possible.

In spite of this clear animosity the Iranian regime feels for American programming, critics of US broadcasting have expressed concerns that PNN is in fact the "Voice of Mullahs" for offering airtime to two commentators who were critical of US policies towards Iran and for PNN's failure to present opposing views.³² Other critics of PNN and Radio Farda take the exact *opposite* view, arguing that PNN/Farda, and many other U.S. surrogate stations, are simply classic "émigré media" staffed by those forced out of their homeland, and therefore incapable and unwilling to portray anything but the worst aspects of their native lands – with the consequence, the critics argue, that listeners will quickly turn them off for being viewed as "mouthpieces" of the U.S. government.

³⁰ See the BBC's June 2009 complaints: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2009/jun/17/iran-bbc-jamming-bloggers-revolutionary-guard>; the Broadcasting Board of Governors' December 2009 condemnation of Iranian jamming of PNN and Radio Farda: <http://www.bbg.gov/pressroom/pressreleases-article.cfm?articleID=443>; the February 12, 2010 joint VOA-BBC-Deutsche Welle joint release calling for an end to jamming: <http://en.irangreenvoice.com/article/2010/feb/12/1132>; finally the March 26, 2010 call by the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) for Iran to stop jamming: <http://www.unmultimedia.org/radio/english/detail/92866.html>

³¹ PNN is also heavily invested in the Internet, and according to the BBG, during the election crisis in 2009, some 400,000 visitors viewed their webpages on a daily basis; See page 70 of the FY2011 BBG Budget Submission <http://www.bbg.gov/reports/documents/BBGFY2011CONGBudgetSubmission-ForInternetPost.pdf> See <http://flashvideo.rferl.org/Flashmaps/en-US/coverageOneWin/default.htm> for RFE/RL's excellent interactive map which denotes its coverage in each country including and from where it broadcasts.

³² The VOA responded by noting that they in fact offered equal air time to opposing views to each commentator one of whom was an opposition journalist and the other a US-based expert who had testified before Congress on the effectiveness of sanctions against Iran. See *Washington Times* "Mouthpiece of the Mullahs" April 14, 2010: <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/apr/14/voice-of-the-mullahs/> and VOA's rebuttal of April 19 <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/apr/19/voas-persian-news-aims-for-objectivity/> both of which are printed in full in **Appendix D** of this report. U.S. government oversight of BBG services is extensive and conducted by both the State Department's Office of the Inspector General (OIG) and the Government Accountability Office (GAO), the latter of which reports directly to Congress. **Appendix E** has lists and links of OIG and GAO reports on the BBG and its services.

The first type of criticism of PNN underscores an issue that has bedeviled U.S. broadcasting for years. Some feel that our efforts should only be used to tell the U.S. side of a story, due in part because most other media outlets in the world are heavily biased against the U.S. and its foreign policy. Others, most of whom do not dispute the anti-U.S. bias charge, believe that in order for U.S. broadcasts to gain and retain audiences, they must be true to the Broadcasting Standards and Principles and Standards as codified in law³³ including:

- “News which is consistently reliable and authoritative, accurate, objective, and comprehensive
- A balanced and comprehensive projection of United States thought and institutions, reflecting the diversity of United States culture and society”

“Objective” news must, by definition, offer both sides of an issue, even if the other side runs contrary to US policy. BBG Governor Jeffrey Hirschberg responded in an October 15, 2009 hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee when asked about the value of U.S. Broadcasting in terms of creating positive trends towards the United States and its foreign policies:

“The BBG does not do messaging. Our broadcasters do not do messaging. So if you are asking for a one-to-one correlation as to whether or not for every dollar we spend we can change hearts and minds, we cannot do that for you. We cannot give you that. That research is not available to us. But what is available to us is that we know we have an impact. We know that people like our broadcasting. We know that people listen to our broadcasting. We know that people call into our broadcasting. We know that they participate. We know that we are engaging their publics in a way and through targeted research that has never been done before. So from that standpoint, we think that indirectly we do have that kind of impact that you are looking for.”³⁴

As President Kennedy’s first director of the U.S. Information Service, and noted journalist Edward R. Murrow noted, “To be persuasive, we must be believable, to be believable we must

³³ 22 U.S.C. 6202 – The law is even more specific for VOA: “To be effective, the Voice of America must win the attention and respect of listeners. These principles will therefore govern Voice of America (VOA) broadcasts: (1) VOA will serve as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news. VOA news will be accurate, objective, and comprehensive. (2) VOA will represent America, not any single segment of American society, and will therefore present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions. (3) VOA will present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively, and will also present responsible discussions and opinion on these policies.” <http://vlex.com/vid/sec-standards-and-principles-19202272>

³⁴ Full testimony and video of the Hearing available here: <http://foreign.senate.gov/hearings/hearing/?id=673071c8-9c31-1adf-c848-9eef0ff7ca92>

be credible.” Many would also argue to be credible we must be willing to air the views of those who do not always agree with us.

The other group of critics charges that, what they perceive to be, the very one-sided nature of such services will limit the ability of U.S. broadcasting to gain larger audiences as only those already pre-disposed against a regime will tune in. This is a classic issue faced by surrogate broadcasting efforts. Such services are used when a government restricts freedom of the media. Any government that does this most often represses its citizens in other ways; thus, any such government is unlikely to have many praiseworthy qualities. However, some say, if U.S. broadcasting only focuses on the negative audiences often tire of this “Johnny-one-note” approach and turn to other sources instead. Hence the conundrum, how to inform listeners *and* ensure they will keep listening.

While Farda’s almost-half music/entertainment format would seem to suggest the opposite, when asked to provide examples of stories that would refute this “preaching to the choir” format, Committee staff were provided with the example of Farda’s coverage of a recent Tehran film festival – where the story’s focus was not on the films being shown, but the films that had been banned by the government.³⁵

Working for a U.S. broadcasting entity is not without its risks. In February 2010 Iran arrested 7 Iranian journalists on suspicion of working for a “counter-revolutionary Zionist satellite station.”³⁶ In fact, of those arrested, most had only interviewed with RFE/RL and had not even been offered a job. However, because those interviews had been conducted outside Iran in countries thought to be “safe,” the arrests sent a chill down Radio Farda’s collective spine as it became clear that Iranian authorities had been able to access either Farda’s Internet or phone service. RFE/RL has taken steps to address these issues, but no doubt the Tehran government will not stop its efforts to infiltrate or hack into U.S. broadcasters.

As part of its FY2011 budget submission, the BBG is proposing, “given shifting media consumption towards television and the Internet” ending radio simulcasts/rebroadcasts of PNN television programming and one hour daily of original VOA Persian radio, for a savings of some \$1 million. As of May 2010, both PNN and Radio Farda seem to be using social media more effectively than other Persian-language sites.

³⁵ To broaden its audience appeal, Farda launched at the end of May 2010 a satirical radio program “Pas Farda” (“The Day After Tomorrow”) from Prague that will run Saturday-Wednesday (10pm-11pm) and be hosted by a former Iranian radio personality who ran afoul of the authorities some three years ago for a similar program. “Pas Farda” has been likened to a “radio version of the Daily Show.” RFE/RL hopes the popular host – Farshid Manafi – will pull in larger audiences.

³⁶ See “Iran widens journalist crackdown before demonstrations” in <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2010/0210/Iran-widens-journalist-crackdown-before-demonstrations>

Persian Language Sites

	Facebook (Friends or People Like This)	Twitter (Followers)	YouTube (Channel Views)	YouTube (Uploaded Video Views)	Main website
America.gov	24	59	9,692	318,108	http://www.america.gov/persian/
Voice of America (PNN)	9,204	6,282	499,319	3,029,760	http://www1.voanews.com/persian/
BBC News	N/A	3,758	129,849	588,384	http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/
RFE (Radio Farda)	29,716	2,672	N/A	N/A	http://www.radiofarda.com/
IRNA (Iranian State News)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	http://www.irna.com/

China – Ever Expanding, and now in the USA

While the biggest news regarding China in 2010 was the January attack on Google’s China-based operations and Google’s eventual decision to relocate its operations to Hong Kong rather than abide by Beijing’s Internet restrictions,³⁷ China continued its PD outreach activities apace.

China’s ever-expanding PD efforts have deservedly garnered increasing attention. Many point to the 2008 Summer Olympics as the catalyst for Beijing’s efforts. Having spent some \$44 Billion for three weeks of worldwide coverage, China is now spending over \$50 Billion for six months worth of attention at the 2010 Shanghai World Expo.³⁸

China’s push for greater engagement was also made clear by its recent licensing of an AM radio station in Galveston Texas, to broadcast China Radio International. The United States,

³⁷ <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/19/technology/19china.html?ref=world>. Secretary of State Clinton’s assertion that China restricts the Internet access of its citizens and her call for a full Chinese investigation into the attack on Google during her January 21, 2010 speech on Internet Freedom in Washington, DC (<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/01/135519.htm>) met with a harsh rebuke from the Chinese Foreign Ministry which urged the United States to “respect facts and stop attacking China under the excuse of the so-called freedom of Internet.” See: <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/xwfw/s2510/t653351.htm>. A similar charge by the MFA was leveled at the U.S. following the President’s May 2, 2010 Statement on World Press Freedom Day which stated “...governments like China, Ethiopia, Iran and Venezuela curtailed freedom of expression by limiting full access to and use of” the Internet; <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/statement-president-world-press-freedom-day> to which the Chinese MFA retorted. “We urge the U.S. to respect the facts, view China’s press freedom correctly and stop groundless accusations against China,” http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2010-05/07/c_13282468.htm

³⁸ The 2010 Shanghai Expo, and its implications and impact of such expos on U.S. Public Diplomacy and how the United States approaches them, will be the subject of a separate Committee report.

on the other hand, has never been given a license to broadcast from within China. As noted in the *Washington Post* article which broke this story, the Chinese government-run news agency Xinhua is also in the process of moving its American headquarters to a massive office in Times Square in New York.³⁹ According to the State Department's Foreign Press Center in Washington, there are over 160 Chinese journalists in the United States with some 75 working for Xinhua.⁴⁰ By contrast, according the State Department, there are approximately 120 American journalists currently in China, yet, of those, the Voice of America has only been issued visas for only *two* full-time correspondents in China, based in Beijing.⁴¹ Recent attempts by VOA to open a bureau in Shanghai have been blocked as the Chinese Foreign Ministry has refused for over a year to issue any visas for this effort. Xinhua has bureaus registered in Washington, DC, New York and Los Angeles.

The Voice of America's 65 hours/week broadcasts in Mandarin and 14 hours/week in Cantonese is supplemented with an hour/day of TV in Mandarin and 30 minutes/day in Cantonese that is a simulcast with radio. There is also a once-a-week, 30 minute TV program titled Cultural Odyssey which highlights US culture and heritage.

Additionally, Radio Free Asia broadcasts 12 hours/day in Mandarin over SW and satellite radio, 2 hours/day in Cantonese, 10 hours/day in Tibetan and 2 hours/day in Uyghur. Each language has its own website as well as RSS feed, podcast, YouTube channel, Facebook page, Twitter account, mobile site and numerous in-country alias blog accounts.⁴² RFA has never been

³⁹ See "From China's Mouth to Texans' Ears: Outreach Includes Small Station in Galveston" http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/04/24/AR2010042402492_pf.html

⁴⁰ A list of all the Chinese media outlets registered at the Foreign Press Center is located in **Appendix F** of this report; however, because foreign journalists are not *required* to register at the FPC, the 160 figure is likely lower than the total.

⁴¹ In contrast, the State Department has issued some 2,900 "I" visas in the past four years:

Fiscal year 2010	389 (as of May 4, 2010)
Fiscal year 2009	783
Fiscal year 2008	848
Fiscal year 2007	845

The definition of an "I" visa recipient is fairly broad, and includes foreign nationals working for U.S. media companies as well as those engaged in news and documentary production staff, the vast disparity in numbers is simply staggering; full details of "I" visas: http://travel.state.gov/visa/temp/types/types_1276.html. A request for similar information from the Chinese Embassy in Washington was not answered.

⁴² <http://www.rfa.org/english/>

allowed to have a bureau inside China, and visas for RFA coverage of numerous news events in China are routinely denied.

RFA, in particular, has been subjected to hostile Internet attacks long pre-dating Google's public protest of Chinese cyber-hacking tactics,⁴³ whether having its sites blocked or its servers hacked into.⁴⁴ (As a result, the BBG has been one of the leaders in the use and development of "Internet censorship circumvention" technology that enables users to access its sites through so-called "proxy servers" that benefit not only RFA and VOA/Mandarin but RFE/RL and VOA's Persian language services.) The Chinese government pays close attention to these proxies as well, often blocking them on a daily basis. The BBG's Engineering Office works equally hard to ensure new proxies are created.

As such, RFA's websites clearly display a "Getting Around Internet Blockage" button on the first page of each of its language pages.⁴⁵ RFA reports that China is not alone in its attempt to keep its citizens from accessing RFA's sites, though China is by far the most aggressive.⁴⁶ According to RFA officials, other nations with aggressive Internet blockage include Vietnam and Burma.

There are approximately 760 million mobile device users in China, representing more than 80% market penetration among Chinese adults. While this would suggest an enormous potential audience to receive SMS/text messages, these devices are operated by three major government-controlled or owned Mobile phone network companies, China Mobile, China Unicom and China Telecom. RFA is not actively pursuing SMS transmissions in China in part because the content would easily be subject to blocking, monitoring, recording and censoring. RFA has considered having a self-selecting "risk-taking" group for SMS messages, but determined that it would be cost-prohibitive at this time. In contrast, the proliferation of 3G and

⁴³ See *New York Times* article <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/29/technology/29spy.html> "[Chinese] sleuthing opened a window into a broader operation that, in less than two years has infiltrated at least 1,205 computers in 103 countries, including many belonging to embassies, foreign ministries and other government offices..." also see Reuters: <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE5AI5UZ20091120> . "The amount of 'malicious' [computer] activities against the United States increased in 2008 and is rising sharply this year," ...adding "Much of this activity appears to originate in China."

⁴⁴ VOA's Mandarin service reports similar attacks, although not on the same scale or scope as RFA.

⁴⁵ The English version can be found here: http://www.rfa.org/english/about/help/web_access.html which lists such proxies as Freerate, Fire Phoenix, Freenet, Garden Networks, Ultrasurf and Garden Networks as well as "Green Tsunami" developed expressly to get around the Chinese government's Green Dam firewall.

⁴⁶ See the April 22, 2010 RFA interview with Professor Sun Wenguang on the virtual shutdown of Internet access to the Uyghur homeland of Xinjiang province in western China: <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/Internet-04222010123829.html?searchterm=None>

4G capable mobile devices and mobile proxy capabilities, with the capacity to have users share videos and MP3 files, represents a major area of RFA expansion.

As shown below, both RFA's Mandarin and VOA's YouTube outreach seem to be achieving considerable effect in spite of routinely being blocked (albeit relative success, given a country of one billion). Because of China's sophisticated Internet filtering system, Radio Free Asia engages online audiences inside the "Great Firewall" through proactive blogging and online outreach, making use of a diverse range of alias accounts on domestic microblogging platforms, and social networking Web sites within the Great Firewall. For example, according to RFA officials, on any given day, RFA's Mandarin and Cantonese services can have over two dozen alias blogs running with an average of 1,300 interactive followers, who both use RFA content and provide source material.

Chinese Language Sites

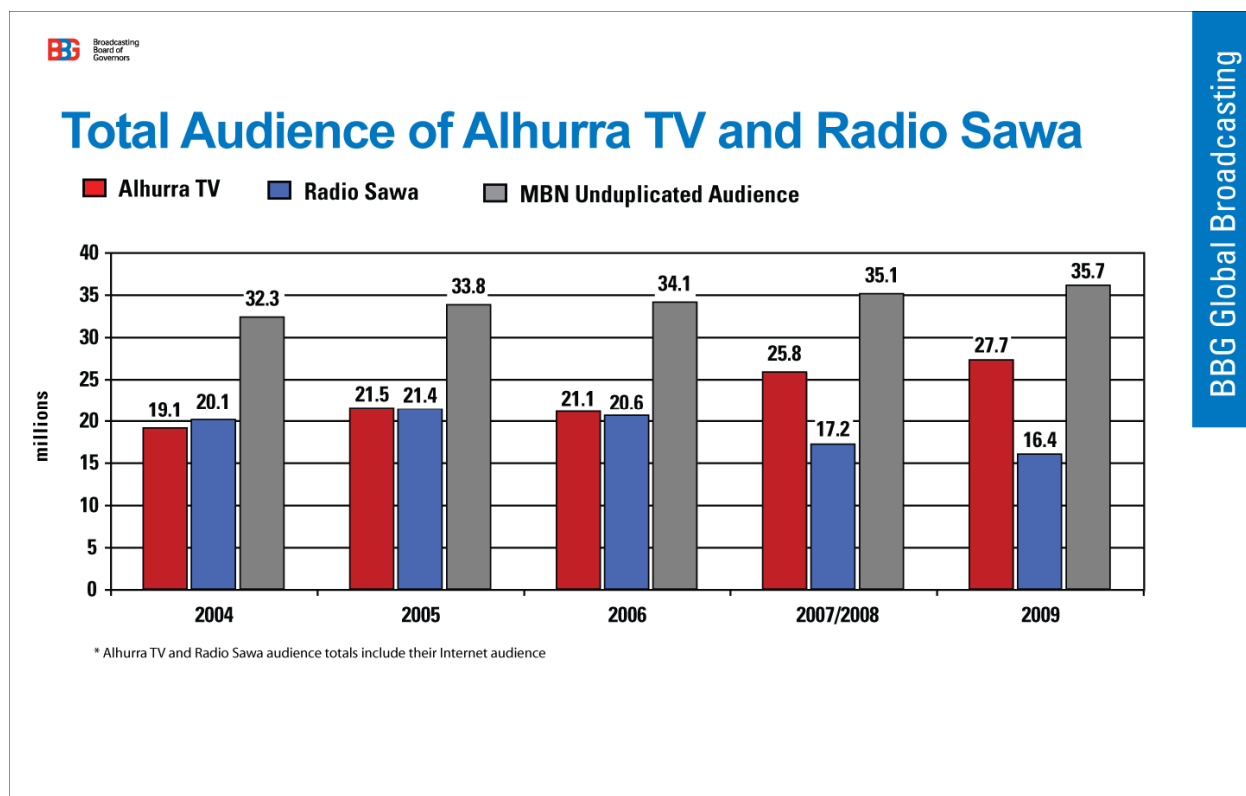
	Facebook (Friends or People Like This)	Twitter (Followers)	YouTube (Channel Views)	YouTube (Uploaded Video Views)	Main website
Ameica.gov	265	5,634	3,864	1,170	http://www.america.gov/mgck/
Voice of America	1,072	3,975	263,129	1,154,393	http://www1.voanews.com/chinese/
BBC News	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	http://www.bbc.co.uk/zhongwen/
RFA (Cantonese)	N/A	386	N/A	507,715	http://www.rfa.org/cantonese/
RFA (Mandarin) ⁴⁷	5,967	11,968	20,604	1,785,619	http://www.rfa.org/mandarin/
Xinhua	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	http://www.xinhuanet.com/

Alhurra TV/Radio Sawa – Finding and Keeping an audience

One of the key PD products coming out of the BBG following 9/11 was a determined focus on the Arabic-speaking world. VOA's Arabic service was closed with that funding being used, plus substantial new monies from Congress, to create distinct Arabic-language radio and television surrogates for the region. As the most recent BBG commissioned research below suggests, there is both good news and bad news for US government broadcasting efforts in the

⁴⁷ RFA Social media numbers were compiled by RFA staff who accessed their numerous proxy sites to collate the final numbers.

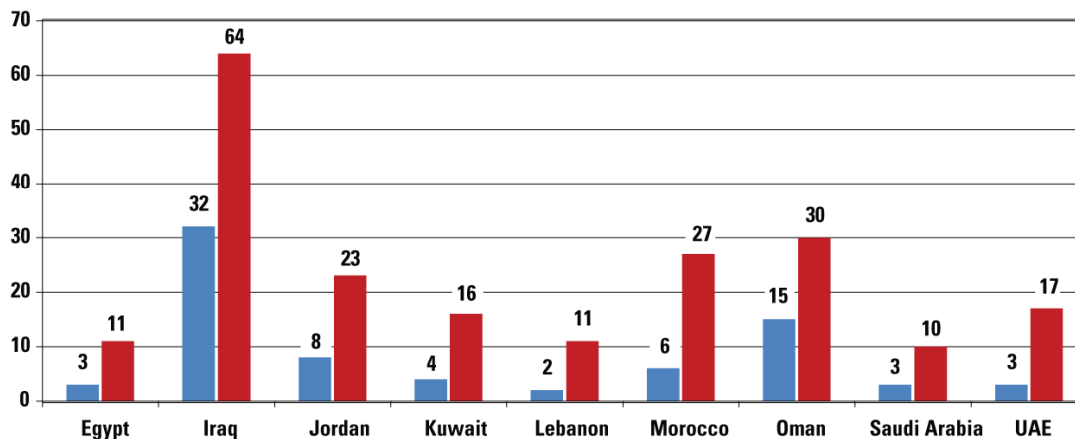
Middle East. Alhurra TV – launched in 2004– viewership seems to be on the rise, but it is difficult to compare this viewership with total audience viewership as the explosion of channels available in the Arabic world.⁴⁸



⁴⁸ For a spirited defense of the creation of Alhurra, and the need to curtail VOA's Short Wave English service, see former BBG Chairman Ken Tomlinson's 2007 article in Arab Media and Society: http://www.arabmediasociety.com/articles/downloads/20070514205552_AMS2_Kenneth_Y_Tomlinson.pdf; a lengthy analysis of Alhurra can be found here: <http://www.propublica.org/feature/alhurra-middle-east-hearts-and-minds-622>, and here: <http://sites.maxwell.syr.edu/luce/snow.html> for another perspective.

Daily and Weekly Viewership of Alhurra

Base: All respondents. Percentage of adults watching. ■ Yesterday ■ Past Week

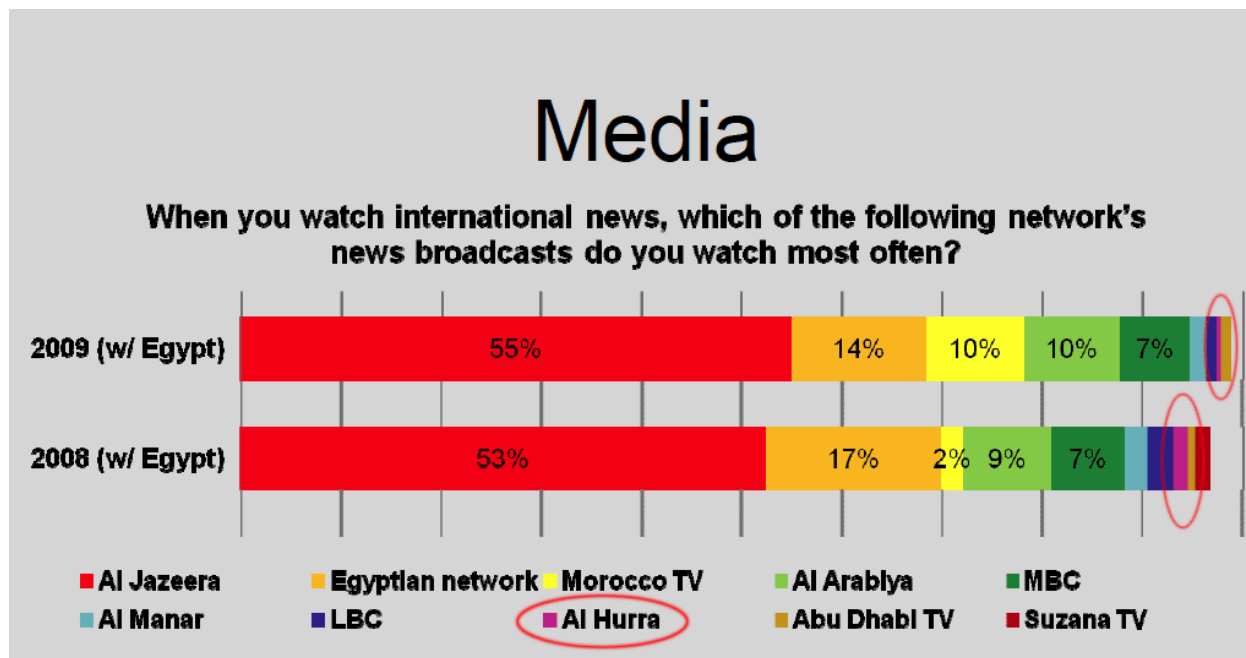


Alhurra TV and Radio Sawa Weekly Audiences by Country

Country	Alhurra Weekly Audience	Radio Sawa Weekly Audience	Internet Weekly Audience	Combined Unduplicated Weekly Audience
Algeria	410,607	54,748	7,821	449,712
Bahrain	168,192	134,320	na	261,632
Egypt	5,458,758	3,491,638	98,356	7,917,658
Iraq*	9,601,976	4,095,731	1,034,548	11,242,315
Jordan	822,339	761,292	17,955	1,296,351
Kuwait	165,726	318,153	4,092	391,809
Lebanon	307,476	233,454	8,541	483,990
Morocco	2,662,318	2,980,206	218,548	4,539,848
Oman	557,452	31,484	64,820	609,308
Qatar	444,213	489,258	na	598,059
Saudi Arabia	1,077,565	313,854	41,847	1,318,186
Syria	5,134,038	2,736,273	na	5,745,233
Tunisia	596,292	15,096	na	611,388
UAE	104,622	238,440	8,516	270,678
Total Audience	27,511,573	15,893,947	1,505,044	35,736,168

*NOTE: The Iraq estimates were adjusted to include audiences in five provinces (based on data collected in Sep 2007) that were excluded from the Nov 2008 survey.

President Obama's decision to give his first interview on an Arabic station was not to Alhurra, but to one of its rivals, Al Arabiya, was brutally symbolic and not unnoticed in the blogosphere.⁴⁹ An outside study from 2009 suggests that Alhurra is simply marginalized.⁵⁰



A 2008 study of Alhurra commissioned by the BBG and conducted throughout the Middle East by the University of Southern California's Annenberg Center on Public Diplomacy, concluded the station's lack of popularity among Arab viewers stemmed from a lack of credibility due to:

- Lacked news and programming that distinguished it from other state-funded broadcasts
- Had weak journalistic skills, particularly technical, but also little balance in story reporting

⁴⁹ http://lynch.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/01/27/obama_on_al_arabiya; MBN officials note that in the first five months of 2010 alone Secretary of State Clinton has been on Alhurra as have a multitude of State Department, Department of Defense and National Security Council officials as well as four U.S. Senators and nine Representatives.

⁵⁰ From the 2009 University of Maryland and Zogby International poll of some 4,000 respondents, the slides of which can be found here: http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/events/2009/0519_arab_opinion/2009_arab_public_opinion_poll.pdf. The BBG disputes the Zogby poll results and contends that viewer habits of watching multiple channels negate Zogby's findings. The BBG contends that Alhurra places in the top 20 in 14 major markets and is #21 in Saudi Arabia.

- A perception as biased towards Western slants, with six times more likely to be critical of the Arab perspective than of the Western viewpoint⁵¹

This has led to the perception of many in the region of Alhurra as nothing more than a propaganda tool of the United States rather than a go-to source for news and information.⁵² The fact that Alhurra is headquartered Springfield, VA, not in the region it covers, reinforces this perception.⁵³ The lone Alhurra studio located outside the U.S., in Dubai, U.A.E., is unmarked, even though it is located in a building filled with other Arabic channels.

With a budget of some \$90 million, many critics of Alhurra say that continued funding will be wasted. They compare Al Jazeera's Arabic budget of some \$100 million (recently increased to some \$140 million with the advent of Al Jazeera English)⁵⁴ with Al Jazeera's market dominance.

⁵¹ <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/media/AlHurraReport.pdf>

⁵² The BBG disputes many of these claims in its own evaluation of Alhurra (http://www.bbg.gov/reports/others/Alhurra-Sawa_Research_Data_June20-2.pdf) which suggested that, based on, "weekly audiences" and "Percent of adults viewing at least once in seven days" a much different picture. Another analysis commissioned by the BBG conducted by the Missouri School of Journalism, based on English translations of Alhurra broadcasts concluded, "Alhurra TV does most things right most of the time," but then proceeded to note that "individual stories often lacked sufficient balance and thus could be perceived as delivering a biased message." See: <http://www.bbg.gov/reports/others/missourireport.pdf>

⁵³ For a spirited defense of the creation of Alhurra, and the need to curtail VOA's Short Wave English service, see former BBG Chairman Ken Tomlinson's 2007 article in Arab Media and Society: http://www.arabmediasociety.com/articles/downloads/20070514205552_AMS2_Kenneth_Y_Tomlinson.pdf; a lengthy analysis of Alhurra can be found here: <http://www.propublica.org/feature/alhurra-middle-east-hearts-and-minds-622>

⁵⁴ Figures based on interviews with Arabic media experts. Al Jazeera budget figures are not publicly available and request from the channel for such information were not responded to. BBG officials believe the figure is closer to \$400 million.

**MBN Budget
(\$ in millions)**

	FY 2009	FY 2010	FY 2011
Alhurra	92.0	87.3	90.9
Radio Sawa	10.4	11.5	11.5
New Media/ Internet	1.6	2.2	2.2
Program Support/ Admin	10.7	12.3	12.8
Total	114.7	113.3	117.5

To address some of these issues, in March 2009, Alhurra began airing what it views as the first-of-its-kind show in the region - Al Youm (Arabic for “Today”).⁵⁵ Al Youm is a daily, live three-hour news show, Sunday through Thursday, modeled very much on its American namesake, that seeks to present the news in a more relaxed, conversational environment. Al Youm broadcasts from a professional, modern studio in Dubai (photos below). Al Youm is linked to MBN journalists based in studios in Cairo, Beirut, Jerusalem, and MBN headquarters in the U.S. from where they are projected onto a screen in the Dubai studio to interact with the hosts.⁵⁶ While such a program no doubt has its merit in providing the station with a valuable product, Al Youm’s impact on Alhurra’s viewership have not yet been captured in polling. Additionally, in conversations with Al Youm broadcasters concern was expressed regarding their journalistic independence. Committee staff heard of incidents in which some of the broadcasters were told to “stay on message” when guests would go off-tangent with their comments, “as if they didn’t trust us to handle the situation as professional journalists.”

⁵⁵ Alhurra’s weekly schedule can be found in [Appendix G](#).

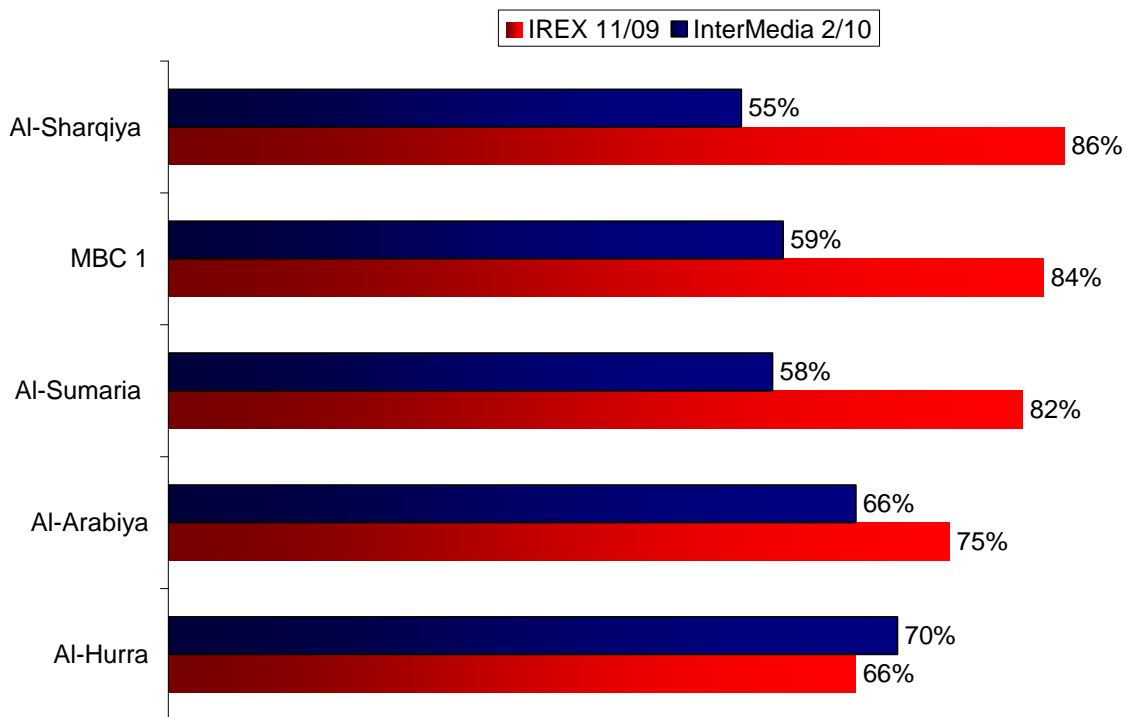
⁵⁶ The impact of Al Youm on Alhurra’s viewership has, according to the BBG, not yet been measured and is not reflected in the earlier slides.



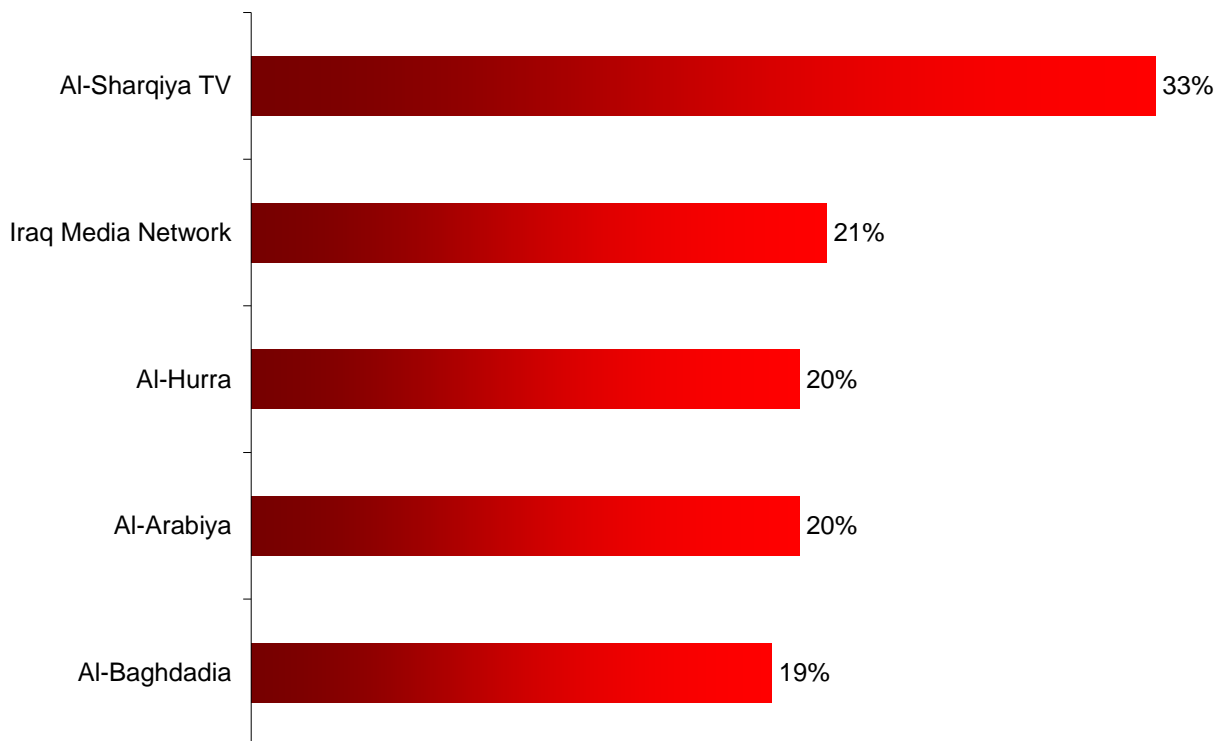
Al Hurra's *Al Youm* Studio in Dubai

As the 2009 BBG slide above on “Audiences By Country” noted, Iraq is the one bright spot for Alhurra. A May 2010 poll of 3,000 individuals from 18 provinces commissioned by the BBG suggests that Alhurra is indeed an important part of Iraqi life, with Alhurra now number one in terms of Stations Most Watched in the Last Week. The same poll also showed that Iraqis do not trust *any* broadcaster in a particular, with Alhurra number three.

**Top 5 TV Stations Watched In The Last Week
National**



Top 5 Trusted TV Stations In Iraq



In addition to Alhurra's viewership, equally troubling is the reduction in listenership of Radio Sawa's audience noted in the BBG's earlier chart. Radio Sawa was revolutionary (and even considered heretical by some) when it first came on the air in March 2002. The Board of Broadcasting Governors decided that in order to reach the largest demographic in the Arabic market, the "under 35" group that comprises more than half the population, a break in the traditional Voice of America format was necessary. Thus, under the direction of then-BBG Board Member Norman Pattiz – founder of Westwood One, the largest radio network in the United States – Sawa focused on gaining market share through American and Arabic pop music – at the expense of VOA's Arabic service, which was terminated.⁵⁷ News is given in short 5-10 minute segments twice an hour (at 00:15 and 00:45) for a total of 7.5 hours of news a day, with the rest of the time devoted to music, both local and international hits.⁵⁸ The creation of Sawa is

⁵⁷ Critics of SAWA claim it "dumbs down" the news and creates more problems than it solves (http://arabmediasociety.sqgd.co.uk/articles/downloads/20070514203154_AMS2_Laurie_Kassman.pdf); while others point out that, prior to SAWA, 98% of listeners in the Middle East had never heard of the Voice of America (<http://www.afsa.org/fsj/nov02/radio.pdf>).

⁵⁸ To see a full list of Sawa station and to listen to it live over the Internet visit: <http://www.radiosawa.com/english.aspx>.

a prime example of the value and impact the Board plays in the formulation and development of U.S. broadcasting policy.

Sawa's website, Twitter feed, and Facebook, meanwhile, keep its tech-savvy audience connected. Nonetheless, there is no avoiding the fact that SAWA's audience numbers have declined over time. This is in spite of the fact that SAWA's FM reach is impressive: every major metropolitan area from Rabat and Marrakech in Morocco to Khartoum, Sudan to Baghdad and Kirkuk in Iraq. (However, there is no FM coverage in Cairo, the most populous city in the Arab world, as the Mubarak government prohibits *any* foreign-owned radio, forcing Sawa to reach Egypt, primarily Alexandria in the north, from Cyprus via an AM signal.) Some argue the audience decline is due in part because of its success, as other Arabic stations have also begun to test and cater to listeners' musical tastes and offer the latest Western and regional releases.

A May 2010 analysis of Arabic- language U.S., commercial and other foreign, state-owned broadcast organizations suggests that Sawa's use of Facebook far outpaces the other major players.⁵⁹

Arabic Language Sites

	Facebook (Friends or People Like This)	Twitter (Followers)	YouTube (Channel Views)	YouTube (Uploaded Video Views)	Main website
America.gov State Dept. Video Channel	247	78	N/A	N/A	http://www.america.gov/ar/
CNN	8,296	671	N/A	N/A	http://arabic.cnn.com/
BBC News	1,777	2,820	57,770	1,503,182	http://www.bbc.co.uk/arabic/
Alhurra News	5,859	744	56,474	721,473	http://www.alhurra.com/
Al Jazeera	N/A	4,534	N/A	N/A	http://www.aljazeera.net/portal
France 24	2,846	N/A	N/A	N/A	http://www.france24.com/ar/
IRNA (Iran)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	http://www.irna.ir/ar/
Radio Sawa	10,432	306	N/A	N/A	http://www.radiosawa.com/
Russia Today	1,479	273	253,971	6,793,355	http://arabic.rt.com/
Xinhua	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	http://arabic.news.cn/index.htm

⁵⁹ Recent research suggests Internet usage in the Arabic world is 17%, or some 56 million, see: http://www.khaleejtimes.com/DisplayArticleNew.asp?xfile=/data/opinion/2010/May/opinion_May132.xml§ion=opinion

Marketing – a Necessary Component and Cost to Reach New Audiences

The Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty are long established and their names well-recognized throughout the world. However, the proliferation of new services and stations, particularly in Iran, Afghanistan and the crowded media markets of the Middle East requires spending on advertising and promotion. For example, the following major satellite services cover all or portions of the Middle East, North Africa, and parts of South Asia, with many services overlapping and many households accessing multiple systems:

- Arabsat - 430 channels (carries Alhurra TV)⁶⁰
- Nilesat - 470 channels (carries Alhurra TV)
- AtlanticBird – 280 channels with 50 Subscription channels
- DigitalSkys – 50 channels with 180 Subscription channels
- Hotbird 6 -- 225 channels with 110 Subscription channels
- Hotbird 9 – 87 channels with 260 Subscription channels

Many believe that appropriated funds for broadcasting should go to just that – broadcasting – and not be spent on advertising and promotion, but this is simply not realistic in today’s saturated media environment. While there was recently a significant increase in spending, according to the BBG’s FY2011 budget submission, Marketing and Program Placement will be cut by some \$314,000.⁶¹

FY 2009	\$3,307,000
FY 2010	\$5,392,000
FY 2011	\$5,078,000

Middle East Broadcasting has seen its marketing budget for Alhurra TV and Radio Sawa fluctuate wildly:

FY2005	\$6,000
FY2006	\$4,000

⁶⁰ See [Appendix H](#) for a map of satellite systems used by the BBG.

⁶¹ See p. 86 <http://www.bbg.gov/reports/documents/BBGFY2011CONGBudgetSubmission-ForInternetPost.pdf>

FY2007	\$104,000
FY 2008	\$5,000
FY2009	\$1,250,000
FY2010	\$512,000
FY2011 (req.)	\$521, 000

In the meantime, Radio Free Asia’s marketing budget has never exceeded \$7,000 in spite of the “billion plus” audience it is tasked with trying to reach. Radio Free Europe’s budget topped \$1 million for the first time in 2010, having averaged some \$850,000 for 2005-2009, providing far greater consistency.⁶²

Regardless of their funding levels, each entity has established creative methods of promotion and marketing. RFE’s Radio Azadi promotional efforts in Afghanistan have included distribution of radios with their logo and station number, billboards and the co-sponsorship of the Afghan Presidential debates (along with RTA – Radio and Television Afghanistan). RFE’s Azerbaijan service has, in essence, gone back to the future by publishing a weekly newspaper that is distributed for free at subway stations; while its Belarus service publishes books and CDs of authors and poets who have been banned by the government. RFA has used its limited marketing resources to target the impoverished and information-starved northwestern Cambodia with school notebooks, raincoats, t-shirts, hats and radios with their logo, listening times and frequencies.⁶³

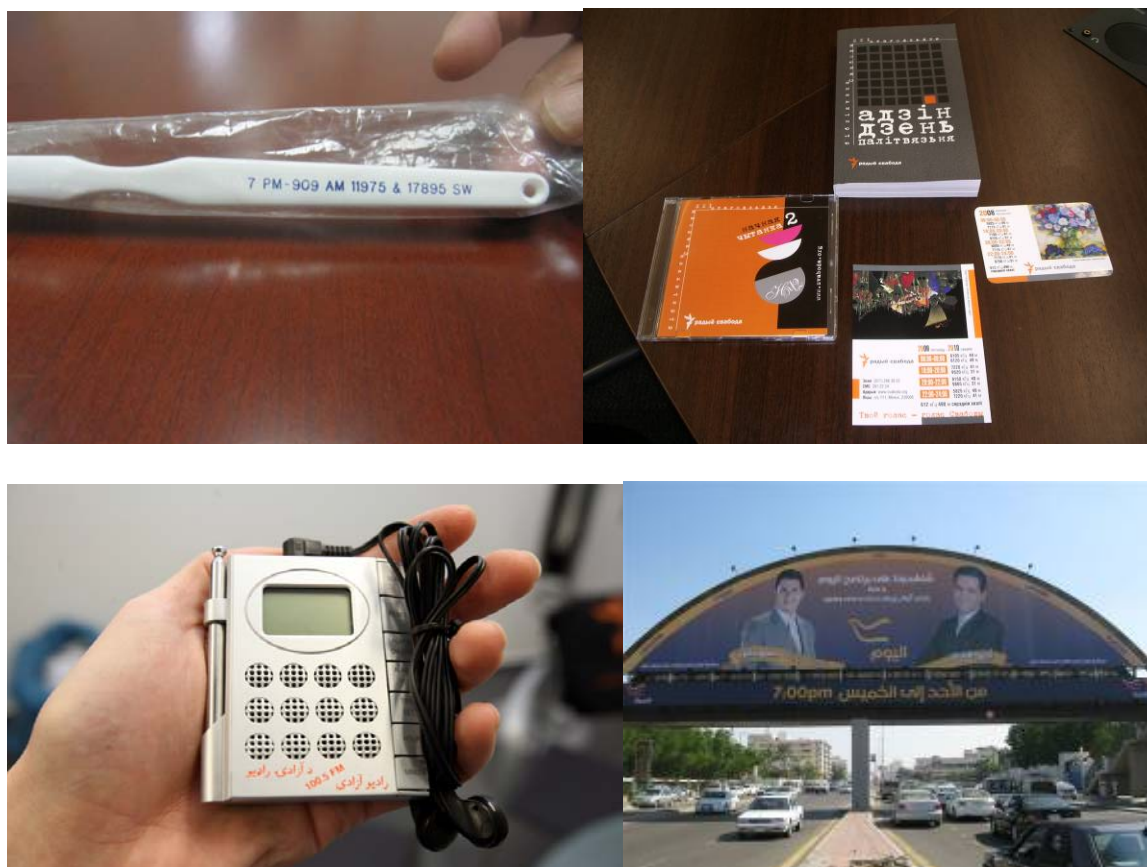


⁶² MBN, RFA and RFE budget figures provided by BBG.

⁶³ RFA has reported anecdotally that the regimes themselves, through government officials or state-controlled media attacks, drive audiences to its content.

Presidential Debate in Afghanistan Moderated by Akbar Ayazi, Director of RFE/RL's Radio Azadi (with RFE/RL's Torch logo interspersed between RTA's in background)

VOA's Zimbabwe service had perhaps one of the most creative marketing tools in that repressive society – times and frequencies were printed on tooth brushes and handed out, thus providing both a much needed commodity in that improvised country as well as needed information in an easily concealed from President Mugabe's regime.



BBG Marketing and Promotion: VOA's Zimbabwe toothbrush, RFE/RL's Belarusian poetry publications, RFE/RL's radio, Al Hurra's billboard in Jeddah

The Competition – Broadcasting Throughout the USA

American consumers have also seen an explosion in the number of television and satellite and terrestrial radio stations available to them, and foreign governments have not hesitated to enter the market. British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) television is available in almost every major market, and BBC radio recently crowed about its U.S. audience increasing by 600,000.⁶⁴ Russia Today's English news is now available on cable services in New York City, Los Angeles

⁶⁴ BBC May 24, 2010 press release

http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2010/05_may/24/wsnews.shtml

and Washington, DC.⁶⁵ China's largest media corporation, Xinhua announced at the end of April 2010, that it is launching a 24-hour English news channel, and its CCTV is already available in major markets (and as noted earlier has begun to broadcast its radio from inside the United States).⁶⁶ France 24's 30 minute newscasts are carried on U.S. affiliates in more than 15 states from California to Virginia, and Germany's Deutsche Welle English news is carried on Time Warner, Verizon FIOS and Comcast services.⁶⁷ Al Jazeera English is one of the few having difficulty gaining access to U.S. markets, with only a handful of cable companies carrying it.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, as noted in the May 2010 analysis below, while not all the Channel Views and Video Uploads occur in the United States, it is clear that Al Jazeera English is a major player in this area.

	Facebook (Friends or People Like This)	Twitter (Followers)	YouTube (Channel Views)	YouTube (Uploaded Video Views)	Main website
English Language Sites					
America.gov	116,033	5,297	75,280	315,070	http://www.america.gov/
Voice of America Co.Nx (DOS Webchat site on Facebook)	6,735	5,425	377,520	5,889,881	http://www1.voanews.com/
Radio Free Europe	1,600	315	9,726	314,664	http://www.rferl.org/
Radio Free Asia	1,154	1,203	185,557	5,980,328	http://www.rfa.org/english/
BBC News	60,426	N/A	N/A	N/A	http://news.bbc.co.uk/
Russia Today	2,986	962	2,384,554	103,864,059	http://rt.com/
Deutsche Welle	6,700	N/A	200,000	3,000,000	http://www.dw-world.de/
France 24	7,294	1,685	290,378	11,249,456	http://www.france24.com/en/
Al Jazeera	69,589	27,064	6,644,116	148,256,354	http://english.aljazeera.net/
Xinhua	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	http://english.news.cn/
Alhurra	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	http://www.alhurra.com/index.aspx
IRNA (Iran)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	http://www.irna.ir/En/

⁶⁵ <http://rt.com/USA.html> ; New York on channel. 135 (Time Warner), in Los Angeles on ch. 236 (Time Warner) and in the Washington, DC area on ch. 274 (Comcast), ch. 34 (RCN), ch. 455 (Fios), ch. 474 (Cox).

⁶⁶ http://www.usatoday.com/money/media/2010-04-30-china-english-tv_N.htm

⁶⁷ <http://www.france24.com/en/how-to-watch-on-tv>; <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,1830857,00.html>

⁶⁸ Buckeye Cable (Toledo, OH), Burlington Cable (Burlington, VT), GlobeCast World TV Link TV (Direct TV, Channel - 375/Dish Network, Channel - 9410), Washington Cable (Washington, DC), MHz Networks (Washington, DC); see <http://english.aljazeera.net/watchaje/20091022172112636517.html> for their locations world-wide.

BBC noted in May 2010 that it “...lost 20 million shortwave listeners during the year, reflecting the increasing global decline in the medium.”⁷²

Nonetheless, Radio Free Asia is almost completely dependent on shortwave as most nations it seeks to reach have refused to broadcast any RFA transmissions from within their borders.⁷³ Additionally, in January 2010 RFE/RL launched Radio “Mashaal” (“Torch”) – which, in addition to AM, is a shortwave station (beaming into the area on SW from Kuwait, Thailand and Sri Lanka) reaching the Pashto-speaking tribes that straddle the Afghanistan/Pakistan border. Mashaal currently broadcasts 6 original hours/day (which are then repeated).⁷⁴ Mashaal also shares the same AM frequency with VOA’s Radio “Deewa” (“Light”) which broadcasts the rest of the day. Deewa and Mashaal are transmitted from a station in Afghanistan located near the border with Pakistan. Opening the station was a contentious issue which took years to resolve. A similar arrangement with the Pakistani government, to allow broadcasts from Peshawar in order to ensure maximum border coverage, was equally difficult and resulted in them broadcasting VOA’s Deewa in AM for only two only months (Mashaal was not yet on the air). Some say the closure was due to Taliban threats to the station, others because the government rescinded the license.⁷⁵

Africa is still a major region for shortwave due to vast distances and high cost of repeater towers. In 2009, the BBG estimated that, in fact, Africa is its largest single audience by region, based on the percentage of total unduplicated weekly audience among adults.⁷⁶

Africa	29%
MidEast/N.Africa	21%
West Asia	16%
South Asia	10%
Former Soviet	7 %
South East Asia	5%
Balkans	4%

⁷² The BBC estimated it lost 7 million shortwave listeners in Bangladesh and 8.2 million listeners in India, while noting the aforementioned increased of 600,000, but also some 1.4 million in Tanzania, both as a result of FM or AM broadcasts. http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2010/05_may/24/wsnews.shtml

⁷³ Cambodia is the one exception, which has allowed RFA an internal, FM frequency.

⁷⁴ Because of the heavily mountainous terrain Mashaal uses SW, AM and FM to ensure maximum coverage.

⁷⁵ <http://kimelli.nfshost.com/index.php?id=7964>; <http://kimelli.nfshost.com/index.php?id=8304>

⁷⁶ Percentages taken from a 2009 BBG Congressional presentation.

East Asia	3%
Caucuses	2%
Central Asia	2%
Latin America	1%

These numbers are particularly staggering given that Africa has no U.S. surrogate dedicated to it, and has virtually no BBG TV programming, along with very low Internet penetration. The power of VOA radio in Africa is therefore enormous.⁷⁷

Long-time supporters of radio as an instrument of U.S. Public Diplomacy decry recent BBG decisions to cut VOA's long-established business and financial programs as well as sports reporting and even summaries of the weather. They feel that such programs enhanced our radio's people-to-people perspective and created listener loyalty.

As the broadcast charts located in the Index demonstrate, the BBG is still heavily reliant on shortwave in various regions throughout the globe. Africa in particular is a major region for shortwave due to vast distances and high cost of repeater towers. The BBG provided the following information regarding its shortwave operations.

U. S. Shortwave stations closed in the last 25 years

<u>Location</u>	<u>Year Closed</u>
Dixon, California	1988
Bethany, Ohio	1994
Delano, California	2007
Greenville, NC	2010 (proposed)

Current BBG Shortwave Transmission Stations

Tinang, Philippines
 Saipan, Northern Marianas
 Udorn, Thailand

⁷⁷ In 2010 VOA announce it would use its Horn of Africa service to broadcast live coverage from Ethiopia the night of the May 23 parliamentary elections on shortwave, but also cautioned that the Ethiopian authorities were continuing to try to jam VOA's transmission to the country, particularly the majority-speaking Amharic dialect broadcasts. In order to combat the jamming VOA transmits on multiple SW frequencies in hopes that one or two may get through. See: <http://author.voanews.com/english/about/2010-05-19-ethiopia-election.cfm>

Biblis, Germany
 Iranawila, Sri Lanka
 Lampertheim, Germany
 Kuwait
 Greenville, North Carolina
 Tinian, Northern Marianas
 Sao Tome
 Botswana

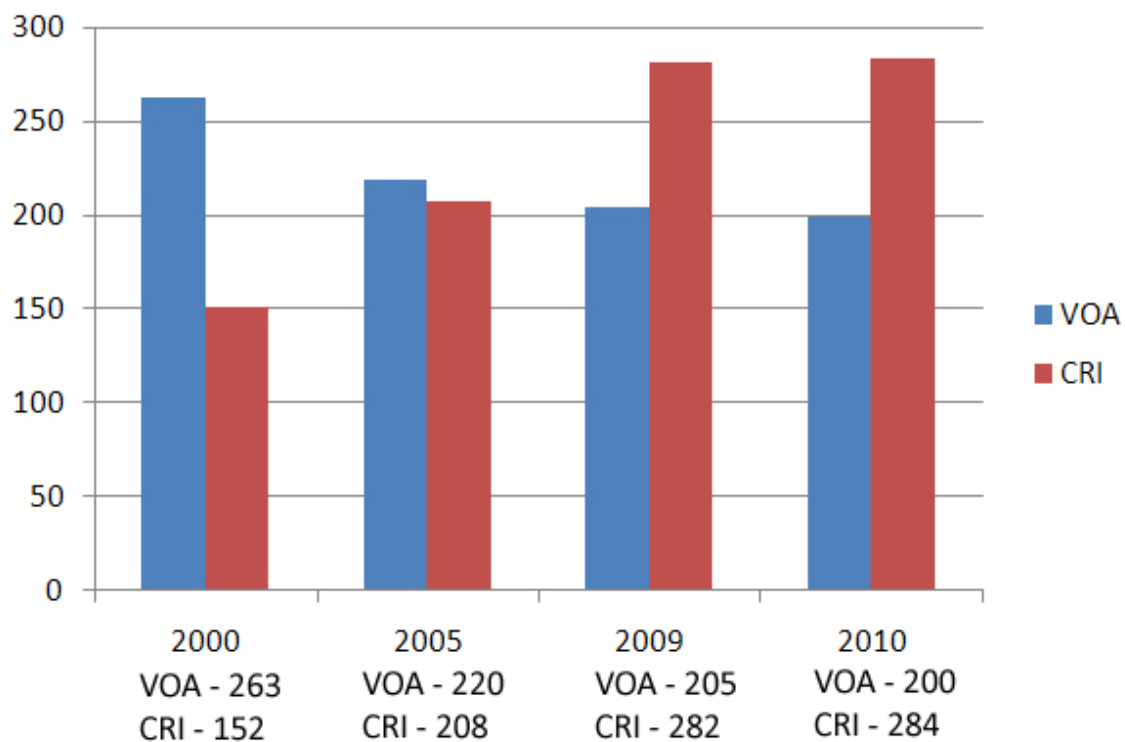
Current BBG leased Shortwave transmission services from these countries

Germany
 United Kingdom
 Palau
 Tajikistan
 Madagascar
 Russia
 Lithuania
 Ascension Island
 Mongolia
 United Arab Emirates
 Vatican
 Bonaire
 South Africa

Lastly, while the U.S. has been jettisoning its shortwave frequencies, with VOA cutting some 60 frequencies in the last 10 years, China has been doing the exact opposite, almost doubling its stations in the same period as indicated in the chart below.⁷⁸ Supporters of U.S. shortwave programming contend that we are ceding valuable assets to China while others contend the frequencies are redundant due to the nature of short wave broadcasting methods.

⁷⁸ VOA/CRI data compiled from the World Radio Television Handbook for these years <http://www.wrth.com/>. Also, see the *Heritage Foundation* “Don’t Silence Voice of America”: <http://www.heritage.org/Research/Reports/2010/05/Dont-Silence-Voice-of-America>

Shortwave Frequencies 2000 - 2010 Voice of America and China Radio International



Appendix A

AFRICA

Country	Population	Freedom House Press Ranking 2004	Freedom House Press Ranking 2009	Voices of America (VOA)	Middle East Broadcasting Networks (MBN)

Angola	12,799,293	142	132	(Portuguese; SW, satellite: 10.5 h/wk; Internet)
Benin	8,791,832	71	71	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)
Botswana	1,990,876	71	78	(English; SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)
Burkina Faso	15,746,232	88	86	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)
Burundi	9,511,330	165	163	(Kinyarwanda/Kirundi, SW: 7 h/wk; French, SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Swahili, SW: 7 h/wk; Internet)
Cameroon	18,879,301	147	140	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)
Cape Verde	499,796	80	60	(Portuguese; SW: 10.5 h/wk; Internet)
Central African Republic	4,511,488	135	132	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)
Chad	10,329,208	161	165	(Kinyarwanda/Kirundi, SW: 7 h/wk; French, SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)
Comoros	752,438	100	101	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)

Congo, Democratic Rep. of the	68,692,542	173	175	(Kinyarwanda/Kirundi, SW: 7 h/wk; French, SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Swahili, SW: 7 h/wk; Internet)	
Congo, Republic of the	4,012,809	114	109	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Cote d'Ivoire	20,617,068	140	148	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Djibouti	516,055	142	160	(Amharic/Tigrigna/Oromiffa; SW: 12 h/wk; Internet)	Radio Sawa (Arabic; FM, MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)
Equatorial Guinea	633,441	186	187		
Eritrea	5,647,168	186	190	(Amharic/Tigrigna/Oromiffa; SW: 12 h/wk; Internet)	
Ethiopia	85,237,338	142	165	(Amharic/Tigrigna/Oromiffa; SW: 12 h/wk; Internet)	
Gabon	1,514,993	125	153	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Gambia, The	1,778,081	127	172	(English; SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Ghana	23,887,812	64	53	(English; SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	

Guinea	10,057,975	156	147	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Guinea-Bissau	1,533,964	127	107	(Portuguese; SW: 10.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Kenya	39,002,772	122	128	(Swahili, SW: 7 h/wk; English, SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Lesotho	2,130,819	91	99	(English; SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Liberia	3,441,790	165	138	(English; SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Madagascar	20,653,556	93	106	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Malawi	15,028,757	107	118	(English; SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Mali	13,443,225	62	53	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Mauritania	3,129,486	135	124	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)
Mauritius	1,284,264	60	53	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Mozambique	21,669,278	100	86	(Portuguese; SW: 10.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Namibia	2,108,665	75	66	(English; SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Niger	15,306,252	118	140	(Hausa, SW: 13 h/wk; French, SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	

Nigeria	149,229,090	111	113	(Hausa, SW: 13 h/wk; English, SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Rwanda	10,746,311	179	181	(Kinyarwanda/Kirundi, SW: 7 h/wk; French, SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Swahili, SW: 7 h/wk; Internet)	
Sao Tome and Principe	212,679	64	60	(Portuguese; SW: 10.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Senegal	13,711,597	84	109	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Seychelles	87,476	107	125	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Sierra Leone	5,132,138	120	118	(English; SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Somalia	9,832,017	173	180	(Somali; SW: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)
South Africa	49,052,489	55	66	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	

					Radio Sawa (Arabic; FM, MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Afia Darfur (Arabic; SW: 90 minutes a day; Internet)
Sudan	41,087,825	184	168	(English; SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Swaziland	1,337,186	169	165	(English; SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Tanzania	41,048,532	106	101	(Swahili, SW: 7 h/wk; English, SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Togo	6,031,808	170	158	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Uganda	32,369,558	98	109	(Swahili, SW: 7 h/wk; English, SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Zambia	11,862,740	127	143	(English; SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Zimbabwe	11,392,629	186	186	(Zimbabwe/Shona/Ndebele; English; SW: 9.5 h/wk; Internet)	

EAST ASIA/PACIFIC

Country	Population	Freedom House Press Ranking 2004	Freedom House Press Ranking 2009	Voices of America (VOA)	Radio Free Asia
Australia	21,262,641	18	38		
Brunei	388,190	161	163	(Indonesian; SW, satellite: 63.33 h/wk; Internet)	
Burma	48,137,741	190	193	(Burmese; SW, satellite: 66.5 h/wk; Internet)	(Burmese; SW, satellite: 4 h/day; Internet)
Cambodia	14,494,293	127	132	(Khmer; SW, satellite: 11.5 h/wk; Internet)	(Khmer; SW, FM, satellite: 2 h/day; Internet)
China	1,338,612,968	173	181	(Mandarin, SW, satellite: 91 h/wk; Cantonese, SW, satellite: 14.57 h/wk; Internet)	(Cantonese, SW, satellite: 2 h/day; Mandarin, SW, MW, satellite: 12 h/day; Tibetan, SW, satellite: 10 h/day; Uyghur, SW, satellite: 2 h/day; Internet)
Fiji	944,720	68	84		
Hong Kong	7,055,071	-	75	(Cantonese; SW, satellite: 14.57 h/wk; Internet)	
Indonesia	240,271,522	117	113	(Indonesian; SW, satellite: 63.33 h/wk; Internet)	
Japan	127,078,679	33	33		
Kiribati	112,850	62	59		
Korea, North	22,665,345	193	195	(Korean; SW: 35 h/wk; Internet)	(Korean; SW, MW, satellite: 5 h/day; Internet)
Korea, South	48,508,972	68	66	(Korean; SW: 35 h/wk; Internet)	

Laos	6,834,345	179	184	(Lao; SW: 3.5 h/wk; Internet)	(Lao; SW, satellite: 2 h/day; Internet)
Malaysia	25,715,819	154	143		
Marshall Islands	64,522	11	21		
Micronesia	107,434	37	33		
Mongolia	3,041,142	80	86		
Nauru	14,019	57	60		
New Zealand	4,213,418	8	11		
Palau	20,796	9	11		
Papua New Guinea	5,940,775	57	53		
Philippines	97,976,603	75	96		
Samoa	219,998	55	63		
Singapore	4,657,542	135	151		
Solomon Islands	595,613	71	66		
Taiwan	22,974,347	50	43	(Mandarin, SW, satellite: 91 h/wk; Cantonese, SW, satellite, 14.57 h/wk; Internet)	
Thailand	65,998,436	88	122	(Thai, SW, satellite: 9.4 h/wk; Burmese, SW, satellite: 66.5 h/wk; Internet)	
Timor-L'este	1,131,612	68	78		
Tonga	120,898	98	73		
Tuvalu	12,373	37	53		
Vanuatu	218,519	50	43		
Vietnam	88,576,758	179	178	(Vietnamese; SW: 10.5 h/wk; Internet)	(Vietnamese; SW, MW, satellite: 2 h/day; Internet)

EUROPE

Country	Population	Freedom House Press Ranking 2004	Freedom House Press Ranking 2009	Voices of America (VOA)	Middle East Broadcasting Networks (MBN)	Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
Albania	3,639,453	104	101	(Albanian; SW, satellite: 14.48 h/wk; Internet)	Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Andorra	83,888	15	8		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Armenia	2,967,004	135	151	(Armenian; satellite: 2.83 h/wk; Internet)		(Armenian; satellite: 5.5 h/day; Internet)
Austria	8,210,281	50	33		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Azerbaijan	8,238,672	156	168	(Azerbaijani; SW, satellite: 9.66 h/wk; Internet)		(Azeri; SW, satellite: 10 h/day; Internet)
Belarus	9,648,533	182	188	Internet (Russian)	Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	(Belarusian; SW, MW, satellite: 8 h/day; Internet)
Belgium	10,414,336	4	6		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	

Bosnia and Herzegovina	4,613,414	104	98	(Bosnian; satellite: 2.75 h/wk; Internet)	Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	(Bosnian; satellite: 12 h/week; Internet)
Bulgaria	7,204,687	78	76		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Croatia	4,489,409	84	81	(Croatian; SW, satellite: 6.19 h/wk; Internet)	Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Cyprus	1,084,748	33	38	(Greek; SW, satellite: 3.3 h/wk; Internet)	Radio Sawa (Arabic; MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Czech Republic	10,211,904	50	24		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Denmark	5,500,510	1	4		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Estonia	1,299,371	28	14		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	

					Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Finland	5,250,275	4	2			
					Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
France	64,057,792	37	38			
				(Georgian; SW: 14 h/wk; Internet)		Radio Tavisupleba (Georgian; satellite: 4 h/day; Georgian Public TV: 1 h/week; Internet)
Georgia	4,615,807	114	128			
					Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Germany	82,329,758	25	18			
				(Greek; SW, satellite: 3.3 h/wk; Internet)	Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Greece	10,737,428	64	63			
					Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Holy See	826	-	-			
					Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Hungary	9,905,596	45	33			

Iceland	306,694	1	1		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Ireland	4,203,200	25	14		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Italy	58,126,212	74	73		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Kosovo	1,804,838	-	-	(Albanian; SW, satellite: 14.48 h/wk; Internet)		(Serbian, Albanian; satellite: 14 h/week; Internet)
Latvia	2,231,503	28	43		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Liechtenstein	34,761	11	11		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Lithuania	3,555,179	33	24		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Luxembourg	491,775	11	6		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	

Macedonia	2,066,718	111	98	(Macedonian, satellite: 0.75 h/wk; Albanian, SW, satellite: 14.48 h/wk; Internet)	Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	(Macedonian; satellite: radio 12 h/week, TV 10 min/week; Internet)
Malta	405,165	23	38		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Moldova	4,320,748	127	148	(Russian; satellite: 1.25 h/wk; Internet)		(Romanian; SW, satellite: 1 h/day; Internet)
Monaco	32,965	15	18		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Montenegro	672,180	91	78	(Serbian, 7.3 h/wk; Albanian, SW, satellite: 14.48 h/wk; Internet)	Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	(Montenegrin; satellite: 3.5 h/week; Internet)
Netherlands	16,715,999	11	8		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Norway	4,660,539	4	2		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Poland	38,482,919	37	49		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	

					Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Portugal	10,707,924	18	18			
Romania	22,215,421	103	92			
Russia	140,041,247	147	174	(Russian; satellite: 1.25 h/wk; Internet)		(Russian; SW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)
San Marino	30,167	18	21		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Serbia	7,379,339	91	83		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	(Serbian; satellite: 14 h/week; Internet)
Slovakia	5,463,046	47	43		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Slovenia	2,005,692	37	49		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Spain	40,525,002	37	49		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Sweden	9,059,651	1	4		Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	

					Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Switzerland	7,604,467	4	8			
				(Turkish; SW, satellite: 6.25 h/wk; Internet)	Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Turkey	76,805,524	107	101			
				(Ukranian; satellite: 3.14 h/wk; Internet)	Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	Radio Svoboda (Ukranian; satellite: 2.5 h/day; Internet)
Ukraine	45,700,395	150	115			
					Alhurra Europe TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
United Kingdom	61,113,205	37	27			

NEAR EAST ASIA/MIDDLE EAST

Country	Population	Freedom House Press Ranking 2004	Freedom House Press Ranking 2009	Voices of America (VOA)	Middle East Broadcasting Networks (MBN)	Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
Algeria	34,178,188	127	136	(French; SW, satellite: 24.5 h/wk; Internet)	Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Bahrain	728,709	155	156		Radio Sawa (Arabic; FM, MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Egypt	78,866,635	168	128		Radio Sawa (Arabic; MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Iran	66,429,284	171	181	Persian News Network (Farsi; SW, satellite: 175 h/wk; Internet), (Kurdish; SW: 28 h/wk; Internet)	Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	Radio Farda (Farsi; SW, MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)

					Radio Sawa (Arabic; FM, MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	Radio Free Iraq (Arabic; MW, satellite: 17 h/day; Internet)
Iraq	28,945,569	142	148	(Kurdish; SW: 28 h/wk; Internet)		
					Radio Sawa (Arabic; MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Israel	7,233,701	64	71			
					Radio Sawa (Arabic; FM, MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Jordan	6,269,285	127	140			
					Radio Sawa (Arabic; FM, MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Kuwait	2,692,526	119	115			
					Radio Sawa (Arabic; FM, MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Lebanon	4,017,095	142	118			

Libya	6,324,357	189	190		Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Morocco	31,285,174	123	140		Radio Sawa (Arabic; FM, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Oman	3,418,085	161	156		Radio Sawa (Arabic; MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Palestinian Territories	4,013,126	185	184		Radio Sawa (Arabic; FM, MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	
Qatar	833,285	123	143		Radio Sawa (Arabic; FM, MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	

Saudi Arabia	28,686,633	173	176		Radio Sawa (Arabic; MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)
Syria	21,762,978	173	178	(Kurdish; SW: 28 h/wk; Internet)	Radio Sawa (Arabic; MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)
Tunisia	10,486,339	173	176		Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)
United Arab Emirates	4,798,491	165	153		Radio Sawa (Arabic; FM, MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)
Yemen	22,858,238	147	172		Radio Sawa (Arabic; MW, satellite: 24 h/day; Internet), Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)

SOUTH CENTRAL ASIA

Country	Population	Freedom House Press Ranking 2004	Freedom House Press Ranking 2009	Voices of America (VOA)	Middle East Broadcasting Networks (MBN)	Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
Afghanistan	28,395,716	159	162	Radio Ashna (1 hour, Pashto followed by 1 hour, Dari for 12 total hours/day; SW, AM, FM), TV Ashna (30 mins Pashto/30 mins Dari; 1 hour/day), Radio Deewa (Pashto; SW, AM, FM: 168 h/wk; Internet)	Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	Radio Free Afghanistan/Radio Azadi (Pashto, Dari; FM, SW, satellite: 12 h/day; Internet)
Bangladesh	156,050,883	150	138	(Bangla; SW, satellite: 11.7 h/wk; Internet)		
Bhutan	691,141	150	132	(Tibetan; SW, satellite: 70 h/wk; Internet)		
India	1,156,897,766	93	76	TV (Hindi, 3 min/wk); Internet		

				Internet (Russian)		Radio Azattyq (Kazakh, Russian; SW, satellite: 2 h/day; Internet)
Kazakhstan	15,399,437	161	168			
				Internet (Russian)		Radio Azattyq (Kyrgyz; SW, satellite: 6 h/day; private cable TV: 2 weekly shows; Internet)
Kyrgyz Republic	5,431,747	156	158			
Maldives	396,334	135	118			
Nepal	28,563,377	140	122			
				Radio Aap Ki Dunyaa (Urdu; SW, satellite: 96 h/wk; Internet), Radio Deewa (Pashto; SW: 168 h/wk; Internet)	Alhurra TV (Arabic; satellite: 24 h/day; Internet)	Radio Mashaal (Pashto; AM, FM, SW, satellite: 2 h/day; Internet)
Pakistan	174,578,558	121	136			
Sri Lanka	21,324,791	111	155			
				Internet (Russian)		(Tajik; SW, satellite: 6 h/day; Internet)
Tajikistan	7,349,145	160	168			
						(Turkmen; SW, MW, satellite: 6 h/day; Internet)
Turkmenistan	4,884,887	190	193			

Uzbekistan	27,606,007	182	189	(Uzbek; SW, satellite: 4.5 h/wk; Internet)	Radio Ozodlik (Uzbek; MW, SW, satellite: 6 h/day; Internet)
------------	------------	-----	-----	--	---

WESTERN HEMISPHERE/LATIN AMERICA

Country	Population	Freedom House Press Ranking 2004	Freedom House Press Ranking 2009	Voices of America (VOA)	Office of Cuba Broadcasting (OCB)
Antigua and Barbuda	85,632	97	81		
Argentina	40,913,584	78	100	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Aruba	103,065	-	-		
Bahamas, The	307,552	18	32		
Barbados	284,589	28	27		
Belize	307,899	49	33		
Bermuda	67,837	-	-		
Bolivia	9,775,246	84	89	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Brazil	198,739,269	80	89		
Canada	33,487,208	23	27		
Cayman Islands	49,035	-	-		
Chile	16,601,707	50	63	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Colombia	43,677,372	127	125	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Costa Rica	4,253,877	37	27	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Cuba	11,451,652	192	190	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	Radio & TV Martí (Spanish; SW, MW: 24 h/day; satellite TV: 8 h/day; Internet)
Dominica	72,660	28	38		

Dominican Republic	9,650,054	88	84	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Ecuador	14,573,101	95	92	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
El Salvador	7,185,218	95	89	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Grenada	90,739	25	49		
Guatemala	13,276,517	125	128	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Guyana	752,940	45	66		
Haiti	9,035,536	171	109	(Creole; SW: 10 h/wk; Internet)	
Honduras	7,833,696	107	107	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Jamaica	2,825,928	28	14		
Mexico	111,211,789	80	115	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Netherlands Antilles	227,049	-	-	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Nicaragua	5,891,199	84	96	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Panama	3,360,474	100	92	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Paraguay	6,995,655	114	125	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Peru	29,546,963	75	92	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
St. Kitts and Nevis	40,131	47	27		
St. Lucia	160,267	9	14		

St. Vincent and the Grenadines	104,574	18	21		
Suriname	481,267	33	43		
Trinidad and Tobago	1,229,953	57	43		
Uruguay	3,494,382	60	53	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	
Venezuela	26,814,843	150	160	(Spanish; SW, satellite: 39.75 h/wk; Internet)	

Appendix B

List of BBG Broadcast Languages:

BBG Broadcast Languages

- **Global**

English

Special English and English to Africa

- **Eastern & Central Europe**

Albanian

Bosnian

Croatian

Greek

Macedonian

Montenegrin

Romanian

Serbian

- **Eurasia**

Armenian

Avar

Azerbaijani
Bashkir
Belarusian
Chechen
Circassian
Crimean Tatar
Georgian
Russian
Tatar
Ukrainian

- **Central Asia**

Kazakh
Kyrgyz
Tajik
Turkmen
Uzbek

- **East Asia**

Burmese
Cantonese
Indonesian
Khmer
Korean
Lao
Mandarin
Thai
Tibetan
Uyghur
Vietnamese

- **South Asia**

Bangla
Dari
Hindi
Pashto
Urdu

- **Africa**

Afan Oromo
Amharic
French to Africa

Hausa
 Kinyarwanda
 Kirundi
 Ndebele
 Portuguese to Africa
 Shona
 Somali
 Swahili
 Tigrigna

- **Near East/North Africa**

Arabic
 Kurdish
 Persian
 Turkish

- **Latin America**

Creole
 Spanish

Appendix C

VOA Persian News Network Schedule (as of 3/20/10)

Monday - Friday

Live Broadcasts (Time in Iran)

6:00p - Newsbrief/History Channel

7:00p - Newsbrief

7:10p - Today's Woman

8:00p - News & Views

9:00p - News Talk

10:00p - Straight Talk

11:00p - Late Edition

Repeats

12:00a - Newsbrief/History Channel

1:00a - Newsbrief

1:10a - Today's Woman

2:00a - News & Views

3:00a - Newstalk

4:00a - Straight Talk

5:00a - Late Edition

*6:00a - Morning Edition (LIVE)

7:00a - Morning Edition

8:00a - Morning Edition

9:00a - Newstalk

10:00a - Morning Edition

11:00a - Straight Talk

12:00p - Late Edition

1:00p - Newsbrief

1:10p - Today's Woman

2:00p - Morning Edition

3:00p - Newstalk

4:00p - Straight Talk

5:00p - Late Edition

Saturday-Sunday

7:00a - C-Span

4:00p - Straight Talk/Special Program

5:00p - Late Edition

Live Broadcasts

6:00p - Newsbrief/History Channel

7:00p - Newsbrief

7:10p - Special Program

8:00p - News & Views

9:00p - Newstalk

10:00p – Special program

11:00p - Late Edition

Repeats

12:00a - Newsbrief/History Channel

1:00a - Newsbrief

1:10a - Special Program

2:00a - News & Views

3:00a - Newstalk

4:00a Special program

5:00a - Late Edition

***6:00a - Morning Edition (LIVE)**

Appendix D:

Washington Times

April 14, 2010

EDITORIAL: Voice of the mullahs

The Voice of America is becoming the Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Recent programming choices have revealed a creeping bias toward opponents of the pro-democracy movement and de facto supporters of the regime. This ill befits the VOA mission and the purpose of U.S. public diplomacy.

On March 17, Rep. Trent Franks, Arizona Republican, sent a letter to President Obama signed by 69 members of Congress requesting that the White House "investigate reported mismanagement and bias at Voice of America's Persian News Network (VOA-PNN)." The lawmakers expressed concern over "the apparent lack of oversight regarding the management, staffing, mission and content of VOA-PNN broadcasting." The letter notes that the service "may have harmed the plight of those seeking human rights, rather than helping it."

Cases in point are two recent VOA broadcasts that gave preferred treatment to pro-regime messages. On March 29, VOA-PNN interviewed Hooshang Amir-Ahmadi, an anti-sanctions activist called "Iran's pseudo U.S. lobbyist" by Iranian democracy groups. Mr. Amir-Ahmadi expressed the view that Iran's belligerent posture and nuclear program are the natural results of being surrounded by U.S. missiles and bombs; hence, progress can come only through the United States softening its policies toward Tehran.

On April 1, VOA gave airtime to Trita Parsi, head of the National Iranian American Council (NIAC), which has received millions of dollars in federal funds to promote democracy in Iran. Mr. Parsi expressed various odd positions, such as that Israel prefers to have hard-line President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in power in Tehran, that members of the Obama administration know sanctions won't work but pursue them only as a bargaining position, and - most strangely - that even if Iran succeeded in establishing a democracy, the United States would nevertheless keep sanctions in place. VOA gave Mr. Parsi preferential treatment by banning callers while he was on the air even though he appeared on a call-in show; those who later took issue with his views were quickly cut off.

Mr. Parsi was the subject of an investigation by the Senate federal financial management subcommittee, which revealed that most of the federal funds received by NIAC were not used for their intended purpose and that he was working with a regime-controlled front posing as an Iranian nongovernmental organization. These and other developments have generated buzz in the pro-democracy Iranian blogosphere that VOA has become a pro-mullah outlet.

The rub is that the Iranian people may not even get to hear these messages because Tehran routinely jams VOA broadcasts. Voice of America recently drafted a strongly worded protest

against the jamming, but the National Security Council intervened in an attempt to block the protest and, failing that, to water down the language. Republican Sens. Jon Kyl of Arizona, Tom Coburn of Oklahoma and Sam Brownback of Kansas sent a letter to Broadcasting Board of Governors Executive Director Jeffrey N. Trimble on March 9 noting that such White House intervention constitutes "serious violations of U.S. law, policy and tradition related to the editorial independence of the taxpayer-funded" board of governors.

These events should be hot topics when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee holds hearings on nominations for new members of the broadcasting board. Meanwhile, if VOA is telling Iranians struggling for freedom that resistance is futile, we hope Tehran keeps jamming it.

Washington Times;

April 19, 2010

LETTER TO THE EDITOR: VOA's Persian news aims for objectivity

Your allegation that Voice of America's Persian News Network (VOA PNN) "is becoming the Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran" is simply not supported by the facts ("Voice of the mullahs," Comment & Analysis, Wednesday).

You cite two recent "cases in point," describing broadcasts that, in your view, "gave preferred treatment to pro-regime messages." There is no preferred treatment of any messages in VOA PNN programs. Allowing a wide range of voices and opinions underscores VOA's commitment and adherence to a congressionally approved charter that requires programming to be accurate, objective and comprehensive.

The two guests you selectively cited represent only a small part of what PNN offered its audience that particular week, and each has appeared on or written articles for a wide variety of media.

Hooshang Amir-Ahmadi is a prominent professor at Rutgers University who also has appeared on CNN, Fox, BBC, ABC and PBS. He recently returned to the United States from a trip to Iran, where he met with influential contacts, including a member of the Guardian Council. On March 29, the same day the professor appeared on our broadcast, we also interviewed George Lopez, a senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace, who testified in December before a House subcommittee on the effectiveness of sanctions against Iran.

Trita Parsi, the head of a leading Iranian-American group, has written articles for the Wall Street Journal, Financial Times, the American Conservative and other publications. On April 1, the same day he appeared on our air, we also interviewed Taghi Rahmani, an opposition journalist. VOA did not "ban" callers during the Parsi segment, as you claim. Three points of view were offered, and the host took questions about the segment during the last 30 minutes of the broadcast.

The representation of all voices is a critical component of PNN's programming, which is driven by the news and events of the day. This approach is succeeding - PNN programming draws some of the biggest audiences of U.S. international broadcasting and is seen weekly by almost 30 percent of Iranian television viewers.

It is important to note that each day, VOA receives compelling calls, e-mails and letters from inside Iran or from members of the Iranian diaspora. They thank PNN for providing information about the world and events in Iran that are not covered by their local news media. PNN brought the street demonstrations in Iran into homes throughout the country as they were happening and provided Iranian citizen-journalists and cell-phone videographers with an outlet for airing events they witnessed firsthand but that were not publicized by Iranian television.

In order to keep its people from seeing PNN content, the Iranian government attempts to block our Web sites and jam our broadcasts. And so we ask, would the government of Iran waste time and money jamming VOA's PNN if it didn't find the content objectionable?

DANFORTH W. AUSTIN

Director, Voice of America

Washington

Appendix E:

Recent State Department Office of the Inspector General Reports on the BBG

Number	Title
FY 2010	
ISP-IB-10-48	BBG Operations in Afghanistan http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/139264.pdf
AUD/IB-10-19	Independent Auditor's Report on the Broadcasting Board of Governor's 2009 and 2008 Financial Statements http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/140388.pdf
ISP-IB-10-28	BBG's Middle East Broadcasting Networks, Inc. http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/140389.pdf
ISP-IB-10-27	Limited Scope Inspection of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty's New Headquarters in Prague, Czech Republic http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/139263.pdf
AUD/IT-10-09	Review of the Information Security Program at the Broadcasting Board of Governors http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/138085.pdf
FY 2009	
ISP-IB-09-67 (July 2009)	Review of the Voice of America's Radio Deewa's Journalistic Controls http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/126646.pdf
ISP-IB-09-46 (July 2009)	Inspection of the Voice of America News Bureau London, United Kingdom http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/128844.pdf
ISP-IB-09-27 (March 2009)	Inspection of the Voice of America's Persian News Network http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/126688.pdf
FY 2008	
ISP-IB-08-45 (May 08)	Alhurra's Programming Policies and Procedures http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/106057.pdf
ISP-IB-08-12	Inspection of the Broadcasting Board of Governors (Oversight

(Jan. 08)	Board) http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/104122.pdf
ISP-IB-08-07 (Jan. 08)	BBG Operations in Kenya http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/128101.pdf
ISP-IB-08-06	Inspection of Voice of America's Central News http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/117823.pdf
ISP-IB-08-05	Inspection of IBB's Morocco Transmitting Station http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/128102.pdf
AUD/FM-08-07	Independent Auditor's Report on the Broadcasting Board of Governors' 2007 and 2006 Financial Statements http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/124235.pdf
AUD/FM-08-06	Management Letter Related to the Audit of the Broadcasting Board of Governors' 2007 and 2006 Financial Statements http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/117579.pdf
FY 2007	
ISP-IB-07-37A	Inspection of IBB's Philippines Transmitting Station http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/104117.pdf
ISP-IB-07-35 (June 07)	Inspection of Office of Cuba Broadcasting http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/89908.pdf
ISP-IB-07-32 (May 07)	BBG Operations in Russia http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/104101.pdf
ISP-I-07-03 (Oct. 06)	Inspection of the International Broadcasting Bureau's Office of Engineering and Technical Services http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/130709.pdf
AUD/IB-07-26	Independent Auditor's Report on the Review of Middle East Broadcasting Networks, Inc., Awards to Three Contractors http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/124531.pdf
FY 2006	
ISP-IB-06-37 (May 06)	Inspection of IBB's Office of Performance Review http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/121797.pdf
ISP-IB-06-02 (Feb. 06)	BBG's Operations in and Broadcasting to Afghanistan http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/104128.pdf

AUD/FM-06-06	Management Letter Related to the Audit of the Broadcasting Board of Governors' 2005 Principal Financial Statements and 2004 Balance Sheet http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/110715.pdf
AUD/SI-06-24	Audit of Emergency Preparedness at the Washington Metropolitan Facilities of the Broadcasting Board of Governors http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/131170.pdf
FY 2005	
ISP-IB-05-67 (Sept. 05)	BBG's Operations in and Broadcasting to Pakistan http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/124640.pdf
ISP-IB-05-63 (Aug. 05)	Inspection of IBB's Botswana Transmitting Station http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/124641.pdf
ISP-IB-05-66 (Aug. 05)	Inspection of BBG's Operations in India http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/104084.pdf
ISP-IB-05-64 (Aug. 05)	Inspection of BBG's Operations in Hong Kong http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/104048.pdf
ISP-IB-05-69 (Aug. 05)	IBB's Greenville, NC Transmitting Station http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/104048.pdf
IBO-I-05-05 (March 05)	Inspection of IBB's Delano, CA Transmitting Station http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/125791.pdf
ISP-IB-05-65 (Aug. 05)	Review of VOA's Digital Upgrade Program http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/117824.pdf
IBO/IQO-A-05-02 (Dec. 2005)	Review of Radio Sawa Support to the Transition in Post-Saddam Iraq http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/37864.pdf

Government Accountability Reports on U.S. Broadcasting

GAO REPORT	TITLE	LINK
GAO-09-127	Broadcasting to Cuba: Actions Are Needed to Improve Strategy and Operations (January 2009)	http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d09127.pdf

GAO-08-764	Broadcasting to Cuba: Weaknesses in Contracting Practices Reduced Visibility into Selected Award Decisions (July 2008)	http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d08764.pdf
GAO-06-762	U.S. International Broadcasting: Management of Middle East Broadcasting Services Could Be Improved (Aug. 2006)	http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d06762.pdf
GAO-06-535	U.S. Public Diplomacy: State Department Efforts to Engage Muslim Audiences Lack Certain Communication Elements and Face Significant Challenges (May 2006)	http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d06535.pdf
GAO-05-323	U.S. Public Diplomacy: Interagency Coordination Efforts Hampered by the Lack of a National Communication Strategy (April 2005)	http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d05323.pdf
GAO-04-1061T	U.S Public Diplomacy: State Department and Broadcasting Board of Governors Expand Post-9/11 Efforts But Challenges Remain (Aug. 2004)	http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d041061t.pdf
GAO-04-711T	U.S International Broadcasting: Challenges Facing the Broadcasting Board of Governors (April 29, 2004)	http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d04711t.pdf
GAO-04-627T	U.S International Broadcasting: Challenges Facing the Broadcasting Board of Governors (April 1, 2004)	http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d04627t.pdf
GAO-04-374	U.S. International Broadcasting: Enhanced Measure of Local Media Conditions Would Facilitate Decisions to Terminate Language Services (Feb. 2004)	http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d04374.pdf

Appendix F

Chinese Media Outlets Working in the United States

21st Century Business Herald
Beijing Daily
Beijing Review
Beijing Youth Daily
Caijing Magazine
Caixin Media
CCTV
China Business News
China Central Television
China Central TV America
CHINA DAILY
China Economic Daily
China News Service
China Radio International (CRI)
China Television Company (CTV)
CHINA YOUTH DAILY
ECONOMIC DAILY
Feature Story News (FSN)
Fortune Times
Foshan Daily
Foshan TV
Geo TV
Global Times
GUANGMING DAILY
Jiefang Daily
LEGAL DAILY
Liberation Daily
Oriental Morning Post
PEOPLE S DAILY
People's Daily
Radio Foshan
Science & Technology Daily

Shanghai Evening Post
Shanghai Morning Post
Shanghai Oriental Morning Post
SHANGHAI WENHUI DAILY
SING TAO CHINESE RADIO/DAILY
Southern Metropolis Daily
Southern Weekly
The China Press
The Economic Observer
Tsinghua University School of Journalism
TTV - Taiwan Television
TVBS
Wen Hui Daily
Xin Min Evening News
Xinhua News Agency

Appendix G

Alhurra Schedule

(All times: Cairo, Egypt)

Program Premieres are Bold

Live Programs are Underlined

SUNDAY

12:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	11:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>
12:10 AM	Very Close (second half)	11:30 AM	Inside Washington
1:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>	12:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
1:30 AM	Documentary	12:10 PM	Documentary
2:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	1:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
2:10 AM	Documentary	1:10 PM	Eye on Democracy
3:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	2:00 PM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>

3:10 AM	Eye on Democracy	2:30 PM	Inside Washington
4:00 AM	Women's Views	3:00 PM	Women's Views
5:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	4:00 PM	Seven Days
5:10 AM	Very Close (first half)	5:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
6:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	5:10 PM	Documentary
6:10 AM	Very Close (second half)	6:00 PM	<u>The World Today Newscast</u>
7:00 AM	All Directions	7:00 PM	<u>Al Youm</u>
8:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>	10:00 PM	<u>The Global Newscast</u>
8:30 AM	Inside Washington	11:00 PM	<u>Free Hour</u>
9:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>		
9:10 AM	Very Close (first half)		
10:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>		
10:10 AM	Very Close (second half)		

MONDAY

12:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	11:30 AM	Cinemagazine
12:10 AM	Documentary	12:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
1:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>	12:10 PM	Documentary
1:30 AM	Cinemagazine	1:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
2:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	1:10 PM	Doors
2:10 AM	Documentary	2:00 PM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>
3:00 AM	Al Youm	2:30 PM	High Speed
6:00 AM	Free Hour	3:00 PM	Free Hour
7:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	4:00 PM	In Iraqi
7:10 AM	Documentary	5:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
8:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>	5:10 PM	Documentary

8:30 AM	Cinemagazine	6:00 PM	<u>The World Today Newscast</u>
9:00 AM	Free Hour	7:00 PM	<u>Al Youm</u>
10:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	10:00 PM	<u>The Global Newscast</u>
10:10 AM	Documentary	11:00 PM	<u>Free Hour</u>
11:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>		

TUESDAY

12:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	11:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>
12:10 AM	<u>Sports Weekly</u>	11:30 AM	Inside Washington
12:30 AM	<u>High Speed</u>	12:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
1:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>	12:10 PM	Very Close (first half)
1:30 AM	Inside Washington	1:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
2:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	1:10 PM	Very Close (second half)
2:10 AM	Documentary	2:00 PM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>
3:00 AM	Al Youm	2:30 PM	i-TECH
6:00 AM	Free Hour	3:00 PM	Free Hour
7:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	4:00 PM	<u>In Iraqi</u>
7:10 AM	Doors	5:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
8:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>	5:10 PM	<u>Documentary</u>
8:30 AM	i-TECH	6:00 PM	<u>The World Today Newscast</u>
9:00 AM	Free Hour	7:00 PM	<u>Al Youm</u>
10:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	10:00 PM	<u>The Global Newscast</u>
10:10 AM	Gulf Talks	11:00 PM	<u>Free Hour</u>

WEDNESDAY

12:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	11:30 AM	Sports Weekly
12:10 AM	Alhurra Presents	12:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
1:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>	12:10 PM	Documentary
1:30 AM	i-TECH	1:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
2:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	1:10 PM	Gulf Talks
2:10 AM	Documentary	2:00 PM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>
3:00 AM	Al Youm	2:30 PM	High Speed
6:00 AM	Free Hour	3:00 PM	Free Hour
7:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	4:00 PM	In Iraqi
7:10 AM	Alhurra Presents	5:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
8:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>	5:10 PM	Documentary
8:30 AM	Sports Weekly	6:00 PM	<u>The World Today Newscast</u>
9:00 AM	Free Hour	7:00 PM	<u>Al Youm</u>
10:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	10:00 PM	<u>The Global Newscast</u>
10:10 AM	Alhurra Presents	11:00 PM	<u>Free Hour</u>
11:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>		

THURSDAY

12:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	11:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>
12:10 AM	<u>Special Report</u>	11:30 AM	High Speed
1:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>	12:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
1:30 AM	Sports Weekly	12:10 PM	Documentary
2:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	1:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
2:10 AM	Documentary	1:10 PM	Special Report
3:00 AM	Al Youm	2:00 PM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>
6:00 AM	Free Hour	2:30 PM	Sports Weekly
7:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	3:00 PM	Free Hour
7:10 AM	Special Report	4:00 PM	In Iraqi
8:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>	5:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
8:30 AM	High Speed	5:10 PM	Documentary
9:00 AM	Free Hour	6:00 PM	<u>The World Today Newscast</u>
10:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	7:00 PM	<u>Al Youm</u>
10:10 AM	Final Edition	10:00 PM	<u>The Global Newscast</u>
10:30 AM	Places	11:00 PM	<u>Free Hour</u>

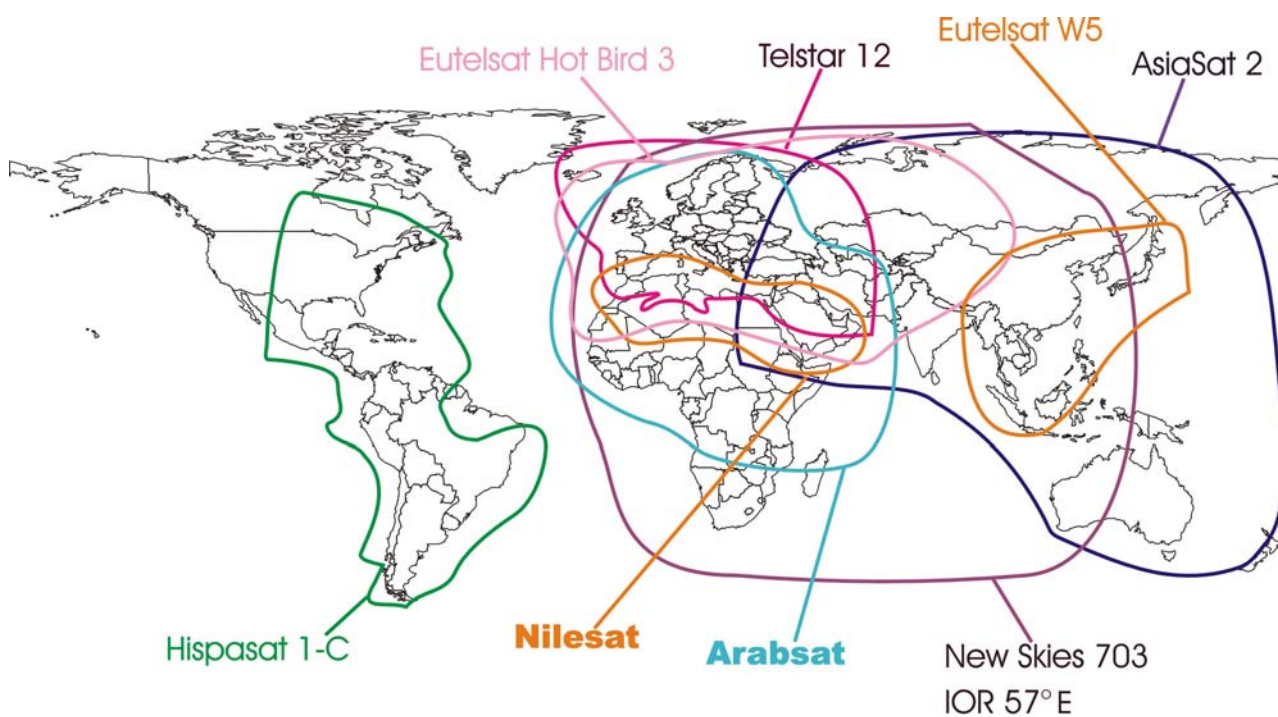
FRIDAY

12:00 AM <u>The World Now News Update</u>	1:00 PM <u>The World Now News Update</u>
12:10 AM i-TECH	1:10 PM Sports Studio
12:30 AM Documentary	2:00 PM <u>The World Now Newscast</u>
1:00 AM <u>The World Now Newscast</u>	2:30 PM i-TECH
1:30 AM High Speed	3:00 PM Free Hour
2:00 AM <u>The World Now News Update</u>	4:00 PM In Iraqi
2:10 AM Documentary	5:00 PM <u>The World Now News Update</u>
3:00 AM Al Youm	5:10 PM Documentary
6:00 AM Free Hour	6:00 PM <u>The World Today Newscast</u>
7:00 AM <u>The World Now News Update</u>	7:00 PM <u>The World Now Update</u>
7:10 AM Sports Studio	7:10 PM Cinemagazine
8:00 AM <u>The World Now Newscast</u>	7:30 PM From Wall Street
8:30 AM Documentary	8:00 PM <u>The World Now News Update</u>
9:00 AM Free Hour	8:10 PM Equality
10:00 AM <u>The World Now News Update</u>	9:00 PM <u>All Directions</u>
10:10 AM Equality	10:00 PM <u>The Global Newscast</u>
11:00 AM <u>The World Now Newscast</u>	11:00 AM <u>The World Now News Update</u>
11:30 AM Documentary	11:10 PM Gulf Talks
12:00 PM <u>The World Now News Update</u>	
12:10 PM Documentary	

SATURDAY

12:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	11:30 AM	From Wall Street
12:10 AM	Documentary	12:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
1:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>	12:10 PM	Documentary
1:30 AM	From Wall Street	1:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
2:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	1:10 PM	Gulf Talks
2:10 AM	Documentary	2:00 PM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>
3:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	2:30 PM	i-TECH
3:10 AM	Equality	3:00 PM	All Directions
4:00 AM	All Directions	4:00 PM	Talk of Two Rivers
5:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	5:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
5:10 AM	Gulf Talks	5:10 PM	Documentary
6:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	6:00 PM	<u>The World Today Newscast</u>
6:10 AM	Documentary	7:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
7:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	7:10 PM	Inside Washington
7:10 AM	Equality	7:30 PM	<u>30 Minutes</u>
8:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>	8:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
8:30 AM	Cinemagazine	8:10 PM	Eye on Democracy
9:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	9:00 PM	Women's Views
9:10 AM	Equality	10:00 PM	<u>The Global Newscast</u>
10:00 AM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>	11:00 PM	<u>The World Now News Update</u>
10:10 AM	Documentary	11:10 PM	Very Close (first half)
11:00 AM	<u>The World Now Newscast</u>		

Appendix H



**BBG/IBB SATELLITE COVERAGE
(AFFILIATE/DIRECT TO HOME)**

IBB-Hispania_Abbot

2008/01/14/00