

A GENERAL SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF BRITISH
BROADCASTING CORPORATION, RADIO
MOSCOW AND VOICE OF AMERICA
NEWS REPORTS ON THE CONFLICT
IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

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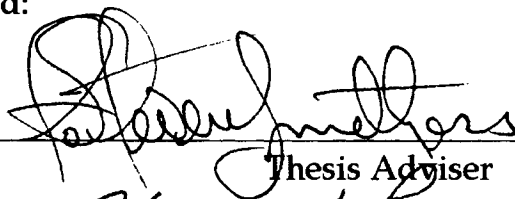
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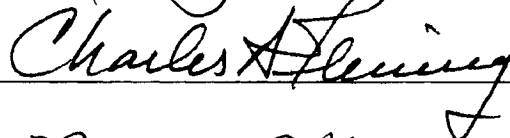
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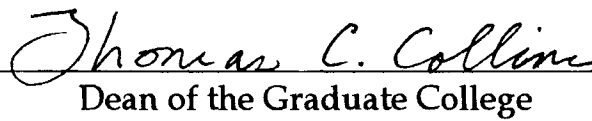
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PREFACE

This study applies the principles of general semantics to an examination of propaganda and bias on shortwave radio stations. Since the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s, diplomatic relations between the United States and former Soviet Union have improved dramatically. While these diplomatic and political relations have improved, all facets of relations between superpowers may not be as warm and friendly.

This study analyzes 45 radio news items on the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina as broadcast in August and September 1993: 15 stories each on the BBC World Service, Radio Moscow and Voice of America. This topic was chosen because the subject of Yugoslavia has been a source of disagreement by the superpowers. By searching for instances of four categories of general semantics, possible bias and unclear reporting can lead to inferences about the amount of propaganda on the stations. A comparison is also made with a propaganda study of the same stations conducted near the end of the Cold War which found BBC news to be fairly objective with Radio Moscow and VOA news displaying considerable propaganda at times. The current study will allow claims about actual changes in the nature of bias on the stations.

The three stations were found to have approximately equal amounts of bias. This indicates a great likelihood that Radio Moscow and VOA reporting has become more objective.

I would like to acknowledge the great assistance of my advisor, Dr. J. Steven Smethers, for his assistance on this project. His knowledge of the research process and willingness to learn the shortwave radio industry helped keep me from getting too far off the proper research path on many occasions. I am also greatly indebted to my coders, Kelly Clark and Deb Weppelman, and to Dr. Charles Fleming, Dr. Maureen Nemecek, and Dr. Connie Martin for serving on my committee. Finally, I thank the people who responded to my Internet request for literature on shortwave radio and to the Voice of America for making many of their scripts available for downloading via the Internet. While this facility came too late for this project, it will certainly help researchers and listeners in the years to come.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

General

The political world has changed considerably since the mid 1980s. The Cold War is over. The Soviet Union has disintegrated into individual republics. The threat of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union has arguably not been lower since the beginning of the Nuclear Age.

People have also changed. In the United States, there is no talk of a Communist threat, and fallout shelters are a fading memory. Russian citizens are adjusting to a new political and economic system. Around the world, despite the continued existence of small, regional conflicts, major arguments seldom arise between the superpowers.

A side effect of warming relations is an increase in the amount of information that crosses borders as official barriers fall. People grow closer to each other and to the world as the propagation of computer data and mass communications media increases; Marshall McLuhan's "global village" is becoming a reality.

This study looks at one way people around the world learn about each other -- shortwave radio. With the exception of satellite signals, shortwave radio

has an advantage in that its signals can travel around the world. Shortwave radio has a long history of providing direct, worldwide communications for education, entertainment, persuasion and political propaganda. Since many high power shortwave stations are government owned, this medium has frequently been used as a method of distributing official positions on political and economic issues and as a means of discussing cultural differences. Despite the growth of satellites, fiber optics and other high-tech communications media, shortwave radio remains an important tool used to communicate between nations.

With these political and technological advances, a person interested in broadcasting may wonder if these changes have led to similar differences in how shortwave broadcasters use their stations. This study explores biased news coverage on the shortwave radio stations run by the superpowers and makes inferences about whether the nature of international broadcasting has changed since the end of the Cold War. It examines broadcasts of American, Russian and English shortwave stations to determine how each has covered the civil war in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. By comparing the results of this study against the results of earlier research, a map of the changes over time can chart new directions in the international use of shortwave radio.

Background

Theoretically there is no place on earth that is immune from shortwave signals. Because of this power, a broadcaster -- which may be a private company, a religious organization, a government or any other interested entity -- can speak directly to anyone on the planet who has a suitable receiver. The responsibility of this power is one that broadcasters have welcomed.

Some countries, such as the Soviet Union, Ghana and Kenya, have used shortwave radio to reach people in their own lands, but the primary purpose of shortwave radio has always been for reception across national borders.¹ In 1915, Germany became the first country to intentionally send radio signals for reception outside its borders.² While several experimenters and scientists had previously sent radio signals between nations, but these test signals were meant to be received by a specific station and were purely for experimentation or demonstration,³ this was the first recorded instance of one-way international radio communication. These daily news broadcasts were in Morse Code and were widely heard and used by print media. Vladimir Lenin was well aware of the potential power of the mass media, and the new Soviet Union used shortwave radio as a propaganda tool against Romania in 1926 and soon after against the West.⁴

Within a few years, Germany, England, the Netherlands, the United States, the Soviet Union and several other countries had begun regular shortwave transmissions to other countries.⁵ Three of these early shortwave

stations were the BBC World Service in England, The Voice of America and Radio Moscow, which are profiled individually later in this chapter.

As the Soviet Bloc grew, anti-Communists in the United States attempted to bring Western ideas into Poland, Hungary and other Warsaw Pact countries with the creation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) in 1953.⁶ Radio Free Europe still transmits to Eastern European countries, and Radio Liberty transmits directly to Russia and the other former Soviet republics transmitting directly to people in these countries in their own languages as if they were the native media. Polish president Lech Walesa even said in a visit to Washington in 1989 that RFE was important to his Solidarity movement by repeating a claim that American broadcasting helped bring the fall of the Soviet empire, saying, "What would the Earth be without the Sun?"⁷

In the 1980s, more than 80 countries had shortwave radio stations.⁸ Research shows that international broadcasters still used their stations for essentially the same reasons then as when shortwave radio began: to enhance the prestige of the country originating the broadcasts and give listeners an impression of what life is like in the station's home country, to promote commercial interests and for political or religious persuasion.⁹ Listeners' reasons for listening have also not changed over the years. People continue to tune in to hear news and other information programs, for entertainment, for education, to protest, as a hobby and to hear programs about politics or religion.¹⁰

Profiles of the stations

British Broadcasting Corporation

Broadcasting in the British Empire began in part as a way to persuade people to buy receivers.¹¹ By 1925, BBC radio programming was divided into separate domestic and external services after a growing audience in other countries became regular listeners to the internal broadcasts.¹² The BBC Empire Service was officially created in 1939 and was beamed to foreign countries.¹³ Although this new service had non-English listeners, its programs were intended for British citizens living abroad.¹⁴

World War II led to the development of external broadcasts in foreign languages. Arabic language broadcasts began in 1938 in an attempt to counteract Italian programming in Arabic.¹⁵ Services in other languages followed, with the government encouraging the BBC to use languages other than English in order to help the country gain influence over world affairs.¹⁶ As the foreign broadcasts were designed to promote English foreign policy, it was now clear that BBC external broadcasting was in the hands of the English Foreign Office.¹⁷ Further evidence of political control comes from the change in funding for the Empire Service. Whereas BBC domestic broadcasts were funded by user fees, the Empire Service -- now the World Service -- receives its funding directly from the British government.¹⁸ Despite a combination of direct and indirect control over BBC programming, Foreign Office influence led to one quality the BBC still enjoys: its reputation for clear, credible reporting.¹⁹ In fact, even as

other countries used their media for persuasion, the BBC felt the best propaganda was the truth. Richard H.S. Crossman, an English propaganda expert of the time, felt that if the BBC were ever used to convey misinformation, being truthful would sow the ground, making the misinformation believable.²⁰

The BBC continued to lead the world in international broadcasting even after the war.²¹ The first new post-war service was a Russian program, which hit the air in March, 1946.²² By 1957, Urdu, Hebrew, Swahili, Somali and other languages had been introduced, while others, such as Norwegian, Afrikaans and Dutch, were eliminated.²³

The early Cold War years brought tight budgets and aging equipment to the BBC World Service.²⁴ Through the mid-1960s, the service had managed slight growth. Audiences were growing and the BBC was fast becoming one of the leaders in international broadcasting.²⁵ By 1993, the BBC World Service broadcast from three domestic transmitters and 14 relay stations around the world in 35 languages, including English.²⁶

Voice of America

Voice of America programming began during World War II as the United States government sought ways to fight Germany on fronts other than the battlefield. VOA broadcasts began on February 24, 1942, with a fifteen-minute

news broadcast in German.²⁷ The Office of War Information coordinated the German broadcasts, along with programs in Italian, French and English.²⁸

Unlike the BBC, VOA broadcasts were the only American radio programs originating directly from the government.²⁹ As a result, VOA transmissions during World War II were laden with propaganda and less-than-objective news reporting.³⁰

At the end of the war, a State Department committee investigated the viability of continued international broadcasting. The final report urged the government to take an active role in disseminating a positive image of the United States. To accomplish this goal, VOA was made a part of the State Department in 1945.³¹ Despite initial hesitation in Congress to fund international broadcasting, anti-American broadcasts from the Soviet Union led to continuous support for VOA's mission from that time on.³²

VOA's technical and language services grew during the 1940s and 1950s.³³ Tensions between VOA staffers, who were primarily journalists interested in fairness and balance, and United States Information Agency handlers interested in political goals, led to considerable discontent within the station in the mid-1960s.³⁴ VOA executives felt outsiders were applying too much leverage in an attempt to keep politically discordant views off the air. For example, USIA officials were apparently upset VOA aired a fairly favorable report on Malcolm X when he died.³⁵ In another instance, a New York Times editorial was removed

from a VOA editorial program because it gave too much credit to the “opposition side.”³⁶

Congress passed the VOA Charter in 1976, which put VOA’s purpose in formal, legal terms for the first time, although it had been in place unofficially for many years.³⁷ The charter has three main provisions:³⁸

- VOA will serve as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news. VOA news will be accurate, objective and comprehensive.
- 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.
- VOA will present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively, and will also present responsible discussion and opinion on those policies.

The tug-of-war between VOA’s journalistic mission and its control from above in the USIA continued during the Reagan administration as administration members used VOA as an increasingly important policy and public relations tool. Some staffers claimed ideological influence over VOA programming came from the “highest levels,” with orders for some popular songs to be played coming “from above,” apparently to send coded signals.³⁹ VOA newsroom staff mostly opposed the political use of VOA, and they remained loyal to the original VOA pledge that the station would report both the good and bad news about America.⁴⁰

Like the BBC, the VOA had financial problems. Financial pressures led the VOA to drop six language services in 1990.⁴¹ Other proposals saw the ideological need of VOA reduced by the end of Cold War hostilities and recommended VOA be merged with the Board for International Broadcasting, a more politically independent department than USIA.⁴² This proposal had not been implemented in mid-1994.

The VOA received considerable praise after the unsuccessful Soviet Union coup in August 1991. VOA's coverage of the coup was singled out by the director of the All-Russian State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company.⁴³ After returning to power, Mikhail Gorbachov also praised the BBC, VOA and other international broadcasters for providing accurate reports of the situation in Moscow.⁴⁴ As democratic movements grew in the early 1990s, the VOA's mission was seen on both sides as crucial to economic and political development, and as a vital link between the United States and the developing democracies of the world.⁴⁵

Radio Moscow

Radio Moscow's birth came soon after the Russian Revolution. In 1917, Vladimir Lenin used Morse Code broadcasts to explain the revolution to the world in programs beginning with the words "To all, to all, to all."⁴⁶ Lenin saw radio as a means of carrying out continuing revolution and agitation. The fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution -- November 7, 1922 -- saw the creation of

a station to serve just this purpose. Radio Station Komintern's broadcasts were intended for internal reception, but foreigners soon discovered they could hear the programs as well.⁴⁷

Foreign broadcasts from the Soviet government continued to promote the virtues of communism.⁴⁸ Much of this programming promoted the positive examples of life in a communist system, with feature stories and news dominating.⁴⁹ Tensions with Germany at the beginning of World War II touched off a heated on-air debate between the two countries. The Soviet contribution to this exchange consisted of encouraging Germans to overthrow the Nazi party and mocking of domestic German broadcasts.⁵⁰ This was accomplished by transmitting a strong signal on the same frequency as the German station. A German-speaking Soviet announcer would listen to the German signal and interject comments. These short transmissions added biting commentary to run-of-the-mill German programming as these examples demonstrate:

GERMAN ANNOUNCER: "Der Führer's headquarters announces..."

SOVIET ANNOUNCER: "...more fairy tales."⁵¹

GERMAN ANNOUNCER: "The victorious German army marches on."

SOVIET ANNOUNCER: "...to their graves."⁵²

Other broadcasts urged the French to overthrow their Nazi occupiers.⁵³

After the war, Radio Moscow, unlike the BBC and VOA, continued to expand. As the Soviet government sought to gain loyal listeners around the globe, international radio broadcasts became increasingly important. This was especially true in programs to countries where communist or socialist political movements were strong; broadcasts to India, Central Europe, Africa and the United States, among other targets, became increasingly important.⁵⁴ These broadcasts generally employed considerable misinformation and political exaggeration.⁵⁵ As Chinese communist officials began distancing themselves from the Soviet Union during the 1960s, broadcasts to China also became increasingly important as Soviet leaders tried to persuade loyal Chinese to remain loyal to Marxism.⁵⁶

Radio Moscow made one of its highest-profile moves when it began jamming the frequencies of other shortwave stations. Jamming usually involves simultaneous transmission of static, noise or other programming on the same frequency as the station being targeted for interference. This requires transmitters powerful enough to completely obliterate the target signal, and the Soviet Union decided it was worth the trouble and expense to keep outside radio signals from entering the country.⁵⁷ The Voice of America was the prime target.⁵⁸ The Soviet Union also jammed the BBC, as well as the Israeli and German stations.⁵⁹ Jamming costs at least as much as transmitting regular programming; Richard Pell, head of RFE/RL, estimated in 1987 that the Soviet

Union spent \$750 million a year jamming Western radio broadcasts.⁶⁰ Between late 1986 and 1988, jamming gradually decreased until it was a rare practice.⁶¹

Since 1988, Radio Moscow's chief goal of informing the international community about Russian life has not changed; however, it performs its role without using its previous techniques of exaggeration and misinformation against other stations. Radio Moscow producers and announcers are particularly interested in giving people in other countries an idea of how Russian people feel about current events and changes in their country.⁶²

Purpose of the study

As conditions between superpowers improved in the 1980s, relations between the broadcasters improved as well. Several important steps in the resulting thaw in international broadcasting have included the awarding of press credentials to a Voice of America reporter in 1988 to work in Moscow⁶³ and the Soviet Union's cessation of jamming of Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty broadcasts beginning in 1988.⁶⁴

One purpose of this study is to gauge the level of biased news coverage transmitted between countries. The study attempts to answer this question: Do the BBC, VOA and Radio Moscow use biased language in their broadcasts to the world?

This study also attempts to go beyond a mere "snapshot" by putting the current state of international broadcasting into perspective. This is accomplished

by comparing current trends in shortwave radio against results of similar studies conducted at different times during the Cold War.

The most prominent comparison is with the 1991 study by Doyle-Hennin, which examined international broadcasting by the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union in 1987 and 1988.⁶⁵ One of the initial assumptions of the Doyle-Hennin study was that the three broadcasters portray the world differently based on the prevailing national political ideologies, a supposition supported by her evidence. For the most part, the geographical areas included in the stations' newscasts were those in which the broadcaster had a vital interest. For example, the BBC included considerably more coverage of current and former British Commonwealth members than VOA or Radio Moscow. In addition, despite claims of neutrality and non-biased reporting, Doyle-Hennin found that VOA and Radio Moscow news tended to favor the domestic and foreign policy philosophies of the originating governments, while the BBC was more even-handed.

Research objectives and methodology

This study analyzes news broadcasts by the Voice of America, British Broadcasting Corporation and Radio Moscow between August 23 and September 16, 1993. These stations were selected for two reasons. First, they were the subject of the Doyle-Hennin study. Second, they are the three shortwave broadcasters with the broadest reach. A BBC survey in 1987 showed

the BBC and VOA with the highest listener rates in the areas researched.⁶⁶ The survey showed that about 20 percent of the population of the Indian subcontinent listens to the BBC regularly, and about three percent to VOA, which is still much higher than the next-rated station. Statistics for other regions were similar. In Eastern Europe, over 20 percent of the surveyed populations listened regularly to VOA, and about 13 percent to the BBC. Among Arabic populations, 11 percent listened to the BBC and almost six percent to VOA. While these numbers may seem small, even three percent of the Indian subcontinent adds up to several million listeners. Radio Moscow's listener figures are not as simple to ascertain, but its schedule contains about as many hours of programming per week as the combined services from the United States -- VOA and RFE/RL -- making it an equally major broadcasting power.

This study uses a few of the techniques of general semantics. As a method of analyzing communication, the field of general semantics provides a convenient way to categorize communications errors. One of the primary concepts of general semantics is the idea that because language is merely a set of symbols (that is, words), it cannot describe anything in complete detail. Something is always omitted.⁶⁷ Therefore, as general semantics relates to journalism, a news story is automatically incapable of telling a complete story. In addition to the inherent limitations of language to describe any news event completely, it is left to the reporters, producers and others to decide what is to be included and what to leave out.

Three of Johnson's principles of general semantics as Reification, Allness and Self-Reflexiveness.⁶⁸ Jex adapted them for a study comparing newspaper and television news; they are also used in the current study.

Reification concerns the principle that we use words to represent events, things and ideas.⁶⁹ Using a word to describe another word sets up an identity and an endless loop of definitions. For example, a statement such as "John is smart" uses the word "smart" to describe John, where the subject "John" is linked with the adjective "smart," which can mean many things. It would be better to give a concrete example, such as "John's IQ is 180."

Allness refers to the concept that words are sometimes used to mean more than we intend.⁷⁰ For example, a person might say "She sings poorly." This statement is very polar in that it implies that the speaker had only two choices: good and bad. This two-value statement leaves no room in the middle. A more meaningful statement would provide concrete details, such as "Her singing sounds undistinguished and lacks character, tone and depth."

The final principle of general semantics used by Jex is Self-Reflexiveness.⁷¹ As with the previous two principles, self-reflexiveness in language involves abstractions and words that refer to other words. Jex lists some of Korzybski's examples: yes, no, true, false, fact, reality, cause, effect, agreement, disagreement, proposition, number, relation, order, structure, abstraction, characteristic, love, hate, doubt, and so on.⁷² For example, a claim such as "She told me the facts of the case" uses the broad term "facts" that says

very little, as opposed to the more concrete, “She told me what the witness reported about the burglary.” This is an example of a multiordinate term.

Another type of self-reflexiveness in language concerns statements that refer to other terms or statements in cases of excessive pronominalization.⁷³ In the statement, “Whatever he wanted for breakfast was fine,” the word “whatever” refers to a statement that is not given and is on another level of abstraction.

A third form of self-reflexiveness concerns some passive voice constructions. To say that “Twenty protesters were injured during the riot,” does not provide an agent; that is, we don’t know who actually performed the action. In this case, we don’t know who injured the protesters. They may have been injured by police, other rioters or some other person or force. This is an example of truncated passive voice, where the performer of the action is missing or not identified.

This basic principle -- the difference between reality and description -- leads to the four categories of analysis for the current research: reification, excessive pronominalization, truncated passive voice and multiordinate terms, which were used by Jex.⁷⁴ Each one takes a different aspect of this concept and broadens it to make it applicable to detecting communications errors. The categories are explained in more detail in the methodology section.

- Excessive Pronominalization: a phrase or sentence that refers to something vague or unexplained.

- Reification: use of a form of “to be” to indicate or imply a connection.
- Multiordinate Terms: expressions full of conditions or unclear meanings.
- Truncated Passive Voice: passive verb constructions that lack reference to the performer of the action described.

These categories are useful in this study because they can give an indication of whether the mass media provide clear, precise and impartial information.⁷⁵ Because, as we have seen, each of the three stations analyzed here claims to be neutral and objective, semantic analysis of their news can indicate whether they actually live up to their claims.

A few cautions concerning general semantics are in order. First, general semantics is very subjective. Just like the semantic principle that people interpret language differently, a content analysis using general semantics principles relies on the judgment of the coders. The categories must be defined precisely to maximize intercoder consistency. Also, this study applies only a few principles of general semantics. Others are equally valid but are not applied here.

In an effort to bring the sample down to a manageable size, this study analyzes only newscast items about the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The stories were collected from one ten-minute newscast per day from each station. Each newscast on each station included at least one story about Bosnia-Herzegovina. The occurrences of each semantic category have been counted, with higher figures indicating the possibility of more biased coverage.

The Bosnian conflict

Conflicts in the Balkans have persisted for several centuries. The area consists of several small ethnically distinct regions: Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro, among others. The Balkan people fought wars in the late 1800s and early 1900s as they struggled against outside domination by the Ottoman Empire and, later, the Austria-Hungary empire.⁷⁶ A Bosnian nationalist shot and killed the archduke of Austria in 1914, an act that soon led to the outbreak of World War I.⁷⁷

These areas were merged into the country Yugoslavia after the war ended in 1919.⁷⁸ The nation remained politically calm for 70 years, mostly under Communist rule.⁷⁹ The fall of Communism in the late 1980s allowed the traditional conflicts to revive, leading to the breakup of Yugoslavia into its component republics. Old political and ethnic rivalries that had been suppressed resurfaced, leading to renewed civil war since early 1991. The Serbs and Croats fought initially for control over their combined territory. The Serb goal was to reclaim areas of Croatia that had Serbian populations.⁸⁰ Between alternating periods of war and quickly-broken cease-fires, more than 10,000 people had died and 600,000 people were refugees when the United Nations established a tentative truce on January 3, 1992.⁸¹

The war did not end there. Later in January, 1992, the 1,300,000 Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina declared themselves an independent nation and hoped to unite with Serbia itself,⁸² and two separate battlegrounds erupted: one by the

Serbs against the Muslim Bosnians; the other by the Serbs as they continued to assault Croatia.⁸³

More than a year of fighting led to thousands of deaths and more than a million homeless. The Serbians quickly gained a reputation for brutal fighting techniques that brought nearly universal condemnation from the world community. Television pictures of Serbian attacks on unarmed civilians were common on American news.⁸⁴ Equally condemned was the Serb quest for what leaders called "ethnic cleansing," which described the Serbian goal of eliminating people of other ethnicities from the territory they tried to capture. Stories of torture, terror and random killings worked against Serbia in world opinion; British television pictures of the emaciated prisoners in Serb concentration camps shocked the world and inspired calls in the West for military action to stop Serb aggression.⁸⁵

The United States, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the United Nations tried to avoid a military engagement and worked to negotiate peace plans, but with little success.⁸⁶ One sticking point in the deal-making was old alliances. Since the dawn of the Soviet empire, the USSR and Russia had supported Serbia and continued to oppose Western military force against them.⁸⁷ Meanwhile, the West, and the United States in particular, felt a greater alliance with the oppressed Bosnians.⁸⁸ These long-time friendships guided outside international efforts in the war until Russia urged Serbian leaders to end the war.⁸⁹

In early 1993, a joint United Nations-European Community peace plan proposal would have divided Bosnia into 10 separate provinces, each one with a dominant ethnic presence.⁹⁰ This was only one of several peace proposals, but none could be agreed by each warring side. This jockeying to pass a peace plan continued through the summer of 1993, the time of this study. The shortwave radio newscasts analyzed in this research focus mainly on two aspects of the war: peace plan negotiations and Serbian attacks on Bosnian and Croatian towns.

By mid-1994, the situation had hardly changed. Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, had become the Serbs' main point of attack. Even Russian president Boris Yeltsin broke ranks with past support for Serbia and called on the Serbs to halt their 22-month siege of the city.⁹¹ After long hours of negotiating, United Nations peace keepers entered Sarajevo to administer a nervous truce on February 20, 1994.⁹² In March, 1994, estimates of the war's deaths topped 200,000, with an estimated 3,000,000 homeless.⁹³ With Serb forces proving to be the clear victors of the war, despite the reports of prison camp conditions and numerous human rights abuses, the West struggled over whether to stop the war and let Serbia enjoy victory, or take action to ensure Serb aggression was not rewarded by victory.⁹⁴

Significance of the study

This study is valuable in several ways. As discussed earlier, an analysis of shortwave broadcasts can provide a measure of superpower relations. In addition, despite the vast amount of media research, very little has been devoted solely to shortwave radio. This study serves to add to this small body of work by continuing a developing line of research into the political and ideological content of international broadcasting.

Limitations of the research

This study attempts to analyze the current state of international broadcasting, but it cannot tell the whole story. One weakness of the study is that it considers only the regularly-scheduled newscasts by each station that are broadcast at the beginning of every hour. These newscasts contain the important news of the hour and are useful to determine some aspects of the ideological processes of the stations. However, as the purpose of each station is to reach listeners in other lands, these newscasts represent only a small part of what is broadcast. This study can be seen as incomplete in this respect.

It also examines only one topic: the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Other issues certainly appeared in the news. While this is a useful topic, it does not show a cross-section of the stations' coverage of other topics.

For that matter, another weakness of this study is that it evaluates only three shortwave broadcasting stations: VOA, BBC and Radio Moscow. There are

certainly many more shortwave radio stations than these; in fact, most countries in the world have some sort of external broadcasting service. While it is realized that a more complete study would have to perform a similar analysis on more than three stations, the broadcasters represented here draw more listeners than any other service and can be considered the most influential.⁹⁵ This study was also purposely confined to these broadcasters in order to provide a direct comparison between 1987 broadcasts cited in the Doyle-Henning study and those from 1993 cited here.

Organization of the research

Chapter Two includes a look at other relevant research, including other studies of shortwave broadcasting and semantic analysis of the news.

Chapter Three discusses the methodology used in this study, including a description of the categorization schemes.

Chapter Four presents the research findings and provides discussion.

Chapter Five summarizes the results of the study and relates them to the future of shortwave radio. It also includes other conclusions and suggestions for further study.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

General

Although shortwave radio has been a powerful force since the early 20th century, few researchers give it serious attention. In examining the current state of international broadcasting by the superpowers and comparing the results against previous studies on propaganda on the shortwave bands, this study hopes to add to the existing body of research by charting the development -- or regression, as the case may be -- of the ideological content the superpowers broadcast to each other and to the entire world. This chapter describes some of the major contributions to this line of research.

General studies about international radio

A survey by Mytton and Forrester provides some fundamental information about the nature of shortwave radio.¹ The authors divided international radio broadcasters into five categories: major international shortwave broadcasters, such as the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union/Russia; commercial international stations; religious broadcasters; domestic radio stations that intentionally broadcast across their borders; and

clandestine, or pirate, stations. Further, they estimated a total of 2 billion radio sets in use across the world, or about one for every three people, 90 percent of which were in the northern hemisphere. Worldwide, the BBC was the most popular among listeners, who were mostly male and listened to programs in English or their native languages.

Browne focused on one of those five categories to chart the development of shortwave broadcasting by commercial entities.² Commercial shortwave stations are generally found in Europe, with a few in the United States, Africa and elsewhere. Most of these stations attempt to provide services unavailable to target listeners by other means, such as entertainment programming, and are generally successful in that area. Browne argued that expansion of frequencies available to shortwave broadcasters may inspire more commercial shortwave broadcasters to begin operations.

Another concern of researchers has been to explore the motivations behind shortwave radio programming. Wood surveyed the schedules of several stations to determine programming motivations based on the languages they used in their programming.³ The most common languages heard were English (103 stations), French (71), Arabic (67), Spanish (59) and German (51). According to Wood, this is an indication of how many people the stations are reaching. Wood also counted the number of languages each station used as a measure of how many people each station could reach. The broadcasters using the most

languages were Radio Moscow (72 languages), Radio Peking (43), Voice of America (36), BBC (34) and religious broadcaster Trans World Radio (34).

According to Wood, the language choices made by most stations are political in nature; a country that wants to reach a particular group will naturally broadcast in the language of the target audience. Stations still change the languages they use as different audiences become increasingly or decreasingly important to the station. Similarly, the variety of languages a station uses indicates how many different people and cultures the stations want to reach.

Other research into shortwave radio has concerned the listeners themselves. Elliott, who is currently Director of Research for the USIA, looked into the program preferences of North American shortwave listeners in 1982.⁴ Elliott found BBC programming most popular, with the domestic programs from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation ranking second. Most of the top-rated programs originated from English-speaking nations. Elliott concluded that the “ideal” shortwave radio programming to North America would consist of music and nonpolitical information about the originating country.

Many researchers have studied the effects of shortwave broadcasting in developing parts of the world. Boyd explored the reasons countries and other entities broadcast to the Arab world.⁵ Boyd showed that the BBC, Radio Mediterranean (a French-owned station that serves North Africa) and Radio Monte Carlo Middle East (which serves the Eastern Arab states) were on the air more than any other station to the region in 1988, with 126, 119 and 63 hours per

week, respectively. Leaders from other continents were the United States (66.5 hours/week), Iran (66.3 hours/week) and Radio Moscow (45.5 hours/week). Like many other researchers, Boyd concluded that international broadcasting to the Arab world will continue to grow, especially if broadcasters can make their programs competitive with satellite television and other media.

Boyd and Asi examined the other side of the issue: why listeners in the Arab world tune to international radio stations, and which ones they enjoy the most⁶. They surveyed 2,000 undergraduate students -- about 1,500 men and 500 women -- in Saudi Arabia and asked them to identify the services they tuned to most regularly. Nearly half the respondents said they do not listen to international radio, with about 10 percent not responding. Among regular listeners, the BBC was favored by men (29.1%) and Radio Monte Carlo Middle East favored by women (14.3%). VOA was a distant third (2.7% of men, 2.5% of women). Among men and women, the BBC was the choice for news and information programming, with listeners tuning to RMCME for music and other entertainment. None of the respondents claimed to listen to Radio Moscow or any other station from a Communist country.

Researchers are interested in more than just the Arabic services of shortwave radio stations. VOA and BBC news broadcasts relevant to Asia were the subject of a study by Rampal and Adams⁷, who used discourse analysis on programming transcripts using four elements of credibility: (1) quality of sources, (2) selection and relevance of news items, (3) accuracy and balance in

news items and (4) use of propaganda techniques, including ideologically loaded language. The analysis indicated that the VOA and BBC news services were credible. Qualitative analysis of the transcripts reinforced this conclusion, with the stations also ranking roughly equal in quality. The stations tended to give a little more treatment to topics important in their respective countries, but the difference was slight and not statistically significant.

As communications technology develops, some modes of conveying information become obsolete as others gain dominance. For example, television signals now travel from country to country mainly by satellite and fiber optic cables, instead of the older mode of copper coaxial cable. Similarly, many people predict the eventual demise of shortwave radio as other technologies provide an easier, cheaper and more reliable way to communicate with people around the world. Boyd concluded that, despite the growth of new technologies, the reasons people listen to shortwave radio have not changed: to hear the news, for entertainment, to learn, to protest, as a hobby and to hear religious or political programming.⁸ Similarly, stations stay on the air for the same reasons as before: to build a national image, to promote a political or religious ideology and to promote commercial interests. The development of advanced video technologies (VCRs, cable and satellite television) provides alternatives that broadcasters will have to deal with if they want to stay competitive.

Studies concerning propaganda and politics

Propaganda has been part of shortwave radio since the beginning, and listeners can hear propaganda from more sources than just the USA and USSR. Washburn examined the ways Radio RSA, the South African international service, used counter-propaganda techniques to rebut and nullify international criticism of the National Party and its apartheid policies.⁹

Washburn monitored Radio RSA's North American broadcasts for one hour a day over six weeks in early 1988 to gauge its counter-propaganda techniques. Fortunately for the study, the South African government announced a major policy shift during this period by banning political activity by 17 opposition groups. This move led to considerably negative international reaction and vigorous South African counter-propaganda.

Amid the coverage of this and other stories, Washburn and his assistants found six standard themes in Radio RSA broadcasts:

1. South Africa is a complex modern society with as many positive and negative features as other advanced societies.
2. South Africa is unduly singled out as a nation that oppresses its people.
3. South Africa has improved race relations, especially in the management of the country's economy.
4. South Africa enjoys peaceful relations with other African countries.

5. Sanctions against South Africa in an attempt to influence domestic issues are futile and even counterproductive.
6. Other southern African nations are experiencing political unrest.

These issues contribute to South Africa's counter-propaganda in that they fall into several counter-propaganda techniques:

- **Factual counter-propaganda**: broadcasting factual information (or allegedly factual information) to counteract the possible effects of other broadcasts.
- **Bureaucratic counter-propaganda**: using statistics and official government statements in response to verbal attacks.
- **Linguistic counter-propaganda**: using specific language designed to make a point. For example, the South African government replaced the term "separate development" with "democratic development" to describe its policies to improve the perception of the concept.
- **Sociological counter-propaganda**: a defense of policies as a strictly internal matter, not subject to the moral condemnation of societies with different values.

Washburn's final conclusion was that Radio RSA exists mainly to counteract international criticism. It was seen as a mainly defensive mechanism the government used to establish itself as a major player among nations and diffuse what it described as "unjustified criticism."

In the mid-1980s, Warlaumont investigated similar strategies used by United States, Soviet Union and Cuba.¹⁰ As described by Warlaumont, the United States and Cuba have been involved in a radio war since Fidel Castro came to power in 1959; both countries sponsor AM (mediumwave) and shortwave band broadcasts to the other country. The United States operated Radio Swan beginning in 1960 and Radio Marti, which went on the air in 1985; both stations urged insurrection against Castro's communist government. From 1962 to 1965, Cuba's Radio Free Dixie urged American blacks to revolt against what it described as the white power establishment. In addition, Cuba has threatened to jam these American broadcasts, but has not done so except in isolated cases.

The first VOA broadcasts to the Soviet Union came shortly after World War II to counter anti-American propaganda. Intensive shortwave and mediumwave broadcasting between the two countries and their allies continued through the period analyzed for Warlaumont's article. In addition to transmitting to each other, the United States operated Radio Free Europe, which transmitted to Eastern European communist countries, and Radio Liberty, which transmitted to the Soviet Union.

According to Warlaumont, in both radio wars, relations between the stations followed the trends set by overall diplomatic relations between the countries. During times of *détente*, agreements were easier to reach, and disputes were less common than in times when the governments were at odds.

Warlaumont analyzed historical records of the conflicts and formed six categories to describe the strategies nations use to deal with unwanted radio signals.

Jamming: The United States has rarely relied on jamming to interfere with other radio signals. On the other hand, Cuba has jammed both Radio Marti and other signals transmitted to Cuba and domestic American AM radio stations. Cuba's jamming program suffers from a lack of money and has not been a consistent means of opposition to American broadcasts. The Soviet Union's jamming program was very active, often costing more than the legitimate shortwave stations it operated, such as Radio Moscow. The USSR actively jammed VOA and RFE/RL broadcasts. Some factors used to predict future uses of jamming included proximity (Cuba could jam US broadcasts easier than the USSR because it is closer), access to other sources of information (Soviet jamming was more successful because information was more tightly controlled there) and cost (Cuba's jamming program was prohibitively expensive).

Diplomacy: Relations between countries can be very reliable indicators of relations between broadcasters as diplomatic relations improved and declined.

Competition: The availability of news and entertainment through other media are reliable predictors of stations' activities. If information is tightly controlled, as it was in the Soviet Union, the government can more effectively

keep outside signals out. Cuba could not easily keep its people from hearing American radio signals and rarely tried to do so.

Reprisals: As with the other strategies, the equal or unequal status of nations determines the effectiveness of reprisals: Cuba could not effectively use reprisals against the US because of its relatively weak stature, while the United States and Soviet Union could deal with each other in this way.

Local controls: Cuba and the Soviet Union, but not the United States, have at one time or another passed laws making reception of external broadcasts illegal. It was easier for the USSR to enforce such restrictions because of its geographical isolation. Cuba could not, because of the availability of stations from the United States and elsewhere.

Threats of military retaliation: This strategy is more common between the United States and Cuba. The Soviet Union and United States rarely resorted to military threats mainly because such threats would have had global consequences.

Warlaumont concluded that these categories could be effective predictors of relations between broadcasters. Several factors, including the relative size and power of a nation, the political climate in the countries, financial resources and status of relations can determine which strategies the countries use.

Several academic studies concern propaganda between the superpowers (the United States and Soviet Union) during the Cold War. Rathkolb analyzed Voice of America programs broadcast to Austria during the late 1940s.¹¹ This

was a delicate time for American foreign policy, as United States government officials tried to maximize the public relations impact of winning World War II and keep communism from spreading. In Austria, this was especially true as American shortwave broadcasts, among other efforts, were aimed at keeping that country democratic. The United States aimed its messages at Austrian policy makers, domestic interest groups and the population in general.

America began radio broadcasts to Austria during the war. The Voice of America and other stations the United States established in Austria did not originate foreign policy goals. Rather, officials in Washington drafted official American policy and relayed it to station management, and the stations attempted to explain, defend and promote these ideas to listeners. During the war, American radio broadcasts to Austrians consisted mostly of politically-charged news and analysis with some music and other entertainment. After the war, American radio programs to Austria focused on arousing anti-Communist feelings. Americans ran several local radio stations in Austria, which originally relayed VOA and other American material but gradually became increasingly independent. By the end of the 1940s, Austria had not, and apparently would not, become communist, and these stations were either off the air or operated by the Austrian government.

Rathkolb concluded that American broadcasts to Austria were successful in integrating that nation into the Western alliance against the Soviet Union. Although Austrian interest in American radio programs declined during the late

1940s, most Austrians continued to prefer American views to Soviet positions even after the Allied countries ended their occupation of Austria in 1955.

Austria continued to maintain its neutrality, but still leaned to the West.

Rather than taking a strictly political slant, Washburn examined international radio from the perspective of sociology.¹² Washburn noted that no political sociologists had yet written about shortwave radio. He then proposed four broad categories that later researchers could use as a basis for study:

International broadcast organizations as social organizations: Washburn suggested examining the phenomenon of shortwave radio stations as an integral part of the societies in which they exist. For example, American broadcasting serves to promote capitalism, whether intentionally or not. It serves in that capacity simply by its existence and ideological upbringing. Washburn suggested researchers examine the relations between broadcasters and society, the government, the listeners and other entities.

The contents of international radio broadcasts: Washburn also recommended that researchers study the content of international radio broadcasts in the contexts of the societies of the originating countries. He emphasized that a simple content analysis is virtually useless unless considered in relation to the prevailing sociological ideologies. For example, Soviet broadcasts about business should be analyzed with the understanding that they may tend to oppose capitalism. Comments against a multinational corporation would have different meanings coming from different ideological backgrounds.

The audiences for international radio broadcasts: Although it is usually difficult to research shortwave radio audiences, Washburn wrote that it is imperative to understand exactly who is hearing the stations. He suggested research of audience members as individuals who internalize and react to what they hear on the radio, not just as passive listeners who do not respond to what they hear.

The effects of international radio broadcasting: The next logical subject would be to study how people act on what they hear on shortwave radio. Washburn wrote that researchers could look into how listeners respond to what they hear, how broadcasts change their views and/or actions, how information is spread after a person hears it on the air and how social changes develop, among other specific subjects.

Finally, Washburn included several tenets of media theory into his suggestions, including incorporating agenda setting, dependency theory and other communications theories into study on shortwave radio.

Lindahl analyzed propaganda in radio broadcasts to Sweden by four European stations -- Radio Moscow, Poland's Radio Polonia, East Germany's Radio Berlin International and West Germany's Deutschlandfunk -- to track changes in their propaganda content.¹³ Lindahl examined Swedish-language programs that were broadcast in the early 1970s. The author determined that the stations generally focused on the same issues. The contents of Radio Moscow and Radio Berlin International contained the most propaganda. The broadcasts

of the three east European stations included considerably more propaganda concerning international topics than domestic subjects. The paper also concluded that Norwegian language programs from Radio Moscow and Deutschlandfunk made a special effort to influence Norwegian opinion about that country's entry into the European Community (EC); Deutschlandfunk included more propaganda than Radio Moscow.

Another study by Washburn examined VOA and Radio Moscow broadcasts to the Third World; specifically, Latin America and Africa.¹⁴ Washburn cited several audience surveys that showed listenership of VOA broadcasts to be 130 million or more, BBC listenership to be 120 million, and that sometimes the VOA attains a listenership in parts of Africa between 30 and 40 percent of the adult population. Washburn felt this indicated an important need to analyze the programming the stations transmitted to these regions. Washburn cited the frequent criticism that foreign media tend to ignore developing countries, or portray them negatively and devised six categories of analysis to determine whether VOA and Radio Moscow newscasts were consistent with this criticism:

- Amount of Third World coverage
- Emphasis on disorder in target countries
- Coverage of activities in the broadcasting country in the Third World as opposed to activities in the target countries
- Coverage of issues not important outside the target countries

- Positive or negative coverage of Third World issues and events
- Positive or negative coverage of the broadcasting country relative to issues and events in the target countries

Washburn selected a one-week convenience sample of top-of-the-hour VOA and Radio Moscow newscasts. To provide contrast, he also recorded newscasts on the BBC, Radio Beijing and Swiss Radio International. He recorded one newscast per day on each station, with the caveat that the study be considered merely exploratory, not conducive to generalization.

Washburn divided individual news items into six topic categories: foreign relations; domestic political and economic affairs; domestic disorder; arts, sciences and education; sports and human interest; and natural disasters.

The results supported the claim that foreign media tend to ignore the Third World. The VOA and Radio Moscow devoted less than 25% of its items to Third World issues; however, the three comparison stations included more than this. Further, the stations did not cover Third World development, and barely touched on domestic political, social and economic subjects. Further, coverage of Third World topics was generally in connection to superpower relations. Finally, VOA and Radio Moscow patterns of Third World coverage were similar, with about 50% negative items. These figures support the claim that foreign media tend to present negative Third World news.

One of the key studies on superpower propaganda on the shortwave bands was a 1987-1988 study by Doyle-Hennin.¹⁵ Doyle-Hennin proposed that

news writers do not include deliberate propaganda in their journalism but are predisposed to interpret issues and events in a particular way by the national environment in which they were raised and educated. The study applied linguistic analysis techniques in an attempt to determine not only the presence or absence of propaganda, but also to discover its actual character, and see if the prevailing political ideology of the originating country led to predictable patterns of the types of stories covered and how they are approached.

Doyle-Hennin recorded and transcribed one newscast each day on Radio Moscow, the VOA and the BBC for two periods of about 17 days each; the period started 7 days before and ended 7 days after summits with American president Reagan and Soviet president Gorbachev in December 1987 and May/June 1988. The news stories were categorized by station, date, topic and style of coverage. Further analysis of the texts revealed ideological subtleties that normally cannot be discerned in a mere categorization scheme.

Doyle-Hennin's conclusions revealed no great surprises in the context of superpower relations. Assuming a goal of journalistic neutrality for each station -- a goal, incidentally, claimed by each -- she discovered that such objectivity was little more than a stated goal. Radio Moscow's coverage of world and national events strongly reflected Soviet political and cultural values. The Soviet positions on several political topics -- mostly political in nature -- were expressed in ideologically flavored language. As with the other stations, the way Radio

Moscow covered most international topics showed more about the Soviet Union and Radio Moscow's values than the nature of the issues themselves.

Similarly, Voice of America's coverage of the news shed great light on VOA news values, and the values of the US government at the time. That is, coverage of world events and issues could clearly be seen as the official world view of the United States government. For example, Doyle-Hennin concluded that frequent use of VOA taped reports from international locations portrayed a considerable American presence around the world.

The BBC provided a contrast in its relatively independent coverage. Since it is not a government agency, but rather a government-funded organization that is relatively independent of political manipulation, BBC news tended to be more even-handed and lacked evidence of blatant official control. Although, like VOA and Radio Moscow broadcasts, BBC news represents a clearly national perspective, it is not as politically or ideologically charged. Instead of portraying a government perspective, the BBC gives listeners a distinctly British view of world events.

Summary

The studies presented here are important in two respects. First, as individual glimpses into the nature of shortwave radio, each piece of research presents a new analysis of a particular aspect of the industry. Whether investigating South African counter-propaganda or superpower rivalries, the

studies provide important insight. Further, the research cited here gains added value when viewed collectively. A single analysis of propaganda broadcasts in the 1980s, for example, may be significant only when viewed as a piece of history. But careful examination of the entire body of such studies shows the changes in shortwave radio over a long period of time.

This study adds to this line of research. Like the other works reviewed here, it is valid as a simple "snapshot" of the industry and provides an important look at the state of superpower broadcasting. But while examining a single point in time can be enlightening, examining two or more periods gives a more complete look at the subject.¹⁶ Because the current study is one of the first to be performed since the end of the cold war, it provides a vital longitudinal view of international broadcasting when evaluated along with other studies on superpower propaganda. If the ideological content of VOA and Radio Moscow broadcasts has truly lessened since the fall of the Soviet Union, this study tells an important story about how the broadcasters have reacted to the political changes that have surrounded them.

Some criticism of the research presented here is warranted. One fundamental problem is the limited scope of these studies. Washburn's analysis of VOA and Radio Moscow broadcasts to developing countries covered only one week. Washburn acknowledged that future research would be more valid if it were conducted over a longer period. While Washburn's study is valid for the time analyzed, it would have more relevance if it covered at least a month.

Nevertheless, even a short study such as Washburn's can be an important part of a longitudinal study such as the current research.

Another shortfall is that the propaganda studies mostly contrast differences between VOA and Radio Moscow broadcasts, and few examine programming on stations broadcasting from other countries. The parameters of the current project cover only the superpowers and do not warrant a broader scope. Inclusion of VOA and Radio Moscow newscasts is dictated by the research questions; Doyle-Hennin's results indicated BBC news is clearly Western-oriented, but relatively devoid of ideological leanings. The BBC's additional status as the shortwave station with the largest audience dictates its inclusion to provide an extra measure of credibility and to provide a control group.

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CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

General

The questions guiding this research lead to discovering how international broadcasting has changed since the end of the Cold War. This study uses content analysis to concentrate on broadcasts made after the breakup of the Soviet Union and the rise of the Russian Republic and other former Soviet states. Specifically, the current research includes shortwave radio news broadcasts from late summer 1993. The results from this study will be compared with the results of earlier studies on shortwave radio ideology to determine which changes, if any, have occurred.

The methodology of this study is based in part on a 1983 dissertation by Jex.¹ To provide a comparison against an earlier study, the results will be compared with those in a 1991 dissertation written at the University of New York at Buffalo by Doyle-Hennin,² who examined bias in international broadcasting by the BBC, Voice of America and Radio Moscow.

Content analysis

Content analysis is generally defined as an investigation of “what is said to whom.”³ As such, it does not directly deal with the decisions and processes media professionals go through. Instead, it deals initially with the final product and the message itself. While the initial goal of content analysis is to take a close look at the messages themselves, content analysis can help find a connection between the message and its environment when taken in some other context, such as in relation to political or social conditions at the time.⁴ That is, content analysis can lead to inferences about the processes media professional use in their work and can provide insight into their methods. The goal of this study is to determine if political changes between the United States and Russia have led to differences in how their shortwave radio stations cover world events and issues. In this sense, this study traces not only current trends in shortwave radio, but also compares them with past trends as revealed through earlier research. The passage of time is an important variable, making content analysis doubly valuable in this case.

Babbie includes content analysis in a broad category of research called “unobtrusive or nonreactive research.”⁵ As opposed to survey or experimental research, Babbie writes that a definite advantage of content analysis is that it removes the possibility that the participants in the study will give biased responses. For subjects where the researcher is interested in exploring the

“what” of an issue instead of the “why” or “with what effect,” Babbie supports content analysis as being more effective.

Categories of analysis

The public first learned about general semantics in 1933 with the publication of Alfred Korzybski’s Science and Sanity. In 1946, Wendell Johnson, a speech pathologist, published People in Quandaries, in which he clarified and expanded on much of Korzybski’s admittedly vague and difficult writing.

As Johnson saw it, many of our personal problems stem from the simple fact that the way things are and the way we perceive and describe them are usually two completely different things.⁶ For example, if the temperature outside is 75 degrees, a person coming out of an air conditioned theater may find it warm, while another person who has been in a hot attic may find it cool. The first person would say “It’s hot,” and the other would say “It’s cool.” Each person has observed the same phenomenon but described it differently. To apply this same principle to current affairs, two people may see the same television news report on the war in the former Yugoslav republic Bosnia-Herzegovina. If one person is a Vietnam veteran and has seen the horrors of war firsthand, the Yugoslavian war may seem relatively calm. But another person with no war experience may find it beyond horror. Again, the same facts, but different sets of interpretations and descriptions.

Another important concept of general semantics deals with the way people define words. One way to describe, or define, something is to specify its physical characteristics. For example, this piece of paper is 8½ inches wide, 11 inches high, made of some type of paper material and is covered with markings that have meaning to the reader. This is an “extensional” definition; it defines the external, or measurable aspects of something. This study is part extensional in nature because it is a scientific measurement of the news content of shortwave radio newscasts. Another type of definition deals with more abstract, intangible characteristics of something. To continue the earlier example, this page contains a discussion of general semantics. As an internal, or “intensional” description, a reader must understand the meaning of “general semantics” before understanding that definition. It is a form of circular logic that can lead to great misunderstanding if the reader is confused or uninformed. In the case of journalism, an audience member must understand the topics covered before reading, hearing or seeing a news report if it is to make sense. Similarly, journalists owe it to their audience to explain the issues they cover.

Jex took this concept and applied it to news reports in newspapers and on television by searching for instances of Korzybski’s intensional characteristics of language. He treated these occurrences as examples of imprecision; each example was considered a possible instance of biased and misleading communication. This study uses the same concept in an attempt to find

examples of imprecise, and, therefore, possibly biased and misleading news reporting on shortwave radio stations.

This study uses a simple frequency count of the data. Each instance of the following semantic errors is marked and the total occurrences of each error on each station are compared.

- Excessive Pronominalization: a construction that refers to other terms or statements.

Excessive pronominalization commits the error of vagueness. A statement such as “The Muslims were unwilling to give the Serbs what they demanded” is vague because the term “what they demanded” is undefined. It is an abstraction that has no real meaning.

- Reification: use of “is” or its related forms to imply a connection.

Reification sets up a relationship where there may not actually be one. Saying “John is smart” demonstrates the self-reflexive property of language; that is, it is a statement that uses words to define words. We don’t know what the speaker means by “smart.” A more meaningful statement would be “John’s IQ is 180” or “John got an A in math.” A journalistic and semantic improvement would be to describe what the Croats like about the peace plan. Using the word “is” does not always qualify as reification; a statement such as “Paris is the capital of France,” describes a verifiable fact that is subject to interpretation.

- **Multiordinate terms**: a word or phrase that demonstrates an either/or situation or broad, undefined meaning.

This sentence contains a multiordinate term: "The Bosnian Muslims expressed disagreement with the proposal." With exactly what did they disagree? Again, this sentence says very little because it does not explain specifics. It is an extremely abstract connection. In addition, it implies the Bosnian Muslims disagreed with every term of the proposal, leaving no room for the possibility they concurred with any of it. Multiordinate terms violate this either/or rule.

- **Truncated passive voice**: a verb construction that lacks an agent.

In these cases, the actual performer of the action is unknown. In this sentence, it is impossible to tell who is responsible: "At the U-N meeting, the president was warned of continuing violence." Threats of continuing violence have a significantly different meaning if they come from an ally than if they come from an enemy. Truncated passive constructions specify actions or events for which there is no reference to the agent. Simple passive voice ("The soldiers were told by their leaders to attack the city.") may be journalistically faulty but does not commit this semantic error because the agent ("their leaders") is included.

Research questions and Null hypotheses

This study attempts to answer the following questions about international broadcasting:

1. Do the major shortwave broadcasters make semantic errors in their news coverage?
2. Which broadcaster makes the most errors?
3. Is there evidence of a shift in the ideological content of international broadcasting since the end of the Cold War?

The null hypotheses for this study are as follows:

1. The major shortwave broadcasters generally do not make semantic errors in their news coverage.
2. The major shortwave broadcasters make approximately the same number of errors.
3. There has been no change in the ideological content of the VOA, BBC and Radio Moscow since 1988.

Units of analysis

Each individual occurrence of the semantic items is coded separately, and a news story may contain several instances of each category. A design paradigm for this research question is illustrated in Table I, which provides comparisons between stations and between categories. Numbers represent the average

frequency counts of the three coders. Higher numbers indicate the likelihood of greater bias:

TABLE I: A SAMPLE DESIGN PARADIGM

	BBC	Radio Moscow	VOA	Totals
Excessive pronominalization	27.333	9.333	27.667	64.333
Reification	27	5.333	13.333	45.667
Multiordinate terms	84.667	49.333	51.333	185.333
Truncated passive voice	27.333	16	12.333	55.667
Totals	166.333	80	104.667	351

Sampling method

Individual newscasts on the Voice of America, BBC and Radio Moscow between August 23 and September 16, 1993, are examined in this research study. One ten-minute newscast per day on each station was recorded on cassette tape. All stories, including headline items, directly or indirectly concerning the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina were transcribed. On most days, newscasts for the stations were recorded in consecutive hours, but factors such as radio wave propagation and equipment problems caused occasional delays in recording some newscasts. In most cases, the span between the earliest and latest newscasts recorded on a single day is no more than a few hours. There were also days when radio wave propagation made reception of one or more newscasts impossible over several

attempts. As a result, a sample of 15 newscasts per station were recorded successfully.

Coding

The news items were coded by the author; Kelly Clark, a mass communications graduate student at Oklahoma State University who has taken the graduate-level general semantics course; and Deborah Weppelman, a radio broadcaster and professional colleague of the author. The coders analyzed the news scripts and counted the total number of occurrences of each category for each story. The author also counted the number of words in each story using the automatic word count function of Microsoft Word 6.0 for Windows. The data were entered into a spreadsheet in Microsoft Excel 5.0 and chi-square statistics were calculated using a computer program written by the author. Details of the statistical calculations appear in the following chapter.

Statistical analysis

The data collected is nominal data, and the unit of analysis is each individual occurrence of bias as defined by Alfred Korzybski and William Jex. A frequency count was then calculated for each category on each station. Chi-square analysis reveals where statistically significant differences appear in the data and the strengths of those differences. Simple chi-square analysis is used to

compare results between categories for each station and for all categories for each station.

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CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DATA

General

This study uses content analysis to examine the status of shortwave broadcasting since the end of the Cold War. By focusing on news broadcasts of the American, Russian and English shortwave stations, the study attempts to describe the amount of potentially misleading content on the stations by determining to what extent the reporting was clear, precise and impartial.

Intercoder reliability

Three coders analyzed the data. Each coder analyzed five sample news scripts before beginning the actual coding. This helped the coders understand the categories and served as a pre-test. The results of this pre-test were used to compute intercoder reliability using the following formula: $R = 2M / (N1 + N2)$, where M is the number of coding decisions the coders agreed on, $N1$ and $N2$ are the total number of coding decisions made by each coder and R is the reliability factor on a scale of 0.0 to 1.0. The reliability factors are 0.85, 0.78, and 0.55. Two of these figures are below the generally accepted level of 0.80 for consistent

intercoder reliability. The higher scores are the scores between the author and the other coders. Consistency between the two other coders was low, indicating that the coders were not trained equally. The errors in training and misunderstandings of the categories scheme were corrected before the coders began analyzing the actual texts used for the study.

Findings

Extent of coverage

This study spans approximately a one-month period between August 23 and September 16, 1993. The researcher attempted to record one ten-minute newscast per day on each station included in the study. Poor radio reception during this period resulted in decreased availability of newscasts for analysis because of the difficulty in obtaining consistently intelligible recordings of the stations. The unpredictable atmospheric conditions resulted in quality recordings for roughly half of the survey period. A representative sample of 15 newscasts from each station was obtained, which yielded a substantial number of units of analysis for the study.

The averages of the three coders' results were used as the final data. The researcher wrote a short IBM QBASIC 1.0 program for computing some of the chi-square statistics and calculated the other some statistics by hand. Several trial runs comparing computed statistics with known values verified the accuracy of the chi-square routine in the program.

The following four categories of bias were used in the study. They are described in detail in the methodology chapter.

- Excessive Pronominalization: a phrase or sentence that refers to something vague or unexplained.
- Reification: use of a form of “to be” to indicate or imply a connection.
- Multiordinate Terms: expressions full of conditions or unclear meanings.
- Truncated Passive Voice: passive verb constructions that lack reference to the performer of the action described.

Data

Table II lists all the data evaluated for the study:

TABLE II
INSTANCES OF BIAS FOR EACH STATION

	BBC	Radio Moscow	VOA	Totals
Excessive pronominalization	27.333	9.333	27.667	64.333
Reification	27	5.333	13.333	45.667
Multiordinate terms	84.667	49.333	51.333	185.333
Truncated passive voice	27.333	16	12.333	55.667
Totals	166.333	80	104.667	351

A complex chi-square test ($X^2=13.4029$, $df=6$) reveals a 95.0% probability that there is a significant difference in the values. Simple chi-square computations will reveal the nature of the differences and are covered in the rest

of this chapter. A computed C value of 0.19 indicates a fairly weak relationship between the stations and categories on a scale of 0.0 to 1.0, with 1.0 representing an extremely strong relationship. Squaring C gives a Coefficient of Determination of 0.0368, which indicates that almost no variation in one variable is accounted for by variation in the other.

Table III lists the total occurrences of bias for each station.

TABLE III

TOTAL INSTANCES OF BIAS FOR EACH STATION

	BBC	Radio Moscow	VOA
Total	166.333	80	104.667
As % of word total	3.8823	3.6647	3.4114

A simple chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 0.9729$, $df=2$) reveals no significant difference in total bias between stations. This indicates that the BBC, Radio Moscow and the VOA had approximately equal total amounts of bias.

Table IV lists the total occurrences of each category of bias:

TABLE IV

TOTAL INSTANCES OF EACH CATEGORY OF BIAS

	Excessive Pronominalization	Reification	Multiordinate Terms	Truncated Passive
Total	64.333	45.667	185.333	55.667
As % of word total	0.6747	0.4789	1.9437	0.5838

A simple chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 146.6791$, $df=3$) reveals a 99.9% probability there is a significant difference in bias categories for the stations.

Simple chi-square tests between each pair show the following:

- Exc. Pron. -> Reif.: $\chi^2 = 3.167451$: There is no significant difference. The stations had equal amounts of Excessive Pronominalization and Reification.
- Exc. Pron. -> Multiord.: $\chi^2 = 58.64233$: There is a 99.9% chance of a significant difference. The stations had more instances of Multiordinate Terms than Excessive Pronominalization.
- Exc. Pron. -> Passive: $\chi^2 = 0.6258297$: There is no a significant difference. The stations had equal amounts of Excessive Pronominalization and Truncated Passive Voice.
- Reif. -> Multiord.: $\chi^2 = 84.44412$: There is a 99.9% chance of a significant difference. The stations had more instances of Multiordinate Terms than Reification.
- Reif. -> Passive: $\chi^2 = 0.9868356$: There is no significant difference. The stations had equal amounts of Reification and Truncated Passive Voice.
- Multiord. -> Passive: $\chi^2 = 69.7646$: There is a 99.9% chance of a significant difference. The stations had more instances of Multiordinate Terms and Truncated Passive Voice.

Table V lists the total occurrences of bias for BBC newscasts:

TABLE V
CATEGORIES OF BIAS FOR BBC NEWSCASTS

	Excessive Pronominalization	Reification	Multiordinate Terms	Truncated Passive
Total	27.333	27	84.667	27.333
As % of word total	0.6380	0.6303	1.976	0.6380

A simple chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 59.51963$, $df=3$) reveals a 99.9% probability there is a significant difference in bias categories for the BBC.

Simple chi-square tests between each pair show the following:

- Exc. Pron. -> Reif.: $\chi^2 = 0.00204$: There is no significant difference. The BBC had equal amounts of Excessive Pronominalization and Reification.
- Exc. Pron. -> Multiord.: $\chi^2 = 29.34989$: There is a 99.9% chance of a significant difference. The BBC had more Multiordinate Terms than Excessive Pronominalization.
- Exc. Pron. -> Passive: $\chi^2 = 0$: There is no significant difference. The BBC had equal amounts of Excessive Pronominalization and Truncated Passive Voice.
- Reif. -> Multiord.: $\chi^2 = 29.78036$: There is a 99.9% chance of a significant difference. The BBC had more Multiordinate Terms than Reification.
- Reif. -> Passive: $\chi^2 = 0.00204$: There is no significant difference. The BBC had equal amounts of Reification and Truncated Passive Voice.
- Multiord. -> Passive: $\chi^2 = 29.34989$: There is a 99.9% chance of a significant difference. The BBC had more Multiordinate Terms than Truncated Passive Voice.

Table VI lists the total occurrences of bias for Radio Moscow newscasts:

TABLE VI

CATEGORIES OF BIAS FOR RADIO MOSCOW NEWSCASTS

	Excessive Pronominalization	Reification	Multiordinate Terms	Truncated Passive
Total	9.333	5.333	49.333	16
As % of word total	0.4275	0.2443	2.260	0.7329

A simple chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 60.26729$, $df=3$) reveals a 99.9% probability there is a significant difference in bias categories for Radio Moscow.

Simple chi-square tests between each pair show the following:

- Exc. Pron. -> Reif.: $\chi^2 = 1.090959$: There is no significant difference. Radio Moscow had equal amounts of Excessive Pronominalization and Reification.
- Exc. Pron. -> Multiord.: $\chi^2 = 27.27304$: There is a 99.9% chance of a significant difference. Radio Moscow had more Multiordinate Terms than Excessive Pronominalization.
- Exc. Pron. -> Passive: $\chi^2 = 1.754584$: There is no significant difference. Radio Moscow had equal amounts of Excessive Pronominalization and Truncated Passive Voice.
- Reif. -> Multiord.: $\chi^2 = 35.41507$: There is a 99.9% chance of a significant difference. Radio Moscow had more Multiordinate Terms than Reification.
- Reif. -> Passive: $\chi^2 = 5.33375$: There is a 97.5% chance of a significant difference. Radio Moscow had more Truncated Passive Voice than Reification.

- Multiord. -> Passive: $\chi^2 = 17.00655$: There is a 99.9% chance of a significant difference. Radio Moscow had more Multiordinate Terms than Truncated Passive Voice.

Table VII lists the total occurrences of bias for VOA newscasts:

TABLE VII

CATEGORIES OF BIAS FOR VOICE OF AMERICA NEWSCASTS

	Excessive Pronominalization	Reification	Multiordinate Terms	Truncated Passive
Total	27.667	13.333	51.333	12.333
As % of word total	0.9018	0.4346	1.673	0.4020

A simple chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 37.89841$, $df=3$) reveals a xx.x% probability there is a significant difference in total bias between stations.

Simple chi-square tests between each pair show the following:

- Exc. Pron. -> Reif.: $\chi^2 = 5.011306$: There is a 97.5% chance of a significant difference. The VOA had more Excessive Pronominalization than Reification.
- Exc. Pron. -> Multiord.: $\chi^2 = 7.089615$: There is a 99.0% chance of a significant difference. The VOA had more Multiordinate Terms than Excessive Pronominalization.
- Exc. Pron. -> Passive: $\chi^2 = 5.878289$: There is a 97.5% chance of a significant difference. The VOA had more Excessive Pronominalization than Truncated Passive Voice.

- Reif. -> Multiord.: $\chi^2 = 22.33013$: There is a 99.9% chance of a significant difference. The VOA had more Multiordinate Terms than Reification.
- Reif. -> Passive: $\chi^2 = 0.03896$: There is no significant difference. The VOA had equal amounts of Truncated Passive Voice and Reification.
- Multiord. -> Passive: $\chi^2 = 23.8903$: There is a 99.9% chance of a significant difference. The VOA had more Multiordinate Terms than Truncated Passive Voice.

Table VIII lists the total occurrences of Excessive Pronominalization:

TABLE VIII
OCCURRENCES OF EXCESSIVE PRONOMINALIZATION FOR EACH
STATION

	BBC	Radio Moscow	VOA
Total	27.333	9.333	27.667
As % of word total	0.6380	0.4275	0.9018

A simple chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 4.5348$, $df=2$) reveals no significant difference in Excessive Pronominalization between stations. This indicates that the BBC, Radio Moscow and the VOA had approximately equal amounts of Excessive Pronominalization.

Some examples of Excessive Pronominalization found in the reports:

- "...the Bosnian Serbs would give up some of the territory..." (BBC, 8-27-93)

- "...hostilities...died down some time ago..." (Radio Moscow, 9-7-93)
- "...seeking further territorial concessions..." (VOA, 9-8-93)

Table IX lists the total occurrences of Reification:

TABLE IX
OCCURRENCES OF REIFICATION FOR EACH STATION

	BBC	Radio Moscow	VOA
Total	27	5.333	13.333
As % of word total	0.6303	0.2443	0.4346

A simple chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 4.6817$, $df=2$) reveals no significant difference in Reification between stations. This indicates that the BBC, Radio Moscow and the VOA had approximately equal amounts of Reification.

Some examples of Reification found in the reports:

- "...a peace agreement that was fair..." (BBC, 9-9-93)
- "...the questions they are...concerned about." (Radio Moscow, 9-12-93)
- "...Muslims are on the verge of starvation..." (VOA, 8-24-93)

Table X lists the total occurrences of Multiordinate Terms:

TABLE X
OCCURRENCES OF MULTIORDINATE TERMS FOR EACH STATION

	BBC	Radio Moscow	VOA
Total	84.667	49.333	51.333
As % of word total	1.976	2.260	1.673

A simple chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 2.1464$, $df=2$) reveals no significant difference in Multiordinate Terms between stations. This indicates that the BBC, Radio Moscow and the VOA had approximately equal amounts of Multiordinate Terms.

Some examples of Multiordinate Terms found in the reports:

- "...Serbs would withdraw existing concessions..." (BBC, 8-29-93)
- "...Bosnian Serbs...made concessions..." (Radio Moscow, 9-2-93)
- "...Bosnian Croats are expected to approve the plan..." (VOA, 8-28-93)

Table XI lists the total occurrences of Truncated Passive Voice:

TABLE XI

OCCURRENCES OF TRUNCATED PASSIVE VOICE FOR EACH STATION

	BBC	Radio Moscow	VOA
Total	27.333	16	12.333
As % of word total	0.6380	0.7329	0.4020

A simple chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 2.6922$, $df=2$) reveals no significant difference in Truncated Passive Voice between stations. This indicates that the BBC, Radio Moscow and the VOA had approximately equal amounts of Truncated Passive Voice.

Some examples of Truncated Passive Voice found in the reports:

- "...13-thousand ration packs were dropped..." (BBC, 8-25-93)

- "...it has been announced that U.N. Secretary General..." (Radio Moscow, 8-27-93)
- "...small arms fire was reported..." (VOA, 9-2-93)

Summary

In the fifteen news items concerning Bosnia-Herzegovina on the BBC, Radio Moscow and Voice of America during the period analyzed, this study shows several trends. First, the stations had more instances of Multiordinate Terms than the other three semantic categories analyzed. Perhaps more interestingly, the three stations showed equal amounts of bias for all four categories. Although the BBC had higher total counts of each category, the BBC also had longer stories. Taking this into account removes all differences.

The equal status of the stations is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5; however, this leads to a few immediate conclusions. First, where Radio Moscow and VOA bias were found in the Doyle-Hennin study to be greater than that of the BBC, the data in the current research indicate a change in one or more of the stations. Forming a definite conclusion would require more detailed research, but on the surface it appears that the BBC had more bias, Radio Moscow and VOA had more, or both.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

General

The basic starting point of this research study concerned the shrinking of what Marshall McLuhan called the "global village." That is, the increasing speed, quality and availability of communication technology is making both remote villages and large metropolitan areas equally reachable by the media. In many ways, this shrinking of our media world has coincided with a decrease in political tension. The fall of communist government in the Soviet Union has brought the end of decades of political conflict between the world's superpowers, and the United States and Russia now experience peaceful relations.

This study attempts to determine if this change in political relations has carried over to the airwaves. By asking a simple question -- "Is there evidence of a change in the amount of bias on international radio broadcasts since the end of the Cold War?" -- the current study seeks to determine if changes in the political climate have carried over into how the nations involved communicate with their world neighbors.

This question can be approached in a nearly infinite number of ways. This study applied principles of general semantics to analyze regular news broadcasts by shortwave stations in England, Russia and the United States. By analyzing news stories on the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and comparing the numbers of semantic errors made by each station, conclusions can be made as to whether one station can be considered more biased than the others.

This study attempts to answer the following questions about international broadcasting:

1. Do the major shortwave broadcasters make general semantics errors in their news coverage?
2. Which broadcaster makes the most errors?
3. Has the ideological content of international broadcasting changed since the end of the Cold War?

The null hypotheses for this study are as follows:

1. The major shortwave broadcasters generally do not make semantic errors in their news coverage.
2. The major shortwave broadcasters make approximately the same number of errors.
3. There has been no change in the ideological content of the BBC, Radio Moscow and VOA since 1988.

The first null hypothesis is not supported. Simple and complex chi-square statistics reveal that the broadcasters did in fact make semantic errors and

that the differences between categories were significant. Slightly more than half of the total number of errors were in the Multiordinate Terms category, which had 53% of all errors. The differences between the other three categories were not significant (Excessive Pronominalization: 18%, Truncated Passive Voice: 16% and Reification: 13%). Table III lists the data for each category of bias.

For the second null hypothesis, simple chi-square statistics show that the three stations made semantic errors, and that the differences in total errors between stations were not significant. The BBC made 47% of the total number of errors, the VOA made 30% and Radio Moscow made 23%. Statistically, the BBC committed the most errors with Radio Moscow and the VOA making approximately the same amount of semantic errors. It is interesting to note that these are also approximately the same percentages as the total number of words for each station. When taking the lengths of the news items into account, the differences between stations were not significant. This indicates that the rate of committing semantic errors was approximately the same for each station. When viewing the data in this sense, null hypothesis two is supported. Tables II through XI contain the data in these categories.

Null hypothesis three requires a more qualitative analysis. In order to determine the changes in the nature of shortwave radio, it is necessary to compare the results of this study against the conclusions of previous research. Doyle-Hennin's 1988 study concluded that BBC newscasts were generally objective and unbiased, with Radio Moscow and VOA news containing

considerable amounts of bias at times.¹ Doyle-Hennin suggested that news is a reflection on the society that produces and analyzes it, and that the world looks different from various cultures. This is definitely the case with international broadcasting, both at the end of the Cold War and in the beginning of a post-Cold War era. While superpower shortwave radio stations contained more bias than the relatively-neutral BBC in 1988, the same stations in 1993 displayed approximately equal levels of bias. Whether the BBC developed more bias or the other stations displayed decreased bias can be determined only in separate research. Nevertheless, that the three stations evaluated here displayed equal amounts of bias indicates a possible lack of support for null hypothesis three and demonstrates a probable change in ideological content of the BBC, Radio Moscow and Voice of America since 1988.

It is important to repeat a point made by several researchers, including Doyle-Hennin, that bias isn't necessarily intentional. Journalists raised and educated in a particular country and under a particular set of beliefs are predisposed to view world events through the prism of the system in which they live. Even without specifically trying to be biased, an American journalist during the height of the Cold War would probably have tended to see American views as "correct" and Soviet views as "wrong" and would report accordingly. McLean cites Kenneth G. Johnson's claim that journalists think their words reflect reality². A journalist's words merely reflect one person's viewpoint. In this respect, it is irresponsible to suggest that any findings of "bias" on the part

of an international broadcaster represent a conspiracy to mislead the listener. While this might be the case, the type of bias investigated in this study also represents accurate reporting that a listener could find misleading. In addition to viewing this study as an analysis of bias, it is also a review of the journalists themselves. Reporters should write in the clearest, unambiguous, most concrete language possible if they want to avoid potential misunderstanding.

Recommendations for further research

This study approaches a very broad research question from a very limited perspective and further research can explore other aspects of the current study. An especially valid research project would analyze the news items included in this study in a more qualitative fashion. Application of linguistic tools to probe deeper into the actual nature of bias would provide more insight into the state of international broadcasting in 1993 and would help provide a comparison with the Doyle-Hennin study, which uses linguistic techniques.

Further research into other aspects of shortwave radio propaganda would be a benefit to the research community and would add to the scope of the current study. Some possibilities of related research would include a similar analysis of BBC, Radio Moscow and VOA stories from the same period on other subjects and examination of stories on Bosnia on the same stations from several time periods. Other research could explore the larger world of shortwave radio and examine broadcasts from other shortwave radio stations. This would allow

a view into how stations and journalists in other nations and under different political systems view superpower events and issues.

While this research project concerned radio stations that reach listeners in other countries, other future research could apply similar methods to newspaper, magazine or even television news reports in an attempt to see if the amount of bias in news meant for domestic consumption changed over the time period involved here. It would also be highly advisable to repeat the current study after some time had passed. This would further extend the longitudinal aspect of the current research and continue to track the amount of bias in shortwave radio news broadcasts.

Future researchers are advised to consider a simpler coding scheme. The author experienced difficulty in two ways with the selected semantic categories. First, it was difficult to find a qualified pool of coders. The differences between categories are very subtle and demand a great knowledge of both English grammar and general semantics. Second, the coders for this study were forced to make several judgement calls on several coding decisions. A more concrete categorization scheme that leaves less room for individual interpretation would hopefully lead to more consistent results among the coders.

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APPENDIX A

Instructions given to coders

As you know from your general semantics coursework, the subject of general semantics is centered around the concept that the way things *are* and the way we *describe them* are different. At a simple level, if we describe to our friends or families something we experienced earlier that day, we will omit some details even if we try not to. Similarly, we cannot completely describe an inanimate object because we cannot adequately explain it on a molecular level. In each case, something is left out.

The public first learned about general semantics in 1933 with the publication of Alfred Korzybski's Science and Sanity. In 1946, Wendell Johnson, a speech pathologist, published People in Quandaries, which clarified and expanded on much of Korzybski's admittedly vague and difficult writing.

As Johnson saw it, many of our personal problems stem from the simple fact that the way things are and the way we perceive and describe them are usually two completely different things. For example, if the temperature outside is 75 degrees, a person coming out of an air conditioned theater may find it warm, while another person who has been in a hot attic may find it cool. The first person would say "It's hot," and the other would say "It's cool." Each

person has observed the same phenomenon but described it differently. To apply this same principle to current affairs, two people may see the same television news report on the war in the former Yugoslav republic Bosnia-Herzegovina. If one person is a Vietnam veteran and has seen the horrors of war firsthand, the Yugoslavian war may seem relatively calm. But another person with no war experience may find it beyond horror. Again, the same facts, but different sets of interpretations and descriptions.

Another important concept of general semantics deals with the way people define words. One way to describe something is to describe its physical characteristics. For example, this piece of paper is 8½ inches wide, 11 inches high, made of some type of paper material and is covered with black marks that have meaning to the reader. This is an "extensional" definition; it defines the external, or measurable aspects of something. Another type of definition deals with more abstract, intangible characteristics of something. To continue the earlier example, this page contains a discussion of general semantics. As an internal, or "intensional" description, a reader must understand the meaning of "general semantics" before understanding that definition. It is a form of circular logic that can lead to great misunderstanding if the reader is confused or uninformed. In the case of journalism, an audience member must understand the topics covered before reading, hearing or seeing a news report if it is to make sense. Similarly, journalists owe it to their audience to explain the issues they cover.

William Jex applied this concept to news reports in newspapers and on television by searching for instances of Korzybski's Intensional Characteristics of Language. He treated these occurrences as examples of imprecision; each example was considered a possible instance of biased and misleading communication. This study uses the same concept in an attempt to find examples of imprecise, and therefore possibly biased and misleading, news reporting on shortwave radio stations. This study uses the same categories.

- Excessive Pronominalization: a construction that refers to other terms or statements. Excessive pronominalization commits the error of vagueness. A statement such as "The Muslims were unwilling to give the Serbs what they demanded" is vague because the term "what they demanded" is undefined. It is an abstraction that has no real meaning.
- Reification: use of "is" or its related forms to imply a connection. Reification sets up a relationship where there may not actually be one. Saying "The Croats say it is a good peace plan" demonstrates the self-reflexive property of language; that is, saying so doesn't make something true. A journalistic and semantic improvement would be to describe what the Croats like about the peace plan.
- Multiordinate terms: a word or phrase that demonstrates an either/or situation or broad, undefined meaning. This sentence contains a multiordinate term: "The Bosnian Muslims expressed disagreement with the proposal." With exactly what did they disagree? Again, this sentence says

very little because it does not explain specifics. It is an extremely abstract connection. In addition, it implies the Bosnian Muslims disagreed with every term of the proposal, leaving no room for the possibility they concurred with any of it. Multiordinate terms violate this either/or rule. Terms that indicate multiordinality include: yes, no, true, false, fact, reality, cause, effect, agreement, disagreement, proposition, number, relation, order, structure, abstraction, characteristic, love, hate, doubt, etc. In context, other words that have a very broad meaning are also valid where the general meaning is general or ambiguous.

- Truncated passive voice: a verb construction that lacks an agent. In these cases, the actual performer of the action is unknown. In this sentence, it is impossible to tell who is responsible: "At the U-N meeting, the president was warned of continuing violence." Threats of continuing violence have a significantly different meaning if they come from an ally than if they come from an enemy. Truncated passive constructions specify actions or events for which there is no reference to the agent. Simple passive voice ("The soldiers were told by their leaders to attack the city.") may be journalistically faulty but does not commit this semantic error because the agent ("their leaders") is included.

This study attempts to find such potential sources of misunderstanding in shortwave radio newscasts. The American, British and Russian stations (Voice of America, British Broadcasting Corporation and Radio Moscow) are analyzed

for how they have covered the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. These stations have been on the air since the origins of international broadcasting in the 1920s and have millions of listeners around the world. They were used in part to send propaganda across the imaginary front line of the cold war. This study seeks to discover if the propaganda content on these stations is less since the end of the cold war than in 1987 and 1988.

How to code

Please read the following scripts carefully. Each page has just one day's story or stories followed by a table. Mark each occurrence of each category in the text using any method you like, and enter the total counts for each category in the table along with a total word count. Refer to the preceding explanation of the categories for guidance. The first page of scripts provides an example. Since shortwave radio depends on the mercy of radio wave propagation, some parts of some newscasts were impossible to understand. In the scripts, such cases are marked with question marks, ellipses or other punctuation to indicate part of the story is left out. Some proper names are enclosed in parentheses. In most cases, these are the phonetic spellings of towns in the former Yugoslavia. Because the actual names are not important for this study, this should not be a problem.

APPENDIX B

Scripts analyzed in the study

This appendix lists all of the news scripts analyzed in the study. Each item is preceded by the name of the station, day, time (Coordinated Universal Time, or Greenwich Mean Time) and frequency of the station.

British Broadcasting Corporation

BBC Mon. 8-23-93 0200Z 9590 kHz

Headlines:

- More fighting is underway in Bosnia-Herzegovina as the 3 warring parties struggle for control over disputed areas.

There have been reports of further fighting in several parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serb and Muslim led Bosnian government forces have blamed each other for clashes around the northern town of Doboj. And in central Bosnia, Croat units have stepped up their attacks on Muslim positions in the town of Gornji Vakuf. Both areas were the subject of intense negotiations at the peace talks in Geneva which broke up last week. The Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, has said he will not recommend the peace plan to the Bosnian parliament when it meets in special session later this week. David (...?) reports from Vitez. "Even before the publication of the latest Geneva plan for the division of Bosnia, U-N officials were worried it might trigger a new wave of fighting. That prediction seems to have been borne out in northern Bosnia. Serb and Bosnian government accounts of a battle near Doboj differ in detail but not in substance. Since Doboj lies on the edge of territory allocated to the Muslims under the plan, it's possible that both sides are trying to gain by force what they're denied by negotiation. There's a similar prospect on several fronts in central Bosnia. U-N reports over the weekend said Muslim led units have suddenly left one of their main bases, a move that fuels speculation that a Muslim offensive was being planned for the strategically vital and much fought over town of Gornji Vakuf. The peace plan allocates most of Gornji Vakuf to the Muslims but says the Croats should be allowed access to the key roads there. That's unlikely to be acceptable to either side, and in a new development, Croat forces in Gornji Vakuf have started launching patrols around the town to harass Muslim positions, further evidence that the peace plan has left this flashpoint at least unresolved.

A United Nations official has said that Muslims trapped in the besieged Bosnian town of Mostar may die of starvation if food doesn't reach them within a few days. The official, Lyndall Sachs, was speaking after one of her colleagues had managed to get into Mostar with a convoy carrying medical supplies. She said hundreds of people there were sick and most people looked thin and starved. Croat snipers were stopping people from getting water from the river. She

said conditions at the hospital there were also appalling. "My colleague visited the hospital, and he described conditions as appalling. It's a (...?...?) office. There are between 50 and 60 patients there. They are performing 15 to 20 operations per day. The majority of the patients are in fact in the houses. They get their treatment and they're immediately sent home because there is simply no space in this improvised hospital." The U-N has said it could get food into Mostar within 24 hours, but it's being held up by Croat forces. The Croats are making the relief of Mostar conditional on the release of Croat wounded and prisoners elsewhere in the (prague) republic.

Croatian radio says 5 United States generals had talks in Zagreb on the effects of possible air strikes in Bosnia. The group, led by the head of the Operations Directorate at the American Defense Ministry, General John Sheehan, met the Croatian defense minister (Gueco Shusac) and the Croat army chief of general staff. The radio said the American generals are due in Sarajevo later today for talks with U-N and Bosnian army representatives.

BBC Tues. 8-24-93 0400Z 5975 kHz

Headlines:

- The United Nations has warned of a nightmare winter for Bosnia unless the peace plan is agreed, but there are hopes of an aid convoy leaving for Mostar later today.

The United Nations mediator in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, Thorvald Stoltenberg, has said if the current peace plan is not signed by all warring parties, the coming winter will be a nightmare. He told the U-N Security Council that without a negotiated solution, the war could intensify with severe consequences, particularly for humanitarian aid. Mr. Stoltenberg also told reporters that the U-N now had the consent of both the Bosnian government and the Croats to send an aid convoy into the besieged city of Mostar, and he hoped a convoy could get through later today. From New York, here's our United Nations correspondent John ?. "Mr. Stoltenberg's comments were mainly aimed at persuading the mainly Muslim Bosnian government to sign the peace plan. But he also set out to convince the members of the international community, who'll have to implement the plan if it's agreed. Mr. Stoltenberg said the choice was between a negotiated peace and continued and intensified war. If the war continued, he said the suffering during the next winter could be disastrous. The peace envoy pointed out that this was the third attempt at a peace plan. "I fear that ... do not succeed on the third attempt to get a peace agreement, it will really encourage those forces who would prefer to make the map on the battlefield, and not through negotiations." After the meeting, Mr. Stoltenberg said he was very satisfied with his reception by the Security Council, however the American ambassador, Madeline Albright, gave only a non-committal response to the plan, while some other members were openly hostile."

Headlines:

- The United Nations moderator in Bosnia-Herzegovina has warned that the coming winter will be a nightmare if the warring parties do not sign the proposed peace plan.

BBC Wed. 8-25-93 0600Z 5975 kHz

Headlines:

- American aircraft have airdropped food aid into the besieged city of Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where many Muslims are said to be on the brink of starvation.

United States aircraft have dropped desperately needed food supplies into the city of Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The operation by two C-130 military transport planes from a base in

Germany was aimed at bringing relief to the Muslim sector of the city, which is besieged from Bosnian Croat forces. An American spokesman said more than 13-thousand ration packs were dropped. The Muslims in Mostar haven't received food aid for two months. Many are reported to be on the brink of starvation. Aircraft also dropped supplies to other Muslim communities under siege elsewhere in the republic. Ground fighting between Muslims and Croats continued in and around Mostar yesterday. The conflict has been preventing a U-N aid convoy reaching the Muslims, but officials say another attempt will be made to get it through later today.

Headlines:

- United States military aircraft have dropped desperately needed food supplies into the city of Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The airdrop was aimed at the Muslim sector of the city, where many people are said to be on the brink of starvation.

BBC Thurs. 8-26-93 0300Z 5975 kHz

Headlines:

- A United Nations relief convoy has finally reached Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Food and medicine have been distributed to both Muslims, who are besieged in the east of the city, and to the Croats.

A United Nations convoy has finally got through to the city of Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina to deliver 300 tons of urgently needed food and medical supplies to the divided Muslim and Croat communities. In the early hours of the morning, it entered the eastern sector of the city, where 55-thousand Muslims are said to be on the brink of starvation. Volunteers ignored sporadic sniper fire and unloaded the food and drugs urgently needed at the shell-damaged hospital full of casualties from the conflict. The Muslims also received some food from the air, as United States military aircraft carried out an airdrop for a second successive night. Another part of the convoy headed earlier to deliver aid to the Croats on the opposite side of the city.

The U-N has warned that even if agreement is reached at Geneva next week on the international peace plan to end the conflict in Bosnia, the U-N will not be able to pay for the 40-thousand peacekeeping troops needed to implement it. Sources at the U-N say that fewer troops than the number requested by the international mediators would be available to supervise the division of Bosnia along ethnic lines. Many countries have offered troops to take part in peacekeeping duties in Bosnia, but the funds are not available to pay for them. The BBC United Nations correspondent says the warning is the latest indication of the organization's deepening financial crisis.

The U-N is to send a team of investigators to Sarajevo to look into allegations that troops serving with the U-N have been selling relief supplies on the black market. They are to inquire into reports that U-N soldiers have been trading food, alcohol and cigarettes with local criminals. The Sarajevo police have said that earlier this year, U-N vehicles were used to smuggle heroin into the city. The BBC correspondent in Sarajevo says senior commanders of the United Nations Protection Force are dismayed at the scale of the profiteering. One said the U-N was the most corrupt organization he had ever worked for.

Headlines:

- The United Nations convoy laden with urgently needed food and medical supplies has entered the Muslim center of the city of Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina after a week of delay and frustration. Earlier, the trucks distributed some of the aid to the Croat-held part of the city.

BBC Fri. 8-27-93 0500Z 5975 kHz

Headlines:

- Representatives of the three warring factions in Bosnia are due to meet in separate sessions today to consider the latest peace proposals.

Assemblies representing all three warring sides in the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina -- the Muslims, Serbs and Croats -- are meeting today to consider the Geneva peace plan. The self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament is meeting at its headquarters in Pale to decide whether to accept the proposals for dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ethnic areas. Under the plan, the Bosnian Serbs would give up some of the territory they now control after some 17 months of fighting, but would still retain more than fifty percent of Bosnia. A spokesman for the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, has said he believes the assembly would accept it. Julian Borger in Pale reports on the feelings of the Bosnian Serb community. "As delegates gathered from all the Serb-held areas of Bosnia, Mr. Karadzic's office was optimistic that the new peace plan would be accepted. The Bosnian leader's spokesman, ?, said he expected complaints from delegates representing Serb-held areas, which would be given up under the plan. But Mr. ? said there was only a slight chance the agreement would be rejected this time. He said it offered an important step forward for Bosnian Serbs, an internationally-recognized separate republic. The ... politicians were expressing their satisfaction that everything would go according to plan. But far away, soldiers in fortified positions overlooking Sarajevo were doubtful that the plan would bring a lasting peace. Most thought that their enemies in the Bosnian government would reject it, which would lead, the soldiers said, to more intense fighting. Many thought that even if all three sides in the conflict sign the agreement, there is too much bitterness in Bosnia and too many weapons in circulation for a quick end to the fighting.

The United Nations convoy which brought urgently needed supplies to the city of Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina is still being prevented from leaving by the Muslims, the people it went in to help. Demonstrators, most of them women, have been sitting on the road in front of the vehicles since before dawn yesterday, refusing to allow them to leave. They say the U-N presence is protecting them from further attacks by Bosnian Croats. President Alija Izetbegovic, himself a Muslim, has appealed to the local authorities to allow the convoy to leave.

Headlines:

- Representatives of the three warring factions in Bosnia are due to meet in separate sessions today to consider the latest peace proposals.

BBC Sat. 8-28-93 0500Z 5975 kHz

Headlines:

- There's been strong opposition to the Geneva plan dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina. A decision is expected today.

The Bosnian parliament and the separate assemblies representing the Bosnian Serbs and Croats are each expected to decide today whether to back the Geneva peace plan, including the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three parts along ethnic lines. The Croat assembly is expected to back the proposals. But both the mainly Muslim Bosnian parliament and the Bosnian Serb assembly were adjourned yesterday without a final vote on the agreement and amid widespread criticism of the proposed territorial concessions. Julian Borger in the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale looks at the prospects for peace. "With two days to go before the Geneva peace talks are due to resume, the peace plan is under threat from two sides. In Sarajevo, most of the speeches from the floor of the parliament supported the Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, in attacking the way Bosnia has been divided at the Geneva negotiating table.

Delegates argued that the peace plan gave legitimacy to the division of Bosnia by military force and ethnic cleansing. The plan was expected to get an easier ride from the Bosnian Serbs in Pale. After all, it gives them over half of Bosnian territory. But the Serbs now control 70 percent of the country, and the delegates at the assembly in Pale concentrated on the land they would have to give up to make the peace plan work, rather than on the territory they'd be able to keep. The Bosnian Serb leader, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, argued that territorial concessions are the inevitable price to be paid for the more important objectives of sovereignty and international recognition. As one delegate after another criticized him for giving away territory that they said was historically Serbian, Dr. Karadzic lost his temper, accusing some speakers of being unconstructive and paranoid."

Vehicles of the United Nations convoy which brought food to starving Bosnian Muslims in their enclave in the southern city of Mostar two days ago remain stranded in the main street. They are surrounded by civilians unwilling to let them go. The BBC correspondent there says exchanges of artillery and small-arms fire with the surrounding Croat forces continue nearby.

BBC Sun. 8-29-93 0300Z 5975 kHz

Headlines:

- The three warring Bosnian factions have given their verdicts on the Geneva peace plan. The Serbs have backed it, but the Muslims and Croats want changes.

The mainly Muslim parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina has demanded changes to the Geneva peace plan. No formal announcement has yet been made, but a BBC correspondent in Sarajevo says the parliament is believed to have accepted the plan for a loose federation of three ethnic republics, but with important qualifications. These include territorial adjustments which would add a further six percent to the thirty percent of the republic they have already been allotted and guarantee access to the sea. The Bosnian Croats have also demanded territorial concessions. But the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, warned that the Serbs would withdraw existing concessions if the plan was not accepted as it stood. The proposals give the Bosnian Serbs just over half the republic. They currently control about 70 percent. The Bosnian Serb assembly in Pale has backed the plan.

More than 50 Spanish troops who accompanied a United Nations relief convoy into Mostar in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina have remained in the city as part of a deal allowing food trucks and civilian drivers to leave. Muslims trapped in the city by Bosnian Croat fighters had prevented the convoy from leaving for three days because they believed a continuing U-N presence would protect them from renewed Croat shelling. The U-N is to continue talks today aimed at securing a cease fire agreement for the area.

Headlines:

- The warring sides in Bosnia have given their responses to the Geneva peace plan. The Serb assembly has voted to accept it, but the mainly Muslim parliament and the Bosnian Croats say the boundaries proposed are unacceptable and will have to be changed.

BBC Wed. 9-1-93 0400Z 5975 kHz

Headlines:

- At the resumed peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina, President Izetbegovic says there has been no progress. But the Bosnian parliament ... peace plan.

There have been conflicting assessments of progress made at the end of the first day of the resumed Geneva negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina. The president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, said there has been no progress. A BBC correspondent says the main stumbling block is land, but the Bosnian government is demanding the return of Muslim towns taken by the Bosnian Serbs ...?... However, the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, said he expected the Muslims to sign the whole package in the morning, and the Bosnian Croats say they are ready to sign. Mr. Izetbegovic and Mr. Karadzic had earlier agreed to a plan to promote ?, which includes a cease fire and an exchange of prisoners.

Headlines:

- At the resumed peace negotiations in Geneva on Bosnia, President Izetbegovic says there's been no progress, but the Bosnian Croats say they are now ready to sign the peace plan.

BBC Thurs. 9-2-93 0300Z 5975 kHz

Headlines:

- Hopes for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina have been dealt another blow with the collapse of the latest Geneva talks. The international mediator, Lord Owen, warned of anarchy and chaos.

The Geneva talks to end the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina have broken down on the details of how to split the country into three ethnic territories, though all sides say they are willing to resume negotiations. The Croatian president, Franjo Tushman, said fresh demands from the mainly-Muslim Bosnian government were to blame. The Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, said those benefiting from the war had not been willing to offer the most basic compromise. The Bosnian government wanted better land corridors between Muslim enclaves and direct access to the sea. The international mediator, Lord Owen, said there is now danger of anarchy and chaos. BBC's central European correspondent says there could be widespread fighting to settle the outstanding territorial disputes. The Bosnian Serb and Croat leaderships have warned repeatedly that Bosnia could be split into two republics, leaving the Muslims with nothing.

Headlines:

- Hope for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been dealt another blow with the breakdown of the Geneva talks over the proposed borders of the three ethnic republics. The international mediator, Lord Owen, has warned of anarchy and chaos.

BBC Sun. 9-5-93 1300Z ? kHz

Fighting between the mainly Muslim Bosnian army and Croat forces has continued in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The latest clashes were reported around the central town of (Mulvitavnik). Yesterday there was fighting in the southern city of Mostar. The United Nations Security Council and the European Community have both urged the Serbs, Croats and the Bosnian government to resume peace talks which broke down on Wednesday.

BBC Tues. 9-7-93 0300Z 5975 kHz

Headlines:

- Muslim prisoners recently released from Bosnian Croat camps have given United Nations officials a grim account of the ordeal they said they had to endure.

Muslim prisoners recently released from detention centers run by Bosnian Croats have been describing their ordeal. United Nations officials in Bosnia-Herzegovina say prisoners freed

from the Dretelj and Gabela camps near Mostar spoke of being starved, beaten and deprived of water. Some were emaciated. They said they were held without sanitation in conditions so cramped that they could not lie down to sleep and had been forced to drink their own urine in order to survive. U-N officials said the prisoners had reported that several people had died as a result of random beating. The Croatian president, Franjo Tudjman, is reported to have written to the Bosnian Croat leader, (? Bobanin), urging him to insure that all prisoners of war are treated humanely.

The Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, has condemned the role of the United Nations in the Bosnian conflict. Speaking on Sarajevo radio, Mr. Izetbegovic said the U-N had tied the hands of those under attack, and then walked away from those in need. The Bosnian president was being interviewed from New York, where he's due to meet the U-N Security Council later today. Correspondents say Mr. Izetbegovic is expected to seek support for the demand that the Bosnian Muslims be given more territory in the partition plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The demand led to a breakdown in the Geneva talks last Wednesday.

Headlines:

- Further evidence has emerged of the conditions endured by Bosnian Muslims prisoners at camps run by Croatian forces in western Herzegovina. United Nations officials say the prisoners were exhausted, emaciated and terrorized.

BBC Wed. 9-8-93 1200Z 15220 kHz

United Nations forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina have voiced concern at increased tension between the mainly Muslim government troops and Bosnian Serb forces on the mountains overlooking the capital Sarajevo. A U-N spokesman said both sides had put thousands of troops into combat positions. A BBC correspondent in Sarajevo says the several hundred U-N troops deployed on the mountains are not in a position to deter any attack, and the U-N hopes to resolve the issue by negotiation. The Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, who asked the United Nations in New York yesterday to renew the threat of air strikes to help stop the fighting in Bosnia and protect aid convoys, is to meet President Clinton in Washington later today.

Headlines:

- United Nations forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina have voiced concern at increased tension between the mainly Muslim government troops and Bosnian Serb forces on the mountains overlooking the capital Sarajevo. Both sides are said to have put thousands of troops into combat positions.

BBC Thurs. 9-9-93 0300Z 5975 kHz

Headlines:

- President Clinton says America remains ready to send troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina to help guarantee a peace settlement.

President Clinton said the United States remains ready to provide troops to help guarantee a peace settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr. Clinton was speaking after talks with the visiting Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, praised the courage of the Bosnian Muslims and said a peace agreement that was fair and not forced on them would be supported by Washington. He emphasized his view that a peacekeeping force should operate through NATO rather than the United Nations, and said the allied threat to use air strikes if necessary against the Serbs remained. NATO ambassadors issued a similar warning earlier in Brussels. Mr. Izetbegovic

described the talks as very useful, thanking the American people for their support. He repeated his willingness to return to negotiations without delay.

Headlines:

- President Clinton has reiterated his willingness to send American troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina to help guarantee a peace settlement. He also praised the courage of the Bosnian Muslims.

BBC Sat. 9-11-93 0300Z 6175 kHz

Headlines:

- There are further reports of fighting in Croatia near the Serb-held enclave of Krajina.

There has been a second day of heavy artillery exchanges between Croats and Serb forces around the self-proclaimed Serb republic of Krajina in Croatia. The commander of the United Nations force in the former Yugoslavia, General (Zhaum Kurt), said there had been a dramatic rise in tension between the two sides. It was now at its highest level in almost eight months. He expressed grave concern about the escalation of hostilities, which followed a Croatian army offense south of Gospic on Thursday. Serb gunners bombarded the Croatian towns of (Kalmuvah) and (Sea-sack) yesterday. Their artillery was also reported to have closed the main road linking the capital Zagreb with the Adriatic coast.

And a unit of the Bosnian Serb army has blockaded the Serb-held town of Banja Luka in northwest Bosnia to protest against alleged war profiteering by civilians. The soldiers have blocked all roads to the town center using tanks and armored cars and taken control of key buildings, including the police headquarters and the radio station. In a radio statement, they demanded punishment for war profiteers, who they said were growing rich while others were fighting.

Headlines:

- There are reports of further fighting in Croatia near the Serb-held enclave of Krajina. The Croats said five people were killed after Serb forces shelled one of their strongholds near Zagreb.

BBC Mon. 9-13-93 0200Z 5975 kHz

Headlines:

- ...is seeking an urgent cease-fire to end the renewed fighting between the Croatian army and Serb separatists.

The United Nations Protection Force in former Yugoslavia says it's seeking an urgent cease-fire to end the renewed fighting between the Croatian army and Serb separatists in the Krajina region of southern Croatia. A United Nations statement said the situation was deteriorating, and a senior official, Cedric Thornberry, said the Security Council might be asked to intervene. Earlier, the Croatian president, Franjo Tudjman, announced that he has ordered his forces to observe a 24-hour cease-fire to enable him to try to negotiate a peace with the Serb separatists. From the Croatian capital Zagreb, here's Richard Carrothers. "(?) fired another rocket at a town called (Curtina), east of Zagreb on Sunday, which scattered several small bombs on impact. Earlier, the market town of Samobor was hit by what the U-N called eight multiple launch rockets. There was fighting elsewhere along the battle lines in southern Croatia. An oil refinery is reported to have been hit by Serb shell fire. So was the garrison town of (Culiva), although not on the scale of preceding days that Croatian authorities say killed 16 civilians. President

Tudjman has asked peace envoy Thorvald Stoltenberg for U-N help to broker a cease-fire with Krajina Serbs. But a senior U-N official here, Cedric Thornberry, says Serbs are unlikely to stop fighting unless Croatian forces withdraw from three villages they captured. Mr. Thornberry said Serb commanders have sent a list to the U-N of up to 30 locations they say they'll attack if the Croatian army fails to pull back. 'I do have the impression that the Serbs have a degree of determination this time which I haven't really quite seen to that degree before, and we could be in for quite a lot of trouble here. The Serbs have tonight issued a list of targets in Croatia -- military targets, they say -- which they say they will in fact target with weaponry which we know they can deploy.' Krajina Serbs have threatened to use combat weapons and systems so far not seen in the conflict if the Croatian army does not withdraw, but they have not specified what type. A Croatian army spokesman said (?) troops will not pull back until Security Council resolutions, especially those calling for disarmament of Serbs, are implemented."

Radio Moscow

Radio Moscow Mon. 8-23-93 0500Z 12050 kHz

Headlines:

- A session of the Bosnia parliament to discuss a plan for territorial division has been scheduled for next Friday.

Alija Izetbegovic, the leader of the Bosnian Muslim community, and the republic's president, said that next Friday, the parliament will convene to discuss a plan for dividing the republic into three mini-states. The plan was suggested by the international mediators at the Geneva peace conference, David Hurd and (). The parliament session, attended by representatives of the public, will be held in (), in the central part of the republic. At the news conference on Sunday, Izetbegovic stressed that he did not intend to recommend parliament to approve the Geneva plan, which gives the Bosnian Muslims a lesser part of the republic than that they hoped for.

Radio Moscow Tues. 8-24-93 0100Z 11805 kHz

Headlines:

- The Russian foreign ministry has urged the sides in Bosnia to give their consent to the difficult but vitally essential compromise needed at the Geneva talks.

The Russian foreign ministry has urged all the sides in Bosnia to give their consent to the difficult but vitally essential compromise needed at the Geneva talks. ... at the present moment the world community should give a clear signal encouraging reconciliation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The statement stresses that it is out of place to engage in harsh rhetoric, tactics of intimidation and taking actions inadequate for arriving at a solution to the situation.

Headlines:

- The Russian foreign ministry has urged the sides in Bosnia to give their consent to the difficult but vitally essential compromise needed at the Geneva talks.

Radio Moscow Wed. 8-25-93 0500Z 12050 kHz

Headlines:

- On Wednesday there will be another attempt to deliver food and medical supplies to the population in the Muslim section of the Bosnian city of Mostar, besieged by the Croats.

Wednesday will see another attempt to deliver foodstuffs and medical supplies to the population of the besieged Muslim part of the Bosnian city of Mostar in the south of the country. On Tuesday, as the United Nations truck convoy approached the city, the Croats halted it and put forward more preconditions. On the same day, the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, warned that his side would not take part in the talks if the Moslems turn down the plan for the distribution of territories among Bosnia's three ethnic groups that was drawn up in Geneva. In the meantime, the Bosnian Serbs have already proclaimed their own republic within the framework of a future union of republics in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Headlines:

- On Wednesday, there will be another attempt to deliver food and medical supplies to the population of the Moslem sector of the Bosnian city of Mostar, besieged by the Croats.

Radio Moscow Thurs. 8-26-93 0500Z 12050 kHz

Headlines:

- International mediators Thorvald Stoltenberg and David Owen have appealed to the West to support the plan for a peaceful settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The chairmen of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia, Thorvald Stoltenberg and David Owen, held talks ... with the Dutch foreign minister (?) and appealed to the West to support the plan for a peaceful settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The plan provides Bosnia's division into three (?). At a news conference, Peter (?) voiced concern over the plan's essence and its possible implementation. He said that ways for the peaceful settlement must be in no way opposed by the conflicting sides. Earlier in Frankfurt, Lord Owen told journalists during his meeting with the German foreign minister, Klaus Kinkel, that it would be unpardonable, and even shameful, to miss a chance at a peaceful settlement in Bosnia.

Headlines:

- International mediators Thorvald Stoltenberg and David Owen have appealed to the West to support the plan for a peaceful settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Radio Moscow Fri. 8-27-93 0600Z 12050 kHz

Headlines:

- In New York it has been announced that U-N Secretary General Boutros-Ghali is to take part in the regular round of the Geneva talks seeking a peace settlement in Bosnia.

In New York it has been announced that the U-N Secretary General, Boutros-Ghali, wishes to take part in the Geneva talks on the Bosnian settlement. A report from the United Nations headquarters says that Dr. Boutros-Ghali would work so that none of the warring factions could finally say no to the peace plan. The plan, drafted with the participation of the international mediators, Thorvald Stoltenberg and David Owen, stipulates that the republic will be divided into three mini-states. Earlier, the mediators voiced an apprehension that Bosnia's Muslim community could reject the plan at the Geneva talks on a pre-settlement due to resume on Monday, the 30th of August.

Headlines:

- In New York it has been announced that U-N Secretary General Boutros-Ghali is to take part in the regular round of the Geneva talks seeking a peace settlement in Bosnia.

Radio Moscow Sat. 8-28-93 0300Z 12050 kHz

Headlines:

- The Bosnian president, Izetbegovic, has taken ... position on peace settlement plans drawn up at the Geneva negotiations.

The Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, ... at the Geneva negotiations. The Reuter news agency quotes President Izetbegovic as saying that the agreements drafted in Geneva can only be accepted ... for further talks. President Izetbegovic was speaking in the parliament of the Muslim community on Friday. The Muslim legislature ... of three ethnic states.

Cannot copy...

Headlines:

- President Izetbegovic has taken an ambiguous position on the peace plan drawn at the Geneva negotiations.

Radio Moscow Thursday 9-2-93 0500Z 12050 kHz

Headlines:

- Bosnian Serbs at the Geneva negotiations have made a concession to the Muslims in the dispute over future borders of three ethnic states in the territory Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bosnian Serbs on Wednesday made concessions in Geneva to the Muslims on borders of future ethnic states in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, the three rival factions failed to narrow differences on the draft agreement as such. In the meantime, a cease-fire agreement between Muslims and Croats has been concluded in the south of the country in the area of the city of Mostar. The Russian foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrev, said in Geneva on Wednesday that Russia was prepared to make a tangible contribution to implementing a future agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina and take part in peacekeeping operations together with other countries.

Headlines:

- Bosnian Serbs at the Geneva negotiations have made a concession to the Muslims in the dispute over future borders of the three ethnic states in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Radio Moscow Saturday 9-4-93 0400Z 12050 kHz

Headlines:

- The Russian foreign ministry believes that the potential negotiations on a peace settlement in Bosnia has so far not been exhausted.

Russian foreign ministry official (Gregory Cherasee) had deplored the fact that the latest round of the Geneva talks on a settlement of the crisis in Bosnia has failed to produce favorable results. ..., since the warring parties were closer to a compromise than ever before. However, the Russian foreign ministry official said at a briefing in Moscow on Friday that the potential of the talks on a peace settlement in Bosnia had not been exhausted yet. The president of Montenegro, a member republic of Yugoslavia, (Mohmia Blatovich), who attended the talks, has called for a further dialogue. He said on Radio Montenegro that the military option would not help to resolve the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr. (Blatovich) made his statement in response to the U-S president Bill Clinton's ruling that ... military intervention was still possible.

Headlines:

- The Russian foreign ministry believes that the potential negotiations on a peace settlement in Bosnia has so far not been exhausted.

Radio Moscow Monday 9-6-93 0400Z 12050 kHz**Headlines:**

- The chairman of the Bosnian Serbs' parliament, (?), has warned that the Serbs may go back on the concessions they made to the Muslims at the Geneva talks.

The Bosnian Serbs can go back on the concessions to the Muslims they made in Geneva to reach an agreement on the plan for the territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This will happen if the Muslim community will not agree to the Geneva plan suggested by international mediators Stoltenberg and Owen, said the chairman of the Bosnian Serbs parliament, (?), on Sunday. According to the Belgrade news agency (?), he said the tough stands of the Muslims could only lead to the distillation of the conflict.

Headlines:

- The chairman of the Bosnian Serbs' parliament, (?), has warned that the Serbs may go back on the concessions they made to the Muslims at the Geneva talks.

Radio Moscow Tues. 9-7-93 0400Z 12050 kHz**Headlines:**

- The slowdown of the negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina has increased the risk of a military escalation there.

On Monday, fighting between the Croat and the Muslim forces was going on in a number of regions in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Armed clashes have blocked the humanitarian supplies from tens of thousands of refugees in the town of Jablanica. At the same time, it became possible to begin the evacuation of the wounded from a hospital in the town of Mostar. United Nations officials fear delays in the negotiating process can result in another escalation of hostilities which died down some time ago after progress in the Geneva talks on a Bosnian settlement. The talks broke up because the Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, refused to accept the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three separate states. President Izetbegovic said it was detrimental to the interests of the country's Muslims.

Headlines:

- The slowdown of the negotiations in Bosnia-Herzegovina has increased the risk of a military escalation there.

Radio Moscow Wed. 9-8-93 0500Z 12030 kHz**Headlines:**

- According to Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, from the viewpoint of Russia, the possibility for restoring peace in ex-Yugoslavia has not been ruled out.

From the viewpoint of Russia, the possibilities of establishing peace in ex-Yugoslavia are not being ruled out. This statement was made by Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev. At his Moscow meeting with his counterpart from the Union Republic of Yugoslavia, (Vladislav Silvanjee), he said that the Serbian, Croat and Muslim ... captured territories, but keeping a chance for a peace

settlement. The Yugoslav minister pointed to ... to lift the ? sanctions, which he said ... establishment of peace and calm. Andrei Kozyrev ...

Headlines:

- According to Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, from the viewpoint of Russia, the possibility for restoring peace in ex-Yugoslavia has not been ruled out.

Radio Moscow Thurs. 9-9-93 0500Z 12050 kHz

Headlines:

- In Sarajevo, a spokesman for the United Nations peacekeeping force has said that the risk of an armed clash between the Bosnian Serbs and Muslims has lessened.

A United Nations peacekeeping spokesman said in Sarajevo on Wednesday that the risk of an armed clash between the Bosnian Serbs and Muslims has eased. He said that the Serb forces besieging Sarajevo and the Muslim forces defending the city had vacated their positions on mountains overlooking the city. The U-N official told journalists that no troop movement was observed on the slopes, and the situation had returned to normal. In the meantime in Brussels, the ambassadors of the United States and its NATO allies have said again that the possibility of air strikes against the Serb positions remained. At their meeting on Wednesday, the ambassadors confirmed the readiness to use NATO's air force against the Serb forces if the shellings of Sarajevo resumed or if United Nations relief aid convoys were blocked.

Headlines:

- In Sarajevo, a spokesman for the United Nations peacekeeping force has said that the risk of an armed clash between the Bosnian Serbs and Muslims has lessened.

Radio Moscow Fri. 9-10-93 0500Z 12050 kHz

Headlines:

- The fighting between the conflicting sides has resumed in Bosnia.

The apprehensions that a failure of the latest round of the Geneva talks on a settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina would cause a new outburst of hostilities are proving correct. On Thursday, different sources reported the resumption of hostilities in the central and southern part of the country. Bosnian troops shelled the Muslim part of Mostar. Radio Sarajevo reported that 70 Muslims were killed and 83 wounded. ... Croatian troops launched an offensive ... to establish control over the strategic (?) highway. Armed clashes were also registered between Serbs and Muslims in the area of (?) and (?).

Headlines:

- The fighting between the conflicting sides has resumed in Bosnia.

Radio Moscow Saturday 9-11-93 0200Z 12050 kHz

The leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, has called on servicemen who have taken the center of the town of (?) in the northwest of the former republic of Yugoslavia to return to their barracks. The ? of the Serbian soldiers and officers in Bosnia have been aimed against corrupt authorities, criminals, deserters and those who profit on the war. In Croatia, the Serb artillery on Friday launched a surprise shelling of the town of (?), killing seven people, injuring

Headlines:

- Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic rejects the latest peace plan for ending the latest Bosnian conflict.

VOA Tues. 8-24-93 0500Z 7405 kHz

Bosnian Croats have agreed to allow a U-N aid convoy to reach the besieged town of Mostar, where tens of thousands of Muslims are on the verge of starvation. The Croats say the convoy will be allowed into the southern town Wednesday. Bosnia's Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic, is under growing pressure to accept the latest peace plan, which would leave Muslims with just 30 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Headlines:

- Bosnian Croats agree to allow U-N aid into the besieged town of Mostar, where tens of thousands of Muslims face starvation.

VOA Wed. 8-25-93 0400Z 9575 kHz

A U-N convoy will try again today to deliver 200 tons of aid to the city of Mostar in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina, just hours after a U-S airdrop of food to the besieged city. As VOA correspondent Wayne Corey reports from Geneva, the deal to allow the convoy through is part of a cease-fire in the besieged city. "Croat and Muslim troops are to exchange the bodies of some of their soldiers killed in recent fighting between them in and around Mostar. The exchange is to be preceded by the arrival of U-N military observers to monitor the cease-fire and the freeze on Croat and Muslim troop movements in the area. This should clear the way for a 19-truck United Nations aid convoy to cross Croat lines and to finally enter Mostar on Wednesday. Relief supplies in the convoy will be distributed to both Muslim and Croat civilians. An estimated 55 thousand Muslims on the east side of Mostar are said to be on the verge of starving. The United States and other Western allies agreed to airdrop food and medicine to them in response to an urgent U-N appeal. The U-S Air Force was carrying out more airdrops over Bosnia-Herzegovina Tuesday night. But the targets were not being identified while the flights were underway. Wayne Corey, VOA News, Geneva."

On the political front, Bosnian Croat leaders said their parliament will meet Saturday to vote on the peace plan dividing Bosnia into three states. Serb and Muslim legislators plan to vote a day earlier.

Headlines:

- American planes deliver desperately needed aid to Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

VOA Thurs. 8-26-93 0400Z 7405 kHz

A United Nations relief convoy has finally reached the Bosnian town of Mostar. VOA's Wayne Corey reports that despite being delayed, it brought emergency aid to tens of thousand ...?... "The convoy of 27 trucks arrived in Mostar a day behind schedule. It was almost forced to stop for the second night on the road when its path was blocked by ethnic Croat demonstrators. A United Nations spokesman says 19 of the relief trucks went to the mainly Muslim east side of Mostar (...). Eight trucks brought in aid for ethnic Croats on the west side. U-N officials have said an estimated 55 thousand Muslims in Mostar would begin to starve unless aid reached them this week. About 175 tons of the food and other supplies in the convoy are intended for the desperate Muslims. It's the biggest relief convoy the U-N refugee agency has organized

since the war began in Bosnia-Herzegovina. When it set off for Mostar on Tuesday, officials said at least one convoy a week will be needed for the southwestern Bosnian town. "... has also joined eastern Muslim enclaves in being a target for airdrops of relief supplies. Wayne Corey, VOA News, Geneva."

VOA Fri. 8-27-93 0400Z 9575 kHz

Bosnian Muslims in the town of Mostar are still blocking a U-N aid convoy from leaving, saying it's their only protection from attack by Croat forces. U-N officials have accused the Muslims of holding it hostage. Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic has appealed to the demonstrators to let the convoy leave, and negotiations are underway to end the standoff. Many of the 55 thousand Muslims in Mostar are close to starving. Four children who need urgent medical care are to be evacuated from the town.

U-N military police are investigating reports that U-N peacekeeping troops in Bosnia are involved in corruption and black markets. Ukrainian U-N peace keepers have been linked in recent weeks to black market dealing in cigarettes and fuel. The latest reports say French and Nigerian peace keepers have also been involved in corruption.

Headlines:

- Bosnian Muslims in Mostar are still blocking a U-N aid convoy from leaving, saying it's their only protection from Croat forces.

VOA Sat. 8-28-93 0400Z 9575 kHz

Bosnian Serb, Croat and Muslim assemblies face a decisive vote today on a plan to end 17 months of civil war and divide Bosnia into a confederation of three ethnic provinces. Ron Penstein reports the decision has not been easy for the Serbs or the Muslims. "The Muslim-led Bosnian parliament has postponed its decision until later today, but most delegates appear to support president Alija Izetbegovic in saying talks should continue in Geneva on changing the proposed map that will partition Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Muslim leader says the Geneva peace plan is not acceptable as it stands, but could be the basis for a settlement if adjustments are made to the map of the three ethnic provinces. The Bosnian Serbs have also postponed their decision until later today. Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic has defended the plan as a painful compromise because, he believes, it will bring peace and a separate Serbian state. However, the plan calls for the Serbs to give back nearly 20 percent of the land they have conquered in the 16 month-long war. Delegates from the areas to be handed over to the Croats and Muslims are opposing approval of the plan. The Bosnian Croats are expected to approve the plan as they begin their meeting today in the town of Grude near the Croatian border. All sides will report the decision to international mediators Monday in Geneva. Ron Penstein, VOA News, Vienna."

Headlines:

- Bosnian Serb, Croat and Muslim assemblies face a decisive vote today on a plan to end the civil war.

VOA Sun. 8-29-93 0400Z 9575 kHz

The three warring factions in Bosnia-Herzegovina have split over a peace plan to divide the country into three ethnic states. Bosnian Serbs have backed the proposal, the Croats have accepted it with conditions and the Muslims are only ready to negotiate some more. Under the

plan, the Serbs will control 52 percent of Bosnia, the Muslims 30 percent and the Croats the rest. All three combatants will head back to the Geneva peace talks on Monday.

Civilians accompanying a trapped U-N convoy in the besieged Muslim sector of Mostar in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina have been allowed to leave. U-N officials said the relief workers left the city for Medjugorje about 20 kilometers south of Mostar. Their 20 trucks were escorted by two armored personnel carriers with Spanish U-N peace keepers. The peace keepers then returned to Mostar to pick up senior U-N official Sedrick Thornbury and Muslim commanders in Medjugorje with Croat leaders. They are to discuss a possible cease-fire agreement.

Headlines:

- Bosnia's three warring factions split over the latest peace plan.

VOA Wed. 9-1-93 0400Z 9575 kHz

The leaders of Bosnia's warring parties have agreed to a series of new measures that mediators hope could lead to a final peace treaty. The measures announced in Geneva include a new cease-fire and a restoration of electricity to war-torn areas. Bosnia's Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, predicted all sides would sign the final partition accord Wednesday. But Bosnia's Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic, gave no such indication, saying there had been no real progress on territorial issues.

Headlines:

- The leaders of Bosnia's warring parties agree to a series of new measures that mediators hope could lead to a final peace treaty.

VOA Thurs. 9-2-93 0400Z 9575 kHz

Bosnian peace talks in Geneva have broken down abruptly just as the three warring parties appeared on the brink of agreement on a final partition plan. Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, who wanted more territorial concessions for Muslims, accused Bosnian Serbs and Croats of refusing any compromise. But Serb and Croat leaders blamed him for the breakdown. Mediators said the future of the peace process is unclear, and warned of the possibility of stepped-up fighting. It isn't yet known if the breakdown of the talks in Geneva will affect a cease-fire worked out earlier in the day between Croat and Muslim forces in and around the city of Mostar. VOA correspondent Wayne Corey has details of the agreement from Zagreb. "The new unconditional truce was reported after talks involving senior United Nations officials and both sides involved in recent heavy fighting in Mostar. Croatian radio says Muslim and Croat forces in Mostar also agreed to exchange captured civilians and soldiers and to give U-N peacekeeping forces free movement in the area. Only occasional small arms fire was reported in the southwestern town devastated by fighting since June. A few Spanish soldiers of the U-N peacekeeping force in Bosnia-Herzegovina are patrolling the Muslim and Croat sectors of Mostar. It's hoped their presence will keep cease-fire violations to a minimum. Many people braved occasional small arms fire to go out into the streets to get relief supplies from an international aid organization. But the odds of having an effective and long-lasting truce in Mostar must be considered poor, especially now that the Bosnian peace talks have collapsed in Geneva. Wayne Corey, VOA News, Zagreb."

Headlines:

- Bosnian peace talks break down just as the warring factions appeared on the brink of agreement.

VOA Sat. 9-4-93 0500Z 7405 kHz

Fighting has intensified between Bosnian Muslim and Croat forces in central Bosnia-Herzegovina. VOA's Wayne Corey reports yet another cease-fire has been shattered in the southwestern town of Mostar. "A United Nations military spokesman reports increased fighting in and around the central Bosnian town of Gornji Vakuf. Muslim and ethnic Croat forces have been involved in frequent clashes in the area for some time. Despite the escalation in fighting, the U-N spokesman denies a report by Sarajevo radio that Croat forces launched a major attack that led to street fighting in Gornji Vakuf. In southwestern Bosnia, a fragile cease-fire between Muslim and Croat forces in the town of Mostar has been shattered. The Muslims say the Croats shelled their positions. The Croats accuse the Muslims of shelling the Croat sector of Mostar, killing or wounding more than 20 civilians. The fighting prevented Spanish troops from patrolling the town. It's not yet known if the exchange of shelling attacks will doom U-N plans to evacuate seriously wounded or critically ill civilians from Mostar. Wayne Corey, VOA News, Zagreb."

The European Community is urging the three warring factions to resume peace talks and held out the threat of NATO air strikes to try to bring an end to the latest fighting.

VOA Sun. 9-5-93 0500Z 7405 kHz

Bosnia's Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic, says the Geneva peace talks on ethnic division of Bosnia could resume this month. But while speaking in Turkey, Izetbegovic said he will continue to demand more territory when the boundaries are withdrawn. There have been more clashes between Bosnian Croat and Muslim forces. VOA's Wayne Corey reports from Zagreb. "Croatian radio says Muslim gunners shelled Croat positions in or around the central town of (Zimsha). More fighting between Muslims and Croats has also been reported in the (Notee-Travnik) area. The two warring forces were involved earlier in intense fighting in and near the strategic central town of Gornji Vakuf, but a United Nations military spokesman says he does not think either side has launched a new offensive in the region. Muslim controlled Sarajevo radio says the important southwestern town of Mostar is in flames and rubble following Croat shelling attacks on Muslim positions there. The Croats accuse the Muslims of attacking them. But U-N sources say most of the shells in the artillery exchange were fired from the Croat side. Meanwhile, U-N relief officials say there has been an exodus of Muslim refugees from a Croat held region west of Sarajevo. The refugees are said to include former Muslim prisoners who appear to have been tortured by the Croats. Wayne Corey, VOA News, Zagreb."

Headlines:

- Bosnian president Izetbegovic says the Geneva peace talks on the ethnic division of Bosnia-Herzegovina could resume this month and he'll demand more territory.

VOA Mon. 9-6-93 0500Z 7405 kHz

Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic is preparing to meet the U-N Security Council on the breakdown of Bosnian peace talks. Reports say he will seek support for Muslim demands for territorial concessions from Bosnian Serbs. A Bosnian Serb leader said Sunday the Serbs would be willing to make such concessions if the Muslims agree to sign the Bosnian partition plan. The peace talks broke down in Geneva last week over the proposed borders.

Meanwhile, U-N relief officials say fighting between Muslim and Croat forces in central Bosnia is preventing fuel supplies and equipment from reaching Sarajevo. This is U-N spokesman Ray

Wilkinson. "The diesel for the generators, for the hospitals and for the bakery...if that diesel doesn't get through, we could be facing a serious situation at the end of the week." The U-N's Ray Wilkinson says with reserves completely depleted, Sarajevo's fuel needs are critical.

Headlines:

- Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic prepares for talks with the U-N Security Council on the Bosnian peace process.

VOA Tues. 9-7-93 0600Z 7405 kHz

The president of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Muslim-led government, Alija Izetbegovic, says he will tell the U-N Security Council it has not done much to help his country maintain its sovereignty. In an interview with Bosnian television, Mr. Izetbegovic said he will tell the council it has deprived Muslims of the right to defend themselves by refusing to lift an arms embargo in their favor. His vice president, Ejup Ganic, was asked if the current ethnic partition plan on the table in Geneva can be salvaged but only if the United States and U-N reject territorial gains by ethnic cleansing and genocide. "If you do not take into the account ethnic cleansing...the territory achieved by ethnic cleansing and genocide...then you can achieve some kind of stable, peaceful, workable solution for Bosnia. But if you include this ethnic cleansing, then you will just create a peace for, let's say, a few weeks, a few months and a few years, and the war will continue not only in Bosnia, but around Bosnia as well because the ethnic cleansing becomes a driving force for the others to enlarge their territories." Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic, who predicts such a foreign policy would achieve a positive atmosphere that could lead to a long-lasting and stable peace. The leaders of all three warring factions -- Serbs, Croats and Muslims -- say they are prepared to resume the Geneva peace process, but the Serbs have ruled out further territorial concessions. Meanwhile, U-N workers have received reports of torture of Muslims at Croat detention camps.

Headlines:

- The president of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Muslim-led government, Alija Izetbegovic, says he will tell the U-N Security Council it has not done much to help his country maintain its sovereignty.

VOA Fri. 9-10-93 0600Z 7405 kHz

Leaders of Bosnia-Herzegovina's warring parties say they're ready to resume peace talks despite new fighting in the republic. Fighting was reported yesterday between Bosnian Croat forces and Muslims in central Bosnia-Herzegovina. Meanwhile, fighting between the republic's Muslim-led army and Bosnian Serb forces knocked out water and electrical power to Sarajevo. Bosnian president Izetbegovic and ethnic Serb leader Karadzic both say they're ready to return to the negotiating table.

VOA Sat. 9-11-93 0200Z 7405 kHz

Rebel Serb gunners have pounded a Croatian garrison town and are fighting to recapture three villages seized by Croatian government troops a day earlier. VOA's Evans Hayes reports from Zagreb more fighting between Serb forces and Croatian troops occurred in the self-proclaimed Krajina region. "Zagreb radio says there has been renewed fighting between Croatian troops and Serb forces near the town of Karlovac and around the Adriatic coastal port town of Zadar. The fighting is reported only hours after Croatian troops launched an offensive in the southern region and reclaimed three villages that were held by Serb forces. The United Nations said both sides in that fighting were shelling civilian targets. In neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina,

meanwhile, the fighting appears to have eased somewhat after fierce clashes earlier between Bosnian Muslims and Croats. Talks sponsored by the United Nations to achieve peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina have so far failed. Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic, who was at the United Nations in New York earlier this week, has said he is willing to return to the peace table if Serbian forces return some of the land they have seized. But officials say that is unlikely to happen and most observers agree it looks as if an already brutal war will continue. Evans Hayes, VOA News, Zagreb."

Headlines:

- Rebel Serb gunners pound a Croatian garrison town and are fighting to recapture three villages seized by Croat government troops.

APPENDIX C

CHI-SQUARE COMPUTER PROGRAM

```

' Simple chi-square program
' 10-11-94 Chris Morrison
' Written in IBM QBASIC 1.0
'
***---First, set it up---***
CLS
DIM o(5), e(5), text$(5)
DIM obs(4, 5), station$(4), category$(5)
station$(1) = "BBC"
station$(2) = "Radio Moscow"
station$(3) = "VOA"
station$(4) = "TOTAL"
category$(1) = "Excessive Pronominalization"
category$(2) = "Reification"
category$(3) = "Multiordinate Terms"
category$(4) = "Truncated Passive"
category$(5) = "TOTAL"
DEFSNG C
total = 0
chisquare = 0
***---Get the observed values---***
INPUT "What is the category"; category$
INPUT "How many entries"; entries
FOR x = 1 TO entries
  IF entries = 3 THEN text$(x) = station$(x) ELSE text$(x) = category$(x)
  PRINT "What is "; text$(x);
  INPUT o(x)
  total = total + o(x)
NEXT x
***---Compute the expected values---***
average = total / entries
FOR x = 1 TO entries
  e(x) = average
NEXT x

```

```

***---Now compute the chi square---***
FOR x = 1 TO entries
  chisquare = chisquare + ((o(x) - e(x)) ^ 2) / e(x)
NEXT x
CLS
PRINT STRING$(79, "=")
PRINT "Chi Square Test category: "; category$
PRINT STRING$(79, "=")
PRINT "Your data:"
FOR x = 1 TO entries
  PRINT text$(x); ":"; o(x)
NEXT x
PRINT
PRINT "Your chi square value: "; chisquare; "with df ="; entries - 1
***---Do the simple chi squares---***
FOR x = 1 TO entries
  FOR y = x + 1 TO entries
    average = (o(x) + o(y)) / 2
    chisquare = (((o(x) - average) ^ 2) / average) * 2
    PRINT
    PRINT text$(x); " ==> "; text$(y); ":"; chisquare
  NEXT y
NEXT x
PRINT STRING$(79, "=")
x$ = INPUT$(1)

```


VITA[✓]

Chris Morrison

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: A GENERAL SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION, RADIO MOSCOW AND VOICE OF AMERICA NEWS REPORTS ON THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Major Field: Mass Communications

Biographical:

Personal: Born in Fort Worth, Texas, on December 17, 1966.

Education: Graduated from Booker T. Washington High School, Tulsa, Oklahoma, in May 1985. Attended the University of Colorado at Boulder from August 1985 to December 1986; attended Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, from August 1987 to December 1989. Received B.A. in Radio/TV Production and Performance from Oklahoma State University in December 1989. Completed the requirements for M.S. in Mass Communications at Oklahoma State University in December 1994.

Experience: Worked at KOSU-FM, the public radio station at Oklahoma State University from January 1988 to October 1994 as an announcer and operations assistant. Also interned at Educational Television Services at OSU and in the news departments of KOCO-TV and KWTW in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Employed by KOTV, Tulsa, Oklahoma, as a news videotape editor starting in October 1994.

Professional and academic memberships: Phi Kappa Phi honor society