

Receiving and Circulating Propaganda of Radio Vilnius in the Press of Lithuanian Americans during the Cold War

RŪTA KUPETYTĖ

At the end of the Second World War, around 80,000 people left Lithuania for the West.¹ Initially, they ended up in displaced persons camps in the areas controlled by the Western Allies in Germany and Austria. Later, some DPs (Displaced Persons) moved to North and South America, Australia, the United Kingdom, and other European countries, while others remained in Germany or returned to Soviet Lithuania. DPs who left occupied Lithuania were immediately targeted by Soviet propaganda. The main aim of the propaganda to the diaspora was to win back the DP and, failing that, to appeal individually for less action against the Soviet Union.²

One of the main media channels through which Soviet propaganda was disseminated was radio broadcasts sent over short waves that could reach listeners on the other side of the Iron Curtain.³ Usually in the academic literature, Cold War international radio broadcasts are identified with stations such as Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, etc., which broadcast from the West to the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Union started its propaganda broadcasts abroad, aimed at disseminating

¹ Bartusevičius, *Lietuviai DP stovyklose*, 29–33.

² Mikkonen, "Mass Communications," 44–61.

³ Mikkonen, "To control the world's information flows," 241–269.

RŪTA KUPETYTĖ is a PhD candidate and junior assistant at Vilnius university, Faculty of Communication. Research interests: communication theory, Soviet propaganda, radio history, diaspora studies. E-mail: ruta.kupetyte@kf.vu.lt

communist ideology and interpretations of international events favorable to the Soviet Union, earlier than the West, as soon as the Soviet Union was formed.⁴ International Soviet radio broadcasts are increasingly the subject of scholarly research, but scholarship has concentrated on content produced in Moscow, as most of the Soviet Union's radio propaganda for foreign countries was produced on Radio Moscow. However, 11 out of 15 republics of the Soviet Union also contributed to the production of radio propaganda.⁵ The broadcasts produced in these republics primarily aimed to disseminate information favorable to the Soviet Union to the diaspora. Therefore, most of the broadcasts from the republics were made in the languages of the people living there. The five republics, the Russian SFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the Armenian SSR, the Uzbek SSR and the Lithuanian SSR were exceptional cases, as they also broadcast in English to the diaspora that no longer spoke their mother tongue. However, at the same time, they also allowed them to reach an English-speaking audience in other countries.⁶ Propaganda broadcasts for the diaspora (Radio Vilnius broadcasts for foreign Lithuanians)⁷ started to be broadcast in Lithuanian on the radio of the Lithuanian SSR in 1946. In 1965, Lithuanian SSR Radio also started broadcasting in English.

The Origins of Radio Vilnius Broadcasts to Diaspora

There are not many comprehensive studies analyzing Radio Vilnius broadcasts for the diaspora. Among the sources that discuss these broadcasts is the memoirs of Jonas Januitis, the former chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Radio and Television Committee,

⁴ Baruch, "Soviet Propaganda," 37–38.

⁵ Soviet radio propaganda was broadcast from Baku, Vilnius, Dushanbe, Yerevan, Kyiv, Minsk, Riga, Tallinn, Tbilisi, and Tashkent.

⁶ Paxton, *The Statesmans Year-Book*, 1236.

⁷ Officially, the editorial office of the broadcasts abroad was called the Editorial Office of the Lithuanian SSR Radio and Television Committee for Broadcasts Abroad. However, the broadcasts were presented on the air as Radio Vilnius broadcasts, which is why the article uses the name Radio Vilnius.

which should be viewed critically, given that the memoirs were written by a participant in the Soviet radio field who was in charge of the structure. Romualdas Bagušauskas and Remigijus Misiūnas mention the beginning of their production.⁸ There are also a few encyclopedic publications, but it should be noted that they refer to the texts by Januitis or Bagušauskas already mentioned.⁹

The first radio broadcasts to Lithuanians living in DP camps in West Germany in 1946 attempted to broadcast through the Radio Vilnius station, but due to poor audibility, they were re-broadcast through the Berlin-based radio station *Volga*. The main aim of the broadcasts was to target the diaspora in the DP camps, thus, the content of the broadcasts usually included topics such as Soviet welfare, criticism of refugee organizations, Western zone administrations, stories of those who were forcibly returned, appeals to their relatives, etc.¹⁰ However, they did not have a significant impact, as they were broadcast irregularly, with many errors, and documented as not being heard at all in the West German zones.¹¹ Later, it was decided to broadcast regular broadcasts from the Radio Vilnius station.¹² The propaganda broadcasts of Radio Vilnius, which were presented as programs for Lithuanians temporarily separated from their homeland, were initially broadcast in Lithuanian (first entry in the archival documents, October 4, 1948).¹³ Januitis, the head of the State Committee of Television and Radio then, wrote in his memoirs that the content of the programs was propagandistic and that their audience was Lithuanians living abroad. Initially, the Public Committee of the Repatriation of Compatriots and the State Committee of Televi-

⁸ Bagušauskas, "Užsienio radijo laidos," 81–89; Januitis, *Užvakar ir šiandien*, 1998; Misiūnas, *Lietuva prieš LTSR*, 81–89.

⁹ Aleknonis, *Lietuvos radijas*, 2006; Blynaitė, Laura, et al., *Lietuvos radijas*, 2016, 182.

¹⁰ Misiūnas, *ibid*; Bagušauskas, *ibid*.

¹¹ Bagušauskas, *ibid*.

¹² Blynaitė et. al., *ibid*.

¹³ Lithuanian Central State Archives (hereafter – LCSA), F. No. R-981 – Archive of the Fund of the State Television and Radio Committee of the Lithuanian SSR, the activity files of the Chief Editorial Office of the broadcasts abroad, Folder No. 9, p. 1.

sion and Radio were responsible for the production of the broadcasts, and later, only the State Committee of Television and Radio.¹⁴ Archival documents show that for some time, parallel broadcasts of “Tėvynės balsas iš Vilniaus” were also broadcast, approved by the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party.¹⁵ In 1965, Radio Vilnius began broadcasting in English.

Soviet propaganda was broadcast by Radio Vilnius to the diaspora for more than four decades. However, it is unclear whether and how it reached the diaspora, especially as the Vilnius broadcasts were on short waves. Receivers in the USA received medium or long-wave radio waves, so Lithuanians living in the USA had to buy special short-wave receivers to listen to these broadcasts.¹⁶ Sources suggesting that Radio Vilnius was audible in the USA include a US Central Intelligence Agency report indicating that Radio Vilnius could be heard as far as the Western Hemisphere and recordings of Radio Vilnius broadcasts for foreign listeners kept at the Lithuanian Research Centre in Chicago between 1986 and 1990 (in the late Soviet era Radio Vilnius broadcasts were recorded from radio sets by Lithuanians living in the USA who listened to them).¹⁷ Unsystematic listening to the latter broadcasts suggests that the broadcasts were audible at the end of the Cold War, but the quality of audibility varied considerably.¹⁸ There are also articles in the US Lithuanian diaspora press in which Radio Vilnius is quoted. This article aims to find out how Radio Vilnius broadcasts to Lithuanian diaspora were circulated in the Lithuanian American press of different ideological orientations and through which channels the radio content reached the press.

¹⁴ Januitis, *Užvakar ir šiandien*, 1998.

¹⁵ LCSA, F. No. R-981 – Archive of the Fund of the State Committee of Television and Radio of the Lithuanian SSR, Files of the activities of the Chief Editorial Office of the broadcasts abroad, Folder No. 9, b. 6, p. 1.

¹⁶ Berg, *Listening on the Short Waves*, 23.

¹⁷ *The CIA and the Media*, 1978; Vincas Šalčiūnas' Archive (Musicology Archive). Audio cassettes “Radio Vilnius for foreigners,” February 2 – 1986 March 18, 1990, 1 box.

¹⁸ The survey was conducted in March–April 2018 when the article's author was interning at the Lithuanian Research Center in Chicago.

Methodology

John P. Balys, in 1976, based on an encyclopedic catalogue of ethnic newspapers and periodicals in the USA, identified 12 Lithuanian newspapers and 42 magazines published in the USA at that time. However, it is stressed that the list may not be completely accurate.¹⁹ According to Balys, Lithuanian publications supported an ideological trend and were usually supported by their supporters. The publications were selected for the study based on the following criteria: 1) the publication was classified as a newspaper and was published at least once a week for most of the period under study. This decision was based on an initial study of magazines and monthly or bi-weekly newspapers. It showed that Radio Vilnius programs were not quoted in them or were quoted very rarely; 2) in order to cover the main currents of the diaspora newspapers: right-wing, center, left-wing and communist, one newspaper with the highest circulation from each of the currents was chosen for the study.

Based on these criteria, a total of four daily newspapers were selected for the study: *Draugas* – right-wing (Catholic), *Dirva* – middle-current (nationalist), *Naujienos* – left-wing (socialist), *Vilnis* – communist. The liberal newspaper is not analyzed, as no daily newspaper quoting Radio Vilnius was published during the period under review.

To cover the entire Cold War period, the chronological boundaries of the research cover the period from October 4, 1948 (the date of the first scripted plan of the broadcasts preserved in the archive) to March 11, 1990, the date of the restoration of Lithuania's Independence.

The search for the texts needed for the study was conducted in a mixed way. All the issues of *Draugas* and *Dirva* needed for the research have been digitized on the site *spauda.org*, coordinated by the Lithuanian Research Centre in Chicago. At the time of the research, the digitization of the publications was

¹⁹ Balys, "The American Lithuanian Press," 42–53.

not completed. Only part of the period required for the *Naujienos* newspaper is available on the site (1948–1958 and 1970–1986), so the missing newspapers, stored at the Lithuanian Research Centre in Chicago and the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture in Chicago, were also examined. The newspaper *Vilnis* has not been digitized (except for single numbers, which can be found on the site *epaveldas.lt*), so the study focuses on the paper issues of *Vilnis*, which are stored in the Martynas Mažvydas National Library and the Lithuanian Research Centre. It should be noted that the research managed to collect all the issues of *Draugas* and *Dirva*, while *Naujienos* is missing some issues published in 1964, as well as some issues of *Vilnis* of the whole Cold war period.

Site *spauda.org* offers different search options: search by selected year period, search by selected year, selected month or selected issue. At the start of the study, all search options were tested. It was found that searching by the selected year or month did not find all the numbers mentioning the root of the keyword. Therefore, the most minor possible search, i.e., searching for the root of the keyword in each issue, was chosen. Given that Radio Vilnius was sometimes referred to in the press as Lithuanian Radio or Radio for the Diaspora, the word *radijas* was chosen as the keyword search. The search engine uses the incomplete root of the word and the first three letters rad*. The texts of *Vilnis* and part of *Naujienos* were selected by reading all issues and texts in sequence searching for the root of the keyword.

A thematic inductive analysis was carried out to find out through which channels radio content reached the press.²⁰ The study covered 31,681 issues of the newspapers *Draugas*, *Dirva*, *Naujienos* and *Vilnis*. 1,999 publications mentioning Radio Vilnius (in some cases Lithuanian Radio, Lithuanian Radiophone or Radio Moscow from Vilnius, Radio Vilnius via Moscow) were recorded.

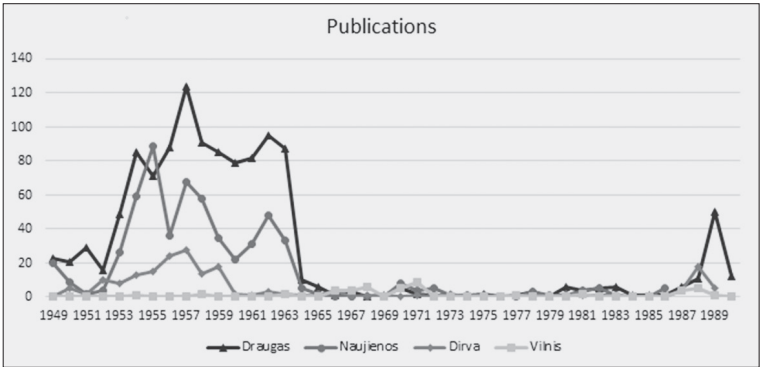
²⁰ Javadi and Zarea "Understanding thematic analysis," 33–39.

Radio Vilnius Tracking Station and Other Ways of Receiving Propaganda

During the Cold War, the citation of Radio Vilnius propaganda in the Lithuanian American press was very uneven due to technical and historical circumstances. In addition, there is a difference in the approach of the considered newspapers, determined by ideological differences on whether the content of Vilnius radio should be published in the Lithuanian American press at all. Despite these discussions, all examined newspapers quoted Radio Vilnius, whose content reached the newspapers through different channels. The most quoted content from Radio Vilnius was in *Dirva* and *Draugas*, and less in *Naujienos*. The communist-oriented *Vilnis* hardly quoted Radio Vilnius, i.e., only random cases were recorded, with a slightly higher growth during the Reform Movement of the Lithuania period. The most significant peaks in Radio Vilnius’s quotations were in 1953–1965 and 1988–1990 (Diagram 1).

The results of the research show that although special Radio Vilnius programs were prepared for the Lithuanians diaspora, the Lithuanian American press also received content intended for the interior of occupied Lithuania through various channels,

Diagram 1. Mentioning of Radio Vilnius in *Draugas*, *Naujienos*, *Dirva*, and *Vilnis* publications



which was not heard in the United States. The study identified 11 sources through which Radio Vilnius propaganda reached the newspapers (Appendix 1).

Appendix 1. *Radio Vilnius content reception in Lithuanian American Press 1948–1990*

Radio Vilnius Content Retrieved from	<i>Draugas</i>	<i>Naujienos</i>	<i>Dirva</i>	<i>Vilnis</i>
Radio Vilnius tracking station (programmes for the interior of the LSSR)	+	+	-	-
Radio Vilnius tracking station (programmes for diaspora)	+	+	-	-
Lithuanian news selection (LNA) (programmes for diaspora)	-	-	+	-
Journalists of newspapers (programmes for diaspora)	+	+	+	+
Correspondents in Europe (programmes for the interior of the LSSR)	+	+	+	-
Correspondents in Europe (programmes for diaspora)	+	-	-	-
Correspondents in the USA	-	-	+	-
Letters from readers (programmes for diaspora)	+	+	+	-
Radio Vilnius Journalists' prepared material	-	-	-	+
Direct cooperation	+	+	+	-
Lithuanian and foreign publications with quoted in Radio Vilnius recitation	+	-	-	-
Information Office of the American Lithuanian Council (programmes for the interior of the LSSR)	-	-	+	-
Voice of America	-	+	-	-

Radio Vilnius Content Retrieved from	<i>Draugas</i>	<i>Naujienos</i>	<i>Dirva</i>	<i>Vilnis</i>
Source unidentified (programmes for the interior of the LSSR)	+	+	+	+
Source unidentified (programmes for diaspora)	+	+	+	+

One of the primary sources from which the newspapers *Draugas* and *Naujienos* received the content of Radio Vilnius was the tracking station established by the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania (VLIK) in Germany. The publications under review contain official VLIK reports, publications and criticism of other organizations, which allow one to reconstruct the circumstances of the activity of the radio tracking station. The Lithuanian radio tracking station was established on November 29, 1952. In 1954, the tracking station of Radio Vilnius started recording radio broadcasts for diaspora as well. The station ceased operations at the end of 1963.²¹ According to the statement, “the station’s importance was particularly important in the summer when ordinary radio receivers could not hear Lithuania.”²² (In the Soviet era, radio in the Lithuanian SSR was broadcast on medium waves that could travel several hundred kilometers, i.e., in good weather conditions reaching Germany or Sweden.) Moreover, maintaining the tracking station was one of the arguments why the VLIK headquarters should remain in Germany and not be moved to the USA.²³ The entire radio airwaves in Vilnius were monitored from 5 am to 11 pm (and, in exceptional cases, all night), with three people working on the monitoring. Radio content was recorded and later retyped.²⁴ The tracking of Radio Vilnius was one of the activities of the radio section of the information service established by the VLIK. The

21 “Mūsų bendruomenė Vokietijoje,” online; “Kova radijo bangomis,” online; “Vyr. Lietuvos išlaisvinimo komiteto darbai,” online; “Kultūrinė kronika,” online; “Vlikas dabar”, *Naujienos*, October 8, 1964.

22 Elta, “Planuokime realiai,” online.

23 “Vliko vietos klausimu,” online.

24 “Vliko pirmininkas aktualiais klausimais,” online; “Kronika” online.

material collected by the tracking station, according to the VLIK reports printed in the publications *Draugas* and *Naujienos*, was later used for the VLIK's Lithuanian, German (from 1952), Italian (from 1954), English (from 1956), Spanish (from 1961) and Arabic (from 1964) bulletins of the ELTA agency, which was established in the diaspora, in which the material from the radio tracking station constituted a significant part.²⁵ The bulletins were also forwarded to the Lithuanian Freedom Committee in New York, the Voice of America in Washington, the Free Europe Committee in New York, and the Library of Congress in Washington (later, the reports were reprinted in the library's monthly East European Accessions Index), the radio stations in Rome, the Vatican and Madrid for Lithuanian broadcasts, and the Lithuanian American press used the material, such as *Naujienos*, *Draugas*, *Keleivis*, *Darbininkas*, *Tėvynė*, *Vienybė*, *Garsas*, and *Sandara*.²⁶ The material, which reached the USA in 3 days and European countries in 36 hours, was sent to the authorities daily. It was also planned to send the material to the Baltic Institute in Bonn and the University of Chicago for student analysis.²⁷ In addition, the bulletins, which cost \$50 a month, were available for subscription.²⁸ Similar radio tracking, but on a smaller scale, was carried out by Latvian and Estonian diaspora organizations.²⁹

The content of the radio tracking station was actively used by the Catholic *Draugas* and the socialist *Naujienos*. However, this practice was constantly criticised by the nationalist *Dirva*, which did not use the content of the Radio Vilnius tracking station and stated that "you are surprised at such a concept of resistance work [...] After all, no one else but the Soviets want to

²⁵ "Vyr. Lietuvos išlaisvinimo komiteto darbai," *Draugas*; "Chicagos žinios," online; "Kova dėl Lietuvos išlaisvinimo nesilpnėja," online; "Į tautiečių jausmus ir išmintį," online.

²⁶ "Atvirai kalbant su VLIKO „reformatoriais," online; "Kova radijo bangomis," online; "Laisvojo pasaulio lietuvių Elta," 1961.

²⁷ "Kova radijo bangomis," online.

²⁸ "Ar galima girdėti Vilniaus radijo pranešimus?" online.

²⁹ "Dar apie tuos radijo klausytojus," online.

be supported with such pride".³⁰ *Dirva* also criticized the technical work of the tracking station itself, for example, that the tracking of Radio Vilnius was seriously flawed and only recorded part of the Vilnius program and that there was only one other valuable news item per month.³¹ (It should be noted that there was also an ongoing discussion on the use of propaganda by Radio Vilnius due to the differences in ideological publications. The Catholic *Draugas* and the socialist *Naujienos* were active supporters of the VLIK, while the nationalists, to whom the publication *Dirva* belonged, constantly criticized the committee and later set up their organization.³²) The VLIK itself called such criticism a slander. Moreover, it was stated in the VLIK report quoted in *Draugas* that "this childish persecution will not be healthy and Lithuania itself will suffer the most."³³ It was also claimed that the propaganda of Radio Vilnius was processed: "the combination of published [...] facts and other methods also allow to get closer to what the occupiers are aiming for by one announcement or another."³⁴ The necessity of tracking of Radio Vilnius was also identified for the following purposes:

- A document that various institutions in liberated Lithuania will need.
- Debunking propaganda.
- The VLIK organised radio broadcasts from Madrid, Rome, and the Vatican to Lithuania to explain Soviet propaganda and what was done to the occupied countries.³⁵
- Forcing the Soviets to change their tactics when commenting on the propaganda (it is mentioned that the radio calendar, which falsifies the history of Lithuania, has been adjusted due to the commentary, the Kolkhoz system is

³⁰ "Šią savaitę," online.

³¹ "Svajonės ir tikrovė," online.

³² Dapkutė, "Lietuvos nepriklausomybės talka," 29–42.

³³ "Vliko pirmininkas aktualiais klausimais," online; "Lietuvių vienybės klausimu," online.

³⁴ "Informacijos tarnybos valdytojo M. Gelžinio pranešimas," online.

³⁵ "Naujuosius metus sutinkant," online.

less praised, the Russians' elevation of the Lithuanians has been reduced, etc.).³⁶

As mentioned, the information from the Radio Vilnius tracking station and the subsequent ELTA bulletins produced from it were used by *Draugas* and *Naujienos*. Although *Dirva* criticized the use of propaganda from Radio Vilnius and the quality of its tracking and processing, *Dirva* itself also used content from Radio Vilnius. However, another organization, the Lithuanian Independence Alliance (LNT), was founded in 1955 and produced non-periodical Lithuanian News Selection bulletins, which, among other sources, relied on content from Radio Vilnius but, in this case, only cited propaganda from Radio Vilnius for diaspora that had been heard in the USA. The bulletins, launched in *Dirva* at the beginning of 1956, stated,

News from the homeland is extremely scarce [...] It is to be welcomed that the LNT has taken it upon itself to provide such news. Here, the editor has a 4-page typewritten bulletin called "Lietuvos Naujienų Atranka". It already contains the latest news, selected from the communist press and heard on Radio Vilnius.³⁷

It should be noted that the bulletins of the Lithuanian News Selection appeared much less frequently than those of ELTA abroad, which is why Radio Vilnius is cited less frequently in *Dirva*.

Another source from which the Lithuanian American press received propaganda from Radio Vilnius were correspondents in Europe (and sometimes in the USA). The correspondents usually prepared news reports for the publications based on various sources: foreign press covering the situation in Lithuania, the Soviet Lithuanian press, and Radio Vilnius reports. For example, Stasys Devenis, the correspondent of *Draugas* in Germany, who mainly prepared international reviews, in addition to the content of Radio Vilnius for the interior of the Lithuanian SSR and abroad, referred to the Western press about the situation in oc-

³⁶ "Informacijos tarnybos valdytojo M. Gelžinio pranešimas," online.

³⁷ "Šią savaitę," online.

cupied Lithuania.³⁸ It is estimated that several dozen European correspondents worked for the newspapers during the Cold war. Correspondents in Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United Nations provided material to *Draugas* based on Radio Vilnius broadcasts. It should be noted that correspondents in Germany or Sweden could, in suitable weather conditions, have heard the program for the interior of occupied Lithuania, as it was broadcast on medium waves which travelled several hundred kilometers. There were correspondents in Germany for *Naujienos* and in Germany and New York for *Dirva*.

In newspapers, there are also identified cases where radio content is copied from other newspapers or magazines, such as the *Baltic Review* published in Stockholm, later in New York, which wrote about the history, politics, economy, and social welfare of the Baltic States, the Catholic Free Press, "Katalikų bažnyčios kronika", information office of the organization American Lithuanian Council (ALT), *Voice of America*.³⁹

The publications covered in this article also received quotations and comments from Radio Vilnius through letters from readers. Readers usually signed their letters with pseudonyms, e.g. *Dzūkų Jonas, TM*.⁴⁰ Most of the letters were written during the Reform Movement of Lithuania.

Identifying the source of some Radio Vilnius programs cited in the was impossible.

Given the specific nature of the newspaper *Vilnis* and its classification as communist ideology, it is necessary to discuss separately how Radio Vilnius was quoted in this newspaper. Of all the newspapers examined in the article, *Vilnis* quoted the least material from Radio Vilnius. Radio Vilnius was not quoted in the newspaper because *Vilnis* received much of its material directly from occupied Lithuania. The newspaper regularly published material

³⁸ "Ekonominis gyvenimas," online; "Pabaltijo partizanai stiprina veiklą," online.

³⁹ "Smarkinamas Pabaltijo rusinimas," online; "Baltic Review," online; "Mūsų kolonijose," online; "Pareiškimas," online; „Naujų trėmimų išvakarės," online; "Paleckis kritikuoja Naujienas," online.

⁴⁰ "Lietuva rusinama," online.

prepared by *Vilnis* correspondents from Lithuania. For example, A. Vaivutskas, and later V. Petkevičienė, periodically prepared a column of *Kablegramos* from Soviet Lithuania.⁴¹ The publication also regularly reprinted texts from a wide range of Soviet newspapers and magazines, e.g., *Pravda*, *Tarybinė moteris*, *Švyturys*, the Soviet news agency ELTA, the Soviet propaganda press aimed at the diaspora, e.g., *Homeland Voice*, etc.⁴² Also, both writers from occupied Lithuania (e.g., in 1965, a letter by writer Juozas Baltušis to Lithuanians in the diaspora was published), as well as representatives of various institutions (e.g., the head of the Central Statistical Board, the scientific secretary of the Institute of Lithuanian Language and Literature, linguists, the Minister of Education), and letters from Occupied Lithuania (e.g., a letter by J. Dovydenas from Čėdasai) were published.⁴³ Considering the extremely high proportion of propaganda material coming directly from Soviet Lithuania, it can be assumed that a specific Radio Vilnius broadcast, the content of which could have been used in the press, was unnecessary due to the sufficient amount of information, and it would have consumed much more time. However, it should be noted that around 1987, the material for this publication began to be prepared by Jonas Lukoševičius, the then editor-in-chief of the Radio Vilnius abroad editorial office.

Short-wave Radio Receivers and Radio Vilnius Advertising in the Press of Lithuanian Americans

Radio Vilnius broadcasts for the diaspora were advertised in *Draugas*, *Dirva* and *Vilnis* newspapers. The origin of the advertisements can be divided into several categories:

⁴¹ E.g., "Kablegramos iš sovietų Lietuvos," *Vilnis*, February 25, 1977.

⁴² *Vilnis*, February 10, 1963; *Vilnis*, April 12, 1963; *Vilnis*, October 11, 1963; *Vilnis*, January 30, 1971; *Vilnis*, November 12, 1979; *Vilnis*, February 18, 1982.

⁴³ "J. Baltušio laiškas Čikagos lietuviams," *Vilnis*, November 13, 1965; *Vilnis*, August 23, 1972; *Vilnis*, December 1, 1976; *Vilnis*, December 29, 1976; *Vilnis*, July 29, 1965; *Vilnis*, August 11, 1965.

- advertising short-wave radios in the classified sections;
- texts by journalists from the publications concerned;
- texts of readers.

As mentioned, Radio Vilnius in the US was only heard by short-wave receivers, while the US population's receivers mainly received medium or long waves. Therefore, to hear Radio Vilnius broadcasts, Lithuanians in the Diaspora had to buy short-wave receivers, the advertising of which in the press of Lithuanian Americans became very active in 1955. The price of the receiver ranged from 120 to several hundred dollars.⁴⁴

For example in *Draugas*, the businessman Jonas Karvelis, who founded a cultural goods store in Chicago in 1951, periodically offered to buy radio receivers that could be used to listen to Radio Vilnius broadcasts, emphasizing the beautiful tone that is important for music transmission.⁴⁵ (Illustrations 1, 2) Another text, entitled: "There has never been anything like it in America", states that "there has never been a RADIO like this in America, you have to see it.", and offers to buy them for Christmas presents.⁴⁶ Subsequent editions of *Draugas* also contained reactions to this advertisement, but also in the classified section, and therefore to be regarded as an advertisement for the same short-wave receivers. For example, the text "And yet one must believe" states that the advertisement is not a lie:

I was interested in checking this matter: for example, there is a radio apparatus by J. Karvelis which is heavily advertised, with which it is possible to hear the radio stations of Vilnius, Moscow, Rome and other European stations. It is certainly not a lie; I have heard with my ears the songs of the Vilnius Švedo Ensemble and B. Dvarionas on the piano.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ "Ar galima girdėti Vilniaus radiją?" *Naujienos*.

⁴⁶ "Nebuvo tokio įvykio Amerikoje," online; "Naujas žodynas," online.

⁴⁷ Vilkickas, "O vis dėlto reik tikėti," online.

VISUOMENES ŽINIAI

RADJO APARATAI gauti, su kuriais girdisi Vilniaus radio stoties pranešimai lietuviškai ir rusiškai, minėti radio netik galingi girdėjimui iš tolimų kraštų kalboms bet ir tonas nepaprastai gražus, tas labai svarbu muzikos perdavimui.

Antros dalykas, irgi svarbus: **RĀSOMOS MĀŠINOS** su kuriomis galima rašyti lietuviškai, angliškai, vokiškai, lotyniškai ir itališkai. Naujausi **SVEICARISKI** laikrodžiai **OMEGA, CYMA ir TISSOT**. Šie laikrodžiai neturi sau lygių, visais atžvilgiais, tikslumu-patvarumu.

Reikalaukite katalogų ir kitų informacijų. Prekės siunčiamos į visas šalis.

**J. KARVELIS, 3322 So. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
Telefonas Yards 7-0677**

O VISGI VERTA

Ir literai neturėsite nuostabio, jeigu susipažinsite su pakvotinėmis naujienomis. Tai yra skandalinga prekė, kurios praeikia visas kitas gerumas ir rūgumus.

RĀSOMOS MĀŠINĖLĒS kainos nuo \$60.00.

LAIKRODŽIAI šveicarų ir kitų firmų nuo \$19.50.

FOTO APARATAI vokiečių ir kitų fabrikų nuo \$15.00.

PLUNDSNAKOGIAI 14 kl. aukso garantija, 10 nuo \$7.50.

RADJO aparatai, su kuriais girdama beveik visos pasaulio šalyje, išsoma ir iš **VILNIAUS** transliacijos, nuo \$45.00.

VAIKAMS veiksniškas, reto gražumo sportinis ir nesportinis draugų, vokiečių ir austrų firmų, kainos nuo \$40.00.

KATALOGAS išleistas, kuriame rasite lietuviškas plokšteles su 300 pavadinimų Kipro PETRAUSKO, KUTRAUSKO, ŠARNAUSKO, DVARJONO, GRAUŽINIO, BICKENĖS ir kitų dainininkų įrašais.

GAIDAS, KNYGĖS, TAUTINIUS drabužius ir kitas liet. meno kūrinius. Visiokai siūninti šimto trumpame rinkinyje neįdoma.

Ka bepiktuomė pasiteirinkite pas **J. Karvelį, 3322 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. Telef. YA 7-0677.**

P. S. Prekės siunčiamos į visas pasaulio kraštus.

Illustration 1. Excerpt from *Draugas*⁴⁸

Illustration 2. Excerpt from *Dirva*⁴⁹

Another text states:

I was intrigued by the intriguing announcements of Karvelis. I decided to see for myself and write an angry article in the press. I went to Karvelis [...] He showed me a radio, with which I could hear with my ears people from VILNIUS, MOSCOW, ROMA and LONDON talking and singing.⁵⁰

Readers of the press of Lithuanian Americans were also invited to buy short-wave receivers and come to the Lithuanian Graudinskas shop every day to listen to Radio Vilnius.⁵¹ Although the above examples were printed as advertisements commissioned by Lithuanian shops, it should be noted that, for example, *Draugas* periodically published self-promotions between 1951 and 1952, claiming to be the best-informed daily newspaper. One example of the information provided is the information received by Radio Vilnius.⁵² The printing of advertisements inviting the purchase of short-wave receivers ended in 1956.

Advertising was also carried in the communist newspaper *Vilnis*, but it was different than in the newspapers discussed above, and the periods of the advertisements differed. Readers of

⁴⁸ "Pranešimas visiems," online.

⁴⁹ "Visuomenės žiniai," *Draugas*.

⁵⁰ "O visgi verta," online.

⁵¹ "Kasdien 4 val. 30 min." *Naujienos*, online.

⁵² E.g., "Geriausiai informuotas dienraštis," online.



Illustration 3. Excerpt from *Vilnis*⁵³



Illustration 4. Excerpt from *Vilnis*⁵⁴

Vilnis were given information on the times and frequencies of Radio Vilnius broadcasts in different states.⁵⁵ They were also invited to send their preferences to Radio Vilnius. Advertisements in *Vilnis* were not printed regularly. Although the Lithuanian-language advertisements do not indicate who the author is, a one-off advertisement in English in 1970 was signed as that it is an advertisement for the Radio Vilnius itself.⁵⁶ (Illustrations 3, 4).

It should be noted that the periods when advertisements were printed in *Vilnis*, fall in the period when Radio Vilnius was hardly quoted by the other newspapers analyzed in the article. Given that Radio Vilnius itself published advertisements in *Vilnis*, it can be assumed that during this period, the listenership of Radio Vilnius in the diaspora declined.

Conclusions

Radio Vilnius broadcasts to diaspora did not manage to reach the Lithuanian American press during the entire period of the

⁵⁵ "Kalba Vilniaus radijas," *Vilnis*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵³ E.g., "Radio Vilnius Speaks," *Vilnis*, February 22, 1968.

⁵⁴ "Radio Vilnius broadcast," 1970.

Cold War. The circulation of propaganda in the Lithuanian American press – *Draugas*, *Naujienos*, *Dirva* and *Vilnis* – was uneven during the Cold War. There were two peaks in citation: 1953–1965 and 1988–1990. From 1966 to 1987, propaganda from Radio Vilnius was hardly cited in the Lithuanian American press. Although Radio Vilnius produced special programs for foreign Lithuanians, the Lithuanian American press received radio content from eleven different sources, including radio propaganda for the interior of occupied Lithuania. This access allowed the diaspora newspapers to present a more accurate picture of occupied Lithuania. The content of Radio Vilnius for the interior of Lithuania was obtained through the Radio Vilnius tracking station, which was set up in Germany in 1952 on the initiative of the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania (VLIK) and which mainly recorded the content of Radio Vilnius for the interior of occupied Lithuania. The two newspapers examined in this article, *Draugas* and *Naujienos*, used this content. *Dirva* used the content of the Lithuanian Independence Alliance (LNT), which also relied on propaganda from Radio Vilnius, but derived from broadcasts aimed at Lithuanians living abroad. Access to radio propaganda for domestic audiences during the early Cold War period significantly reduced the need for programs specifically for diaspora. Although the basis of the radio programs for internal and external Lithuanians was propaganda, the diaspora also perceived them as a source of information about the situation in occupied Lithuania, which had to be evaluated critically. The use of Radio Vilnius propaganda in the diaspora was the subject of much debate among Lithuanian American press of different orientations. However, despite these debates, it was used by three of the four publications examined in the article: *Draugas*, *Naujienos* and *Dirva*. The communist-leaning *Vilnis* hardly quoted Radio Vilnius broadcasts because it was supplied with content directly from occupied Lithuania. However, *Vilnis* was used for the promotional function of Radio Vilnius broadcasts. The other publications concerned also indirectly promoted these broadcasts. Although the newspapers constantly criticized the content of

Radio Vilnius, they also printed advertisements where short-wave receivers could be purchased. By both criticizing and printing such advertisements, the newspapers contributed to informing people about the existence of the broadcasts. In this case, we can see an analogy with the way people in Lithuania learned about Western radio broadcasts – through the Soviet press, which urged people not to listen to the broadcasts but which had the opposite effect.

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