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2/14/52

~~April 58~~  
~~propaganda~~

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

~~April 16~~  
~~War~~

By  
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~~take up~~  
~~propaganda today~~

Psychological Warfare is a new term describing what is relatively an ancient practice, that of using words as weapons against an opponent. The term covers activities which formerly used to be described by the words "Propaganda," "Political Propaganda," or "Political Warfare." The latter is still the accepted usage in Great Britain.

Psychological Warfare is based on the essential truth that man is a creature of language. It recognizes the 17th Century proverb that "An ox is taken by the horns, and a man by the tongue."

If used systematically and on a large scale, Psychological Warfare adds a new dimension to human conflict. Hitherto struggle among nations has been waged along one or more of the four recognized fronts -- military, economic, diplomatic and political. These are still the long-established physical and institutional elements of human strife. Psychological Warfare, as organized and developed at present, now forms a fifth front, that in which the human mind is the battlefield.

A number of special features characterize Psychological Warfare. Perhaps the most interesting is the absence of international rules. Not only does Psychological Warfare wage its own unique brand of war without any formal declaration, but it also does it without any recognized regulations or international conventions. There is no Geneva Convention for Psychological Warfare. It is a moral conflict with the gloves off and no umpires.

Another characteristic of this peculiar warfare is its ceaselessness. There are no periods of truce or peace in Psychological Warfare. It is being carried on all the time, without letup. During open and declared conflict, such as World War II, it is used to undermine the resistance of the enemy, both military and civilian. It is also employed to dissuade neutrals from joining the other side, and to give

moral encouragement to friends and allies. In times of "no-war-and-no-peace," as at present, Psychological Warfare becomes a major effort of governments in their world-wide manoeuverings for strategic position and national security. Whether it is a debate in the United Nations or a shipment of wheat to some hungry <sup>country,</sup> ~~nations,~~ the great powers act with an awareness of its Psychological Warfare implications. In the current "Cold War" phase of the world conflict, each of the opposing governments is using Psychological Warfare methods to discredit the other and to enhance itself.

Technically, the most important characteristic of Psychological Warfare is its use of all the known media of mass communications for the purpose of reaching audiences throughout the globe. Psychological Warfare may thus also be viewed as another product of the great revolution that has taken place in mass communications in modern times. It takes advantage of the marvelous instruments, notably film and radio and television, that science and technology have put at the disposal of mankind for swift, all-pervasive and world-girding communication among peoples.

Psychological Warfare is closely tied to political or military policy. Governments are aware that words alone do not win wars or campaigns, but that they must be coupled with action to be effective. In the Soviet Union Psycho-

logical Warfare is carried on by the Communist Party, which also rules the country. In the United States it is the work of the State Department, which is responsible for the planning and execution of America's foreign policy.

### I. American Psychological Warfare

#### Organization:

The official in charge of Psychological Warfare policy is the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.

Under him is the newly-created, semi-independent agency,

International Information Administration, directed by ~~Dr.~~ *Allen* ~~Wilson Compton~~, former President of Washington State College.

In fiscal 1951 the International Information program had a budget of \$94 million. For fiscal 1952 the President requested a budget of \$115 million, of which about \$40 million were earmarked for the radio program, particularly the Voice of America. The rest of the money is spent on the film, press, publication, and exchange of persons parts of the whole program.

#### "Campaign of Truth":

Basic American Psychological Warfare ~~program~~ policy, as outlined by President Truman in his speech of April 20, 1950, is the "Campaign of Truth." President Truman described this as "one of the greatest tasks facing the free nations

today." The task, he said, was "nothing less than to meet false propoganda with truth all around the globe." According to former Assistant Secretary of State Edward W. Barrett, the global Campaign of Truth has four main objectives:

(1) To expose to the world the "reactionary, vicious and phony nature of Kremlin communism."

(2) To build up among the free nations "a spirit of unity, spunk, determination and confidence."

(3) To inculcate in the free peoples "a readiness and desire to cooperate with America."

(4) To create behind the Iron Curtain "psychological obstacles to further Kremlin aggression."

Activities:

To carry out this program, the United States follows two main lines of action. One is educational, and the other informational.

The Educational Exchange program is probably the largest undertaking of its kind ever carried out by any country. It involves the interchange of students, journalists, artists, scholars, businessmen and technicians, who are brought to the United States for varying periods of time. In 1951 there were about 6,000 such persons in America, around 2,000 of them colored. To facilitate the reception and orientation

of the foreign visitors, the government maintains a number of service centers in cities like New York, New Orleans, San Francisco and Washington. In 1951 about 1,400 German and Austrian high school and university students received grants to study in the United States. Subsidies were also given to American schools abroad to enable them to serve as demonstration centers of American educational methods.

In addition, the United States supports reading centers in foreign lands. At present there are 146 American libraries and information rooms in 73 countries.

The informational part of the program is likewise on a large scale. It consists of the dissemination of information through the film, press, and radio. In 85 countries the United States has film libraries. Films in 29 languages (not including English) are shown in 300 mobile motion picture units specially equipped with generators and loudspeakers. The United States Information Service (USIS), which operates this ~~manpower~~ program, shows films (up to 600 titles) to a world-wide audience of about 4,000,000 persons every week.

USIS also distributes millions of copies of bulletins, feature articles, brochures, photographs, newsletters, and other publications to about 10,000 foreign newspapers and magazines, as well as to 75,000 government officials and

other leaders. The combined circulation of the publications that receive these printed materials is estimated at 90,000,000. In the last few years about 3,000,000 pamphlets, all of them dealing with certain aspects of American life, have been distributed abroad.

The State Department is also a publisher or subsidizer of various magazines. In Germany, for example, the United States Government supports Die Neue Zeitung, ~~perhaps the best and certainly the most widely quoted daily in that country.~~ There are also publications for Russian, Arabic and Asian audiences. Amerika, a Life-type illustrated magazine in the Russian language, is the only ~~American~~ American publication permitted in the Soviet Union. It is now under attack by the Communist authorities and its circulation, which had once reached up to 50,000, is declining. Amerika is also issued in Arabic, and will soon be in <sup>Serbo-Croat.</sup> ~~Yugoslav.~~ Still another publication is the recently-launched Free World, published in 9 Asian languages.

Voice of America:

The largest single activity in the field of American Psychological Warfare is the Voice of America. In 1951 it had a budget of about \$41 million and employed a staff of close to 2,000 people. It broadcasts <sup>321 program hours weekly</sup> ~~more than 100 programs~~



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in ~~46~~ languages, including tongues spoken by minorities in the Soviet Union, such as Tartar, Turkestani, Georgian and Azerbaijani. There are also broadcasts in Urdu, Hebrew, Thai, Hindi, Uzbek, Albanian, Malay, Burmese, Korean and similar languages.

The Voice of America operates its own transmitters and leases foreign facilities. Selections from its program are re-broadcast by 120 stations in Western Europe, as well as in other parts of the world. In general, about 11% of the Voice of America's total radio time is devoted to music, 32% to news, and 57% to analyses and features. At present it is making plans to establish television facilities to reach the 12,500,000 televiewers in 17 foreign countries.

As for the overall effectiveness of the Voice of America, opinions differ. The State Department claims a world audience of 300,000,000, including about 10,000,000 in Russia. Actually, the Russians have been jamming the Voice of America, as well as the BBC, since 1948, and apparently with success. Although effectiveness is difficult to measure with any degree of accuracy, there are some indications -- such as occasional defections and letters -- that the Communists are annoyed by the Voice of America. There have been increasing attacks on it in the Soviet press and radio.

## II. Soviet Psychological Warfare

### Organization:

Russian Psychological Warfare is carried out by Agitprop, the Agitation and Propaganda Section of the Communist Party, in Moscow. Its work is implemented by Glavlit, the censorship agency, as well as by the Ministry of Cinematography and the All-Union Committee on Radio Information.

Abroad, Soviet propaganda is channelled through and assisted by its diplomatic personnel, foreign Communist parties and various organizations friendly to Russia and Communism. Among the latter are pro-Soviet groups like the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Federation of Democratic Women, and the World Congress of Peace Partisans. The latter was the sponsor of the "Stockholm Peace Petition," which in 1950 and 1951 accumulated tens of millions of signatures throughout the world and thus became a major Psychological Warfare victory for the Soviet Union.

### Radio:

The Soviet Union also uses the regular media of mass communications, such as film, radio and press, to disseminate its message. Moscow broadcasts a total of 658 program-hours weekly in 38 languages through 46 medium and short-wave transmitters. This does not include the 39 transmit-

ters of the satellite countries which broadcast in 10 additional languages. In regard to radio, the volume of Communist propaganda exceeds that of the Voice of America and the BBC combined.

Film:

The Ministry of Cinematography, through its agency Soveportfilm, shows films abroad to Communist organizations, in Soviet embassies, and in cinema houses of the satellite countries. In 1949 Moscow claimed that its films were seen by 400,000,000 people outside the Soviet Union. In 1950 a total of 2,000,000 people were claimed to have seen Russian films in China. These were shown by 54 mobile cinema units provided by Moscow.

Press:

The Soviet program is disseminated through news agencies, magazines and books. Its chief telegraphic outlet is Tass, which collects and sends news both to the Soviet Union and to foreign countries. Tass has branches all over the world, except Latin America. Its largest single staff is in the United States, with 30 American employees and 9 Soviet ones.

The main Communist publications for foreign consumption are News and New Times. News is published only in English and New Times, which deals with Russian foreign policy, in English, Russian, German, French and Polish. These and

other Soviet journals are distributed abroad through the International Book Publishing Corporation, which has outlets in 29 foreign countries, including the United States.

Books:

Communist books are exchanged or sold through two main organizations, the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations Abroad (VOKS) and the Moscow Foreign Language Publishing House. The former, a society of scientific and cultural organizations, maintains contacts abroad with numerous Soviet Friendship Societies, with which it exchanges books and journals. The Foreign Language Publishing House, assisted by the Academy of Sciences, is responsible for the publication and sale abroad of the chief Communist works. In 1949 the Academy of Sciences claimed to have maintained contact with scientific groups in 68 countries and to have sold there 100,000 Communist books. In 1951 no less than 300,000 copies of Stalin's biography were sold in India alone. One of the reasons for the immense success of Russian-Communist books abroad is the fine quality of the paper and the low cost. Thus a well-bound and well-printed volume of Lenin's Selected Works, in 600 pages, sells for about 40 cents -- a book bargain in any language. This is, of course, made possible through heavy subsidies. The Soviet Union is said to spend annually about \$40 million on propaganda books and pamphlets. Its total propaganda budget is estimated at \$928 million a year /See Chart/



staff of 1,500 persons, of whom 600 are employed abroad, distribute books and pamphlets, organize tours, exchange students and teachers, arrange lectures and concerts, and exhibit films and posters.

France:

The French information and propaganda efforts are on a relatively small scale. They emphasize culture and literature, fields in which the French have always had a special interest. There is an exchange of students program, but its main ~~main~~ target is Germany. In 1950 the French invited 9,000 German students to France. France's broadcasting center, Radiodiffusion Francaise, broadcasts only about 264 program-hours a week for foreign audiences. Other French informational and propaganda activities are carried out by the traditional attaches in the various embassies.

Radio Free Europe:

This is operated by the National Committee for a Free Europe in the United States. RFE broadcasts independently of the Voice of America. Programs are prepared ~~mainly~~ ~~mainly~~ by exiles from the countries to which they broadcast. RFE ~~is~~ is essentially a counter-propaganda weapon, its main aim being to expose Communist promises and disspel ~~the~~ Communist lies.



RFE began broadcasting, from Frankfort, Germany, in July 1950. It now has 6 transmitters in Western Europe and broadcasts 480 program-hours weekly to the 6 satellite countries -- Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Albania and Roumania. There is a good deal of evidence to show that RFE does penetrate those countries and that it has a faithfully listening audience.

The Armed Forces:

The Armed Forces of the United States, especially the Army, maintain Psychological Warfare units of their own. These are, in the nature of things, tactical. Psychological Warfare groups have been active in the Korean war, using well-tested devices, such as loudspeakers, artillery drops and leaflets. In 1951 the United Nations forces in Korea dropped more than 850,000,000 leaflets from aircraft or fired in artillery shells. The Army claims that this resulted in "the capture of about one-third of 170,000 enemy prisoners taken in the Korean war."

Conclusion:

All evidence would tend to show that neither side in the present world struggle has as yet won any crucial battle in Psychological Warfare. Both the democracies and the Communists have had propaganda victories and defeats. The democracies, particularly the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, are successfully penetrating Soviet satellite

countries in Europe and stirring up restlessness there. On the other hand, the Russians and their Communist allies have won many friends in Asia, including India.

The indications are that Psychological Warfare will, if anything, be intensified in the future. Both the United States and the Soviet Union are rapidly adding to their propaganda facilities and steadily increasing their efforts. The chances are that the world-wide struggle for men's minds and loyalties will continue for the rest of our lives.