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R - Mr. Fisher Howe

August 30, 1951

OIR - Charles C. Stelle

EO discussion of Psychological Warfare

The difficulty in defining Psychological Warfare which we encountered in the EO, and which you had encountered in the PWB, seems to me to arise from a confusion between the objectives and the means of PW. There was essentially general agreement that the objectives of PW are to influence the minds and emotions of both friends and enemies in the interest of the welfare and security of the people of the United States. These objectives are obviously identical with the broadest objectives of our national foreign policy. Along the line of objectives, therefore, there can be no differentiation of PW from political, economic, or military programs.

The real difficulty arises when one attempts to define the means of PW. One school appears to argue that anything done to contribute to the objectives of PW is by that very fact PW and under this argument every political, economic, or military act is subsumed under PW. Others argue that heretofore foreign policy has been largely a matter of dealings between governments and that to the degree that we now begin pursuing our objectives by attempting to deal with foreign individuals we embark on PW. Others state that the techniques of white and black propaganda are the whole of PW. It is probably in an analysis of the means of PW that there lies a possibility for constructive delineation of what we are talking about.

From the intelligence point of view, however, we do not need to wait upon terms of reference which depend on precise definition of what are and what are not properly considered as means of PW. We can begin with the generally agreed objective of influencing the minds and emotions of both friends and enemies, and proceed from that to the generally agreed hypothesis that the general way in which this is accomplished is by playing upon the aspirations and fears of both our friends and our enemies. The intelligence task then becomes fairly clear.

We must:

- (1) Estimate the common and variable aspirations and fears of the peoples of the Free World (excluding the US).

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2.

(2) Estimate the common and variable aspirations and fears of the peoples of the Soviet orbit.

(3) Estimate the assets and liabilities which the USSR has for exploiting the aspirations and fears of the peoples of the Free World, and the manner and success of this exploitation.

In the light of these three estimates it then becomes the policy task to:

(1) Estimate those aspirations or fears which from the standpoint of general US policy it would be best for us to exploit in what areas.

(2) Determine the methods and techniques of PW which we should employ.

As you know, we are proceeding with the intelligence part of the task.

OIR:CharlesCStelle:rjm:8-31-51

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The basic task of Panel B is to isolate those statements or policies which are inadequately supported by specific plans for psychological operations.

A given basic policy concerning an area can be implemented by psychological operations only by spelling the policy out in terms of the impact which that policy will have on the minds and emotions of the people of that area. A psychological plan in support of that policy would set forth ways and means to influence attitudes and emotions of the people so that they would be disposed actively to accept or at least passively to acquiesce in the policy.

Therefore intelligence must play an essential role in seeking to identify the policies which need further spelling out for SO purposes or to indicate gaps where no policy exists for the guidance of SO operators when they are faced with problems or opportunities arising from foreign attitudes.

Intelligence support in this enterprise therefore would describe the basic aspirations and fears of the peoples of the most critical areas of the free world and, separately, of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. Intelligence would also identify and describe the means (including an estimate of the strengths and weaknesses of these means) AVAILABLE TO THE USER for exploiting the aspirations and fears of both the peoples of the Free World and the peoples within its political and military control.

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Against this background of the basic attitudes and emotions of foreign peoples, and of the capabilities of the USSR to mold them, it should then be possible to formulate plans for psychological operations which we can implement US policy and to select the most appropriate methods and techniques for influencing foreign attitudes and emotions in directions favorable to our aims.

OIR, therefore, has undertaken two intelligence studies to support the work of Panel B:

1. An estimate of the common and conflicting aspirations and fears of the peoples of the Free World.
2. An estimate of the common and conflicting aspirations and fears of the peoples of the Soviet Orbit.

Since the psychological planner must be aware of the competition he faces from the enemy, each of the above two papers will include an estimate of the capabilities and limitations of the Soviet propaganda apparatus (domestic and foreign) for exploiting the aspirations and fears of peoples in both the Free world and the orbit.

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DRS Draft
August 31, 1951

Problem

What are the common and variable aspirations and fears of the peoples of the Soviet Union?

I. Common aspirations and fears of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

A. Common aspirations and fears

1. Peace (fear of war)
2. Economic welfare (dissatisfaction with standard of living)
3. Limitations on governmental controls (fear of coercive impacts)

B. How the Soviet Government seeks to impede or satisfy these aspirations and ally or exploit these fears.

1. Persuasion (control of information, incentive award, etc.)
2. Coercion (police, laws and regulations, administrative punishments, threats, etc.)

C. Efficacy of the Government's efforts

1. Evidence of resistance groups
2. Evidence of active opposition to the regime by individuals
3. Evidence of passive opposition to the regime by individuals
4. Evidence of support for the regime.

II. Aspirations and fears of particular groups within the Soviet Union

Within each group (a) what are the common aspirations and fears, (b) how does the Soviet Government seek to handle them (c) what is the efficacy of the government's efforts.

A. Power groups

1. Politburo
2. Party and Government apparatus

3. Military
 4. Police
 5. Managerial
- B. Social and economic groups
1. Peasants
 2. Workers
 3. Intelligentsia
- C. Age and sex groups
1. Youth
 2. Women
- D. National groups
1. Ukrainians
 2. Baltic peoples
 3. Central Asian peoples
 4. Other national minorities

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Sept. 5, 1951

PROBLEM

What are the common and variable aspirations and fears of the peoples of the free world?

I. Common aspirations and fears of the peoples of the free world.

1. Peace
2. Security from external aggression.
3. Political independence and status.
4. Economic welfare and independence.
5. Governments responsive to the citizenry and useful for achievement of their aims.
6. Development and preservation of autonomous cultures.

II. Aspirations and fears of particular areas within the free world.

1. Western Europe
2. The Far East
3. Near East Africa, South Asia
4. Latin America

III. Conflicts and Drives

1. To what extent are these aspirations and fears channeled by existing US and other Western policies, into drives that support US aims?
2. To what extent are these aspirations and fears so affected by existing US and other Western policies, and so exacerbated by Soviet political warfare, as to create conflicts between US and free world attitudes which can be exploited by the USSR?

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