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COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

It is important in a study of Communism such as you are receiving here this week that we take a look at one of the primary tools of the Communists in furtherance of their general strategy that is, PROPAGANDA. The end goal of Communist strategy, I believe we all agree, is world revolution or the ultimate Communization of the world. The means to this end vary with the world situation at any given time, and Communist tactics shift to accommodate to these varying situations. Occasionally the complex organism of Communism is forced to shift from one gear to another, or even as in the instance of the German attack on the Soviet Union in 1940, to shift its tactics into reverse gear. Propaganda is one of the techniques which allows them to do this.

Now, why are we in intelligence interested in, or better yet, why must we have some knowledge of Communist propaganda?

1. An understanding of how the Communists use propaganda allows us to make predictions as to future Soviet moves. We can make such predictions on the basis of an understanding of their previous patterns of activity, provided that we have a thorough knowledge of Soviet history and Communist theory.
2. In the light of what I have just said, we can, by studying their propaganda gain an understanding of their previous moves and thus establish new patterns of activity.
3. We can determine the strong points and the weak points in the Soviet state and in the current interpretation of Communist theory-- the first part of this point is the job of any intelligence organization.

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4. On the basis of determining their strong and weak points we can correspondingly adjust our policies and defense to their strengths and weaknesses.
5. Lastly, we can determine along with other types of information we have gathered how best we can develop our own propaganda and counter-propaganda.

Now, what do the Communists think as to the importance of propaganda? Lenin stated that the Soviet state must rest on twin pillars of support. The first of these pillars is the formation of mass opinion in favor of the regime; the other pillar is that of coercion, or the use of force. Man, being constructed as he is--interested in satisfying his material needs, following the spiritual and cultural patterns of his society--at times resents interference when he cannot see that interference is of any particular worth to himself. An astute political leader in need of support would naturally turn to the first of these pillars, the formation of mass support, rather than enter upon an abortive coup. After he and his group is in power, he can rely on both formation of mass support and coercion to maintain himself in power.

The communists believe that the achievement of a Soviet State rested on three elements, Propaganda, agitation and organization. Each of these elements is a prerequisite to the former. We are not interested in the term organization here, but we are interested in propaganda and agitation. The Communists make a clear distinction between the two terms. In order to

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develop the thinking of the masses along lines which coincided with the ultimate or immediate aims of the party, it was necessary to undertake the education of the masses. The first step was to select potential leaders and thoroughly indoctrinate them with a knowledge of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist theory.

This education of the potential leaders they call Propaganda. In Communist terms, it may be defined as the training or indoctrination in the teachings of Marx-Lenin-Stalin, and in the history of the Bolshevik party and its tasks. The use of the term propaganda in this sense where the recipients of the indoctrination have already been won over, or are in sympathy with Communism, is really political education, rather than propaganda as we understand the term.

Agitation, on the other hand is the education of the masses, or the swinging of mass support behind the party, and more closely approximates our concept of the term propaganda. Agitation thus is designed to win over those who are either opposed or neutral, and to negate active opposition.

Plekhanov, one of the early Russian Marxists, summed up the distinction between agitation and propaganda as follows: "A propagandist presents many ideas to one or a few people, an agitator on the other hand presents only one or a few ideas to a mass of people."

The term "agitation" within the Soviet Union is falling into disuse because the state controls the education of the masses and also controls the mass media of communication.

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Only in Communist countries with large actively dissident groups and in non-Communist countries, need the Communists employ agitation as they understand it.

QUESTIONS ABOUT PROPAGANDA and AGITATION

Now that we have made this distinction between propaganda and agitation we will ignore the distinction for the rest of the lecture. Agitation more closely approximates our concept of propaganda and we will use both terms under the general heading "propaganda".

Now, I'd like to examine some of the purposes to which Communist propaganda might be applied. Within the Soviet Union, we find that their domestic propaganda has several broad aims:

1. Through propaganda, the Communists educate the Soviet people in the Communist way of life, thus strengthening the base of the monolithic structure of the Soviet state. More specifically:
 - a. It serves to mold a divergent population into a unified group who will support the government. When you realize that there are some 40 recognizably distinct ethnic groups among the some 200 million population, this poses quite a problem.
 - b. Through propaganda they also instill a feeling of national pride in the people so that an attack on the regime is an attack on the people. A good example along these lines is the propaganda attack during World War II which was labeled an attack by the Fascist forces on democracy. It was also

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referred to as the "Great Patriotic War". An interesting sidelight is that Stalin for the first time stepped out of his party role and became Premier of the government.

c. Internally, propaganda serves to depict life within the Soviet Union as being close to ideal. It points out the cultural achievements of the country since the Communists came to power. It also stresses the material benefits which are enjoyed under the Communist system.

2. Another broad aim of internal Communist propaganda is to increase the material power of the Soviet state by improving the productivity of the worker by technical training.

a. One important purpose which propaganda serves in this capacity is the rationalization of contradictions within the Soviet economic system. There are a number of visible manifestations:

1) The use of percentages to indicate the productivity gains during the five year plans.

2) Criticism of individuals for not putting their whole effort into their work.

3) Self-criticism and recantation

b. Outlining of plans for the future, thereby holding out to the masses a hope in the future.

c. Praising of movements which are designed to improve productivity,

1) Stakhanovite movement.

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Now what about some of the aims of Communist propaganda which is directed outside of the Soviet Union.

1. One of the most important of these aims is that of spreading the idea of world revolution outside the Soviet Union.
2. Another aim is to break up all attempts at coalition against the Soviet Union by exploiting differences between would-be allies.

e.g. Castigation of the Marshall Plan
Opposition to NATO
Disruptive tactics in the UN

3. Another aim is to weaken individual anti-Communist countries by sowing discord and discontent.

e.g. Depression years in U.S., Communists in U.S. backed the veterans' march on Washington.

Members of YCL booed Roosevelt on the White House grounds during German-Russian peace pact for sending aid to Germany's enemies, and for the draft.

4. Another aim is to paralyze the will of the opposition by presenting the Soviet Union as an invincible power based on the invincible concept of Marxism.

e.g. Shows of strength -- Peace Festivals

You will notice that the domestic aims fall generally under the heading of the Communist concept of propaganda, or education whereas foreign propaganda more closely approximates their concept of agitation.

Propaganda Methods:

The methods of propaganda are not unique to the Soviet Union. They are pretty much universal. Think of our own advertising methods as I go down the list.

1. One method is the use of standard formulas which are repeated and

repeated. Communists used this method all along in the extensive use of the slogan:

- "Peace, Land, and Bread"
- "All power to the Soviets" just prior to November Revolution
- "Socialism in One Country" change in strategy, Stalin/Trotsky
- "Cadres Decide Everything" 2nd five year plan

2. Method of proceeding from the particular to the general.

(Illustrate with pamphlet (pink))

Included in this might be the distortion of facts

e.g. Ehrenberg and his description of lynching in U.S.

3. Method of presenting a biased selection of facts.

e.g. Treatment of Trotsky in official "History of the Bolshevik Party". Role during the Civil War.

Exception to the rule--Herbert Morrison's article in Pravda plus rebuttal

4. Method of comparison and contrast.

Life in SU good	Soviet citizens good
Life in US bad	US citizens bad

5. Defense by attack - assumption of the attack when their position is weak.

e.g. Who started Korean War?
Soviet Union are the proponents of peace.

6. Method of invention.

e.g. Complete fabrication of news or a political tack which has no basis in fact.

7. Silence/Suppression method. Subjects such as famine of 1932 and slave labor camps never discussed.

8. Semantic association and stereotyping.

e.g. "Dollar diplomacy of the U.S."
Use of the word "Tito"

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Use of colored wording in news

Responsibility for the dissemination of propaganda

The responsibility for disseminating propaganda rests in reality with every level of the Communist party. On the international level propaganda falls under the jurisdiction of the Cominform. The Cominform was founded in 1947 and currently has its headquarters in Bucharest, Rumania. In its original charter part of its task was outlined as being "organizing the exchange of experience, and in case of necessity, the task of coordinating the activities of Communist parties on the basis of mutual agreement." In the matter of exchange of experience, the Cominform serves two purposes: (a) collection of information from Communist parties and (b) publication of a propaganda directing newspaper." The Cominform's newspaper is called "For a Lasting Peace, For a Peoples' Democracy." "For a L. P." is not essentially a newspaper carrying items of current news interest but rather one which carries political articles with the correct current interpretation. It is therefore, a policy-guiding journal.

On the national level, within national Communist parties, and in the lower echelons of the party organization are found bureaus which are responsible for the propaganda activities of the party. The propaganda bureau is normally under the administration of the Secretariat. The propaganda bureau may have one of many possible names. It may be called "propaganda" bureau or "cultural" bureau, and sometimes "education" bureau. This bureau serves to coordinate and direct the activities which physically carry out the propaganda activity such as a youth group passing out leaflets, or a woman's organization holding a protest meeting.

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Within the Soviet Union the responsibility for propaganda rests with two organizations; one in the government, the other in the party. The party has the responsibility for policy formation, the government for the implementation of the policy.

In the government, since the death of Stalin, six ministries which formerly were charged with various propaganda activities have been merged to form the Ministry of Culture. This ministry is currently headed by Lt. General Ponomarenko. The new ministry exercises control over nearly all propaganda media: radio, publishing, literature, education, the training of elementary and secondary school teachers, music and drama.

Control of propaganda in the CPSU rest with the Department of Agitation and Propaganda, abbreviated to AGITPROP. AGITPROP is a department under the Secretariat of the Central Committee. It is currently headed by Dmitri Shepilov.

The functions of AGITPROP are:

1. to unify and give central direction to the whole propanda program
2. to reflect the general line of the party's Praesidium

Despite its responsibilities, AGITPROP is not primarily an operational agency. It sets policy and sees to it that policy is carried out.

AGITPROP is organized into several sectors:

1. Propaganda sector which deals mainly with party membership and with the non-party intelligentsia. It also polices ideological correctness.
2. Mass Education sector has as its primary function the mobilization of mass opinion.
3. Cultural Enlightenment sector supervises the activities of the

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libraries, village reading huts, district "houses of culture" and other similar centralized cultural institutions.

4. Other sectors which encompass the entire field of mass media of communications are:

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| a) Central press | e) art |
| b) Local press | f) science |
| c) Film | g) schools |
| d) Radio | |

Use of Media of Communications:

Outside the USSR propaganda is disseminated through the Cominform and through national CP's. All media of communications are used in accordance with the feasibility in specific areas of the world.

One effective means of disseminating propaganda is through the use of front groups either controlled by Communists or effectively represented in by Communists. Through these front groups issues can be created, accentuated, or alleviated with whatever emphasis is needed. The Communists make an attempt to cover as many areas of society as possible. Some of the more significant international front groups are:

1. World Federation of Trade Unions
2. World Federation of Democratic Youth. AYD in the United States is a member of WFDY.
3. Women's International Democratic Federation. American Organization is Congress of American Women.
4. World Congress of Peace Partisans which began in 1949 and has pursued the "peace" theme since.

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The press is an effective field for disseminating propaganda. Most of the CP's in the world publish a newspaper such as the Daily Worker in the United States. The Cominform as mentioned earlier publishes For A Lasting Peace, For A Peoples Democracy. Pravda, organ of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Izvestia organ of the government of the Soviet Union are given international circulation.

Many magazines are produced such as Masses and Mainstream, the New Times and even the Soviet satirical magazine Krokodil is given international circulation.

(SHOW KROKODIL SLIDES ON VU-GRAPH)*

Film production for export has risen sharply in the Soviet Union since the end of World War II. The distribution of films outside of the USSR is handled by SOVEXPORTFILM, a branch of the Ministry of Culture. Distribution is based primarily on the receptiveness of any country to the showing of Soviet films. For example, Soviet films are shown in the satellites by mutual agreement. In some areas films are shown by Communist or Soviet dominated organizations. In hostile areas, films are shown in Soviet embassies or on board Soviet or satellite ships in harbor.

Another media which the USSR has been expanding considerably since World War II is the dissemination of propaganda by radio. Radio Moscow broadcasts in 32 different languages to all areas of the world. Broadcasts are prepared by the International Bureau of the All-Union Committee on Radio Information. This organization employs many expatriates. Some of you might ask: how effective are the propaganda efforts of the West

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in reaching the Soviet Union? The Department of State has produced some figures as well as the British and other non-government propagandists. There has been a considerable amount of debate over the validity of these claims. Perhaps the best answer to our question is the fact that there are some 1250 jamming stations in the Soviet Union which work against the programs emanating from the West.

We have in the back of the room an exhibit which is designed to show you some of the aspects of Communist and Soviet propaganda.

*Slides of cartoons extracted from Krokodil are held by BIC (CS).

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