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psychological operations

8-Mr. Skinner
A Newsletter
issued by the

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**PSYCHOLOGICAL
OPERATIONS
COORDINATING
COMMITTEE**

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Interview with Dr. Raymond Allen on Cold War Strategy: Dr. Raymond Allen, who succeeded Mr. Gordon Gray as Director of the Psychological Strategy Board on January 1, granted the following interview to this Newsletter as a means of making initial contact with the key people connected with the US psychological effort. Here are Dr. Allen's answers to major questions dealing with US psychological strategy:

Q - Are we winning the cold war? If not, how can we?

A - We are not currently winning the cold war. We can win it, however, by recognizing that our strength is greater than that of the enemy. In my opinion, the Kremlin and Politburo have been motivated at least partly by weakness and fear. They are captives of their own dogma and propaganda. It is my earnest belief that, for our part, we can find security in our own very great strength which is, to a considerable extent, still unmobilized and unexpressed. We must take the offensive on all fronts, using every means at our disposal short of shooting war. One very encouraging sign is the growing appearance of this attitude in the grass roots of the US.

Q - What is the PSB's role in the over-all effort?

A - PSB's job is to do everything possible to bring planning support at the policy and strategic level to NSC and the President -- to insure that all aspects of our psychological effort are exploited to the fullest extent.

I believe that PSB, composed as it is of key members of the departments most concerned with psychological operations, is the ideal instrument to fulfill this function. The members of the Board and its staff are dedicated to the cause of helping to win the cold war. They realize they have in their hands one of the greatest single instruments in the battle for world peace. I am certain that, as it is now developed, the Psychological Strategy Board, with the support of its member agencies, can achieve the ends for which we are all striving. It is my intention to provide the maximum support and assistance to everyone now engaged in this effort.

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We wish to maintain the closest relations with operating departments in order to be constantly aware of their problems and in order to assist in the over-all coordination of all programs in terms of the requirements of national strategic policy. The rightness and effectiveness of strategic policy is reflected only in operations. Although I have been with the Psychological Strategy Board only a very short time, I am already impressed by the great activity in the field and the variety of those operations. I am particularly impressed with the excellent performance of the Psychological Operations Coordinating Committee and its efforts in coordinating interdepartmental psychological operations.

Q - What are the most important current problems now facing US psychological warfare?

A - We are focusing our attention on problems such as the following:

1. The development of a national strategic concept, and a unified sense of direction for strategic psychological operations. This is being prepared in close collaboration with the departments concerned. When completed it will be presented to the NSC for approval.

2. The broad strategic planning in those problems of interdepartmental and national concern such as the strategic impact of disaffection and defection from the Soviet orbit and its implication for our over-all psychological effort.

Q - What is the future of US psychological operations?

A - As our material strength builds to a balance-of-power situation, psychological operations will assume increasing importance in the US and the free world. We will be able to move over to the offensive on all of the cold war fronts. We will be able to coordinate our psychological weapon increasingly with our economic, military and political weapons. Psychological operations, now repressive and defensive in some areas, will become more constructive and aggressive.

Q - Can we win the present conflict with the USSR without a shooting war? If so, how?

A - We can -- by using all the instrumentalities at our command and by sustained courage and faith in our cause.

Q - What should be the psychological strategy of the US?

A - Our major strategy must be to understand ourselves and the basic American idea and ideal more thoroughly, to articulate it in all our programs, and to interpret it in language and acts -- especially acts -- which are understandable and convincing to our target audiences. This means that we must identify our aims with those of the peoples and governments we are attempting to reach in such a way that we draw upon their own deeply held convictions about themselves and their nations. We must vary our tactics according to countries, peoples, and cultures.

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Q - Is there anything else you would like to add, Dr. Allen?

A - First of all, I should like to express my great satisfaction with the firm foundation Mr. Gray has built here at PSB. Due to his efforts, we are organized, the staffing arrangements are well under way, cordial relations exist with operating departments and PSB is a going concern. Secondly, it is perfectly clear that all concerned are agreed on basic aims and the need for cooperation. It only remains to turn this ideal into effective action by detailed examination of problems confronting us. Finally, I want to say that I am thoroughly impressed by the competence and ability of personnel at all levels of the government's psychological team. I should like to assure all individuals working in this field that they will get the fullest cooperation from PSB. I should also like to make it crystal clear that this Board and its staff does not intend to engage in psychological operations. We have more than enough to do in tending our own shop. (Secret)

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Dr. Allen is a native of North Dakota. He was graduated from Minnesota in 1924. As recipient of the degrees of MD, PhD, DSc, and LLD (six times), he has earned the title "Doctor" many times over. He has practiced medicine in North Dakota, been a Fellow of the Mayo Foundation, served as Associate Dean of Columbia's College of Physicians and Surgeons, Dean of Wayne University's College of Medicine, Executive Dean of the University of Illinois' Chicago Professional Schools and Dean of its College of Medicine. He was President of the University of Washington from 1946 until his recent appointment by the President as PSB Director. Dr. Allen is not new to national and international affairs. He has been active in the Committee on United Europe, the Freedoms Foundation, and the Council on Foreign Relations. His membership on the Hoover Commission led to his appointment as the first Director of Medical Services of the Armed Forces. In 1951 he served as the first Chairman of the Salary Stabilization Board. Dr. Allen will be with PSB until he assumes his duties this fall as the first Chancellor of UCLA. (Unclassified)

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VOA Unveils "Operation Vagabond" to Public: The VOA's first seagoing transmitter was inspected by reporters and photographers at a Hoboken, New Jersey, shipyard early this month. The ship, a de-mothballed 5,000-ton Navy A-K cutter, will be ready for duty in foreign waters next month. It is equipped with one huge medium-wave transmitter, capable of throwing Voice broadcasts 1,000 miles, and with three smaller transmitters. From the flight deck, barrage balloons will carry antennas far aloft to send broadcasts deep into Iron Curtain countries. The ship is the first step in "Operation Vagabond," a State plan to ring the USSR and its satellites with a number of seagoing transmitters which can dodge Soviet jamming. The Coast Guard is providing personnel for the ship which will be commissioned the "Courier" next month. Commander Oscar Wev will be in command of a crew of 80 which includes nine officers trained in radio. Two Voice engineers will also be aboard. The "Courier's" first voyage will probably be a shake-down cruise in the Caribbean. (Unclassified)

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under Col. W. W. Dunlop. The Psychological Warfare Team contains four sections: Personnel and Training; Equipment, Research and Development; Plans and Policy and Intelligence and Evaluation. The Special Operations Team has three sections: Equipment, Research and Development; Personnel and Training and Current Operations. The purpose of the team organization is to allow for maximum flexibility. To help achieve this and to unburden team chiefs, all administrative duties are assumed by the Division Executive. The Division is authorized 15 officers, 2 airmen and 6 civilians. (Restricted)

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What Canada Thinks of Other Nations: State's OIR reports an interesting poll conducted in Canada by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion to discover "what is the first thing that comes to mind" when certain countries are mentioned. To "Holland" the chief reaction was "flowers," "dikes" and "windmills." To "China" Canadians responded "rice," "tea" and "poverty" -- few suggested the size of the Chinese population or its new Communist government. To "England" the top reactions were "royalty," "climate" and "British products," with only a few scattered mentions of Commonwealth or Empire. "India" evinced "poverty," "caste system" and "Gandhi." To "France" the response was "styles," "wines" and "Paris." To "United States" the major reactions were "wealth," "mass production" and "egotism, self-satisfaction and arrogance." Despite the close proximity of the two countries, few Canadians mentioned democracy and freedom as symbols of the US. Although the Institute did not answer its own question, "Has the international viewpoint of Canadians kept pace with the growth of Canada as a world force?", it is fairly evident that it has not. (Unclassified)

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Postscript: Comments on this Newsletter, items suggested for inclusion and requests for material mentioned in it have been received from agencies in Washington, New York, Fort Riley, Alaska, Paris, Germany and other far-flung points. This interest is appreciated and all communications are welcome ... Our address: POC/S, State Annex 17, Washington 25 ... Telephone: Code 191, Extension 4859. (Restricted)

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Distribution: State, Defense, JCS, Army, Navy, Air Force, CIA, MSA, PSB, POC.

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The Soviet Satellites of Eastern Europe: That's the subject of Special Guidance No. 105, issued by State's P/POL. This excellent and thorough study is recommended reading for anyone interested in the US propoganda approach to these states. (Confidential)

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Operation Rat-Trap: Army Psychological Warfare and State USIE units have been cooperating to give strong support to the operations of two ROK divisions working to suppress Communist guerrillas in the Chiri Mountain area of South Korea. Eighth Army PW units have been employing ground loudspeakers, airborne loudspeakers and leaflets in support of the operations. In addition, personnel of the Korean Network George have been making radio broadcasts, under GHQ supervision, to ROK civilians in the area. Preliminary prisoner interrogations show that of one group of 234 guerrilla prisoners, 60 had UN leaflets in their possession when apprehended. A majority of the others stated that they had seen leaflets but did not pick them up for fear of punishment. All those questioned on the subject indicated that leaflets offering good treatment were the most effective. (Secret)

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Air Force Trainees at VOA: On January 4, 27 Air Force officers began 90 days of temporary duty training with VOA in New York. An additional nine Air Force officers joined VOA on permanent change of station orders for assignment elsewhere by the Voice. (Confidential)

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The Ring Plan: USIE's Ring Plan, one of the most important developments now underway for reaching the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, was evolved by State engineers about a year and a half ago. When the plan is completed, the Soviet Union and its satellites will be circled by 14 super-powerful US radio installations. Each installation's equipment will include a one-megawatt (1000 kilowatt) transmitter -- short, medium or long wave depending on the region -- and two 35 kilowatt shortwave transmitters. The megawatt transmitter will be 20 times more powerful than the strongest commercial radio station in the US. Directional antennas will increase the effective radiation as much as 200 times in the direction of the beam. Four of these installations are already under construction in Germany, Greece, the Philippines and Okinawa. If Congress appropriates the necessary funds (approximately \$100 million), additional installations to complete the plan are tentatively proposed for Tangier, Turkey, Lebanon, Kuwait, Gwadar, Ceylon, Siam and Japan. Powerful 1000 kilowatt shortwave transmitters will feed the Ring from installations in Alaska and the East and West Coast of the US. Construction on two of the US installations will begin shortly. An equally powerful shortwave transmitter may blanket Latin America from Panama. The Ring will be connected by a virtually jam-proof intercommunications system and will have facilities for originating programs at any point. One or more of the land-based Ring stations may be replaced or supplemented by ship-borne transmitters to add mobility to this radio offensive. (see page 3). (Secret)

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Has the Kremlin Lost the Initiative in the Cold War? This possibility was raised in a recent intelligence briefing of the POC by Mose Harvey of State's OIR. He pointed out that in the last few months the Soviets have been mainly concerned with countering US moves, with "catching the ball as we throw it." Their efforts to disrupt the San Francisco Conference were unsuccessful. Beryya's November 6 speech was defensive in its references to the possibility of attack on the USSR by the US. The Soviet effort at the UN General Assembly has been centered on meeting the challenge of our disarmament and general peace program. The Soviet concern over the strengthening of the free world is demonstrated by the whole series of Soviet notes on the Middle East Command, the revision of the Italian peace treaty, Trieste, to France and Norway on the North Atlantic Treaty and so on. Finally, the Soviets have attempted to drive home to their peoples the idea of danger from the US by playing up the recent plane incidents in the Far East and Hungary and by revealing to them the contents of Collier's war issue. Mr. Harvey listed these possible interpretations of present Soviet actions: (a) They may be waiting to see if some sort of general settlement is possible; (b) They may have some big move in mind and are simply limiting themselves to defensive operations pending its launching; (c) They may have reached a stage in their policy where they feel there is little to do at the moment except to counter US moves; (d) They may feel that the current trend is very much in their favor, relieving them of the necessity for taking the initiative. While past experience with the Soviet Union makes it unwise to discount the possibility that its present propaganda stance is a "calm before the storm," Mr. Harvey believes that there is at least a note of encouragement in the present situation which will bear close watching.

(Secret)

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Keeping the Record Straight: Pravda's report to the Russian people of Vishinsky's reply to the tripartite disarmament proposals in the UN omitted his references to "laughter," "sleepless night" and "dead mouse." VOA kept the record straight by broadcasting to the USSR a recording of Vishinsky's own words as he had actually spoken them.

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INP Pamphlet Plans for Next Six Months: State has sent circular airgram to USIE missions abroad outlining proposed pamphlet program for the first six months of 1952. Plans call for four cartoon narratives, four political pamphlets and four Americana-Free World pamphlets. Five titles in each group were submitted to the posts for consideration. The first group: We Fled From Terror (first person stories of recent defectors from Iron Curtain countries), Ural Boy (first person narrative of Soviet youth who spends his adolescence in a Soviet labor camp), Soviet Defilers of Islam (fate of a Moslem family inside the USSR), I Was a Communist Labor Leader (story of a Far East labor leader who joined then renounced the Communists) and Cartoon History of the United States (based on the successful INP pamphlet, Outline of American History). The second group: Freedom is Winning (portraying the free world's growing balance of material, moral and spiritual power), Land Across the Sea (the title refers to the US and the theme is "what America means to you"), What Can a Man Believe? ("primer" of democracy by Arthur Goodfriend) and Slave Labor in the USSR (fully-documented presentation of Soviet concentration camps). The third group: U.S. Guide (companion piece for Outline of American History), TVA (treatment in simple terms of how TVA affects ordinary people), Women in the U.S. (pocket-size fact book useful to organizations), Youth of the Free World (basic problems facing youth today) and Creative American Series (written by authorities in various fields of American culture). In addition, other materials of regional nature will be forwarded to posts for local production. Shorter leaflets (2-8 pages) will also be produced on a flexible basis. (Confidential)

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Time-Savers: Recommended for keeping up to date on US press opinion and magazine articles pertinent to propaganda are the excellent condensations prepared by State's Division of Public Studies. The Daily Opinion Summary covers press comments and the weekly Outstanding Magazine Articles Relating to International Affairs digests magazine editorials and articles of special interest. (Unclassified)

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The Tasks Ahead: Weekly Foreign Information Policy Guidance No. 91, produced by State's P/POL, sums up free world progress during 1951 and outlines the tasks ahead for 1952. It points out that the mood of the free world is now marked by significant optimism. This stems from rising confidence in the effectiveness of efforts to produce deterrent strength, as demonstrated in NATO and Korea, from our present psychological initiative in the UN and from relief that general war has to date been averted. Our major job now is to convert this mood into a solid and enduring sense of realistic confidence and to prevent it from developing into exaggerated and delusive complacency or from degenerating into pessimistic reaction under a sudden shift in Soviet tactics, temporary reverses or increased tensions. This excellent guidance restates present specific psychological tasks facing the US: (a) To multiply and intensify psychological deterrents to any form of aggression by Soviet Communism; (b) To intensify and accelerate the growth of confidence among the peoples and governments of the free world in their capability to deter Soviet Communist aggression or to defeat it if it

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should occur; (c) To counter both extremist tendencies which threaten or undermine the stability and cohesion of the free world, and the withdrawal of governments and peoples into neutralism; (d) To maintain among peoples now captives of Soviet Communism hope of ultimate liberation and identification with the free world; and (e) To maintain among peoples and governments traditionally linked with the US a continued recognition of mutual interdependence. The guidance emphasizes that, to further these specific tasks, the US must seek the sharpest recognition among peoples and governments abroad of the interests they share with us: (a) National freedom; (b) Peace and security against external aggression; (c) Social advancement, economic progress and human welfare, under governments responsive to popular aspirations; (d) Effective international relationships to serve these ends.

(Confidential)

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Inspection Trip: Lt. Col. J. K. Norris and Lt. Col. J. P. Johnson from the Office, Chief of Army Psychological Warfare, returned recently from an inspection trip of PW operations in Japan and Korea. Their mission was to observe PW units and weapons under combat conditions with a view towards recommending improvements in organization and materiel.

(Confidential)

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"Listen to the VOA" Campaign: State's IE/PR has completed its year-end promotional campaign to build audiences for VOA. Idea was to use all private channels from the US to foreign countries to encourage listening to VOA. To enlist the aid of the American public, State distributed 900,000 leaflets to 190 national organizations, 280 manufacturers and export agencies, 30 town affiliations, 25 college fraternities, foreign students in 5 colleges. Radio spot announcement kits went to 3300 stations, agencies and advertisers, 420 foreign-language stations and 115 television stations. In addition, 720 announcements were obtained on top programs. Ads, editorials and releases were sent to 2000 daily newspapers, 6000 weekly newspapers and 675 foreign-language newspapers. The Advertising Council and the Common Council for American Unity cooperated with State in distributing this material.

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Organization of Psychological Warfare Division, USAF: The Air Force's Psychological Warfare Division operates under the over-all direction of the Chief of Staff, USAF, the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and the Director of Plans. The Chief of the Division is Col. O. L. Grover, who has responsibility for planning Air Force Psychological Warfare, unconventional warfare and special operations and for representing the Air Force to other military and civilian agencies charged with such missions. The Assistant Division Chief is Col. Paul C. Droz and the Executive is Major Lindsey Hicks. The Division is divided into three teams: Psychological Warfare under Col. J. W. Anderson, Biological-Chemical Warfare under Lt. Col. L. N. Stead and Special Operations

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