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COMMUNIST PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE
IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE COLD WAR

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INTRODUCTION

This treatise has as its starting point the realities of war in the present-day world. This war is the conflict between the Communist and non-Communist world. This conflict appears in many forms, sometimes it appears in the form of hot war and then in the form of cold war. Often it appears in an ideological form, and then again its political character comes to the foreground. At times the accent is on diplomacy and at other times on psychological means. In one area the conflict might come into the open, and in another it is carried out secretly. This multitude of forms of the present-day war, as well as the increasing realization of a need to know its many aspects, stimulates an increasing number of interested persons to undertake a study of the many forms of this conflict.

As it is the case in other areas of research, what is needed is not a multitude of detailed studies but only a small number of studies which deal with a description of warfare in its entirety.

The first chapter makes an attempt in the latter direction in which are used as many as possible the existing concepts with the modifications and amplifications which are needed to present the problem in its entirety as clearly and comprehensively as possible and with the accent on the cold war.

This cold war has many aspects; its psychological aspect is the topic of the second chapter. The main part of psychological warfare is propaganda. Propaganda is a powerful weapon in Communism's battle. It is the topic of the third chapter. Even though propaganda in its entirety will be dealt with in that chapter, the emphasis will be placed on propaganda in connection with psychological warfare by Communism.

Since psychological warfare is concentrated against the opponent, Communist psychological warfare will be dealt with in this treatise mainly as it concerns the opponent, i.e., the non-Communist world.

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War has been waged ever since mankind existed. History, as it has been taught, is largely a history of wars. In view of the great importance of war in the development of society, it is very surprising that so little attention has been paid to the study of war as a phenomenon of human society. A history of wars has been developed, but there has been no doctrine on the causes of war and the effects of war on society. It has been the great merit of a French sociologist, Gaston Bouthoul, to ask, in his book Les Guerres, published in 1951, for a science which deals with war as a sociological phenomenon. His book is an attempt to indicate the bases and contents of such a science.

Indeed, a science of war never has been more necessary than now. While formerly the damage and sorrow caused by war was limited, the effects of modern war have become so extensive that they stand in no relation to the ones of former wars. The recent large-scale development of modern destructive weapons has brought the danger that their use might lead to the annihilation of our civilization.

Parallel with the realization of the terrible consequences of modern war, an awareness has steadily grown that war apparently fulfills some functions in our civilization and has much deeper roots in it than was formerly assumed. This realization leads to the question whether war is as much an essential part of human existence as the vital instinct and whether it can be avoided, provided that the right measures are taken. Even though there are many who believe that war is inherent in our existence and that it therefore will remain in existence, there have been in recent times others who insist on the possibility that war can be avoided.

The trust in this possibility must be based upon knowledge of the causes of war. Even though there is no unanimity as to the causes of war, recent research has shed much more light on the subject, and a trend to study more thoroughly the questions in this field has become noticeable. For example, the Institute for Social Research in Oslo has established a prize of 10,000 Kronor for the best work dealing with the "Problem of the Relationship between Scientific Research and the Peace Problem". In 1954 the same institute published a book entitled Research for Peace which contains the three most important essays received. The report contains a survey, based on the contributions received, dealing with the causes of war. This survey gives a good picture of the multitude and the complexity of causes. Even though there might be in specific cases one overpowering cause, it is

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the rule that a complexity of causes is at the root of wars. For example, there are ideological, psychological, political, economic, and social factors.

2. The Hot War

In the past, the concept of war has always been related to force. Von Clausewitz, in his famous book On War, defines war as follows: "War is an act of force aimed at subjecting our opponent to our will. Physical force is the means, and subjecting the enemy to our will is the aim." (Part I, Section 1, Chapter 1, para 2.)

Gaston Bouthoul defines war in the above-cited book Les Guerres, (page 37) as follows: "In short, war is a form of force which has as its essential characteristic that it is methodic and organized with respect to the groups which carry it out and to the manner in which it is executed. Moreover, it is limited in time and space and subject to special rules of law, very changeable according to place and time."

In military contemplations, the aim of war, as a rule, is described in one or the other of the following ways: to force one's own will upon the enemy; to subject the enemy's will to one's own will; to eliminate the enemy's will to resist; to break the enemy's will to resist.

There is no real difference in the above definitions; they all amount to the same: to break the enemy's will of resistance in order to assert one's own will.

The hot war therefore consists of imposing one's own will upon the enemy. This type of war has always been more or less the last resort; it was only used after all other means - political, economic or psychological - had failed.

The weapons of the hot war have gone through a tremendous revolution: the effect of primitive weapons cannot be compared with the effect of the most modern ones. Naturally, those changes have also caused an evolution in the impact of hot war. While the impact of past wars had been local, the modern war is characterized by its universal consequences. This development has led to a new concept of hot war. War has become so terrible that both parties abstain from taking this ultimate step. Even though one party may succeed in defeating the other, the risk remains that in doing so, the winning party destroys itself. This concept does not maintain that "limited" hot wars are impossible. The most important deterrent of unlimited hot war is the possession by both parties of new weapons with very great destructive power. Whenever the two parties do not extend their warfare outside a definite area and limit themselves to the use of "conventional" weapons, then a war has come into existence which can be called a "limited hot war" or a "small hot war within the cold war."

In connection with the above-mentioned development of warfare and the present political situation, which is defined by the conflict between the Communist and the non-Communist worlds, there has been in recent years a tendency to talk about new or changed warfare. One really should not talk about new warfare, since the

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change consists only in shifting the accent from violent to non-violent weapons. This changed type of warfare is the object of study not only for military science, but other sciences will increasingly deal with it. While the descriptions of the new type of warfare differ in several points, there is agreement in many respects. There is complete agreement about the name of this type of warfare, which is universally called "cold war".

3. The Cold War

Clausewitz wrote the famous aphorism that war is the continuation of politics by other means. By that he wanted to indicate that war is the means of reaching a political objective. If a name is needed to describe the conflict between states or groups of states in which one party imposes its will on the other, then the term "political warfare" seems to be the most satisfactory, since it serves to indicate the whole field of warfare, including, besides the hot war, all other forms of warfare, which serve to impose one's will on the enemy. Since the last world war many American political and social scientists have paid more and more attention to the study of political warfare in all its phases. A book entitled Propaganda in War and Crisis was published in the United States in 1951; it contains contributions by several writers, dealing with propaganda, mostly in the field of political warfare. In some of these contributions, the whole field of warfare is described as political warfare which uses different means, the most important of which are diplomatic propaganda, economic and military means. The application of non-military means can be called "cold war".

The term political warfare does not cover all facets and elements of warfare which is obvious whenever ideological factors come into play. These can be very important, they can be the basis of the conflict and thereby also determine the character of the whole warfare. They can become so overpowering that the whole conflict can be termed as ideological warfare.

Espionage has always played an important role in warfare. Modern war is inconceivable without espionage. This applies also to the cold war. Diplomatic, economic and psychological warfare have to be based on firm knowledge which is largely obtained by espionage.

Thus, on the basis of the above considerations, cold war can be defined as that conflict which, together with hot war, forms political warfare and which aims at imposing one's will upon the enemy with non-violent weapons. This cold war, which deep down may be an ideological conflict, is mainly conducted as diplomatic, economic, and psychological war in which espionage is an essential component.

It becomes clear from the above that cold war is nothing new, since in antiquity

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its importance was known. In the India of the pre-Christian era, there existed a political science which appeared in text books. One of the best known text books, Arthasastra, is attributed to Kautilya, which was probably the pen-name of a chancellor of a prince living in the fourth century B. C. This text contains the following with respect to hot and cold war:

"Whenever you want to occupy the country of your enemy, you have to equip an army in order to conquer that country. Your infantry will swarm down on that country like locusts. The roads will resound from the wheels of your chariots. Countless of your and the enemy's soldiers will be killed by weapons. The fires of the battle will burn the fields and level the houses to the ground. Whenever the power of your army is great, you will prevail and you and your war leaders will gain fame. But the riches of the country which you occupy will have been destroyed. Yes, you will have to use your own stocks of grain to feed the people of the conquered area. Your war leaders will have to rebuild the houses they destroyed, and many years will pass before the fields will yield again the harvest they yielded before the war. Isn't such a war mostly just a drive by your war leaders for worthless fame? There are other means in order to conquer the country of your enemy without losing the riches of that country. The following is the acme of skillful warfare: Have hand-picked men penetrate unnoticed into the country of your enemy. Have them reconnoiter for the weaknesses in the enemy's fortresses. Furnish them with ample means so that they will be able to buy the enemy's counselors. Let them sow distrust in the hearts of its friends and instigate hatred in the hearts of its enemies. Let them induce infidelity in the enemy's wives and foster jealousy among its sons. Promise freedom to its slaves and have them instigate mutiny among the body guard of your enemy. Poison the wells from which the beasts of burden drink and burn down the store houses containing war materials. Commit atrocities against your enemy's people in your enemy's name so that the people will grumble and hate your enemy. First, send your agents in order to accomplish all that and then set your army in motion to occupy the country. With the country in unrest and with his friends and relatives set against him, your opponent will not think of giving battle to you. He will flee into his secret hideout, leaving you all his riches."

Since cold war is such an old story, why then has this type of warfare not played a greater role in history and why has the importance of cold war increased so much in our times? It will not be possible to determine the role of the cold war in all its occurrences, since it occurs partly in secrecy and since its expressions and results never can be determined as exactly as is the case with the hot war. Furthermore, even though hot war was a last resort, it was nevertheless quickly used. This has changed in our times. One realizes that a hot war might mean the end for all parties concerned. Moreover, the realization is growing that the desired aim can be achieved in its entirety or practically in its entirety by other means. This realization, together with a world situation which is more and more determined by the conflict between the Communist and non-Communist camps, have shifted the accent to the cold war.

As has been mentioned above, political warfare - and thus the cold war - is based often on ideological conflict. Ideology is not only a basis, but also an aim and a means to obtain this aim. It serves not only as justification but also as a driving force for the conflict. Whenever cold war is based on ideology, it will be

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mainly directed against the ideology of the enemy, mostly in conjunction with attempts to spread one's own ideology.

Cold warfare - besides ideological warfare - consists of diplomatic, economic, and psychological warfare. Diplomatic warfare consists mainly of political negotiations aimed mainly at weakening the political power of the opponent. Economic warfare aims at weakening the material potential of the enemy. This entails not only direct action against that potential by sabotage, but also all kinds of actions aimed at preventing strategic materials from reaching the enemy.

One of the most important means in subjecting the opponent's will is psychological warfare of which the most prominent form of expression is propaganda. Psychological warfare aims at breaking the enemy's will to resist by systematically belaboring the spirit, or, better, by undermining the morale of the opponent.

Espionage is an integral part of the cold war. Successful espionage strengthens one's own position by increasing knowledge of the enemy. This strengthening may be indirect: one knows more about the strengths and the weaknesses of the enemy. But it may also be direct: knowledge gained from the enemy - unknown until then in one's own camp - is immediately put to one's own use. Strengthening of one's own position is, relatively speaking, weakening of the enemy's position. This weakening becomes even more obvious if the enemy loses a monopoly position which was based on some definite knowledge.

Cold war is being conducted overtly as well as covertly. Political negotiations may be conducted in the open, as well as secretly. The results may be completely or partly revealed or may be kept secret in their entirety. Economic warfare may be conducted partly in the open and partly clandestinely. Sabotage is carried out covertly, as is illegal trade in strategic materials.

Psychological warfare is partly conducted in the open and partly kept very secret. Propaganda work of persons or groups is carried out mostly in secret, and the spreading of rumors is likewise an activity that takes place in secret.

The secret character of espionage is self-evident.

We have already dealt with the "limited hot war" of the "small war within the cold war". This type of war cannot be called cold war since violent means are being used. The same actually applies to civil war. Revolution and coup d'etat are on the borderline between hot and cold war. Due to the violent nature of those activities, there is reason not to consider them as cold wars.

The fact that the term "cold war" has been used in many official documents

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proves that it has become a clearly-defined reality. The cold war has an important place in the "Statement on Defense", submitted to Parliament by the British Minister of Defense. The introduction contains the following passage:

"It is surely not prudent for the government not to resist Communist imperialism in the cold war. Weakness and indecisiveness vis-a-vis limited aggression will not serve in averting a big war. The existence of nuclear weapons may deter, as it has been the case in Korea, the Communist powers from open armed intervention, due to the risk of a development to unlimited warfare. But, on the same hand, it may encourage aggression by infiltration and subversive activities. We should therefore, in line with our endeavors in developing deterrents and our rejection of a big war, increase all our available means as a defense against this type of aggression, including the maintenance of appropriate conventional military power. We must stand together with other Commonwealth countries and our allies in order to resist the spreading of Communism over the world."

The great importance which is being given to the cold war in comparison with the hot war, can be clearly seen from the priorities established in the above statement: the build-up of deterrents; the waging of cold war; preparations for a hot war.

4. Communism and the Hot War

Communism differentiates between unjustified and justified wars. Unjustified wars are the wars of conquest which the bourgeoisie wages against the proletariat, justified wars are the wars of liberation conducted by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

Communism has developed two opinions with respect to war. On the one hand, it gets chilly treatment; on the other hand its advantages for Communism are recognized. In their contemplations of war, the communists differentiate, in addition to the above-mentioned differentiation, between wars among imperialist powers and wars by the imperialist camp against the Communist camp.

With respect to wars among imperialist countries, it is believed that they can be harmful, since the Communist camp might become involved in them. On the other hand, this involvement might work to the advantage of Communism. Lenin had the firm conviction that imperialism will lead to war among the imperialist powers. After the second world war, there were some people in the Soviet Union who did not believe any longer in the inevitability of such a war. Stalin, in his Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR (1952) opposed this opinion. In this book he defends the position that the total number of conflicts among the capitalist countries is greater than the one between the socialist and capitalist camps; in this connection he points to the second world war which started as a war among

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capitalistic countries. He believes that there are no guarantees for the development of harmony, and that therefore the thesis of the inevitability of wars between capitalistic countries remains valid.

With respect to the second type of war (between the communist and the capitalist camps), the communists have a tendency to consider it, for the time being, as harmful. This type of war can hardly be advantageous when the formation of the Communist camp has been completed and the capitalist camp disintegrated completely. Lenin was still completely convinced that war between communism and imperialist is unavoidable. Stalin added a condition to this concept which does not change the doctrine itself. He thinks that war is unavoidable when the warmongers get hold of the masses, but that peace can be preserved when "the people take the cause of the peace in their own hands" (Pravda, 17 February 1951). The present rulers of the Soviet Union have to consider the possibility that their peace offensive will not have the results hoped for, and that the power of the "warmongers" will become so great that they will drag the "capitalistic camp" into a hot war. This gives them the justification for the maintenance of strong military power. On 12 March 1954, Malenkov declared in an election speech that a third world war would mean the end of world civilization, but many prominent communists are stressing now that a third world war would mean the end of the capitalistic world. The communists believe in the final victory of communism over capitalism and that a world war would find them the winners, but at the same time they continue to be realists. That means that they consider realistically the possible consequences of a war fought with the most modern weapons of destruction. Therefore, they do not want war due to the tremendous risk still connected with it and the unquestionably high price which would have to be paid. And what for anyway? The aims can be reached completely or almost completely in another way: the cold war.

5. Communism in the Cold War

Communism aims at a world wide Communist society. This aim implies conflict with the capitalist world. According to our above remarks, this conflict may be called political warfare. It is being conducted on the basis of an ideology which comprises for communism a doctrine, a belief and a driving force. Due to the risk which is now connected with hot war, this type of war has to be avoided. When this type of war is stated between "imperialist" powers, it is to be used to the advantage of communism. Whenever necessary, limited wars will be carried out. Civil wars, revolutions and coups d'etat will be used for the promotion of communism. Moreover, communism will conduct cold war, i.e., impose its will on the enemy by political negotiations, economic warfare, and psychological warfare.

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The political negotiations are aimed at increasing dissension among the non-Communist countries, especially the countries which have joined in an alliance against the Communist countries.

Economic warfare aims at the economic potential of capitalism. Active and passive sabotage are to be used. Passive sabotage will take the form of strikes, which apparently have social aims but in reality have political aims.

Psychological warfare is mainly directed against the morale of the capitalist world. All kinds of people and groups will be played up against each other. Where there are no conflicts they will be created and where there are conflicts they will be intensified. Tension will be created among classes, between peoples and governments, and among nations. This type of warfare aims at developing an attitude toward communism which will seriously undermine resistance to communism.

Espionage will probe the strength and weaknesses of the capitalist camp and will attempt to deprive it of the monopoly positions which are based on some definite knowledge.

Communists consider the cold war as the best method to effect the disintegration of capitalist camps. The best chances for disintegration exist when the conflicts within that camp are intensified. According to Communist doctrine, imperialism contains several fundamental antagonisms which in the end must lead to its destruction. These antagonisms are the ones between capital and labor, the ones among imperialist countries, and the ones between imperialist countries and the countries exploited by imperialism. Communists pay the greatest possible attention to these conflicts, which under certain circumstances might take changing aspects but which fundamentally always remain the same. Prominent communists have again and again stressed those conflicts. For example, Molotov in his report On the International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Government of the USSR (8 February 1955) notes the following: "The foreign policy of the Soviet Union has to take into account not only the existence of considerable conflicts among individual capitalistic countries, but also the conflicts within those countries and even within the individual segments of capitalistic classes and groups. It is our task to utilize those conflicts for the maintenance and the intensification of peace in order to weaken the aggressive and anti-democratic powers." (For an Enduring Peace, for People's Democracy, 18 February 1955).

The communists use the term "cold war" only in the sense of a cold war conducted by the Western powers against the Communist countries. An article on "Collective Leadership" in Pravda of 27 December 1952 notes in this connection: "The policies

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used in 'cold war' against the Soviet Union are inimical to the cause of peace. They prevent normal relations between states. Those who are instigating aggressive policies are against negotiations and agreements between sovereign states and are intent on intimidating peace-loving people with the threatening rattle of weapons."

The existence of the cold war conducted by communism is not being perceived by the people at large, and by some only here and there; however, there are also many who have a keen understanding of the permanent character of this type of war. A significant contribution in this respect is being made in the studies of the cold war in all or part of its aspects by the military profession, by students of political and social science, and by others. Surely, there is no unanimity with respect to descriptions and concepts of the cold war, but there is much unanimity in the appraisal of the importance of Communist cold war in our times. In the following there are a few quotes related to the cold war concept:

In 1950, a book entitled The Front is Everywhere was published in the United States. It was written by W. R. Kintner, an American officer who during his studies at Georgetown University, and later on, paid special attention to the military character of communism. On page 169 he wrote the following: "Termite warfare is an exact description... Just like a tree must rot so that the earth is ready for new growth, so must, according to the Communists, the whole world as we know it be reduced to unrecognizable fragments before they will establish their new order. But in order to destroy the tree of capitalism termites will have to undermine and weaken the sturdy fibre of its wood. Termite warfare confronts every non-Communist country with two enemies: an external and an internal one. The external enemy is the USSR about whose competition with the capitalistic world Stalin once remarked, 'One or the other has to win out'. The internal enemy is the fifth column and its friends, sympathizers and fellow-travelers."

The book Les Guerres en Chaine by the well-known Frenchman, Raymond Aron, appeared in 1951. The English edition The Century of Total War, appeared three years later. On page 171 of that edition he wrote the following with respect to cold war: "Cold war is a limited war, limited not by that which is at stake but by the means which are being used by the belligerents. Seen from the viewpoint of the West, it is, directly and unavoidably, the result of the line of action taken by the Kremlin and its subservient parties all over the world: propaganda, espionage and sabotage, agitation in mass movements, and civil war are the four typical forms which mostly appear in combination. Furthermore, we may state that the cold war is the result of the Soviet program of world conquest, as long as the Kremlin does not resort to open warfare."

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An American committee, the National Planning Association, which concerns itself with the study of planning in trade, agriculture, labor and profession, issued a statement in December 1954 on the American policy in the new phase of the cold war. It contains the following passage: "The present orientation of Soviet policy suggests that the masters of the Kremlin want to avoid a world conflict, at least for the time being. It seems likely that they will not start a third world war until they are convinced that the first blow will be so destructive that it will be decisive. Even then, their continued successes in the cold war will work as a deterrent against hasty adventures. Thus, we can expect that the Soviet Union will try, for some time to come, to extend its reign by infiltration, subversive activities, even by economic assistance, and possibly, on occasion, by local military excursions, always using its continually growing strength in non-conventional weapons as a means of political blackmail on the European and Asiatic continents."

It is the aim of communism in the cold war to effect such a disintegration in the free world countries that they will fall to communism by themselves or that they will be ripe for the death blow.

Cold war by communism confronts the West with many problems. One of the big problems is that it appears, at times, to diminish in intensity or even to cease completely, while in reality there had been only a change in tactics. If one wants to understand the words and deeds of the Communist rulers, one should not evaluate their apparent meaning but should relate them to a background of a Communist war started 100 years ago with the aim of establishing Communist rule over the world.

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CHAPTER II PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFAREI. Concept of Psychological Warfare

In conjunction with the increasing importance of psychological warfare, there has been an increase in the number of meanings of its concept. Obviously the term must always mean that there is warfare which is connected with psychology. But then the differences of opinion begin. There are those who deny that this is warfare, while others claim that they type of warfare has little to do with psychology. On the one hand, there is an opinion that psychological warfare must always be directed against an enemy, on the other hand there is the opinion that also the influencing of a neutral party and even of one's own party can be called psychological warfare. There is a narrow definition of the concept which identifies it with propaganda, and there is the broader interpretation of the concept which includes also the psychological effects of political, economic, and military actions.

One part of the concept has the meaning of warfare, while the other part is free of that meaning. As far as it is directed against the opponent, it is warfare. In that case it plays an important role in the sum total of means that are being used in political warfare in order to impose one's own will on the enemy. The influencing of neutrals or friends can hardly be called warfare. That is even more true in connection with the influencing of one's own camp: it sounds strange to call the strengthening of one's own morale psychological warfare. But the term in its wider meaning, i. e. the influencing of enemy, neutrals, friends, and one's own camp, is being used frequently. This type of warfare is called psychological, because it is based on psychology and has as its objective a psychological situation. Psychological warfare uses mainly propaganda, but it is also defined by all kinds of actions that have a psychological effect on warfare.

On the basis of the above, it is possible to arrive at the following definition: psychological warfare is both a part of the cold and the hot war; its aim is a psychological influencing of the opponent, one's own country, neutrals, and friends in the interest of warfare; its principal

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weapon for reaching its goal is propaganda.

Since psychological warfare is part of warfare, it is being conducted by the state. The state may have its own organs for this and it may assist private persons who are engaged in this type of warfare. The United States and the Soviet Union have organizations in the field of psychological warfare that are being directed by the authorities.

Prior to the Second World War, the term psychological warfare was practically used only in its military meaning. When after the war the concept of "cold war" was formed, the wider meaning of psychological warfare came into the foreground, and persons other than the military started to study it. Therefore, we have now studies by professional soldiers, non-carrer military personnel, and private persons. Articles by military people have appeared during the last years in military periodicals, which have stressed the great importance of psychological warfare not only in the hot but also in the cold war. Especially valuable are the contributions of those who during the last war had something to do with psychological warfare and wrote papers about their experiences. An example of this is the book of the American Professor Paul M. A. Linebarger Psychological Warfare, which is often used in military circles as a standard tome. A second printing was published in 1954, possibly due to the new situation - often described as cold war - and the appearance of all kinds of publications in the psychological warfare field. The second edition contains a completely new chapter dealing with the post-war situation. Despite the fact that the first three parts of the book still have a strong military orientation, the topic is this time treated in its wider relations, and non-military elements have been considered. Non-military writers likewise have paid increasing attention to the phenomenon of psychological warfare. The number of articles on this topic in newspapers and periodicals is increasing. Special studies are being made dealing with the topic. For example, in 1951 a book appeared in France with the title: La Guerre en Question. Its author, Jules Monnerot, who was already known from his studies on Communism, deals with the conflict between the Communist and non-Communist world and stresses that it is mainly a psychological warfare.

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Psychological warfare is in many ways related to the other forms of the cold war. Besides having the same aim, it frequently directly supports diplomatic and economic warfare, which in turn have an influence on psychological warfare. Political negotiations as well as economic measures may have a definite psychological effect.

2. Morale in Connection with Psychological Warfare

Earlier we established the imposition of one's will on the opponent as the aim of warfare. Psychological warfare serves the same aim; with respect to the enemy it amounts to breaking his will to fight and with respect to one's own camp to strengthening of the will to fight. When one speaks of "morale" in connection with warfare, then this term corresponds to a large degree with the will to fight. If one leaves out the influencing of neutral powers and friends, one may define psychological warfare as follows: the strengthening of one's own morale and the undermining of the opponent's morale. Even though the concept is beyond the material sphere, material factors nevertheless play an important role. Food, clothing and stimulants may under certain circumstances materially influence morale. A certain minimum living standard has to be maintained to keep morale on an even keel. Belief in one's own cause and the war aims are essential morale factors. Another factor is trust in the leadership, that is trust in the sense of a belief that the leadership is going the right way and using the best means to reach the objectives. Next to trust in the leadership is mutual trust as a morale factor. It is important for morale building to eliminate frictions influencing morale within their camp, or, if this should prove impossible, at least to mitigate them. Psychological warfare directed at the strengthening of one's own morale has to stress the above-named factors. Psychological warfare directed toward undermining the opponent's morale must stress the same factors. It has to attempt to weaken the belief in the good cause. It has to stress that the war aims will never be reached or that the real aims differ from the alleged ones. It will bring the leadership into discredit by stressing its unworthy motives, its wrong procedures, its incompetence and by stressing any other bad points. A well-tested method in the undermining of the opponent's morale is to intensify the

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frictions existing in his camp. Existing frictions can be intensified or new conflicts can be created. Where conflicts exist already, they will be intensified. Intense frictions, kept alive by all kinds of means, will in time have a disintegrating influence on the whole community. They undermine unity and create conflicts which will seriously affect the community as such.

Psychological warfare is not limited to one's own camp and the opponent but also aims at neutral powers and friends which will be influenced so as to make friends out of neutrals and greater friends out of friends. This is done by representing the opponent as a threat to humanity and as harmful to the individual and the community, while one's own country is depicted in the opposite way. To be connected with one's own country is represented as a service to the community and, in addition, as an advantage to the party concerned. All kinds of friendly acts will create a climate of friendliness which in the end will lead to a permanent friendly attitude. While psychological warfare against the enemy to a large degree consists of the intensification of conflicts, it aims, when applied to neutrals and friends and to the conflicts in one's own country, at removing the conflicts as much as possible and at creating definite ties.

3. Propaganda in Connection with Psychological Warfare

The importance of propaganda is worldwide. The findings of the science of psychology have deepened the knowledge of its character and capabilities. The application of other sciences has added a tremendous radius to the methods of propagandizing. It can participate in a significant way in the forming of public opinion, which in democracies has an important role and in countries with authoritarian governments remains a factor that has to be seriously considered by the governing group.

Modern man who lives in an increasingly complicated world needs again and again new knowledge in order to understand the situation around him. Mostly he has not the time, the opportunity or the interest to familiarize himself thoroughly with events. The result is that he has little or very superficial knowledge about many matters, a knowledge which mostly has come to him by propaganda media. Life is

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inconceivable without propaganda. Man is being influenced by propaganda in many ways and in many fields. Therefore, the importance of propaganda cannot be underestimated, but on the other hand it is subjected to limitations which are determined by the circumstances of those to whom it is directed and by its psychical nature.

Propaganda is the main element of psychological warfare. Paul M.A. Linebarger in his above-quoted book Psychological Warfare states the following with respect to the relationship between psychological warfare and propaganda: "Psychological warfare, in the broader sense, consists of the application to warfare of parts of the science of psychology; in the narrower sense, it includes the use of propaganda against the enemy together with military operational measures that supplement propaganda." (p. 25). In this book, the author also reproduces the definition of psychological warfare given in 1953 by the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff: "Psychological warfare is the planned use of propaganda and related measures of an informational nature aimed at the opinions, emotions, institutions and conduct of the enemy or other foreign groups in order to promote as much as necessary the execution of national policy and to support the accomplishment of national targets."

With respect to propaganda, there has been much stress since the Second World War on the increasing importance of its different aspects. With the advance of the social and political sciences, there has been and increase in the study of propaganda in its different forms, as, for example, political propaganda and commercial propaganda, or its relation to specific topics, such as public opinion in war. In 1955, a study was published by Dr. G. A. M. Vogelaar, entitled System and Rules of Public Information, in which he even pleads for a special science of information. The author believes that it would be very useful for such fields as advertising, political propaganda, press, public relations and similar undertakings, to make a study of their kinship and their common denominators.

There are many definitions of propaganda, In the following we are quoting three of them:

"In the general and broader sense, propaganda is information which attempts to induce, by a biased presentation of facts, the informed person to act in a certain way; according to this definition we could

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call it 'will-influencing' information. If one eliminates the derogatory element from this definition, one arrives at a definition of propaganda in its broader sense as persuasive information." (Dr. G.A.M. Vogelaar, op. cit., p. 77)

"Let us conclude with the statement that propaganda is a characteristic reality of our present civilization, It is a scientific technique which, by continual action and by the rational and methodical use of tested media, aims at arousing the approval by the masses of an idea or doctrine, at obtaining the support of public opinion, and even at involving the masses in certain actions." (Jacques Driencourt, La Propaganda, Nouvelle Force Publique, 1950, p. 26)

"Propaganda is the planned use of some forms of information aimed at influencing the thinking, emotions and actions of a definite group for a special purpose." (Paul M. A. Linebarger, op. cit., p. 39)

On the basis of the above remarks one may arrive at the following definition of "propaganda" in connection with psychological warfare: Propaganda in the service of psychological warfare is an activity which by planned use of suitable measures attempts to influence the opinions and attitudes of a definite group of people in such a way that actions favoring one's own war effort will result.

4. The Effect of Propaganda

The above definition shows that the aim of propaganda is to influence people to take some definite action. This means that a changed opinion or attitude is not sufficient unless it leads to actions favorable to the aims of the psychological warfare. The Communists aim to create with their propaganda a friendlier attitude in the Western world vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and an unfriendly attitude vis-a-vis the United States, but they aim even higher, that is at activities favorable to the Soviet Union and unfavorable to the United States.

These activities will take place only after influencing of more or less superficial or deeper-lying areas of human personality. There are many classifications and descriptions possible in this respect. We will use here the differentiations made by Dr. A. M. J. Chorus in his book Bases of Social Psychology (1953). In it he deals with, among other things, the social behaviorism of people, related to "opinion" and "attitude". He describes "opinion" as follows: "'Concept' is a general and neutral term for a form of knowledge related to something or somebody. If this form of knowledge, this complex of opinion and reasoning, is critically thought out and well-based, then we call it a scientific concept or certain knowledge; if the concept is not well thought out, more or less vague, and subjective and accidental by nature, then we call it an opinion or belief,

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or sometimes conjecture or impression, according to how certain we are about our ideas. In such a concept there are implicitly contained a judgment or complex of judgments in which former observations, memories, imagination, and thoughts play a role." (page 335). "Attitude" is described as follows: "There is first of all a certain readiness for action... Furthermore the readiness is supported by a certain measure of emotional pressure and direction of endeavor: an interest in a definite direction. And as such, 'attitude' has a certain determining influence on a person: due to his attitude, the person becomes selective with respect to things in his surrounding. Finally, attitude is not behavior as such but something which makes behavior possible and determines it." (page 342). The author uses "attitude", "orientation", and "inclination" practically interchangeably. He sees the difference in the last two terms as follows: "orientation deals more with the "outward" readiness and the term "inclination" more with an "inside" situation. (page 346).

The aim is to initiate action by propaganda. For that, opinion and attitude have to be influences. Attitude in turn is rooted in the deeper areas of human personality where desire determines the most basic aspect of human nature: the satisfaction of needs. Attitude develops under the influence of predisposition, experience, and milieu. Most important in this connection is the degree of identification with a definite group. When there is a high degree of identification, then the attitude of the group will often be that of the member of the group. A number of conditions have to be met to make propaganda successful, and those conditions determine the tactics of propaganda. We are listing in the following three of the prerequisites:

In the first place, all the factors which have played a role in opinion and attitude forming have to be taken into account. Most of all, one will have to consider the deep-down needs that influence attitude, since propaganda has to be directed toward satisfying these needs.

Propaganda has to use symbols and slogans. These have to present the parts of the doctrine in short, powerful and telling fashion in order to create an emotional effect, despite the fact that they will have to be based on rational concepts.

Continual repetition is of great importance. Whenever a definite message is being hammered home and conditions are not unfavorable to the

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reception of the message, then repetition may become an extremely important favorable factor. In the often-quoted book, Propaganda in War and Crisis, Daniel Lerner lists in an article, "Effective Propaganda, Conditions and Evaluation", the following prerequisites for effective propaganda: (1) Attention by the public must be obtained; (2) Belief of the public must be obtained; (3) The public must receive the changes aimed at by propaganda as an acceptable alternative to presently existing expectations; (4) The environment of the public must make the actions possible, which are dictated by the changed structure of expectations.

Which effect can be expected from propaganda, if the necessary prerequisites are met? An opinion which mainly had been formed by reasoning can be changed if the reasoning accepts the propaganda. The "knowledge" provided by propaganda decreases to the same degree in which emotional life has a co-determining influence on opinion. The smaller importance of knowledge-providing propaganda applies even more to attitude where the emotional influences are even stronger than in opinion. Can attitude be changed and if so, by propaganda? It is quite generally agreed that attitude can be changed and that such a change is often preceded by a long process. Even though emotion plays a greater role with respect to attitude than to opinion, there is a strong element of reasoning in it, and continual knowledge-providing informational activity can certainly influence development in the desired direction. The emotional element of attitude requires a different kind of treatment. In order to change that element, completely new experiences often seem necessary, while new means must be found to satisfy the needs on which the old attitude was based. When someone had an anti-American attitude, it might have come about in many different ways. He may in his life have met a limited number of Americans and may have had unpleasant experiences with all of them. It may also be that he had been brought up in an anti-American atmosphere and that Americans were discussed there only in an unfavorable way. An attitude which has been acquired in that way is not easily "talked away", in fact it is not improbable that such an effort would be unsuccessful. It is evident that he will have to have many favorable experiences with Americans before his attitude changes. If his anti-American sentiment springs from his aggressive nature, it is often true that his attitude only can be changed by finding a new objective for his aggressive needs. Propaganda has less chances to change an attitude

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than an opinion, but there are some chances. In the above example, a continued stressing of the good sides of Americans would in the long run have some influence. Even more fruitful will be contact with Americans with whom no unpleasant but only the most pleasant experiences were had. This way offers a great number of possibilities. The person concerned may be invited to spend some time in America. One may bring him in contact in his own country with Americans who are sure to be sympathetic. He may be supplied with literature on America. Movies on America may be shown to him. One may have him assist in American meetings. One may try to break his ties with an anti-American group. The propaganda may be either direct or indirect.

5. The Media of Propaganda

Propaganda media may be either direct or indirect. The latter are certain activities which on the surface have no propaganda aim or are not primarily propaganda, but which in reality have a propaganda aim, like cultural manifestations, exhibitions, sports, contests, etc. Their aim is primarily to create a favorable climate toward the country or group sponsoring the activities. The results may be obtained by a ballet performance, or an agricultural exhibit, a scientific congress or a soccer game. These methods are based on the inclination of people to see unfavorable characteristics in a friendlier light whenever they had an opportunity to admire certain good qualities.

Direct propaganda may be classified as follows:

1. Spoken word;
2. Writing;
3. Visual media.

Technological development has spurred the development of possibilities to conduct propaganda speedily, on a large scale, and in distant areas. Radio has made the whole world available.

The spoken word has remained an important propaganda medium. Its importance is not only determined by the knowledge it provides but also by its emotional effect. The public as a mass - in the sense of a group of people who are close to one another - often reacts differently to propaganda than its individual members would react if they were left alone. The spoken word, used in the right way and the right environment, may have a powerful effect.

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Many possibilities are offered by written propaganda, the most important of which are books, newspapers and periodicals. The great advantage the written word has over the spoken one is that it is more lasting. It conveys more knowledge, while much is lost in the oral presentation. There is more opportunity for reasoning and thinking. One disadvantage is the absence of the above-mentioned emotional factor which is so strongly emphasized by the spoken word.

Among the visual media of propaganda, the most important one is the motion picture. Its importance as a propaganda medium increases in the same degree as its techniques are being perfected. There is a much greater impact on people seeing something rather than just hearing it spoken. The viewing of a motion picture is an easy way of absorbing something and therefore also of exerting influence. A "talking" moving picture incorporates the influence of the spoken word, which combined with a picture, can become powerful. The same applies more or less to the theatre. Many groups have in the last few years realized the important role the theatre may have as a propaganda medium.

The illustrated periodical and music are special propaganda media which may be used successfully. They can be considered as combinations of the above-mentioned media. The illustrated periodical has the attractiveness of visual impact combined with the detailed description and narrative. Music - as an adjunct of other media, but also in the form of songs - often has a preponderantly emotional impact.

With respect to propaganda as conducted in the framework of psychological warfare, one differentiates between white, grey and black propaganda. The criterion there is mainly the source. White propaganda is being conducted openly and mentions its source. Black propaganda mentions no source or not the real one. Rumor is one of the more important tools of black propaganda. Its origin is in the dark, its source is not known or a wrong source is mentioned intentionally. Grey propaganda is characterized by vagueness with respect to the source, which is left as it is.

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CHAPTER III Communist Psychological Warfare1. Relationship Between Communist Psychological Warfare and Cold War

We formulated cold war in the first chapter as follows: the conflict which together with hot war forms political warfare and which aims at imposing one's will upon the enemy with non-violent weapons. This cold war, which basically may be an ideological conflict, is mainly being conducted as diplomatic, economic and psychological warfare in which espionage is an essential element.

The battle of communism is defined as follows: communism aims at a world-wide Communist society. This aim implies conflict with the capitalistic world. According to what we have said above, this battle may be called political warfare. It is being conducted on the basis of an ideology which for communism has the meaning of doctrine, belief, and motivating force. Due to the many risks which now are connected with big hot wars, these have to be avoided. When a war of this type starts between "imperialist" powers, it is to be used to promote the cause of communism. If necessary, limited wars are to be conducted. Civil wars, revolutions, and coups d'etat are to promote the progress of communism. Otherwise, communism has to obtain its aims by cold war, i.e., to impose its will on the opponent by means of political negotiations, and economic and psychological warfare.

With respect to psychological warfare in the framework of communist cold war, the following can be said: psychological warfare is mainly directed at undermining the morale of the capitalistic world. This is to be achieved by instigating all kinds of people and groups against one another, by creating frictions where none exist and by intensifying them where they do exist, and by creating frictions between classes, between peoples and their governments, and among countries. This warfare aims at creating such an attitude vis-à-vis communism that the will to resist communism becomes seriously undermined.

In the second chapter we defined psychological warfare as follows: psychological warfare is both a part of the cold and the hot war; its aim is a psychological influencing of the opponent, one's own country, the neutrals, and friends. Psychological warfare includes not only undermining of the opponent's morale but also strengthening of morale in one's own country and psychological influencing of friends and neutrals. The opponent remains the most important target. Therefore we shall in the following stress communist psychological warfare as directed against the opponent. Its aim is to undermine the opponent's morale in such a way that his will to resist will be broken.

In the discussion of psychological warfare in general we mentioned its inter-

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relation with other parts of cold war. The same applies to the Communist cold war. All parts aim at the same target. Psychological warfare supports the diplomatic and economic warfare of communism and these in turn support psychological warfare. With respect to diplomatic warfare, one only has to remember the negotiations of the USSR with Yugoslavia, Austria, and West Germany, the different agreements of the "Big Four" and the setting up of NATO and SEATO. Of the greatest importance in this respect was the Geneva Conference in the summer of 1955 which had such an effect that many in the free world did not accept any longer the term "psychological warfare" with respect to the actions of the Soviet Union. Economic warfare too may support psychological warfare. A strong economic potential may trigger a strong psychological effect. The economic assistance given by the Soviet Union to under-developed countries together with its attempts to expand East-West trade influence psychological warfare favorably.

The psychological effect of diplomatic and economic warfare is then accepted by the communists as self-evident, at least as far as it is favorable. Diplomatic negotiations and economic measures may even at first be undertaken for their psychological effect. In that respect, even a certain political or economic loss may be taken. Not only diplomatic and economic warfare have a psychological effect, but force likewise. Psychological warfare must have the final psychological effect of breaking the will to resist. In the following, we are not going to discuss this effect but will limit ourselves to dealing with Communist psychological warfare in its most important form: propaganda.

The Communists use the term "psychological warfare" only in relation to their opponents, just as they do with the term "cold war". The following is a description of American psychological warfare, as it was contained in Pravda of 17 July 1952:

"The principal weapon of psychological warfare by American imperialists is their propaganda of lies. This is the infamous Voice of America, the distribution of reactionary publications in countries depending on American imperialism. These are more or less open methods, but at the bottom of it, there is the buying up of newspapers and journalists, the spreading of rumors and lies, espionage in all those countries in which U.S. diplomats and spies succeeded in penetrating. Congress allocates hundreds of millions of dollars for those purposes.

"Which are the tasks of the American psychological warfare? It has to convince the peoples all over the world that allegedly the USA lives under the threat of Soviet aggression; that the USA is the most democratic country in the world; that the American way of life, just like Hitler's new order, must become the general way of life on our planet. But this is only half the story. The main task lies in the general rousing of unrest and insecurity, the instigating of some peoples against others, the sowing of enmity and hate, and the facilitating of American designs to unleash a new world war. For this purpose, methods are being used which were used by Goebbels and his assistants..."

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2. The Importance of Communist Propaganda

We have already discussed the importance of ideological factors, which may be so important that one may speak about "ideological warfare". When one considers the present cold war between the Communist and non-Communist world, there is certainly much occasion for such a concept. Communist is above all an ideology. The target of Communism is a Communist society in all countries of the world. Communist society which has - even in the opinion of the Communists- not yet materialized in any country, will be characterized by such an abundance of material and cultural achievements that everybody will receive according to his needs. The basis of Communism is the dialectical materialism and its application to society, the historical materialism. It maintains that material (economic) factors determine the development of humanity. This doctrine assumes for Communists the character of a philosophy of life and concept of the world. Based on this, they believe that human existence evolves with inescapable certainty to a world-wide Communist society. They believe that the conflict of classes - i.e. the irreconcilable conflict between the possessors and non-possessors of the means of production - dominates the history of man. They believe that this conflict will end in every country with the workers' accession to power under the leadership of the Communist party. They believe that development toward a Communist society will have two phases: the "construction of socialism" is in full swing and that it is completed in the Soviet Union. There, the second phase has already started and construction of communism has begun.

The Communists consider it as their task to promote, with all available means, a development toward a Communist society, which will come about by absolute necessity. The most important Communist power is the Soviet Union, a country which is considered as the stronghold from which the battle has to be conducted. Then there are other countries in which Communism has come to power. Furthermore, there are the Communist parties in the "capitalistic" countries. In addition to the above-listed effectives, the Communists include the revolutionary movements in colonies and other dependent areas as "direct reserves". "Indirect reserves" are all conflicts in the capitalist camp that may promote Communism. Tactics play an important role in the Communist struggle. Their great capacity for tactical maneuvers serves the Communist very well. Often they will promote alliances

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with groups that really must be considered as their enemies. The Communists have a good organization for the attainment of their aims. The core of the organization is the Party, followed by all kinds of auxiliary organizations, while non-Communist organizations will be infiltrated. It might become necessary to have an illegal apparatus in addition to the legal one in order to carry out all kinds of subversive activities.

It is very clear that propaganda plays a tremendously important role in the attainment of the Communist aim.

It established an ideology in the spirit of the dedicated Communist. This ideology gives the Communist an explanation for the world and life around him, it satisfies basic needs, it answers definite expectations, it gives meaning to his life and becomes the driving motive of his existence.

The class struggle is unthinkable without propaganda. The non-possessors of the means of production must always be made class-conscious. The differences between the two classes must be intensified. A movement has to be created that will undermine the existing order and will be able to stage a successful seizure of power.

The "construction of socialism" and the "construction of communism" will not take place without the aid of propaganda. Propaganda will stress the many achievements that make the "construction" possible. It will indicate the necessity for all kinds of plans and measures. It has to describe the capitalistic world as a source of all kinds of evil and also as a form of society that is doomed to perish.

Communist literature stresses continually, and often with much emphasis, the importance of propaganda. Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly pointed out how important propaganda is for the Communist struggle. Communists subdivide propaganda into two parts, one called propaganda itself, and the other "agitation". They look upon the Communist party as the vanguard of the working classes. In order to perform this task well, the leaders of the Party, and especially the cadres, have to be well-versed in Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. This makes a thorough indoctrination necessary, which the Communists call propaganda. Such an indoctrination is unnecessary for the broad masses. They have to be influenced in such a way that they will start to move under the direction of their vanguard, the Communist party. The Communists call this influencing of the workers' masses "agitation".

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"Communist propaganda is the thorough explanation of the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, of the history of the Bolshevist Party and its present tasks... Communist propaganda arms the Party leader with the Marxist-Leninist theory, which deals with the laws of social development and political struggle..." (Soviet Political Dictionary, 1947). "...the propagandist, when he deals for example with the question of unemployment, has to explain capitalistic crises, has to indicate the cause for their inevitability in the present society and the necessity to convert this society into a socialist one, etc. In so many words: he has to give many ideas, so many that only comparatively few persons are able to absorb all those ideas at the same time and in their full meaning." (Lenin, Collected Works, Part II, page 93. "What to Do?")

The Communist party conveys by agitation its slogans and resolutions to the greatest possible number of people, outlines the policies of the Party and of the Soviet government and mobilizes all workers into active participation in the establishment of Communism.

3. The Tactics of Communist Propaganda

As already explained in Chapter II, the final aim of propaganda is to bring about actions by those concerned, actions desired by the propagandist. It is self-evident that this applies also to Communist propaganda. For the Communist propagandist the ideal situation is the one in which actions conform completely to his desires. Such results cannot be obtained without special measures.

An extreme example of a propaganda aiming at influencing the actions and thoughts in complete conformity with the master's wishes is the "brainwashing". This term is taken from the Chinese, where "hsi-nao" literally means "washing of the brain". In order to attain this aim, a psychological process is promoted that uses a number of special methods. Among all those methods - partly directed against the body in order to influence the mind- propaganda plays the most important role, because it forms a new world of ideas after the old world has been broken up.

Some persons are of the opinion that the propagandistic treatment of the people in countries under Communist control is not essentially different from brainwashing. ~~Terror~~ replaces in those countries the terrifying methods of brainwashing in its narrow sense, and the propagandistic effort is stretched out over a longer period.

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In the non-Communist world, the element of coercion is not applicable, therefore less rigorous methods have to be used to reach the target.

Communist propaganda attempts to appeal to the most basic human needs, above all the need for security. Communist propaganda promises a future in which everyone will receive according to his needs. The need for security underlies the need for peace. Then there is the need for belonging somewhere. Communist propaganda meets this "desire to belong" and thus to escape loneliness. Communist propaganda attempts to have an answer for questions about the meaning of life. It tries to imbue people with the feeling that they can participate and thus contribute to the development of mankind. Communist propaganda banks also especially on the need for aggression. The Communist language is rich in words and expressions that indicate the qualities of the opponent, and propaganda usually makes lavish use of them.

Communist propaganda uses slogans abundantly. Agitation in the Communist sense is to a large degree propaganda by slogan. The slogan is really a very short and powerful phrasing of a doctrine. While the doctrine is directed toward reason, the slogan is used only for its emotional effect. Often the slogan will consist only of one word. "Peace" is an example. It is the formulation of the Communist peace doctrine in one word. By the propagandistic use of this word, the Communists attempt to awaken or strengthen the human desire for peace and to create a prevailing opinion that Communism and peace are the same.

Communist propaganda is characterized by continual repetition. The Communists know that the success of propaganda is largely determined by the degree of repetition. When people are uninterruptedly subjected to a certain type of propaganda and live under conditions where they are left to themselves without hope for help from the outside, then it becomes unavoidable that this propaganda, in the long run, will have some kind of influence. Even under more favorable conditions, repeated propaganda will have some influence. The saying that lies will be believed if they only are repeated often enough has its origin in reality.

Communist propaganda readily uses strongly contrasting comparisons. As a rule, the black and white method is being used. Essentially, this presentation of things by exaggeration is a characteristic of the Communist doctrine in all its parts. This propaganda is based on the opinion that things should not be presented in their complexity, that nothing favorable

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should be said about the opponent, and that one has to exaggerate in order to find a willing ear.

Communist propaganda is full of promise for all those who listen to the voice of Communism and rich in threats for all those who do not. If one follows the call of the warmongers, a terrible war, possibly leading to the destruction of western civilization, will be the consequence. If one follows the powers of peace, a happy future will open up.

Communist propaganda often combines the small problems with the big ones. For example, at one and the same time it will agitate against bad housing in some place and against atom bombs. This method fixes attention upon a great evil by combining it with a local evil, for which there will be interest under any circumstances. The feeling generated by the first evil will awaken a corresponding feeling toward the second evil.

4. The Characteristics of Communist Propaganda

With respect to Communist propaganda, it is useful to differentiate between the propaganda conducted in countries where Communism has come to power and the propaganda in the free world. The propaganda in "capitalistic" countries is mainly aimed at the breaking up of the capitalistic system, i.e. the disintegration of the existing order. In countries where Communism has come to power, propaganda is directed toward "construction of socialism" and after that toward the "construction of Communism", in other words toward the strengthening of an existing order. In the former case, propaganda contains strongly destructive elements and in the latter constructive elements. On the other hand, as far as propaganda is concerned, the transition from the "capitalistic" phase to a "socialist" phase will not be as difficult as it may appear at first glance, because Communist propaganda under capitalism contains a strongly constructive element, i.e., insofar as it is directed toward its own movement. Furthermore, once the new situation has been established, propaganda will not be able to do without the destructive element, as long as there are "counter-revolutionary" forces which aim at the destruction of the recently-established order and as long as there remains a capitalistic outside world as a threat. Since this paper deals with Communist propaganda in the framework of the cold war, we shall in the following concentrate not so much on the propaganda in countries where Communism has come to power but on the Communist propaganda in the free world.

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Communist propaganda on the one hand is directed toward its own followers, and on the other toward non-Communists. In so far as it deals with its own movement, it will mainly lead toward a deepening of the understanding of Communist theory and practice, whereby the cadres will become more capable to play a leading role (propaganda in the Communist sense). Insofar as it deals with the remainder of its own leaders, it likewise may have educational purposes, but in a much more limited way. Often this propaganda will have only the purpose to start a certain action (agitation in the Communist sense.) In general, Communist propaganda in non-Communist countries has the following characteristics:

1. The spreading of Communist ideology with the aim of obtaining followers;
2. The attack on morale aimed at breaking the will to resist Communism.

In the following, we shall especially stress the second point in connection with the discussion of Communist propaganda in the framework of the cold war. In its attempt directed against the defensive position of the free world, Communism for some time has conducted a propaganda that apparently does not aim at intensifying conflicts among the free world countries - mainly between the United States and the remainder of the world - but stresses the promotion of a friendly attitude toward the Soviet Union and the countries allied with it.

5. Communist Propaganda and the Undermining of Morale in the Free World

a. Intensification of Conflicts

The history of Communism is not lacking in statements concerning the great importance of the conflicts within the capitalistic society and the necessity to use them to the advantage of Communism. (We quoted a statement by Molotov in this respect in Chapter I.) According to the dialectic method of Communism, precisely these conflicts are the cause for a trend toward general disintegration. These conflicts are described in Stalin's Bases of Leninism as follows:

"The first conflict is the conflict between capital and labor. Imperialism signifies the omnipotence of the monopolistic trusts and cartels, of the banks and the finance oligarchy in industrial countries. In the struggle against that omnipotence, the customary methods of the working class - the trade unions and cooperatives, the parliamentary parties and parliamentary struggle - are completely insufficient. Surrender to capital, vegetate as before and fall down,

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or take up the new weapon - these are the choices which imperialism places before the millions of the proletariat. Imperialism leads the working classes toward revolution.

"The second conflict is the conflict between the different financial groups and the different imperialist powers in their struggle for raw materials and foreign territories. Imperialism means export of capital to the countries possessing raw materials, the fierce struggle for the ownership monopoly of raw materials, the struggle for the re-division of the already-divided world, and a battle of special grimness conducted by new finance groups and powers, in search of 'a place under the sun', against the older groups and powers which tenaciously hold on to their conquests. This fierce struggle among the different groups of capitalists is characterized by the fact that it includes, as an unavoidable element, an imperialist war, a war for the conquest of foreign territories. The situation is characterized by the fact that it leads to the mutual weakening of the imperialists, to the weakening of the position of capitalism in general, to the approach of the proletarian revolution and to the practical necessity for such a revolution.

"The third conflict is the conflict between the handful of ruling 'civilized' nations and the millions of colonial and dependent people of the world. Imperialism is the most unabashed exploitation and the most inhumane suppression of the millions of people in the large colonies and dependent countries. The obtaining of profits is the aim of this exploitation and suppression. But while imperialism is exploiting those countries, it has to construct railroads, erect factories and plants, and establish commercial centers. The formation of a class of proletarians, the development of a local intelligentsia, the awakening of national consciousness, the strengthening of a liberation movement, all that is the unavoidable result of that policy. The strengthening of the revolutionary movement in all colonies and dependent countries without exception, proves that very clearly. This situation is of special importance for the proletariat since it undermines thoroughly the positions of capitalism, transforming the colonies and dependent areas from reserves of imperialism into reserves for the proletarian revolution."

(Stalin, Bases of Leninism,
Pegasus Publishers, Amsterdam,
1946, p. 5)

This was written by Stalin in 1924. In the meantime, the face of the world has changed somewhat. However, according to the Communist doctrine the conflicts remained the same and can be described as follows:

According to the Communists, the conflict between capital and labor can never be eliminated. An elimination can only be achieved in a situation where the means of production are no longer in the hands of capitalists. As long as the capitalists own the means of production, nothing essential will change. The workers may receive higher wages and better social security, they may have a voice in all kinds of matters dealing with production, but fundamentally their relation to the means of production has not changes, i.e., they do not own the means of production. In discussing the conflicts that are still existing in this area, the Communists have recently stressed the phenomenon of "relative pauperization". This concept is nothing new in Communist theory and has been used as proof that the pauperization outlined by Marx as a part of capitalistic society is a

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reality. The theory amounts to about the following: the living standard increases, but the development of society has created so many new needs that can be well-satisfied by the rich people (who have received much larger increases of income than the poor), but not by the poor, so that with the latter the feeling of poverty increases despite an absolute increase in the standard of living. The increased post-war welfare in the different capitalistic countries is interpreted by the Communists as "relative pauperization" of the workers who do not share to the same degree in the increased wealth as the "capitalists". According to the Communists, this means also that such an increase in wealth does not eliminate the conflict between capital and labor. In connection with the conflict between capitalists and workers, the Communists readily point to "human dignity" , which, in their opinion, constantly suffers due to this conflict. In the same way that the consciousness of the workers increases with the social development, the workers should be treated accordingly with more respect. Since the "capitalists" do not act accordingly, the conflict between capital and labor is being intensified. Communist propaganda attempts in every way to keep the notion of the conflict between capital and labor alive. The struggle of Communism is presented as a fight for wage increases, shorter working hours without loss in wages, and for lower prices or as a struggle against unemployment and speed-up systems. After the last war, the Communists presented the class struggle in the capitalistic countries as a battle of the capitalistic class, which is in the service of a senseless rearmament, against a peace-loving Communist world and a working class which does not want rearmament.

According to the Communists, the second conflict includes all the conflicts existing among "capitalistic" countries. It includes the conflict between the United States and the other Western powers, the conflict between Germany and France, the conflict between small and big nations. There are some Communists who no longer believe in those conflicts, but as we pointed out in Chapter I, Stalin at the end of his life still believed so strongly in those conflicts that he considered new wars among "capitalistic" countries as a certainty. According to their doctrine of the dominating role of economic factors in the development of mankind, the Communists see the conflicts in the Western world mainly from the economic viewpoint. They believe that those conflicts have increased under the influence of the

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division of the world market into two parts: while the world market was formerly exclusively controlled by capitalism, there is now one part of it in the hands of Communism. Communist propaganda stresses mainly one conflict, that is the one between the United States and other nations. It aims at forming a wedge between the United States and the rest of the world. The United States has to be isolated so that the unity of the West will be undermined. The propaganda must stress that the Communists strive for a world in which true peace is reigning and that it is mainly the United States which obstructs this aim.

The third conflict has in the meantime somewhat changed in character, since many countries have become free areas. But according to the Communists this has not eliminated the conflicts. They are stressing now the conflicts between the Western countries and the underdeveloped countries (outside the Communist world). These conflicts are a profitable target for Communist propaganda. The many difficulties with which colonies and underdeveloped countries are often beset are attributed to the imperialist nations of the West. Difficulties resulting from racial discrimination are to be used by Communist propaganda for the intensification of conflicts. Communist propaganda hopes that finally the influence of the West will completely disappear and be replaced by ties with the Communist countries, possibly via neutralism.

b. Policy of Smiles

We have stated before that the intensification of conflicts has a great effect on the disintegration of morale. This undermining of morale will lead to a point where the will to resist is broken. Until 1955, the Communists gave an important place in their propaganda to those conflicts. In many cases they were mentioned outright, and the propaganda was as a rule directly aimed at the intensification of conflicts. During 1955 a clear shift of accent in their propaganda became apparent. The Geneva conference of 1955 is a milestone in this development. Propaganda is becoming increasingly an instrument of the so-called "policy of smiles", into which an extreme intensification of conflicts does not fit. This naturally does not mean that those conflicts are not considered important any longer. Preference has been given to a propaganda which will have the merit - in addition to other merits - of increasing certain conflicts in an indirect fashion. One of the most important advantages for Communism

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in this type of propaganda is the undermining of morale by the promotion of a friendly attitude toward the Soviet Union and its allied countries in such a way that a position of strength against the Soviet Union is considered unnecessary. The New York Times of 30 October 1955 contains an article by Thomas J. Hamilton, in which the author uses the terminology of Clausewitz to describe the policy of smiles as the "continuation of the cold war with other means." If one looks at the history of Communist theory and practice, one can not come to a different conclusion. Communism has during its development assumed many different forms, but it always has maintained the same basis and the same targets. The ways and means have not always been the same, since they have always been adapted to new situations. Nothing essential has been changed, as can be deduced from a statement made by Khrushchev on 17 September 1955 on the occasion of a banquet honoring Otto Grotewohl, in which he stressed that the smiles of the Soviet Union in no way mean that Marxism-Leninism or the Communist way should be abandoned. In order to determine what really is meant by the "policy of smiles" one has also to consider what happens on the underground front. The New York Times of 10 October 1955 reported that on 9 October Allen Dulles, the head of the CIA, the American foreign intelligence service, declared in an interview before several television stations that, despite the Soviet smiles, subversive activities of the Soviet Union are continuing unabated all over the world.

The policy of smiles thus attempts primarily to create a friendly attitude toward the Soviet Union and its allied countries and thereby naturally also toward Communism. Communist cold war, as it has been conducted after the last war, probably has not brought the expected results. On the one hand, a few successes were obtained, but on the other hand the free world was strengthened politically, economically and militarily. Communist strength increased in some areas, but in others it decreased considerably. Even though public opinion about the Soviet Union has changed in the sense that it does not concentrate any longer exclusively on suppression and bad conditions in the social and economic fields but considered also the better sides, still the success has not been great. Therefore, another policy has to be followed, and its execution is in full swing. The free-world attitude toward the Soviet Union and its allied countries and toward Communism has to be changed. This attitude was mainly

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formed under the influence of an environment which was often anti-Communist. The unfriendly actions of Communism in the framework of the cold war only strengthened this attitude. The policy of smiles is an attack against that attitude. One part of the propaganda will appeal to human needs which are to form the basis for the new attitude: the need of security through peace and of a world which develops prosperity; and the need of aggression against those who frustrate the achievement of security and prosperity. This propaganda is also mainly aimed at establishing an identification of the satisfaction of the above needs with Communism. Another part of the propaganda will be directed toward molding opinion and imparting information that appears reliable, so as to counteract the anti-Communist attitude. A flood of ideas will be used to cause a change in the old attitude. The two types of propaganda mentioned so far are direct. A third type, which aims at the old attitude, is indirect; it works with the effect of favorable experiences with Communists and Communist utterances and accomplishments. All those types of propaganda can be combined in different ways. A delegation from the free world visiting the Soviet Union will be subjected to all three types of propaganda. The Soviet Union will be pictured as a country that is directly advancing toward a society where everybody receives according to his needs and where there will be no war. All kinds of accomplishments of the Soviet Union, like big buildings, collective farms, modern hospitals, etc., will be stressed. The delegation will have all kinds of nice experiences with all kinds of nice people.

Two organizations are the most important instruments of this policy of smiles. One of them identifies itself with "peace" activities, while the other is concerned with the promotion of cultural relations between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world; they are the World Peace Council and WOKS respectively. The World Peace Council, established in 1948 as "International Committee of Intellectuals for the Defense of Peace", has grown into one of the most important auxiliary organizations of Communism. Its influence is so very widespread, since the "peace front" also includes the activities of other international auxiliary organizations. The organization is headed by a council, but the real leadership organ is the "Permanent Executive Bureau". This bureau consists of about 50 leaders, mainly Communists or pro-Communists. Among the leaders there are also officials of other international auxiliary organizations. Important

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propaganda topics are: peaceful co-existence, a security system for Europe, and the banning of atomic weapons. Other suggestions made in the framework of peace propaganda are: United Nations membership for China; expansion of East-West trade; and intensification of cultural relations. The great power of the propaganda lies in its appeal to the desires of everybody. This explains the influence of the peace movement which extends beyond the Communist sphere, as evidenced by the national organizations in this field. This expansion of influence is being promoted by the Communists by all kinds of methods. They do it by furthering the peace propaganda of non-Communist persons or movements. They attempt to coordinate the peace propaganda of other groups and to align it with their own cause. They aim mainly at including in their organization non-Communists who, due to their ability to conduct peace propaganda or due to their names, lend support to the Communist peace propaganda. The Communists are trying to hide the fact that the organization in reality is Communist-directed. The great importance of the peace movement for the policy of smiles is that in its propaganda the Soviet Union and its allied countries are pictures as peace-lovers "par excellence".

WOKS is the Dutch transliteration of the opening letters of Russian words which literally mean: All-Union Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. This organization maintains close contact with foreign associations which have the same purpose with respect to the USSR. The importance of this instrument of propaganda is considerably increased by organizations of countries allied with the Soviet Union which have a common aim with respect to the non-Communist countries and the organizations in the non-Communist countries which aim at the promotion of cultural relations with other Communist countries. The WOKS is mainly active in the fields of art, science and sports. Its most important function in this respect is the sponsoring of delegations from and to the Soviet Union. The Soviet organ Izvestiya of 29 April 1955 contains an article by the vice-chairman of WOKS. In it he stated that since the last war, due to the sponsorship of WOKS, 296 delegations, consisting of more than 4,000 members and representing 56 countries, visited the Soviet Union, and that during the same period 181 delegations, comprising about 1,000 prominent Soviet scientists, writers and artists, were sent by WOKS to 27 foreign countries. The number of delegations sent from and to the USSR under the sponsorship of WOKS is only a fraction of the total number of delegations from and to

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other Communist countries.

A survey of the traffic of delegations shows clearly what an important part they play in the policy of smiles.

6. Organization of Communist Propaganda

The heart of the propaganda organization of world communism is the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Secretariat has an apparatus at its disposal that concerns itself with the different areas in which the Central Committee is especially interested. For this purpose there are several sections, one of which is called "Propaganda and Agitation". In the Secretariat there is also a "Foreign Countries" section. Mainly by those two sections, the rulers of the Soviet Union direct Communist propaganda in their own country, in the Satellite countries and in the non-Communist world.

The internal propaganda is of extreme importance for the Soviet Union. Without it, the "construction of socialism" and the "construction of communism" is doomed to failure. Therefore, the propaganda has to be such that no important area remains uninfluenced. Its radius of activity extends to the State, the Party, science, the arts and sports, and education.

The importance of Satellite countries with respect to propaganda is two-fold. It consists of internal and external propaganda which is tuned to the Soviet Union.

Since the Chinese Communist propaganda in most aspects corresponds completely with that of the Soviet Union, one cannot, in this case, speak of the director of it as one can of the Satellite countries. The direction in Communist China is more in the nature of a guide which sets a good example. China is beginning to play an ever-increasing role in Asia's communism. Its propaganda already dominates the entire field of Communist propaganda in Asia.

An important instrument in the propaganda of world communism is the "Cominform". This organization was set up in Warsaw in September 1947. It has informational and coordination functions with respect to a number of Communist parties. Very little has been achieved, and one really cannot say that the organization has political importance. Its value to Communism lies mainly in its propaganda function. It has to be considered as a mouthpiece of the rulers of world communism. For this purpose an organ, "For a Lasting Peace, for People's Democracy", is published in 18 languages.

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In it, Communists all over the world will find the ideological concepts of the leadership of world communism, as applied to contemporary events. This is done in the form of a number of articles by prominent Communist from Communist and non-Communist countries.

The international auxiliary organizations play an important part in the propaganda of world communism. The propaganda emanating from these organizations deals with practically all aspects of social life. Often the propaganda of individual organizations has a common objective. Their great importance lies also mainly in the fact that they have branches, in the form of national organizations, in a great part of the world. There are 11 of these organizations:

- World Federation of Trade Unions;
- World Federation of Democratic Youth;
- International Union of Students;
- Women's International Democratic Federation;
- World Peace Movement;
- International Federation of Resistance Fighters;
- World Federation of Scientific Workers;
- International Association of Democratic Lawyers;
- International Association of Composers and Musicologists;
- International Association of Journalists;
- International Broadcasting Organizations;

We have already dealt with the WOKS.

Communist propaganda in the world is unthinkable without the participation of the national Communist parties. Their propaganda on the one hand is directed at the promotion of communism in their own countries, and on the other hand at the furthering of world communism. If in some cases the promotion of one excludes the other, preference will be given to the promotion of world communism in the fashion prescribed by the Soviet leaders. "Agitation and propaganda" is a part of every Communist party, from the highest Party organs down to the lower echelons. The Communist party also gives directives for the propaganda of its auxiliary organizations which are partly influenced by the Party and partly by their international organizations.

The legations of Communist countries are likewise part of the propaganda apparatus of world communism in that they give directives to the Communist parties of the country involved or by carrying out propaganda on their own.

7. Communist Propaganda Media

When one deals with propaganda media, one may use a very broad concept and include organizations in it. Communist organization is likewise a medium of propaganda and so are delegations, as described above. This type of media has already been dealt with, therefore we will in the following limit ourselves to (1) the spoken word; (2) the written word, and (3) the motion picture.

The most important medium for world communism in spreading the spoken word is the radio. The number of stations, broadcasting hours and the number of languages broadcast is steadily increasing. This applies to the Soviet Union, China, and the Satellite countries.

Communists give definite preference to the written word in propaganda (in the Communist sense), as evidenced by the entry on propaganda contained in the Russian political dictionary: "the press is the principal and decisive propaganda medium of Marxism-Leninism, since it makes it possible that every truth becomes immediately the property of everybody. Spoken propaganda is only an auxiliary medium of secondary rank. The most important and basic method in the study of Marxism and Leninism is independent reading of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

According to the importance given by Communists to propaganda, it is natural that a great number of books have been published. This applies mainly to books which play a great role in indoctrination, such as The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Stalin's Bases of Leninism. Extensive organizations in the Soviet Union are engaged in the publication and translation of books for domestic and foreign consumption. In the other Communist countries there are corresponding organizations which are not quite as extensive as the ones in the Soviet Union. There are also Communist publishing houses in many non-Communist countries.

TASS occupies a special place in Communist propaganda. This official news service of the Soviet Union exercises an influence which goes far beyond the confines of the Soviet Union. Practically the whole Communist world receives its world news from TASS. Furthermore, TASS supplies information on the Soviet Union, which has been released for dissemination to the world.

As has been said, the press plays a principal role in Communist propaganda. The number of newspapers published is very large. Soviet papers, like Pravda and Kommunist (the theoretical Party organ), have an influence

which reaches far beyond the borders.

Several newspapers are being published in the Soviet Union, which are destined for propaganda abroad, such as Soviet Union, Soviet Woman, News, New Times, etc. Other Communist countries likewise have often a selection of propaganda newspapers, likewise partly destined for abroad. We have already mentioned the Cominform newspaper in another context. The international auxiliary organizations as well as their affiliated national organizations also have their organs, often of different types. Communist parties of some size have daily, weekly and monthly papers. And finally there are also the "Information Bulletins" of the legations of Communist countries.

Communists are placing increasing emphasis on motion pictures as a propaganda medium. Direct and indirect propaganda movies are being produced. The latter are those which attempt to create sympathies by their artistic value and execution. The number of motion pictures produced by the Soviet Union and other Communist countries is not yet very large, compared with the free world countries, but there is a constant increase in number and an improvement of quality, artistically as well as technically. For example, recently several movies from Communist countries have received prizes at international film festivals. In their attempt to export Communist movies to as many countries as possible, the Communists encounter many difficulties. In many countries they cannot be shown and in other countries this type of movie is held in low esteem. Even though motion pictures are not a propaganda medium "par excellence" for Communism, they will be used increasingly in the future with an increasing chance for success.

CONCLUSION

This paper is an attempt to describe an important aspect of the war conducted by Communism against the non-Communist world. This war will end for Communism only after its rule has been firmly established all over the world. Communism has in this battle several important advantages. In the first place it has unity, even though it is partly an enforced unity. This unity is expressed especially in the ideology which for communism has not only doctrinary importance, but also is a belief and driving force. Convinced Communists - and they are the leaders of communism - live in the expectancy of a future worldwide Communist society. They live under the

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influence of a dynamic power which dominates their actions. Communism has another advantage in the cold war. This advantage often is not recognized by those against whom it is directed. Mostly because the term "war" does not go further than the conventional term; under that terminology only hot war is recognized as war. But there are also those who do not want to recognize this type of warfare. They see its threat very well but are attempting to avert it by placing it outside reality. There are also those who see the Communist cold war very clearly, but who do not want to talk or write about it, since they believe that by doing so they would keep the idea of war alive and war would never come to an end. Recently an opinion also has been expressed that the Communist rulers might change their ideas. If that should one day really happen, it is reasoned, then the representatives of the free world would be seriously hampered since they are predisposed to look with distrust upon every action by Communism. Therefore, the possibility of change has always to remain a factor to be considered. Furthermore, it would be better to substitute the word "vigilance" for "distrust". Communism is a threat to the free world, a threat which, especially recently, has not been recognized as such. Communism is intent on hiding this threat and sees even a chance in wrapping it in a cover of friendliness. With respect to this threat, the free world needs vigilance. Vigilance is obtained by analysis of communism, wherein one should not be led by emotions, which only cloud a clear view of communism, but by rational observation which is not limited to a definite time and place but which encompasses all aspects of communism, especially of communism as a complete system.

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