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PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS BIBLIOGRAPHY
SUPPLEMENT NO. 1

by
Barbara Reason Butler
&
Gail Owens

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February 1964

SPECIAL OPERATIONS RESEARCH OFFICE
THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 16, D.C.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS BIBLIOGRAPHY

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**Barbara Reason Butler
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Gail Owens**

Research Memorandum 64-3

**SPECIAL OPERATIONS RESEARCH OFFICE
The American University
Washington, D. C. , 20016**

February 1964

FOREWORD

The Special Operations Research Office Published A Psychological Operations Bibliography in 1960 which covered the unclassified literature in the English language on that subject up to the beginning of that year. This report begins the quarterly publication of guides to recent literature on the subject of psychological operations.* The articles, essays, and books cited and annotated in this issue were published from 1960 to January 1964.

This is another in a series of SORO publications which update bibliographies related to literature dealing with the Army's cold war missions (The first, Counterinsurgency Bibliography Supplement No. 1, was published December 1963.). SORO's bibliographers maintain a surveillance of such literature in support of SORO research studies which are conducted on problem areas related to the Army's missions in counterinsurgency, unconventional warfare, and psychological operations. For the benefit of Army users of SORO reports and other government agencies with interests in related fields, this bibliographic staff will publish these guides to recent unclassified literature in a monthly cycle which will produce a quarterly updating in those three Army missions and their problem areas.

For the convenience of users of this report the abstract entries are numbered consecutively. Of 251 items reviewed, 127 were selected for abstracting and inclusion in this report. They are grouped according to the subject matter outline and categories shown in the Table of Contents, which reflect the division of the literature into the functional approach and the case study approach to the subject. Next to each category title are printed the entry numbers for those abstracts grouped under that heading, followed by cross references to abstracts under other headings containing information relevant to that category. Following the abstracts, there is an Author-Title Index of all entries in this issue.



Theodore R. Vallance
Director

February 1964

*U. S. psychological operations are directed only towards foreign peoples, but when reviewing the literature of psychological operations since World War II, it is impossible to omit the internal propaganda and other psychological activities performed by Communists within the countries where they govern or wherever there is a local Communist Party organization.

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ABSTRACTS

PART ONE: FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

Background

Propaganda and Communications Theory

1. Earle, David K. **THE PROCESS OF COMMUNICATION.** New York: Holt, 1960. xi, 318pp. Ill., bibl., ind. Drawing on knowledge in many fields from linguistics to anthropology and philosophy, this basic, non-technical book examines especially the role of language in communications, the concept of "meaning," and factors affecting communication (see esp. ch 6).
2. Christenson, Leo W. and Robert O. McWilliams, eds. **VOICE OF THE PEOPLE: Readings in Public Opinion and Propaganda.** New York: McGraw Hill, 1962. 585pp. **AL.** A collection of readings in public opinion and propaganda designed for the non-specialist. Chs VIII and X deal with the nature of propaganda and totalitarian indoctrination.
3. McGuire, William J. and Demetrios Papageorgis. "Effectiveness of Forewarning in Developing Resistance to Persuasion," **PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY**, 26 (Spring 1962), 24-34. Tables, notes. This study indicates that forewarning enhances the effectiveness of a rebuttational defense prior to an attack on a traditional belief.
4. Qualter, Terence H. **PROPAGANDA AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE.** New York: Random House, [c. 1952]. xiv, 176pp. A synthesis of the mass of specialized information on propaganda which presents in brief form a guide to the nature, mechanics, and ethics of social control through propaganda.

5. U.S. Army, Special Warfare School. **THE DYNAMICS OF BEHAVIOR**. Fort Bragg, N.C.: USASWS, [Jan 1962]. ii, 108pp. App., bibl. Propaganda is basically an act of persuasion; the primary method of persuasion is communication. It is, therefore, imperative that the psyop student have a thorough understanding of the cross-cultural communication process.
6. Whitaker, Urban G., Jr., ed. **PROPAGANDA AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**. San Francisco: Chandler, [c. 1962]. ix, 246pp. Bibl. AL-JF1525.P.8W57. This was designed as a complementary textbook to be used by lower division undergraduates in a course on international communications. The scope of coverage is broad, and the articles of general interest.

See also items 16, 36, 40

Policy and Strategy

Western

7. Bennett, Lowell. "Strategy's New Dimension: Persuasion." Unpublished thesis, U.S. Army War College, Feb 10, 1962. ii, 75pp. Bibl. AWC-IC-60/61. USIA officer examines British, Russian, Chinese, and, in particular, U.S. policies toward the strategy of international persuasion and sees it as an increasingly potent force.
8. Burnham, James. "Sticks, Stones, and Atoms," **ORDNANCE**, 45 (Jan-Feb 1961), 484-87. The author believes the U.S. has given too little attention to polwar, which includes all types of agitation and propaganda. While the U.S. has concentrated on firepower, its enemies have been winning recent battles with political warfare weapons.

9. Dubois, Jules. OPERATION AMERICA: The Communist Conspiracy in Latin America. New York: Walker, 1963. xvi, 361pp. Bibl., app., ind. A journalist traces Cuban-based Communist infiltration in 23 Latin American countries, pointing to the success of the propaganda offensive and describing techniques, targets, media and anti-American campaigns.
10. Fuller, (Maj Gen) J.F.C. "Subverting the Red Threat," ORDNANCE, 47 (Jan-Feb 1963), 414-17. Ill. AL. This is a general statement on the anachronism of military force in the nuclear age. Policy must be carried out in the future by powerful economic and psychological offensives in those areas where enemy population is most dissatisfied.
11. Harris, Richard. "Communism and Asia: Illusions and Misconceptions," INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 38 (Jan 1963), 13-23. The author contends our misunderstanding of the nature of communism renders our policy towards it ineffectual. By examining differing cultural-political traditions in Asia, he refutes commonly held ideas as to the spread of communism.
12. Hays, (Col) Otis E., Jr. "Is it Psychological," ARMY, 14 (Jan 1964), 65-66. This very brief article investigates some of the connotations of the term "psychological warfare" and defines various concepts having to do with special operations.
13. Helt, Robert T. and Robert W. van de Velde. STRATEGIC PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. Chicago: Univ of Chicago Press, 1960. x, 244pp. Ind., tables, figs. LC-E744.H64. A theoretical analysis of the role, nature, techniques, and organization of psyops is followed by critical case studies of U.S. in Italy in 1945, 1948.

14. Joyce, Walter. **THE PROPAGANDA GAP**. New York: Harper, [c. 1963]. 144pp. App. The author denounces the U.S. approach to "selling itself" as anemic and naive in comparison with the Communist commitment. He proposes that USIA be elevated to a top status as presidential and diplomatic corps advisor and that massive propaganda studies be initiated.
15. Kelly, George A. "Revolutionary Warfare and Psychological Action," **MILITARY REVIEW**, 40 (Oct 1960), 4-13. The author discusses the use of psywar by France in the Algerian and Indochinese revolutions and reflects on the moral dilemma involved. He urges that the aspects and implications of these French operations be studied by the U.S.
16. Whitton, John Boardman, ed. **PROPAGANDA AND THE COLD WAR**. Washington D.C.: Public Affairs, [c.1963]. iv, 119pp. Bibl., notes, ref. Thirteen eminent Americans in industry, communications, education, and the military conferred on aspects of international communications since WWII, emphasizing relations between government policy and communications fields.

See also items 25, 31, 47, 54, 57, 99, 102-03, 125.

C nist

17. Brzezinski, Zbigniew, ed. **AFRICA AND THE COMMUNIST WORLD**. Stanford, Calif.: Univ Press, 1963. xii, 272pp. Notes, ind., tables. Six articles by notable authors compare psyops policies and strategies, techniques and influence of the Soviet Union, Eastern European states, Yugoslavia, and China in African states having Communist tendencies.

18. Dunham, Donald. **KREMLIN TARGET: U.S.A., Conquest by Propaganda.** New York: Ives Washburn, 1961. xiv. 274pp. App., ind. LC-DK270.D8. A former U.S. cultural information officer seeks to illustrate by way of case histories that Kremlin white propaganda is the most dangerous. Both text and appendix contain valuable information on techniques and appeals.
19. Gallagher, Matthew P. **THE SOVIET HISTORY OF WORLD WAR II.** New York: Praeger, 1963. 205pp. Bibl, notes, ind. Using a wide range of sources, the author delineates three groups (historians, writers, the military) whose deviation from the official propaganda pose towards WWII tells the truth about that period from about 1943 through the death of Stalin.
20. Henderson, H.W. "Psychological Warfare in the Nuclear Age," **THE ARMY QUARTERLY**, 87 (Oct 1963), 87-90. "The battle for the mind of man, in the age of nuclear stalemate, is a major struggle upon which the very existence of the Western world may depend." Most insidious is the Communist "peaceful" advance and techniques of indoctrination.
21. "History Revisited," **EAST EUROPE**, 9 (May 1960), 28-35. Ill., bibl. AL. "Peaceful coexistence" may prove to be no more than an illusion unless soviet propagandists cease to distort and to rewrite history every few years. As George Kennan asked, "If Russia reneges the facts what chance is there for an open dialogue between East and West?"
22. "Ideological Campaign in the Arts Goes on Apace," **CURRENT DIGEST OF THE SOVIET PRESS**, 15 (May 15, 1963), 16-22. The Soviet Communist Party requires that Soviet ideology be manifested in her films, monuments, art, and architecture for the enhancement of communism, as well as for propaganda value in opposition to Western art.

23. Kintner, William R. with Joseph Z. Kornfeder. **THE NEW FRONTIER OF WAR: Political Warfare, Present and Future.** Chicago: Regnery, 1962. xx, 362pp. Bibl., ind. A leading authority on Soviet methods of political warfare surveys scope of Communist ideological warfare and propaganda strategies in the USSR, China, S.E. Asia, and Latin America.
24. Kruglak, Theodore E. **THE TWO FACES OF TASS.** Minneapolis: Univ of Minnesota Press, 1962. 263pp. App., notes, ind. LC-PN5271.T454. The historic development of the official Soviet news agency, its personalities and policies are traced, revealing its propagandistic and intelligence functions which it may shed with the rise of other news agencies.
25. Kurzman, Dan. **SUBVERSION OF THE INNOCENTS: Patterns of Communist Penetration in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.** New York: Random House, 1963. 570pp. Maps, bibl., ind. LC-HX44.K8. A correspondent for 15 years in above named areas surveys reactions there to Soviet, Western, and Chinese strategies, noting effectiveness of anti-imperialist lib.
26. McConaughy, John D. "A Review of Soviet Psychological Warfare," **MILITARY REVIEW**, (Dec 1960), 3-13. Ill. Case histories delineate five major target areas (e.g. U.N., NATO) at which the Soviets have aimed their peacetime psyops strategy, the keynote of which is to take advantage of shifts in party politics and world opinion.
27. Mager, N.H. and Jacques Katol, eds. **CONQUEST WITHOUT WAR: An Analytical Anthology of the Speeches...of Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, with commentary by Lenin, Stalin, and others.** New York: Pocket Books, [c. 1961]. 550pp. Notes, ind. Chs 9, 11, and 12 are devoted to an examination of the techniques of Soviet diplomacy and propaganda.

28. "The Memory Hole," EAST EUROPE, 9 (Aug 1960), 18-25. Ill., bibl., notes. AL. Since the death of Stalin Soviet propagandists have not used the technique of revision of history with the same abandon, nevertheless Stalin's legacy continues to burden the Communists and may require still further revisions of now unquestioned doctrine.
29. Pessi, Ville. "Creative Marxism and Revolutionary Policy," WORLD MARXIST REVIEW, 6 (June 1963), 3-11. Marxist-Leninist theory does not rule out a peaceful co-existence policy or the possibility of peaceful world revolution. This article indicates the future direction of Soviet psychs.
30. "The Problem of Western Culture," EAST EUROPE, 12 (Sept 1963), 22-25. The duality of Communist policy towards western culture is exemplified in Poland and Hungary. The former refuses any ideological coexistence with capitalism, whereas the latter believes cultural isolation unhealthy and contact with West a test of strength for Marxists.
31. Strauss-Hupe, Robert. "Soviet Psychological Strategy," U.S. NAVAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS, 87 (June 1961), 25-28. AL. Real or apparent chinks in U.S. armor encourage Khrushchev's politico-psychological warfare ventures. U.S. policy must combine an appropriate politico-psychological strategy with diplomacy, and have a related military posture.
32. Vardys, V. Stanley. "Recent Soviet Policy Toward Lithuanian Nationalism," JOURNAL OF CENTRAL EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, 23 (Oct 1963), 313-32. The effectiveness of Communist effort to stamp out Lithuanian language, religion, and tradition is not yet apparent. The Communists are using every agency, institution, and technique to Sovietize the Lithuanians.
See also items 2, 7, 8, 11, 37, 41, 50-54, 61-62, 89-90, 98, 101, 104, 111, 118-19, 122-23, 126.

Administrative Matters

Field Manual

33. U.S. Army, Dept of. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS. (FM 33-5.) Washington: USDA, Jan 1962. 301pp. Ill., app., ind. This is the official U.S. Army psychological operations field manual, dealing extensively with concepts, policies and planning, operations, and techniques and devices.

Organization

See items 13-14, 16, 24, 46, 52, 108, 118-19, 123.

Training

See items 5, 49, 118.

Intelligence

See items 13, 110.

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34. Erdmann, (Maj) James M. "The Monroe Leaflet Bomb: Its Evolution and Significance." AIR POWER HISTORIAN, 9 (Apr 1962), 101-11, 128. Notes. The Monroe Propaganda Bomb, developed in 1944, effected high volume and accurate delivery of leaflets by the Allies in Europe, thus contributing significantly to the success of the overall war effort.

Legal Questions

35. Jones, H.A. "War in the Air (Volume IV): Propaganda by Air," **THE FALLING LEAF**, 5 (Sept 1963), 7-12. In 1917, during WWI, the German High Command made known to the Allied powers that it considered the dropping of inflammatory pamphlets to be contrary to international law.

Propaganda Operations

Communications Techniques and Devices

36. Barker, (Lt Col) A. "Propaganda," **THE ARMY QUARTERLY**, 87 (Oct 1963), 53-58. In distinguishing positive and negative propaganda approaches, a British author emphasizes the principle of timing our approach and the need to understand others' attitude toward us. He protests that British are lagging in paywar because propaganda is "un-English."
37. Daly, Robert W. "The Big Lie," **MILITARY REVIEW**, 42 (Nov 1962), 54-60. Ill. The Chinese Communist propaganda using "confessions" of U.N. soldiers to prove that germ warfare was being used against the Chinese in Korea was not for international consumption, but was used to "save face" at home in China.

38. Joyce, (Maj) Marion D. "The Vicious Estates," ARMY, 13 (Feb 1963), 53-55. The author relates some of the techniques and appeals of East German propaganda which is circulated in West Germany. Typical publications are identified, e.g., TABU and KASERNE, the phony-love-letter ruse is described, and brief note is taken of Iron Curtain broadcasts.
39. Jureidini, Paul A., et al. CASEBOOK ON INSURGENCY AND REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE: 23 Summary Accounts. Washington: Special Operations Research Office, 1962. ix, 607pp. Maps, notes. Outlines major strategic and tactical goals of psywar in each case and surveys the principal technique used, noting their immediate and long-range effectiveness.
40. Stewart, (Maj) H. Douglas. "How to Fight Guerrillas," U.S. NAVAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS, 83 (July 1962), 23-37. Ill. In a theoretical discussion of psywar, USMC officer stresses the need for psyops to win popular support. He illustrates effectiveness of inspiring emotions of fear, hate, or gratitude and shows the usefulness of deceptive information.

See also items 4, 9, 14, 16, 18, 23-24, 26, 42-47, 52-54, 56-57, 62-65, 67-68, 70-74, 78, 82, 87, 91-92, 94, 98, 105, 108, 112, 115, 117-18.

1 aganda Analysis

41. Albert, Valery K. "A New Campaign Against Religion in the USSR," INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF THE USSR, (No. 15, 1963/64), 6pp. Despite 46 years of atheistic propaganda and anti-religious measures, recent Soviet press articles indicate spread of religious convictions. Officials are launching a more sophisticated atheistic campaign.

42. Davidson, W. Phillips. "Political Communication as an Instrument of Foreign Policy," PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY, 27 (Spring 1963), 28-36. Contrary to popular concepts, to be effective and politically constructive propaganda must be aimed at specific, rather than mass, audiences which already share some of the views of the propaganda source.
43. Eissner, Albin. "Population and Propaganda in Post-War Czechoslovakia," SUDETIN BULLETIN, 11 (1963), 3-9. Ill., tables. Czechoslovakia's anti-German propaganda claims severe population losses in the country during WWII whereas official Czechoslovakian statistics indicate the exact opposite situation.
44. Garver, Richard A. "Polite Propaganda: USSR and AMERICA ILLUSTRATED," JOURNALISM QUARTERLY, 4 (Autumn 1951), 480-84. Tables, notes. A content analysis shows that the magazine USSR emphasizes the material aspects of Russian life for U.S. readers, whereas the U.S. magazine AMERICA ILLUSTRATED emphasizes U.S. "kultur" for Russian readers.
45. Gordon, George N., et al. THE IDEA INVADERS. New York: Hastings, [c. 1963]. 256pp. Bibl., notes, ind. AL-JF1525.P8 G66. The authors examine media and techniques used in the international dissemination of ideas, analyze the effect achieved by various countries, and conclude that the U.S. must strive to improve its image abroad.
46. Houn, Franklin W. TO CHANGE A NATION: Propaganda and Indoctrination in Communist China. Glencoe, [Ill.]: Free Press, [c. 1961]. x, 250pp. Tables, app., ind. AL. A dispassionate description, based on Chinese Communist press and other publications, of the organization and operations of the Communist propaganda and indoctrination apparatus.

47. Loya, A. "Radio Propaganda of the United Arab Republic--An Analysis," MIDDLE EASTERN AFFAIRS, 13 (Apr 1962), 98-110. Cairo radio propaganda was directed to Arab world in 1950's with intent to undermine existing governments in preparation for creation of U.A.R. The author discusses strategy, themes, and effectiveness of Egyptian psyops.
48. Telson, Herbert J. "Cuba's Man-on-the-Street," NEW LEADER, 44 (Feb 6, 1961), 5-6. Castro's hate campaign against the U.S. is taken with a grain of salt by the ordinary Cuban whose attitude is essentially pro-Cuban rather than anti-Yankee. Young people are most vulnerable to Castro propaganda and Russia has replaced America in their esteem.
49. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary, 88th Cong., 1st Sess. CUBA AS A BASE FOR SUBVERSION IN AMERICA. Washington: GPO, Feb 1963. 111, 23pp. OAS document, reprinted for the Committee, indicates that Cuban Communists use a wide variety of propaganda instruments in subverting the Americas, whose passivity facilitates Communist subversion.
50. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. THE ANTI-WESTERN CULTURAL CAMPAIGN IN BULGARIA. (R-137-63 (S)). [Washington]: July 19, 1963. 9pp. Mimeo. Youth is the prime target of the anti-Western campaign which still is not effective with the public at large. Anti-Western measures are described and prospects of their success evaluated.
51. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES, 1961. [Washington]: April 16, 1962. 52pp. Mimeo. Tables. Receptivity to USSR propaganda decreased generally in 1961; where it existed it appeared related to economic support of the USSR rather than to effectiveness of appeal.

52. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. **SELECTED COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN LATIN AMERICA: 1962.** (R-123-63(AL).) [Washington]: June 28, 1963. 51pp. Mimeo. Target analysis, propaganda strategy, themes, instrumentalities, local Communist Party developments, and highlights of propaganda activity for the area are summarized.
53. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. **SELECTED COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN WESTERN EUROPE: 1962.** (R-46-63(AE).) [Washington]: March 21, 1963. 20pp. Mimeo. Target analysis, propaganda strategy and themes, local Communist apparatus, propaganda media developments, and highlights of propaganda activities, 1962, are described.
54. Wheeler, (Lt Col) G.E. "Propaganda and Counter Propaganda in Asia," **JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.** 48. (July-Oct 1961), 264-73. Yale-DSIR648-49. A consideration of some of the circumstances bearing on the conduct and effectiveness of propaganda in Asia, comparing Communist methods and resources with British.

See also items 9, 13, 16, 18, 27, 66, 70, 72, 82, 98, 106, 109-10, 112, 118, 120.

Target Analysis

55. Deutschmann, Paul J., et al. "Mass Media Use by Sub-Elites in 11 Latin American Countries," **JOURNALISM QUARTERLY,** 39 (Autumn 1961), 460-72. Tables, fig. Upper middle-class persons in Latin American capitals have sufficient access to communication media, generally. Media in Latin America are underdeveloped.

56. Harris, George L., et al. U.S. ARMY AREA HANDBOOK FOR VIETNAM. Washington: Special Operations Research Office, 1962. xi, 513pp. Ill., maps, bibl., gloss. This is a comprehensive survey, with background material, of N. and S. Vietnam in 1962. Propaganda activities and psyops media are detailed and various audiences are analyzed.
57. Johnstone, William C. "The Appeals of Communism in Asia," THE ANNALS, 342 (July 1962), 105-10. "Assessment of the appeals of communism in Asia is handicapped by false conceptions and generalizations about the peoples of South and Southeast Asia." Concerted research would improve American ability to make assessments in this area.
58. Mei Wen-li. "The Intellectuals on Formosa," CHINA QUARTERLY, 15 (July-Sept 1963), 65-74. The author describes the "cultural desert" of Formosa since the advent of the Nationalist regime, the isolation of the intellectual due to an anti-liberal policy, and the reactions to the political climate of both older and younger generations.
59. Mus Afir. "Traveller's Tales: Secret Group," FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, 51 (Sept 12, 1963), 677. Chinese school children are the target for the clandestine Communist organization in Sarawak, which developed out of the anti-Fascist League during WWII and later worked its influence into various youth organizations.
- See also items 11, 26, 42, 48, 52-53, 69.

Propaganda Sources

Overt

See item 18.

Covert

See items 24, 65, 72, 74.

Counterpropaganda

60. Becker, Howard. "The Nature and Consequences of Black Propaganda," THE PSY-WAR SOCIETY BULLETIN, 4 (Mar 1963), 90. Extracted from AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 14 (Apr 1949), 221-34. Former OSS agent briefly examines problems involved in publication of black newspapers behind German lines during WWII.

61. "Sarit in Top Gear," THE ECONOMIST, 208 (July 27, 1963), 353. Map. Communist agents have infiltrated NE Thailand, and anti-Bangkok radio propaganda is beamed to the area from Laos and S. China. Thai Government countermeasures include Marshal Sarit's reinforced security patrols and economic development, and information programs.

See also items 3, 23, 54, 62, 65, 113, 124.

Media

Pri. Matter

62. Austin, Alvin. "No Free Press in Cuba," THE QUILL, 48 (Dec 1960), 8-10, 23. USIA. Fidel Castro has ruthlessly throttled, censored, and harassed the Cuban press. The author recounts Castro's steps toward news control and lists various anti-Castro publications operated under U.S. protection.

63. Robbs, P. H. "American Leaflets to France--World War II," THE PSYWAR SOCIETY BULLETIN, 4 (Mar 1963), 92-94. The secretary of the Psywar Society lists and briefly describes the themes of the approximately 120 leaflets and newspapers disseminated by the Americans over France during World War II.

64. Robbs, Peter. "WWII: The Defeat of the German Army in the West," THE FALLING LEAF, 5 (Sept 1963), 7-12. The author describes selected leaflets from series ZG1-ZG130 which he defines as the main tactical attack by the Allies in WWII against the morale of the German armed forces.

65. Robbs, Peter. "WWII: To France Under False Colours," THE FALLING LEAF, 5 (Sept 1963), 13-25. The author describes selected leaflets of black counterpropaganda dropped by the Germans over occupied France during WWII in an effort to dilute the effect of Allied leaflets.

66. Robbs, Peter H. "Leaflets of New Guinea, Papua, etc." THE PSYWAR SOCIETY BULLETIN, 3 (Dec 1962), 67-71. The author describes and briefly analyzes various selected leaflets disseminated in the New Guinea area during WWII by the Allies and the Japanese. He concludes that Allied propaganda produced good results while Japanese material was ineffective.

67. Robbs, Peter H. "World War II-The Netherlands," THE PSYWAR SOCIETY BULLETIN, 4 (Mar 1963), 85-87. Author describes specific leaflets disseminated over the Netherlands by both the Allied Nations and Germany between Oct 1940 and May 1945.

68. "The Stalinist Press," EAST EUROPE, 9 (Feb 1960), 32-41. Ill. The Rumanian press is thoroughly Sovietized and includes some of the most dismal publications of the Soviet orbit. The Czechoslovak press is Moscow's chief spokesman in Eastern Europe and highly critical of "revisionism" and all signs of "distortions" of Socialism.

69. Torres, Andre. "Militant Press of the Portuguese Communists," WORLD MARXIST REVIEW, 6 (Oct 1963), 58-59. The Communist press, despite persecution, has been active during Salazar's regime, successfully rallying the people, propagandizing and agitating. The author makes a brief survey of the various audiences reached by specific papers.

70. Wilgus, Curtis A. "The Chemistry of Political Change in Latin America," THE ANNALS, 342 (July 1962), 42-52. App. The author discusses examples of propaganda that he has seen in Latin America in the form of children's books translated into Spanish from Chinese and Russian (see pp 49-52).

See also items 6, 9, 17, 24, 34-35, 44-46, 51, 55-56, 60, 80, 106, 109, 112, 119.

Rad. Broadcasting

71. Burger, Chester. "A Look at Government Propaganda on the Air: Short Wave Broadcasters have Replaced Glittering Generalities with Selective Presentation," PUBLIC RELATIONS JOURNAL, 18 (Aug 1962), 16-17. Ill. DCPL. International short wave propaganda broadcasts, a great many of which can be heard by U.S. listeners, are sophisticated and effective.

72. Delmer, Sefton. **BLACK BOOMERANG**. New York: Viking Press, 1962. xiv, 303pp. Ind. LC-D810.P7G725. An Australian-born, German educated journalist describes the famous "black radio" operations which he headed for the British against Germany in WWII. Psychological approaches, themes, and techniques and their consequences are recounted.
73. U.S. Information Agency, Research and Reference Service. **DEVELOPMENTS IN COMMUNIST BLOC INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING IN 1962**. (R-32-63(C).) [Washington]. Mar 1963. 23pp. Mimeo. Tables. Details on nations' sending and receiving broadcasts--their content, language, and number of hours, with emphasis on Latin America, Africa, and the Far East.
74. U.S. Information Agency, Research and Reference Service. **TWELVE YEARS OF COMMUNIST BROADCASTING, 1948-1959**. Washington, D.C.: USIA, [196?]. 79pp. App., charts. LC-PM1991.55.U57. Expansion of Communist bloc efforts in Europe, Asia, Africa, and other areas are charted and targets, light propaganda appeals, and their effectiveness surveyed.

See also items 6, 9, 18, 45-47, 51, 55-56, 61, 85, 112, 124, 127.

Face- Face Communication

75. Futrell, Michael. **NORTHERN UNDERGROUND: Episodes of Russian Revolutionary Transport and Communications Through Scandinavia and Finland 1863-1917**. London: Faber and Faber, [c. 1963]. 240pp. Ill., ind., app. An examination of the underground through which Communist propaganda was passed into Tsarist Russia prior to the revolution in 1917.

76. Giap, (Gen) Vo Nguyen. PEOPLE'S WAR, PEOPLE'S ARMY. Hanoi: Foreign Languages Pub. House, 1961. 217pp. Maps. The commanding general of the Viet Nam People's Army describes the Communist operations, 1945-54, and final victory at Dien Bien Phu. Of special interest is their program of consolidating popular opinion behind their guerrilla operations.
77. Giap, (Gen) Vo Nguyen. PEOPLES'S WAR, PEOPLES'S ARMY: The Viet Cong Insurrection Manual for Underdeveloped Countries. New York: Praeger, 1962. xl, 217 pp. Ill., maps, errata. This facsimile edition of Giap's book is complemented and illuminated by a foreword by Roger Hilsman and a biographical sketch by Bernard S. Fall. (See Hanoi edition.)
78. "Guerrillas Bearing Gifts," THE ECONOMIST, 206 (Mar 30, 19'3). 1216. This is a brief report on the spreading of Chinese Communist propaganda in Thailand by Vietnamese and Laotian guerrillas through word-of-mouth. They use free gifts to the peasants as door-openers.
79. Hays, (Col) Otis E., Jr. "The Art of Being Believed," ARMY INFORMATION DIGEST, 17 (Nov 1962), 53-56. Formerly Chief, PSYOP Division, ODCSOPS, the author discusses the role of the USA soldier as a guest in host countries. His task is to behave in such a way as to create a firm basis of credibility for an attractive image of the U.S. abroad.

See also item 106.

Loudspeakers

80. [Barondes, (Maj) Arthur D.]. THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF AIRPOWER IN THE MALAYAN EMERGENCY (1948-1960). Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Aerospace Studies Institute, Air Univ. 1962. vii, 83pp. Ill., maps, bibl., app. AUL-W-37097-1-NC No. 411-62[Sup. 2]. Loudspeakers employed by the British RAF to induce MCP terrorists to surrender were more effective than leaflets.

See also item 109.

Related Subjects

"Brainwashing" and Persuasion

81. Bergh, (Sq Ldr) M.O. "Resistance to Communist Interrogation and Indoctrination," HAWK, 23 (Dec 1961), 23-9. Author describes Communist methods of interrogation and indoctrination used on U.N. POW's in Korean War, aimed partly at converting some of them to communism. He believes that with training and courage, a soldier can resist.
82. Biderman, Albert D. MARCH TO CALUMNY: The Story of American POWs in the Korean War. New York: Macmillan, 1963. 326pp. Maps, bibl., app., ind., tables. By exposing the errors made by those who built up the case against the Korean POWs, the author is led to probe the role of propaganda against the POWs and the pathology of the accusing society.

83. Biderman, Albert D. "Socio-Psychological Needs and 'Involuntary' Behavior as Illustrated by Compliance in Interrogation," *SOCIOMETRY*, 23 (1960), 120-47. Notes, bibl. AL. U.S. prisoners of war rarely conform to the U.S. military injunction of silence during interrogation by the enemy.
84. Biderman, Albert D. and Herbert Zimmer, eds. *THE MANIPULATION OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR*. New York: Wiley, [c. 1961]. xi, 323pp. Bibl., ind. DCPL-Phil.150.1B585. This book represents a critical examination of the application of scientific knowledge to the manipulation of human behavior. The frame of reference is the interrogation of an unwilling subject.
85. Brown, J.A.C. *TECHNIQUES OF PERSUASION: From Propaganda to Brainwashing*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963. 325pp. Bibl., ind. British psychiatrist, author, and professional consultant outlines and analyzes the major agencies and techniques which appeal to the unreasonable forces in rational man. A survey of past techniques brings modern ones into relief.
86. Chou, Eric. *A MAN MUST CHOOSE: The Dilemma of a Chinese Patriot*. London: Longmans, 1963. viii, 215pp. Map. CIA-HV8931.C925. A former Hong Kong journalist recounts four years (1953-57) of "thought reform" he endured in the jails of Communist China. His introduction indicates the naivete of the intellectuals in the face of Communist duplicity.
87. Clifford, John W. *IN THE PRESENCE OF MY ENEMIES*. New York: Norton, [c. 1963]. 239pp. Map, ill. A Jesuit priest, himself imprisoned in Communist China, describes and analyzes his own subjection to brainwashing. He likens the technique to "Pavlovism" and believes that to successfully resist, one must be dedicated, alert, and unyielding.

88. Fall, Bernard B. **STREET WITHOUT JOY: Insurgency in Indochina, 1946-1954.** Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole, 1961. 322pp. Ill., maps, bibl., app., ind. This first book in English on the Indochinese war reports on the reactions of French forces to Communist indoctrination methods (pp 272-76) and mentions psychological effects of atrocities on the men.
89. Hunter, Edward. **BRAINWASHING: From Pavlov to Powers.** New York: The Book-mailer, 1962. 329pp. Ind. State-BF633 .HB 1960. Communist brainwashing is said to be derived from Pavlov and be applied not only to POWs but also to the entire U.S., thereby creating a national neurosis and corrupting American moral fiber to subvert and eventually to conquer.
90. Kosa, John. **TWO GENERATIONS OF SOVIET MAN: A Study in the Psychology of Communism.** Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ of North Carolina Press, 1962. viii, 214pp. Bibl., notes, ind., fig. AL-HX40.K86. A psychologist using 31 Hungarian refugees probes the workings of the "Red Super-ego" on the individual ego, abstracting salient aspects of Communist psychology.
91. Lifton, Robert Jay. **THOUGHT REFORM AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF TOTALISM: A Study of "Brainwashing" in China.** New York: Norton, 1961. x, 510pp. Notes, ind. LC-BF 633.L5. In a study on extremism a psychologist worked for four years with several intelligent American and Chinese victims of "thought reform," the tactics and results of which are analyzed.
92. Loh, Robert. **ESCAPE FROM RED CHINA.** New York: Coward-McCann, 1962. 378pp. AL. In this personal account an escapee seeks to explain how 650 million people came under Communist control in 1948 by methods of terror and thought control. Psychology behind brainwashing methods and government policy is analyzed by the author.

93. McClosky, Herbert and J.E. Turner. **THE SOVIET DICTATORSHIP**. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960. 657pp. App., ind. Ch 14 deals with the Soviet system of terror, its organization, rationale, and methods, and ch 16, "Regimentation of Thought and Culture," surveys the government policy of a single-belief system in education, communications, religion, and the arts.
94. Paloczi-Horvath, Gyorgy. **MAO TSE-TUNG: Emperor of the Blue Ants**. London: Secker and Warburg, [c. 1962]. 424pp. Ill., bibl., ind. The author chronicles the development of the Chinese Communist thought reform policies, describing methods of mass control - campaigns and slogans - in context of political biography of China's leading Communist.
95. Schein, Edgar, et al. **COERCIVE PERSUASION: A Socio-Psychological Analysis of the "Brainwashing" of American Civilian Prisoners by the Chinese Communists**. New York: W.W. Norton, [c. 1961]. 320pp. App., bibl., ind. DCPL-Phil/131.33S32. The authors construct a socio-psychological model for the analysis of "coercive persuasion."
96. Tongas, Gerard. "Indoctrination Replaces Education," **THE CHINA QUARTERLY**, [4] (Jan-Mar 1962), 70-81. An eyewitness reports that, as of 1960, Communist indoctrination-education had only limited success in N. Vietnam. N. Vietnamese youth were generally sad and disillusioned and wished to rid themselves of the oppressive regime.

See also items 46, 118.

Cultural and Diplomatic Activities

97. Ballis, William B. "Soviet Orientalist Propaganda," *NEW LEADER*, 43 (Dec 5, 1960), 11-12. LL. The author, speaking from first-hand experience, characterizes Soviet efforts to propagandize the Int. Cong. of Orientalists, held in Moscow, August 1960. The Russian aim is to influence Oriental studies and to improve USSR-Asian-African relations.
98. Barghoorn, Frederick C. *THE SOVIET CULTURAL OFFENSIVE*. Princeton: Univ Press, 1960. 353pp. Ind. State. The evolution in Soviet cultural diplomacy in the West, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1917-1960, is treated in great detail, and evaluation is made of Soviet policies and agencies of exchange. Replete sources and index are included.
99. Blum, Robert, ed. *CULTURAL AFFAIRS AND FOREIGN RELATIONS*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963. viii, 184pp. Six authors explore the connections between U.S. activities overseas in education, science, and the arts and the conduct of international relations. Government strategy is seen developing in agencies such as AID-ICA, USIS, UNESCO.
100. *COMMUNIST CHINA IN AFRICA*. Taipei: Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China, 1961. 50pp. Chinese communism has converted some African nations--Algeria, Guinea, and Ghana--into Communist satellites by infiltration of Africa through the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Council and its conferences and the exchange of visiting delegations.

101. "The Communist Peace Front," **COMMUNIST AFFAIRS**, 1 (June-Aug 1963), 3-7. A report on the strategy, aims, and activities of the various Communist "peace" conferences, congresses, and cultural organizations directed towards exploiting the longing for peace and towards weakening free world determination against Communist ideology.
102. Fifield, Russell H. **SOUTHEAST ASIA IN UNITED STATES POLICY**. New York: Praeger, 1963. xi, 468pp. Maps, bibl., ind. CIA-DS518.8.F4. In the course of this comprehensive look at government policy and strategy, scattered references are made to Communist propaganda techniques and strategy and SEATO cultural efforts.
103. Millikan, Max F. and Donald L.M. Blackmer, eds. **THE EMERGING NATIONS: Their Growth and United States Policy**. Boston: Little Brown, 1961. xiv, 171pp. Bibl., app., tables. The importance of information and cultural exchange as instruments of foreign policy in nations passing from a traditional to a modern society is discussed in ch 8.
104. "Sovetskaya Kultura Under Fire ... Theater Discussion," **CURRENT DIGEST OF THE SOVIET PRESS**, 15 (Dec 25, 1963), 25-28. Three articles from Pravda indicate a slackening in efforts to use the theater, cultural periodicals, and motion pictures as ideological weapons which should emphasize individual responsibility to society as well as vice versa.
- See also items 6, 17, 22-23, 49, 53-54, 70, 96.

Terrorism

105. Reifer, Arnold. DESIGN FOR TERROR: An Analysis of the Organization and Function of the Oppressive Government Systems in Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany. New York: Exposition Press, [c. 1962]. 82pp. Notes, bibl. CIA-Y1703.1.R3. Terror, as practiced in the Nazi and Communist systems, is an invisible net of surveillance entangling the society. See also items 92-93, 108, 114-15.

PART TWO: HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

Early Experiences

Germany

106. Ascher, Abraham. "Professors as Propagandists: The Politics of the Kathedersozialisten," JOURNAL OF CENTRAL EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, 23 (Oct 1963), 282-302. Through publications and public addresses a group of economists and educators became very influential (beginning in 1860's) in building the foundation for German expansionist foreign policy.

Tsarist Russia

See item 75.

World War I

See item 35.

World War II Experiences

In Europe

See items 13, 19, 84, 60, 63-65, 67, 72, 85, 105.

In Asia

See items 66, 108.

Post-World War II Experiences

Africa

General

See items 17, 25, 97, 103.

Algeria

107. Bjelajac, Slavko N. "Psywar: The Lessons from Algeria," MILITARY REVIEW, 42 (Dec 1962), 2-7. Dept. of Army psychological warfare consultant examines psywar methods of the French Army in the Algerian war, 1954-62. The French learned to involve the population in their psywar efforts and to respect local customs and traditions.

See also items 15, 39, 100.

Ghana

See item 100.

Guinea

See item 100.

Sudan

See item 39.

Tunisia

See item 39.

Asia

General

See items 11, 23, 25, 54, 57, 97.

China

108. Johnson, Chalmers A. PEASANT NATIONALISM AND COMMUNIST POWER: The Emergence of Revolutionary China, 1937-1945. Stanford: Univ Press, 1962. xii, 256pp. Bibl., app., notes, ind. AL-DS777.53 .J66. Chinese Communist, Japanese, and puppet government propaganda slogans, Japanese reprisals, and role of Communist political officers are described.

See also items 17, 23, 37, 39, 46, 56, 61, 70, 73-74, 78, 86-87, 91-92, 94-95, 100, 123.

Formosa

See item 58.

Indoc. 1

See items 15, 76-77, 88.

Indonesia

See item 39.

Korea

See items 39, 81-83.

Laos

See item 61.

Malaysia

109. Clutterbuck, (Col) Richard L. "The SEP-- Guerrilla Intelligence Source," **MILITARY REVIEW**, 42 (Oct 1962), 13-21. Ill. British officer reports that the 2,600 surrendered Malayan guerrillas, brought in with aid of leaflet and loudspeaker propaganda offering generous surrender terms and rewards, became the largest source of combat intelligence.
110. Lederer, William J. "Malaya: the Practice," **THE NEW LEADER**, 45 (Apr 16, 1962), 11-14. The organization of a tough, professional intelligence system, experienced in getting and giving information to the people and thus enlisting their support, was the force behind British success in their anti-Communist war in Malaya, 1948-60.

See also items 39, 59, 80.

North Vietnam

111. Black, (Col) Edwin P. "The Master Plan For Conquest in Vietnam," **MILITARY REVIEW**, 43 (June 1963), 51-57. This article is largely a biographical sketch of Gen Vo Nguyen Giap's military preeminence as leader of the Viet Cong. Of special interest is Giap's heavy emphasis on political warfare (see Giap's book, **PEOPLE'S WAR, PEOPLE'S ARMY**).

See also items 39, 56, 73, 96.

Philippines

112. Valeriano, (Col) N.D. and (Lt Col) C.T. R. Bohannon. COUNTER-GUERRILLA OPERATIONS: The Philippine Experience. New York: Praeger, [c. 1962]. ix, 273pp. Ill., app. The authors stress the importance of psychological operations as an integral part of the larger subject of counter guerrilla activities against the Huk in the Philippines after WWII.

South Vietnam

113. [An American Officer]. "Report the President Wanted Published," SATURDAY EVENING POST, 234 (May 20, 1961), 31, 69-70 AL. USAF officer's report on a trip to S. Vietnam village of Binh Hung includes description of Viet Cong floating propaganda barges and posters and of self-defense corps' turning them into counterpropaganda (see p 70).
114. Fisher, Wesley R. "Communist Terror in South Vietnam: the Diem Regime has Undertaken Bold Measures," NEW LEADER, 43 (July 4-11, 1960), 14-15. LL. The author, an expert on the Far East, reports on Communist terror against peasants in Vietnam, aimed at securing obedience to the guerrillas, and countermeasures taken by the Diem government.

115. Nguyen-Thai-Binh. VIET-NAM: The Problem and a Solution. Paris: Vietnam Democratic Party (Viet-nam-Dan-Chu-Dang), 1962. 145pp. Ill., map. CIA-DS557.A6N51. A S. Vietnamese nationalist, seeking to expose to the U.S. the corruption of Diem's regime, tells of money spent on regime propaganda and describes terror, repression, and propaganda methods.
116. O'Doherty, (MSGt) John K. "Battleground Viet-Nam," THE AERMAN, 7 (June 1963), 4-9. Ill., map. Author briefly discusses political and terroristic activities of the Viet Cong. However, his main emphasis is on the historical development of Vietnam and the likelihood of a Communist downfall due to intense Vietnamese nationalism.
117. Rose, Jerry A. "The Elusive Viet Cong," NEW REPUBLIC, 148 (May 4, 1963), 19-26. Ill. DCPL. President Diem has failed to establish rapport with his people, he lacks popular support, and his army is apathetic. Consequently, in the face of Viet Cong propaganda, S. Vietnam is becoming increasingly unstable.

See also items 96, 111.

Thailand

See items 11, 16.

Europe

Bulgaria

See item 80.

Cze. Slovakia

118. Reisky de Dubnic, Vladimir. COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA METHODS: A Case Study on Czechoslovakia. New York: Praeger, 1960. xii, 287pp. Bibli. notes. ind., tables. Using the party press to evaluate effectiveness, this inquiry into the Communists' indoctrination policies and methods, 1949-58, reveals organizational and ideological shortcomings.

See also items 12, 48, 49.

East Germany

See items 38-39.

France

119. Marchais, Georges. "Party Policy and the Party Branch," *WORLD MARXIST REVIEW*, 6 (Apr 1963), 3-10. Communist Party member describes branch propaganda and agitator activities in France, which emphasize reaching working population through factory bulletins, leaflets, and positive slogans--in line with current party policy.

See also items 15, 53, 107.

Great Britain

See items 80, 109-10.

Hungary

See items 30, 39.

Italy

See items 13, 53.

Lithuania

See item 32.

Poland

120. "Current Developments: Anti-Western Propaganda," *EAST EUROPE*, 12 (Oct 1963), 50. Numerous articles in the Polish press testify to the effectiveness of "sophisticated" Western propaganda. Singled out as especially influential are Radio Free Europe, USIA, various German research organizations, and some American Universities.

121. "Polish Opinion Polls," EAST EUROPE, 9 (Jan 1960), 3-13, 30. Ill. AL. Public opinion polls are regularly conducted by the Polish newspapers. They are an open disclosure and recognition of the diversity of Polish public opinion and a refutation of the totalitarian ideal of unity. Whole realms of habit and opinion previously unexplored are illuminated.

See also item 30.

Portugal

See item 69.

Rumania

See item 68.

Soviet Union

122. Brumberg, Abraham. "New Formula for Soviet Propaganda," NEW LEADER, 43 (Aug 15-22, 1960), 16-20. LL. "[The] Editor-in-chief of PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, traces the history of the current Soviet [indoctrination] campaign and discusses its relation to what has been regarded as the 'de-ideologisation' of Soviet Communism."

123. [Caldwell, William S.] "Soviet Specialty: Political Warfare," COMMUNIST AFFAIRS, 1 (Sept-Oct 1963), 3-7. Student of Communist strategy and propaganda examines the Communist Party controls over propaganda and government organization which have provided a strong Soviet offensive on the ideological warfare front since WWII.

See also items 17-19, 22-23, 26, 32, 41, 44-45, 51, 56, 68, 70, 73-74, 85, 89, 98, 97-98, 104-05, 126.

Spain

See item 39.

West Germany

See items 38, 53.

Yugoslavia

See item 17.

Latin America

General

124. Martin, Edwin M. "Communist Subversion in the Western Hemisphere," THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN, 48 (Mar 11, 1963), 347-66; (Mar 18, 1963), 404-12. The Asst. Secy. of State briefly describes Communist propaganda and U.S. counter-propaganda in a speech surveying Communist activity in Latin America and U.S. efforts to combat it.

125. [Martin, Edward M.]. "Meeting the Communist Threat to Latin America," FOR COMMANDERS: THIS CHANGING WORLD, 2 (Apr 15, 1963), 1-4. AL. A brief survey describing the general strategy of agencies such as OAS and Alliance for Progress directed towards weakening the influence of Communist subversion.

See also items 9, 23, 39, 49, 52, 55, 70.

Argentina

See item 39.

Brazil

See item 39.

Cuba

See items 9, 18, 39, 48-49, 62, 73.

Venezuela

See item 39.

Middle East

General

See items 25, 47, 51.

Egypt (UAR)

See items 39, 47, 127.

Iran

See item 39.

Iraq

126. U.S. Information Agency Research and Reference Service. IRAQI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA RELATIONS SINCE THE BAATHIST TAKE-OVER. (R-132-63(AN).) [Washington]: July 17, 1963. 4pp. Mimeo. After the Iraqi demand that Kurds lay down their arms, Soviet propaganda became more aggressive against the Baathists, thus provoking Iraq recriminations against the Soviets.

See also item 39.

Syria

127. "Smoke of Battle," THE ECONOMIST, 208 (July 27, 1963), 349. Ill. A very brief analysis of anti-Baath propaganda directed at Syria from Nasser's Egypt. Since the abortive Nasserist rebellion in Damascus in July 1963, this propaganda has become more ferocious and gives tacit approval to subversive activity against the Baathists.

North America

United States

See items 13-14, 18, 44-45, 56, 62, 79, 89, 95, 99, 124.

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