Psychological warfare: Elements and organization of totalitarian propaganda in a war of nerves, by Lt Col D. S. McMillin. Command and General Staff College. 31 May 49.

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Gentlemen, the problem which is under consideration resolves itself into a basic analysis of the organization and elements of psychological warfare and propaganda in a cold war or a war of nerves. For my purpose, I have taken the organization of Nazi Germany prior to and during World War II as my subject for study, because it was their concept and application that forms the basis underlying scheme of totalitarian propaganda. Upon the study of their methods, we can devise an organization in this country by which we can best equip ourselves to combat this form of warfare.

As a basis for planning, it can be assumed that any totalitarian country planning aggression against us will use every form of psychological warfare propaganda as a preliminary to actual military operations.

Certain facts lend themselves to an analysis of this subject. Some are facts that have been proven in the past, while others are more or less undeniable as future contentions. The facts of psychological warfare are as simple and as easily understood as the propaganda that is used to sway masses: Some of the more important facts are:

1. That the element of fear plays a major role in a war of nerves.
2. That the spread of radical doctrines are caused mainly through the mediums of national unrest and dissention.
3. That our freedoms of speech, press, and assembly have been used against us in World War II and World War I.
4. Propaganda to be successful must be built on success.
5. All propaganda, military, political, or diplomatic must be closely coordinated to be of use in a war of nerves.
6. That potentially, we are one of the most powerful nations in the world for the spread of democratic propaganda.
DISCUSSION

(1) Most of us are well-acquainted with the powerful terror role the Nazi machine played for such a long time. By broadcasting of terror to neighboring countries, and then following it up with liberal doses of action, the Nazis achieved the desired effect of undermining the will to resist of other countries. Because of our relative position in the world to actual combat zones, we have not been greatly influenced by this form of warfare. Today, with the world but a few short airline hours from any part of any other part of the world, we find ourselves facing the not too pleasant fact that we will undoubtedly be a target for the same form of warfare that was delegated to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania. How will our nation and people stand up under the terror tactics of a totalitarian country that is capable of laying waste to many of our great cities. It is forecast that can be met only by careful education of our people—now.

(2) By taking advantage of our freedoms of speech, press, and assembly during the pre-World War II days, the Nazi organization sold hundreds of thousands of Americans on their particular brand of double talk. For the most part, the actions of these American "believers" was strictly by word of mouth; however let us suppose that 1/20th of those could have been moved to subversive activity. The results, on our war potential, might have been grim indeed. Our freedoms must reflect the thoughts and lives of free men, and not the ambitions of dictator minorities, in order for us to survive as a nation.

(3) "Divide and Conquer" has always been a favorite technique of warring nations. A divided, dissatisfied, suspicious people are easy prey to conquest. Through division, the totalitarian country attempts to undermine the national will to resist. The Nazi plan of pitting Protestant against Catholic, employee against employer, stirring up racial hatreds, cannot find a place in our unified democracy, if we are to survive in a very small world,-- a world no longer divided into land zones separated by great ocean masses.
(4) "Success" might be termed the keyword for applied psychological warfare and propaganda. Without success on the diplomatic, political, or military fronts, propaganda is as useless as a fifth wheel. A winning side is a poor target against which to try propaganda, but let that side begin to lose, and they become receptive agencies for voices casting doubt on their ability to ever win. Our people must be so educated in the ways of totalitarian methods, that the cold war propaganda, which is sure to be beamed our way, will fall upon deaf ears, and that our own organization is so powerful in spreading our propaganda that other nations will be influenced to our democratic ways of thinking. Success on any front must be played up for all it is worth, because in success we establish a premise of right in the thinking of the peoples of many countries—- including our own.

(5) Many countries, to their sorrow, did not take the Nazi organization for psychological warfare seriously. It was as carefully conceived a concept and organization as has ever been molded for world conquest. It realized the value of coordination of all forms of propaganda under a single unified effort, and carefully worked out its operating model. Propaganda became the first artillery preparation for World War II, while external propaganda bombarded neighboring countries day and night, an equal attempt was made to foster the spirit of victory and patriotism on the home front. Because of their dictator types of governments, totalitarian countries can present a powerful picture along a predetermined line. Its organization is such that all means are at the disposal of the government. As democratic countries, we can well take a cue, and so organize that we can present our side of the picture in an equally powerful manner, but in a sound, logical manner, not possible under the totalitarian line.

(6) While this country made the mistake of neglecting psychological warfare during World II, we must not again make that same mistake. Due to the bulwark thrown up by our Allies during the early part of the war, we were able to prepare ourselves militarily. That bulwark will not be there in future
conflicts. Our margin of safety must be provided by ourselves in spreading our story to the rest of the world. Our story must be based on truths, not lies. The truth will place our propaganda on a firm footing and win friends for our country, friends we may someday need badly for a unified effort against a common foe.

(7) The United States is the greatest potential source of propagandistic material in the world. We daily are associated with every form by which the skilled propagandist plys his trade. Millions of daily newspapers, periodicals, radio talks and now television contribute toward our means of spreading the word. We have the means to control the thinking of our own people— and with these same means applied in correct channels, we can bring hope to the hearts of war torn nations the world over. We must organize in order that our message can be broadcasted throughout the world as a symbol of freedom to all nations.

CONCLUSION— In spite of what we may desire, we are cast in the role of the champions of democracy. From us must come the directions for millions of freedom loving people throughout the world. To direct our efforts, or propaganda if it must be so called, we must have a sound and logical planning agency.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That a National Psychological Warfare Branch be established with the mission of utilizing all available means to broadcast the story of freedom to the world.

(2) That as part of their program, the training of propaganda and psychological warfare experts be undertaken as a means of providing a highly skilled corps of technicians for this highly important work.

(3) That sufficient funds be allocated through Congressional legislation to assure the necessary financial support of this agency.
STUDENT MONOGRAPH
DEPARTMENT
OF
OPERATIONS AND TRAINING

MONOGRAPH SUBJECT: PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE: ELEMENTS AND
ORGANIZATION OF TOTALITARIAN PROPAGANDA IN A WAR OF
NERVES.

FILE NO. 1-91

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SUBJECT: Psychological Warfare: Elements and Organization of Totalitarian Propaganda in a War of Nerves

PROBLEM.-- To analyze the organization and elements of totalitarian propaganda and psychological warfare in a war of nerves in order to arrive at a means by which the United States can best equip itself against this form of attack.

BASIC ASSUMPTION.-- Any totalitarian state or bloc of nations contemplating future action against the United States will make full use of psychological warfare as a preliminary to actual military operations, in order to gain the maximum results from a divided democracy.

FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM.--

a. That the element of fear, combined with alternation of threat and promise, plays an important and necessary part in totalitarian propaganda.

b. That the liberal principles of democracy have been exploited in the past by totalitarian countries, and must be carefully utilized in future conflicts to avoid their use against us.

c. That the seeds of totalitarian doctrines find fertile soil only in unrest and disunion, "Divide and Conquer" then becomes a familiar theme in the priority of psychological warfare.

d. That psychological warfare and propaganda to be effective must be built on success, either diplomatic (and political) or military.

* Psychological Warfare and Propaganda are so closely related in the scope as to be synonymous with one another.
e. That Germany, and her Nazi machine for psychological warfare, gave the world its first modern concept of what could be accomplished by propaganda, and a grim forewarning of what to expect in future world conflicts.

f. That all propaganda, external, political, and military must be closely coordinated in order to present a united effort toward any country at which psychological warfare is being directed.

g. That prior to an awakening in World War II, the non-totalitarian countries neglected psychological warfare as a prior supplement to military operations.

h. That in order for the United States to take full advantage of her tremendous military potentialities, she must build up a powerful psychological warfare organization.

i. That the radio is perhaps the most potent medium through which the voice of propaganda can be transmitted; therefore careful and intense analysis must be given to this field in which the United States has a dominant role.

4. DISCUSSION

a. Elements of Totalitarian Propaganda

(1) Central role of fear and alternation of promise and threat as a totalitarian weapon. -- "Aerial attacks, stupendous in their mass effects, surprise, terror, sabotage, assassination from within, the murder of leading men, overwhelming attacks on weak points in the enemy's defenses, sudden attacks, all in the same second, without regard for reserves or losses; that is the war of the future. A gigantic, all destroying blow." -- these were the words of Adolph Hitler, whose name became synonymous with total war, terror, and destruction. Although his words applied principally to World War II, how easily they might fit into the picture of World War III.

The Nazi role of terror was not an original one. Centuries ago, Genghis Khan, Hannibal, the Romans, and
others were completely cognizant of terror as a means of assisting in the defeat of an enemy. Terror, an emotion that freezes the mind and logical thinking of the individual or nation and causes indecision and confusion; terror, which causes the victim to fall easy prey to conquest; this was the weapon of the totalitarian countries. Terror, terror, terror, repeated again and again until it became a part of the daily diet of the peoples of neighboring countries, and so etched itself in their minds, that their will to resist was destroyed. This was the hoped for reaction of the propaganda machine. If broadcasting failed, then action in the same dosage was forthcoming. Herman Rauschning in his "Voice of Destruction" quotes Hitler as saying, "These so called atrocities spare me a hundred thousand individual actions. People will think twice before opposing us when they hear what to expect in the camps." After viewing the results of Buchenwald and Dachau, one is inclined to agree that these words were not idle boasts.

When terror tactics failed, which was seldom, another method took its place. By using the promise, threat, treaty, and agreement, the Nazi gave the world as concise a picture of double talk as has ever been recorded. Hitler promised and agreed to anything in so long as it furthered his own ends. In his own words, he publically admitted that he would sign anything and promise everything as long as it worked to his advantage. History proved that at no time did he have the slightest notion of fulfilling his promises. "One does not bargain with thieves" nor does one make treaties with totalitarian countries, where the element of human dignity is unknown, and national integrity and honor are qualities to be scorned as weakness.

(2) Perversion of Liberal-Democratic Principles

During many of their speeches, Adolf Hitler and his propaganda chief, Joseph Goebbels, openly boasted that the Nazi organization had made great use of democracy's freedom of speech, press, and assembly. The three bulwarks
upon which our democratic nation is built, were used by a totalitarian country to spread its insidious doctrine. Although these boasts were linked with the usual half-truths of totalitarian propaganda, they did have a certain element of authenticity. Freedom of speech within the U.S. made the word of mouth spread of propaganda comparatively easy and safe. Prior to America's entrance into World War II, millions of Americans were taken in Nazi psychological warfare. For the most part, the actions of these American "believers" went no further than word of mouth acceptance; however let us suppose that of those converted, one twentieth could have been moved to overt action in the form of sabotage or other subversive activity. The results on America's war potential might have presented a rather grim story.

This effort on the part of the German war machine was not a momentarily, hastily-organized affair; instead it was a thoroughly planned, carefully conceived scheme placed in operation by the finest of Nazi psychological brains. Its purpose—to undermine and weaken our national spirit, had its desired effect. Only the stunning disaster at Pearl Harbor welded us once more into a unified nation.

It is in no way suggested that freedom of speech, press, and assembly be curtailed in the United States because upon these we owe our strength and individualism as a nation. We must however be ever on guard for misuse of these freedoms that will jeopardize our national security. The picture we are seeing must be an American picture and not ugly distorted view of a dictator's world ambitions.

(3) Internal Disunion as an Element of Propaganda.

"Divide and Conquer" is a borrowed theme from the history of conquest. It has been used wherever man has fought and attempted to weaken the strength of the opponents that have fought against him. Totalitarianism cannot thrive on contentment; its growth depends upon the harsh factors of national disaster, hunger, famine, and revolution.
A united, happy people are ill soil for radical doctrine, while a hungry, disorganized, resentful people fall easy prey to any new order that promises everything, and in the end, gives nothing. The totalitarian doctrine calls for the deliberate spread of dissention and unrest. Pit Protestant against Catholic, employee against employer, stir up hatred among minority races, hate the Jews, hate the Negroes, play on national prejudices, make use of thwarted personal and political ambitions, exaggerate economic inequalities, reopen old wounds,—but above all create suspicion, unrest, and uneasiness. Upon this base of distrust, totalitarian propaganda can gain a foothold. Cause the people of a country to believe they are being misled and deceived by their government, and they become susceptible to the influx of new and radical ideas. In order for the new idea to take hold, all old concepts must be made to appear illogical and impossible of fulfilling the needs of the people. Once the germ of suspicion has been completely planted in the minds of the people, then the cumulative factor takes over, and a rich totalitarian harvest can take place.

(4) Military and Diplomatic Success as Propaganda

A winning side is a poor target against which to try propaganda. Without success, either on the military or diplomatic front, propaganda is as useless as a bucket in a dry well. The old axiom of "nothing succeeds like success" goes far in establishing a premise for applied psychological warfare. Allow a side to begin losing, and their minds become receptive organs for voices casting doubt on their ability to ever win, and to their unsavory future if they continue to resist. During the early phases of World War II, the German ground and air victories, their blitz warfare through most of Europe, and the spectacular invasions of Norway and Crete, offered a very unique backdrop for the spread of propaganda to countries not yet under Nazi domination. While these military successes give voice to propagandists during actual conflict, success on the diplomatic front is their chief talking
point during the war of nerves or the cold war. Germany's reoccupation of the Ruhr in the period prior to the last war, her successes at Munich, Chamberlin's "peace at any price", the rearmament of the Nazi state without interference from the Allies, their diplomatic successes in overthrowing governments of neighboring states; all supplied ammunition for the Nazi party line. The Nazi organization was acutely aware of the fact that propaganda, in order to be fully effective, must be closely tied in with military, political, economic, and diplomatic situations. The situation at hand must be played for all it is worth at the correct and decisive moment. When success is apparent, the trained propagandist takes on the new and added importance of clarifying and explaining this victory in terms designed to lower the morale of the opponent. The masses are swayed to a great extent by success, for this in itself seems to establish right, while a few intellectuals may be swayed by idealistic theory, the propagandist prefers the impact of the deed, be it military, diplomatic, economic, or political, and that deed must deal in success.

b. ORGANIZATION FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

(1) German Propaganda Organization.-- Although propaganda has been used and applied for centuries, the Nazi organization for propaganda and psychological warfare came nearer to the total concept than any other the world has known to date. This organization was complete, systematic, ruthless, and coldly efficient. It was conceived and projected by some of the finest minds on psychology ever assembled to assist a war machine in world conquest. Its methods and techniques were masterpieces in a warfare of terror.

The Nazi Organization was not thought up on the spur of the moment to implement a war, but it was a meticulously molded concept, carefully conceived and tailored for the overall scheme of global conflict. Its leaders were selected for their ability to spread the basic idea; they were men of great personal ambition, who
saw in this new movement a place for themselves in a Ger­
man dominated world. At the head of this organization was
a master psychologist himself, Adolph Hitler. Basically, the
organization was a comparatively few skilled leaders, who
by words, slogans, lies, threats, promises, and deception brought
about the conquest of a major portion of a continent.

The German propaganda organization sowed the seeds
for World War II at the signing of the Armistice Terms of
World War I. These seeds ripened into a full grown crop
in the early and middle 1930s and produced a lush harvest
in the late 30s and early 40s, when a German war machine
overran most of Europe. The cold war of psychology, prior
to actual conflict, that works on the minds of the masses,
and undermines the stability of government, just doesn't
happen without a carefully worked out organization. Results
have proven that the right words, spoken at the right place,
at the right moment, can produce surrender and even death.
It can save lives as well. The Germans knew this, and played
their cards extremely well. So successful was their organ­
ized effort against neighboring countries, that when the time
came for military effort, resistance to their armed forces
was negligible. How close their organized efforts in the
press, radio, motion picture, and platform came to success in
our own country, we will never know, but it is a lesson and
an experience which we can well afford to guard against in
future conflicts.

(2) Coordination of external propaganda with
Military Activity and Domestic Propaganda on the home
front.--- Psychological warfare can be approached from
two divergent viewpoints. America, prior to the war, con­
ceived it as an adjunct to actual military operation. The Nazi
machine conceived it as actually being the factor which
dictated the timing and phasing of military operations. The
American idea did not embrace a cold or propagandistic war
of any particularly great degree, but in the case of the
Nazi this was hardly the case. Their propaganda became the
first artillery concentration for war. Big guns of psycho­
logical warfare bombarded neighboring countries day and night
with slogans, radio.
with slogans, radio talks, false rumors, and dissent, combined with a liberal amount of subversive activity in high places, until that nation or bloc of nations were on the threshold of splitting internally. Back of this screen of external propaganda, military activity and preparedness were progressing toward the moment when the rift in the enemy’s defense became so apparent that armed forces could move in relatively unopposed. The method was simple and worked to perfection in the early Nazi triumphs in Western Europe.

On the home front, while external propaganda is being beamed against enemy masses, there must be an equally intensive drive in the form of domestic propaganda. Wars are neither pleasant or popular. Someone always gets hurt and property is destroyed. Domestic propaganda, in the early cold war, prepares the public for the time when the unpleasant facts of war are laid before them. While external propaganda works to create defeatism and despair in enemy countries, domestic propaganda is building the theme of patriotism and victory at home. Just as the propagandist uses every means to undermine the will of the enemy to resist, a similar and equally skilled effort must sell the home front on the idea. Germany timed her moves by careful psychological considerations. Working on Oscar Jeszi’s theory that “no propaganda can be effective in contradiction to the real needs of a situation”, they carefully analyzed the country selected for attack. Every political move, every domestic disturbance, each hint of racial discord, was exploited, exaggerated, and played for every ounce of disunion it could produce. Once it became apparent that a country was headed for a revolutionary governmental or economic change, the Nazi machine had just the “boys” to help the situation along.

The complete and integrated coordination by totalitarian countries of their domestic, external, political, and military propaganda presents a one-sided,
prejudiced picture, but a powerful one, to weaker neighboring countries. To combat this power play, democratic countries must coordinate their voices in giving a sound, reasonable, and logical view of the side not presented by the totalitarian countries. The power of organization and coordination for a common cause is not limited to totalitarian countries; the democracies of the world can yield a far greater influence in this field of endeavor.

(3) Neglect of Psychological Warfare by Non-Totalitarian Countries.-- Prior to World War II, democratic countries had come to look upon propaganda and psychological warfare as a means to be employed by dictator countries, and shunned as unethical by non-totalitarian countries. In some super-secret manner, we evidently envisaged that our story would somehow reach other countries, and that dictatorship propaganda would fall under the weight of its own lies. Such was seldom, if ever, the case. Democracies found that in order to present the other side of the picture to enemy populations, they must use every means to project their own propaganda into enemy channels. In a way, the situation is similar to a man born in prison, and never allowed to see what goes on in the outside world. Feed him a daily diet of horror stories of famine, unemployment, and murder in the area outside his prison, and that man would fight to remain there. The true story of the world surrounding dictator countries had to be told to the peoples of those countries before they lost faith in their own propagandist stories.

Our psychological warfare for World War II, did not begin as that of the Nazi, at the signing of the Versailles Treaty in 1918. Even when the handwriting on the wall plainly pointed toward a new world conflict in the 1930s, we tragically neglected employment of propaganda to educate a sorely confused world. Great Britain, through their British Broadcasting Company, began to relay the message of freedom to the enslaved countries of Europe. In this
early phase of the war, unfortunately the British were not winning, and propaganda to be effective must be backed up by success. America learned after the Pearl Harbor defeat, that we also should have had an organization for broadcasting to the rest of the world. We were apt pupils and caught on quickly, due to a large degree on the bulwark thrown up by our Allies until we were ready. Any next time will not have that margin of safety. As a nation of the world, no longer isolated by two great oceans, our story must be propagandized to the rest of the world. Our story must be based on truths, not lies. The truth places our propaganda on a firm footing, and builds friendships for us among the nations of the world; friendships we may badly need at some future date.

(4) Preparation of the United States for Psychological Warfare:-- The United States is the greatest potential source of propaganda material and psychological warfare in the world. We daily are associated with practically every means by which the skilled propagandist applies his trade. The press supplies millions of newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, and circulars daily. Advertisements scream at us from every unoccupied street corner, radio programs are being broadcast twenty four hours a day, and with the spread of television a new and even more spectacular field for the spread of domestic propaganda will unfold. Our freedom of assembly allows the finest platform speakers to give their views on various subjects to thousands of listeners. Our advertising, our susceptibility to slogans, our love of the spectacular; all combine to make us an emotional, highly vulnerable psychological warfare or propaganda target. Our means of access to the homes of a hundred million Americans gives us double protection, if used correctly, to guard our peoples against the inroads of totalitarian doctrines. Millions of war weary people throughout the world will listen to our voice of freedom if it is presented in the correct manner. Self preservation and the
love of personal liberty are inherent characteristics of all people regardless of their nationality or color. It is only those people, who are not allowed to hear any voice of liberation, that lose all will to resist. The United States, as a world power and democracy, must so organize its propaganda, or "Voice of Freedom", if one so desires to call it that, to allow our message to be heard by free people throughout the world, our message, the truth.

5. CONCLUSION

That we have definitely been cast as the champion of democracy. From us must come the direction for millions of free men throughout the world, irregardless of the country concerned. This direction, and countering the flow of totalitarian propaganda, must be the result of sound logical planning developed by a highly organized and efficient governmental department.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

a. That a National Psychological Warfare Branch of government be established with the mission of utilizing all available means to broadcast the story of freedom to the world.

b. That as part of their program, the training of propaganda and psychological warfare experts be undertaken as a means of producing a highly skilled corps of technicians for this vitally important work.

c. That sufficient funds be allocated through Congressional legislation to assure the financial support necessary.

Annex 1 Directive
Annex 2 General Considerations-Psychological Warfare
Annex 3 Perversion of democratic freedoms
Annex 4 Radio-Psychological Warfare's most productive means of transmittal
Annex 5 Anti-Semitism in totalitarian plan
Annex 6 Bibliography
ANNEX 1 -- DIRECTIVE

22 November 1948

STUDENT--Dan S. McMillin Lt.Col. 0-32010

FACULTY ADVISOR Lt.Col. W.H. Rosson 210 Sheridan 21196

SUBJECT: Psychological Warfare: Elements and Organization of Totalitarian Propaganda in a War of Nerves

REFERENCES: Hitler, Mein Kampf, II, Ch 7,11; Taylor, The Strategy of Terror; Hitler's 'Frightful Weapon': Propaganda, New York Times Magazine, June 1, 1941; Whitton, War by Radio, Foreign Affairs, July 1941; Committee for National Morale, German Psychological Warfare; Rauschnig, The Voice of Destruction, Chs 1, 5, 11; Taylor, "How America can Take the Offensive", Fortune, May 1941; Schlaen, This Second War of Independence, especially Chs 4, 7, 8; Possony, "The French General Staff", The Infantry Journal, Nov 1941; Maurois, Tragedy in France, Ch 4; Rowan, Terror in Our Time; The Secret Service of Surprise Attack.

NOTE TO STUDENTS:

1. The references above are furnished to give the student enough material with which to begin his research. It is anticipated that the student will make use of all other available sources in order to give adequate scope to his subject and, when appropriate, to complete development of the subject to date.

SCOPE:

1. Elements of totalitarian propaganda
   a. Central role of fear.
   b. Alternation of promise and threat.
   c. Perversion of liberal-democratic principles.
   d. Use of anti-Semitism to provoke internal disunion.
   e. Peace offensives.
   f. Military and diplomatic success as propaganda.

2. Organization
   a. German and other propaganda organizations.
   b. Coordination of external propaganda with political and military activity and with domestic propaganda.
   c. Neglect of psychological warfare by nontotalitarian countries.
   d. Preparation of United States for psychological warfare.
ANNEX 2 General Considerations and Background of Psychological Warfare.

"Divide and Conquer"- "Destroy by any and all means"- "the most inhuman war is at the same time the kind-est"- "America is permanently on the brink of revolution"- "the enemy people must be demoralized and ready to capit-ulate, driven to moral passivity, before military action can be thought of"- "I shall shrink from nothing in order to attain my ends"-- These are the words of a master totalitarian propagandist, Adolph Hitler. He proceeded from his basic concept to give the world a lesson in mass psychology which may never again be approached in scope by a single individual. Applied one by one or taken together, these totalitarian concepts form a diabolically efficient picture of psychological warfare that nearly spelled defeat for the Allied Forces before the real shooting war commenced. Psychological warfare is not new, it is as old a history itself, but the methods and means have changed. Revise this age old concept, speed it up to modern tempo of living and thinking, and we have psychological warfare all freshed up in a new coat of paint ready to perform the identical role it has for centuries.

Psychology appeals to the emotions and feelings of the individual or group. It deliberately plans by the use of symbols, chiefly through suggestion and related psychological techniques to either change or control ideas, values, and opinions, with the final purpose of causing overt actions along lines determined by the psychologist. To be effective it must touch desires and attitudes within the mass, but it must of necessity be entirely biased in one direction. This would have a certain modification in our own domestic propaganda, but would hold in the case of our supplying external propaganda. For our purpose, we treat with psychological warfare on two premises: that it will save the lives of men on our side, and that it will hasten the ultimate end of a conflict. In our application it must be remembered that propaganda is cumulative; from a small beginning, the word
of mouth may spread until it encompasses the thinking and actions of the entire peoples of a nation. With this in mind, care must be taken to organize our propaganda along correct lines, so that the end product will reflect credit on our democratic nation.

Totalitarian propaganda according to Dr. Kimball Young in "Social Psychology" had four definite concepts from which they worked:

1. The clear fixation on a goal, which might be a part of a long or short term purpose of the party.

2. The use of single and simple themes constantly and persistantly repeated until the goal was reached or some other direction seemed more important.

3. The clever exploitation of weaknesses or division in the group to which the propaganda was directed.

4. The use of emotional rather than rational appeals, unless the latter were for a special group of intellectuals.

It was upon these fixed principles that the Nazi propaganda based their plan of conquest. They worked until the unfortunate day when the tide turned and the Allies became the winning side.
ANNEX 3-- Perversion of democratic freedoms

The chief Nazi theme, beamed openly to the United States, during the early stages of the war, was to keep us from participating on the side of the Allies. The script ran the gauntlet from an all-powerful Germany in Europe, to the unpleasant fact that our leaders were despicable and immoral, and were leading us into an unjustified war. Again it was the Jews, Communists, and plutocrats, who were our real enemies, and not Nazi Germany. Amazingly enough, some of our leading figures in public life fell for this line of illogical thinking (the same as many are now going for an equally stupid Communist line!).—Charles A. Lindbergh, our aviation hero, told a nation-wide radio audience in September, 1941 that, "The three greatest advocates of war in this country are the British, the Jews, and President Roosevelt."—The identical theme that every Nazi stooge throughout the world had been told to repeat. Sufficient to say that our liberal freedom of speech allowed such broadcasts to go out to the American public, many of whom were gullible enough to believe it.

Our freedom of assembly allowed a Nazi organization to be built in America, not under the Nazi flag, but instead, all decked out in an American flag with the star-spangled Statue of Liberty as its background. Only the agenda and the direction came from the Nazis; we furnished the members. Scores of organizations peddled a madman's line to the American people. Under such patriotic names as "American Crusaders," "American Silver Shirts," "The Christian Front," "Protestant War Veterans," and by many other subterfuges, they gilded their sordid purpose. In the eastern states, and especially in New York, German bunds held open meetings with all the pomp and ceremony, stiff arm saluting, Jew-baiting, hate producing ritual that might have been found in a Berlin-staged turn out for Hitler or Goebbels. Only the far seeing actions of a few alert men in this country, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the U.S. Secret Service Service and others, in rounding up the leaders upon the outbreak of war, did we avert what might...
have ended up in national disaster.

Our freedom of the press must have caused amusement to the Nazi machine during the early days of the war of nerves. In good faith, our U.S. Post Office delivered hundreds of thousands of printed material throughout the United States, which was known to be Nazi doctrines and ideologies, a form which was known to be subversive and antagonistic to our form of government. Our only requisite for delivery was the usual three cent stamp. Naively, we believed that under international agreements, our people, if they so desired, could send democratic literature to the German people. Going further into the medium of the press, the Nazi tried to divide the United States into two great camps of isolationists and interventionists. By doing so, the resulting confusion neutralized American effort. Thousands of American citizens were confused by deliberate Nazi lies, which found their way into American journalistic channels. Only a shocked American public, put aside their personal views for a common effort, after our defeat at Pearl Harbor.
ANNEX 4 "Radio—Psychological Warfare's most productive means of transmittal."

As a vehicle for the spread of propaganda, radio is ideal. While combining the advantages of the platform and the spoken word, radio goes even further in its ability to reach millions of people throughout a nation or a world. The Nazis saw in it great potentialities for spreading their national doctrines to neighboring countries and especially to former Germans living in those countries. They saw in radio a means of spreading terror, rumor, lies, and discontent in furtherance of their psychological warfare effort. In their attempts to create a "unified political will" within their country, the Nazi government considered radio as something of "a living bridge between the Fuehrer and the people". For the first time in history, by means of the radio, opportunity was afforded to influence great nations by hourly broadcasts to them.

"Schroeder in his "Broadcasting Principals of the Political Radio" lists four qualities which set radio apart from ordinary means of communication:

(1) "It speaks to everybody personally, addresses him directly, and reaches him in his most private surroundings, in his own home."

(2) "It makes use of the spoken word, whose efficiency is greater than that of the written word."

(3) "Broadcast can accompany an event without a time lag. It is not a report after the event, but an immediate, simultaneous experience."

(4) "The radio is not restricted to audience, it knows no human limits— it speaks to everybody and influences everybody as individuals, groups, or masses."

While the German radio followed the popular theme of "appeal to the masses," the British in their early propaganda broadcasts to America followed a different line. Their programs were beamed at the intellectuals and leaders of this country, and through them, they depended upon the story to reach our general public. Their method worked with
a fair degree of success. Actually, German radio broadcasts were purer instances of propaganda in that they were made to follow a rigid party line, while the British were given a wide field of freedom of expression. In time, the British method proved the better of the two, in that its variety produced interest, while the German radio fell into bad graces of monotony and repetition.

German broadcasts reached America chiefly through the short wave, and since America is not particularly fond of listening to short wave programs, much of the force of the German propaganda was lost. The United States can pride themselves to a great extent in nullifying the Nazi effort. Because American broadcasting companies gave true, up to the minute of happenings throughout the world, the average American relied nearly 100% on domestic standard broadcasts for his news. Our radio facilities are perhaps the most powerful in the world, and our technical advancements in the field of radio improvement is equal to any in the world today. There are but few homes in this country that do not have some form of radio. Through this extensive medium, the United States has at its disposal a great means of influencing the thinking of the American public on world affairs. Our radio must not only be beamed to the American people, but to the freedom minded listeners the world over. Our "Voice of Freedom" is being heard in spite of attempts to drown it out. Our story, the truth, is in many countries the only hope for those peoples—it must be continued to be heard.
ANNEX 5 Anti-Semitism in the Nazi Master Plan

Many people have been led to believe that the Nazi persecutions of the Jews was solely what it appeared to be on the surface—simply a hate inspired determination to liquidate a minority race. Actually, its purpose was more of an important part of the plan than this particular role. Hitler considered the Jew one of his most important assets. While the rest of the world looked on apathetically at his attacks on these human beings, his real motives and preparations for territorial expansion of the Reich went unnoticed. The Nazi system of Jew-baiting was carried throughout the world and so inflamed the thinking and logic of many people that they did not stop to consider why all of this hate-platform was being carried on. A vast Semetic plot for world mastery was twisted and itemized in the most minute detail. The Jew was shown with a strangle-hold on the press, banks, and governments of democratic countries. A Nazi cartoon showed the Jew growing fat on the blood of war. In parts of the United States, where Jew-baiting did not take hold, the Negro was brought out for ridicule. If not the Negro, then Labor was pitted against management, and sordid half-truths, designed to stir up unrest were spread. All of this just didn't happen, it was part of a plan into which each piece was carved as part of the dream of world domination. The plan failed because of an Allied victory. The stage is still set, and new players have assembled. If we study the script carefully, and profit by past lessons, then we, as a democratic country have the strength to combat this form of division technique within our ranks.
ANNEX 6

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