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ASAD No.

**PSYCHOLOGICAL
OPERATIONS
BIBLIOGRAPHY
Supplement No. 6**

by
Dennis Gosier



**May 1965
Research Memorandum 65-6**

**SPECIAL OPERATIONS RESEARCH OFFICE
THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
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The American University 5010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C., 20016

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LIBRARY ABBREVIATIONS USED

Army Library	AL
Central Intelligence Agency Library	CIA
Department of Commerce Library	CL
Department of Labor Library	LL
Department of State Library	State
District of Columbia Public Library	DCPL
Library of Congress	LC
Military Assistance Institute	MAI
United States Information Agency Library.	USIA

(When no library call number follows the citation,
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OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

Broadcasting and Visual Activities, Pacific	BAVPAC
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ABSTRACTS

PART ONE: FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

Background

Communications Studies, Psyops Theory, Definitions

1. Buckner H. Taylor. "A Theory of Rumor Transmission," PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY, 29 (Spring 1965), 54-70. Citing empirical evidence, the author concludes that the credibility of rumors depends on "the structure of the situation," an individual's critical abilities, and the frequency of repetition.
2. Gordon, Donald R. "The News and Foreign Policy," BEHIND THE HEADLINES, 24 (Oct 1964), 21pp. Bibl. AL-F1034.B41V.24no. 2. Citing many examples, the author illustrates how, through selective omission and emphasis in their reportage of foreign affairs, the prominent media can influence the formulation and execution of policy.
3. Jordan, Alexander T. "Political Communication: the Third Dimension of Strategy," ORBIS, 8 (Fall 1964), 670-685. The author argues that the U.S. should adopt "an organic system of political communication," which places emphasis on the role of private organizations directing their efforts toward specific foreign audiences.
4. McCormack, Thelma. "Social Change and the Mass Media," THE CANADIAN REVIEW OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY, 1 (Feb 1964), 49-61. Through the construction of an analytic model, the author concludes that it is possible for mass media to resist the totalitarian tendencies of modern society by maintaining an independent critical function.

5. Schramm, Wilbur. **MASS MEDIA AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: The Role of Information in the Developing Countries.** Stanford, Calif: Univ Press, 1964. xiv, 333pp. Bibl., notes, ind. In a study done at UNESCO's request, the author explores the effectiveness of mass communications in economic and social betterment of developing areas.

Audience Information, Target References

6. Childers, Erskine B. "Palestine: The Broken Triangle," **JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**, 19 (1965), 87-99. The author contends not only that the Zionist thesis, which states that Arab hostility toward Israel is artificial, is false, but that feeling among Arabs of the "new generation" has hardened to now identify Israel with colonialism.
7. Elegant, Robert S. **THE CENTER OF THE WORLD: Communism and the Mind of China.** Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964. xii, 396pp. Bibl., ind. The historical basis of the modern Chinese mind is traced in describing and evaluating the degree of success of the Chinese Communists in their adaptation of Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese condition.
8. Fernier, Jacques. "Judaism with Embellishment," **PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM**, 13 (Nov-Dec, 1964), 42-47. Ill. The open anti-Semitism of the Stalinist era is a hot issue between the Stalinists and the liberals, forcing the Soviet Govt to maneuver between the two camps--neither condemning nor encouraging existing anti-Jewish agitation.

9. Gaev, Arkady. "A Forbidden Zone of Creative Thought," INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF THE USSR, (No. 25, 1964/65), 8pp. While an article in PRAVDA (Feb 21, 1965) calls for greater freedom for intellectuals, a survey of recent Soviet fiction indicates that officials have not succeeded in placing strict limits on freedom of expression.
10. Hammer, Darrell P. "Among Students in Moscow: An Outsider's Report," PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, 13 (Jul-Aug 1964), 11-18. Ill. Soviet efforts to cope with the lack of ideological fervor among students include "practical experience" sessions to obtain positive commitments to the Communist system.
11. Hangen, Wells. "Stirrings Behind the Wall: East Germany's Muted Revolution," HARPER'S, 230 (May 1965), 77-83. Ill. A revolt of writers and intellectuals within the E. German Communist Party has forced the govt to modify its internal policies and assert more freedom from Russia in the Communist bloc, providing also an opening for the West.
12. Jones, P.H.M. "The Holy Alliance," FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, 48 (Apr 1, 1965), 48-50. Ill. In an analysis of the aims and views of the Buddhist-student alliance in S. Vietnam, the author finds an anti-American social radicalism common to both groups, but believes they can become the vehicle for peasant support of the Govt.
13. Paige, Glenn D. "Korea," in COMMUNISM AND REVOLUTION, eds. Cyril E. Black and Thomas P. Thornton. Princeton, N.J.: Univ Press, 1964. Pp. 215-42. The author stresses that N. Korean propaganda on reunification is gaining a foothold in a new generation of youth in S. Korea, to whom the violence of previous Communist maneuvers is unknown.

14. Radio Free Europe. Audience Research. THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT. [English Garden, Munich]: RFE, 1964. 47pp. Tables. Interviews with East European refugees conducted in 1963 and 1964 reveal a widespread awareness of the dispute and a shift in preference to the Chinese position because of anti-Russian feeling and hopes for more freedom.
15. Skrzypek, Stanislaw. "The Political, Cultural, and Social Views of Yugoslav Youth," PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY, 29 (Spring 1965), 87-106. App. From a study of polls conducted among students by the Yugoslav Govt, the author concludes that govt's effort to rear "good Marxists" has foundered upon presence of "undesired" attitudes among youth.
16. "South Vietnam," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Far East. (Mar 12, 1965), kkk1-9. Two items on pp. kkk3-4 recount pro-Communist propaganda activities among students, teachers, and intellectuals in urban areas in S. Vietnam. Mention is made of the formation of front groups, clandestine distribution of leaflets and newspapers, and student peace meetings.
17. Teodorovich, Nadezhda. "The Catacomb Church in the USSR," BULLETIN: Institute for the Study of the USSR, 12 (Apr 1965), 3-14. The renewal of the anti-religion campaign in the USSR in 1958 provided evidence of the existence of clandestine religious groups practicing a policy of passive resistance and steadily growing in influence.
18. Valahu, Murur. THE KATANGA CIRCUS: A Detailed Account of Three UN Wars. New York: Speller, 1964. xviii, 364pp. The author indicts, with many references to psyops tactics used by all disputants involved in the Katangese secession, all groups in a detailed account and analysis from first-hand observations of UN military actions in the Congo.

19. Warner, Denis. "Vietnam: The Politics of 'Peace'," THE REPORTER, 32 (Apr 8, 1965), 40-42. The author examines the present situation and goals of the two major Buddhist peace movements and concludes that S. Vietnam may be fatally weakened if it must depend for support on Buddhist political groups with their conflicting peace demands.

See also items 27, 39, 40, 43, 47, 64, 68, 87, 104, 107

Psyops Organization and Personnel

Government and Civilian Organizations

20. "Communist China International Affairs," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Far East, (Mar 12, 1965), BBB1-15. Chinese Communist radio blasts alleged world-wide aggressive activities of USIA. Mention is made of the closing of USIA offices in Indonesia and the erection of Voice of America radio stations in India and the Philippines. See pp BBB6-7.
21. "Now U.S. Has One Propaganda Voice In Vietnam," U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 58 (Apr 19, 1965), 22. All U.S. psywar efforts in S. Vietnam have been centralized under USIA. Measures include the use of loudspeakers and the distribution of pamphlets and transistor radios to sway S. Vietnamese either uncommitted or fighting with the Viet Cong.
22. "South Vietnam," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Far East, (Mar 26, 1965), kkk1-4. The ministry of Information and Psywar in S. Vietnam has decided to create a national press center to supply information to the local and foreign press and coordinate with govt agencies for collection of data. See kkk3-4.

See also items 51, 54, 63, 100, 109

Psycho-Political Warfare

Policy and Strategy

23. Barendsen, Robert D. "Education in China; A Survey," PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, 13 (Jul-Aug 1964), 19-27. In this statistical survey of educational development by the Chinese Communists, the author illustrates the emphasis placed on ideological education in the past two years to counter political disaffection among the students.
24. Billington, James H. "Finland," in COMMUNISM AND REVOLUTION, eds. Cyril E. Black and Thomas P. Thornton. Princeton, N.J.: Univ Press, 1964. Pp. 117-44. Tracing the history of unsuccessful Communist attempts at control in Finland from the end of World War I to the present, the author recounts the psywar tactics of the Finns and the Russians.
25. "Communist China's Challenge," CURRENT, (Mar 1965), 50-52. It is contended that Communist China's present objectives in Africa aim only at gaining the respect and support of the African nations by offering them economic aid and bargaining for their support for the China seat at the U.N. This is a reprint from THE ECONOMIST of Dec 19, 1964.
26. "Chinese Step Up 'Hate U.S.' Drive," THE NEW YORK TIMES, 114 (Feb 13, 1965), 6. Chinese mass demonstrations and rallies protesting U.S. air strikes in N. Vietnam are viewed as "fist-shaking" gestures of the Chinese Communists to attempt to deter the U.S. from further expanding its operations in N. Vietnam.

27. Dutt, Vidya Prakash. CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY, 1958-62. Asia Publishing House: New York, [c. 1964]. xii, 336pp. Ind. The Head of East Asian Studies at New Delhi Univ traces the main outlines of Chinese Communist strategy toward Asia, Africa, the U.S.S.R., and the U.S. from 1958 to 1962, providing useful analysis for the psyops context.
28. Hughes, John. "Nyerere Visit: Peking Display," THE (Boston) CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 57 (Feb 19, 1965), 1. The importance attached to Tanzania by Communist China is indicated by the lavish welcome accorded to President Nyerere in his visit to Peking.
29. Hughes, John. "Thailand Feels Red Pressure," THE (Boston) CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 57 (Apr 21, 1965), 1, 2. Initial Communist moves toward forming an insurgency movement in Thailand is a source of growing concern to the Thai Govt. Insurgent measures include dissemination of propaganda through agents, leaflets, and radio.
30. "Information, Propaganda Lack Hurts Government," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Latin America, (Feb 10, 1965), dddd 3. The Brazilian revolutionary successors to Goulart must utilize propaganda more extensively and effectively to ensure continued popular acceptance of the revolution.
31. Kashin, Aleksandr A. "Defeat of the Pro-Soviet Faction in the Japanese Communist Party," INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF THE USSR, (No. 34, 1964/65), 6pp. The Soviet Communist Party has suffered a costly defeat in its efforts to control the Asian Communist parties in losing the struggle with the pro-Chinese faction for control of Japan's CP.

32. Kissinger, Henry A. "The Price of German Unity," THE REPORTER, 32 (Apr 22, 1965), 12-17. A new approach to the German problem is proposed focusing on the issue of self-determination with the objectives of checking the growing status of E. Germany, promoting NATO unity, and placing the psychological onus for obstruction of German unity on the USSR.
33. Langguth, Jack. "Johnson's Speech on Vietnam Is Worrying Saigon Officials," THE NEW YORK TIMES, 114 (Apr 9, 1965), 13. In describing the reactions of Saigon govt officials to Johnson's "unconditional discussions" speech, information is given on U.S. plans to publicize the speech by various means throughout the two Vietnams.
34. Lee, Joseph J. "The Latin American Target," CURRENT, (Mar 1965), 52-54. In a reprint from ASIAN SURVEY (Nov 1964), Chinese strategy in Latin America is seen as having evolved from forming front organizations and courting local opinion-makers to the open support of armed uprisings using the appeal of land reform and the Cuban revolution.
35. Legum, Colin. "Peking's Strategic Priorities," AFRICA REPORT, 10 (Jan 1965), 19-21. Ill. Chinese aid, trade, and diplomacy has shifted its emphasis from North and West Africa to the eastern and central regions in attempts to form a Peking-oriented alliance to prevent the isolation of China by Western and Russian diplomacy.
36. "North Vietnam," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Far East, (May 19, 1965), JJJ1-10. In praising Buddhist agitational activities to date, Hanoi Radio urges the Buddhists to wage a more successful struggle against U.S. "imperialism" by tightening their ranks and collaborating with all city compatriots.

37. "A Sino-Indonesian Axis?," **COMMUNIST AFFAIRS**, 3 (Jan-Feb 1965), 16-17. Looming behind the increasing militant anti-U.S. posture of Indonesia is the shadow of Communist China, which is seeking through diplomatic and economic agreements an ally for assistance in the expulsion of Western influence from Southeast Asia.
38. Thornton, Thomas P. "Asia," in **COMMUNISM AND REVOLUTION**, eds. Cyril E. Black and Thomas P. Thornton. Princeton, N.J.: Univ Press, 1964. Pp. 271-301. In an historical survey of Communist efforts in East and South Asia, the author concludes that the tactics of "united front" and "national democracy" may not prove a means for seizure of power.
39. Thornton, Thomas P. "Communist Attitudes Toward Asia, Africa and Latin America," in **COMMUNISM AND REVOLUTION**, eds. Cyril E. Black and Thomas P. Thornton. Princeton, N.J.: Univ Press, 1964. Pp. 245-69. The author evaluates the prospects for success of the Communists' tactics of the "united front" and "national democracy" in the new nations.
40. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. **DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING BY COMMUNIST COUNTRIES IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1964: a Statistical Report.** (R-126-64). Washington: USIA, Sept, 1964, 1, 11pp. Mimeo. Tables. The period covered is highlighted by Sino-Soviet polemics and a shift in emphasis to the underdeveloped areas.
41. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. **HANOI AND THE SOUTH: Propaganda on Reunification.** (R-150-64). Washington: USIA, Oct 7, 1964. ii, 14pp. Mimeo. Persistent calls by Hanoi for reunification of Vietnam by the Geneva agreements have been replaced by claims that the Viet Cong guerrilla war is the sole means of resolving the issue.

42. Van Ness, Peter. "Accent on Underdevelopment," FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, 47 (Feb 25, 1965), 330, 335-337. The Chinese Communists have given the highest priority to an unstable Africa and are utilizing anti-Western prejudices and trade, aid, and cultural blandishments "to turn the African winds of change in China's direction."
43. Voronitsyn, Sergei S. "New Trends in Soviet Internal Propaganda," INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF THE USSR, (No. 19, 1964/65), 9pp. Internal Soviet propaganda is changing from the crude forms of the Stalinist era to more subtle means of persuasion. This is especially true re Soviet youth, for combatting increased exposure to the West.
44. Wohl, Paul. "Stalin 'Regilded'," THE (Boston) CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 57 (May 4, 1965), 6. Ill. Several signs in the Soviet Union point to a reevaluation of Stalin in his role as a military leader and a statesman for purposes of bolstering the authority of the Communist Party and allowing pro-Stalinists to retain their self-respect.
45. Wahid, Zainal Abidin Bin Abdul. "Malaysia, South-east Asia and World Politics," in MALAYSIA: A Survey, ed. Wang Gungwu. New York: Praeger, 1964. Pp. 365-74. Notes. In an analysis of regional resistance to Malaysia's formation, the author concludes that Indonesia must oppose it because of the psychological threat of Malaya's progress.
46. Ying, Y. L. "The Chinese Communists in Southeast Asia," FREE CHINA AND ASIA, 11 (Nov 1964), 11-15. Chinese strategy in SE Asia--diplomatic, economic and cultural--is "political infiltration working hand-in-hand with armed subversion." The author places emphasis on current Chinese psywar tactics toward Malaya.

47. Zagoria, Donald S. "Communism in Asia," COMMENTARY, 39 (Feb 1965), 53-58. An expert on Communism reveals how and why Peking and the Communist parties of SE Asia are united in a coalition for elimination of U.S. power in Asia through exploitation of historic social and ethnic cleavages and popular animosity toward Western colonialism.

See also items 3, 7, 8, 88, 104, 105, 111, 121

Diplomatic, Cultural, Educational, Economic Tactics

48. Geyelin, Phillip. "Dominican Rebels Shift to Political Move, Raising U.S. Fears of A Pro-Red Regime," THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, 140 (May 5, 1965), 2. The recent moves by Dominican rebels to gain international respectability may lead the CAS to provide for a mild political settlement which would enable Communists to take over legally.
49. Hollingworth, Clare. "Vietnam Rebels Now Mount Political Offensive," THE (Manchester) GUARDIAN, (Apr 26, 1965), 9. Viet Cong propaganda is now emphasizing political issues in the prelude to an attempt by the National Liberation Front to secure diplomatic recognition from nonaligned countries at the Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers in June.
50. Langguth, Jack. "Saigon Seeks Aid of Nonaligned in Advance of Any Negotiations," THE NEW YORK TIMES, 114 (May 7, 1965), 2. The S. Vietnamese Govt is trying to start a diplomatic offensive in the African countries aimed at strengthening its bargaining position should the war in S. Vietnam be taken to the negotiating table.

51. Tsai, Psi. "The Chinese Communists in Latin America," FREE CHINA AND ASIA, 11 (Nov 1964), 20-24. Author conducts a brief survey of Chinese Communist subversive activities in Latin America, with emphasis on Brazil and Mexico. Attention is focused on trade agreements and locations of organizations for distribution of propaganda.
52. Ying, Y. L. "The Chinese Communists in Africa," FREE CHINA AND ASIA, 11 (Nov 1964), 16-19. The Chinese Communist economic, diplomatic and cultural penetration of Africa is traced from 1955 to the present. The author alludes to the empathy between Chinese and Africans because of common experiences with imperialism.

See also 24, 25, 27, 28, 35, 37, 42, 43, 104

Military Psychological Operations

Strategy and Tactics

53. Burchett, Wilfred G. VIETNAM: Inside Story of the Guerrilla War. New York: International, 1965. 253pp. Ill., ind. The author, strongly pro-Viet Cong and a veteran newsman, records and evaluates his experiences of 8 months of direct observation of Viet Cong activities in 1964. Guerrilla psywar techniques are described in detail.
54. Cahn, Robert. "Vietnam Idea War," THE (Boston) CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 57 (Apr 8, 1965), 1, 10. U.S.-trained S. Vietnamese cadres conducted a successful psywar operation in Tan Ba village, S. Vietnam. Included in article is background information on U.S. planning, assistance, and coordination with S. Vietnamese govt.

55. "Cambodia," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Far East, (Mar 30, 1965), 0001-5. On p. 0003, propoganda disseminated in Chau Doc, Cambodia by S. Vietnamese agents that the Cambodian Govt had installed Chinese Communist troops in the frontier area, is strongly condemned as false by Cambodian radio and viewed as a pretext for an attack on Cambodia.
56. Halberstam, David. "The Face of the Enemy In Vietnam," HARPER'S, 228 (Feb 19-65), 62-71. In describing S. Vietnamese govt military operations and political indoctrination of Viet Cong POW's, the author submits that the VC are more adept at exploiting the psychological aspects of the guerrilla war than are their adversaries.
57. King, Seth. "Big U.S. Fire-Bomb Raid Hits Vietcong Near Saigon," THE NEW YORK TIMES, 114 (Apr 1, 1965), 1, 12. In a description of a U.S. Air Force incendiary raid on a Viet Cong concentration area near Saigon, mention is made of leaflet drops and loudspeaker planes warning the population to leave the area before the raid.
58. King, Seth S. "Teams Go to Remote Thai towns to Counter Reds," THE NEW YORK TIMES, 114 (Feb 17, 1965), 10. In describing civic action measures by Thai government in N.E. Thailand to counter growing Communist influence, the author delves into the themes of literature and films disseminated by Thai Mobile Information Teams.
59. Kirk, Donald. "Viet Youths Arm," THE (Boston) CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 57 (Mar 24, 1965), 3. N. Vietnam has launched a major propaganda campaign to whip up the fighting spirit of the country's youth, thousands having "volunteered to join the "Three Ready Movement" to receive military training.

60. Langguth, Jack. "9 U.S. Copter Men Killed by Vietcong Ground Fire," **THE NEW YORK TIMES**, 114 (Apr 20, 1965), 1, 4. Map. In description of military operations vs. VC in Binh Dinh Province, S. Vietnam and air actions over N. Vietnam, mention is made of leaflets containing Johnson's Apr 7 speech which were dropped over city of Vinh, N. Vietnam.
61. "Malaysia/Indonesia," **THE FALLING LEAF**, 5 (Dec 1964), 188. The Malaysians, with British assistance, have launched a propaganda counterattack by air-dropping leaflets on Indonesian guerrilla infiltrators and on Indonesian bases from which recent attacks on Malaysia have been mounted.
62. Oka, Takashi. "Saigon Seeks Aid from Hills," **THE (Boston) CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR**, 57 (May 1, 1965), 1, 5. Although U.S.-S. Vietnamese efforts among Rhade tribes have won some support for the Govt, Viet Cong promises of regional autonomy still sway Rhade tribesmen to cooperate with insurgents in the strategically important central highlands.
63. Osanka, Franklin Mark. "Population Control Techniques of Communist Insurgents," **AUSTRALIAN ARMY JOURNAL**, (Jan 1964), 11-18. A special-warfare expert examines the strategy and tactics employed by Communist insurgents at the village level to secure population loyalty in the "pre-violence stage" of an insurgency movement.
64. "Psychological Warfare Division Leaflet Campaign in European Theater of Operations," **THE FALLING LEAF**, 5 (Dec 1964), 194-203. A partial listing is given of the varying quantities and topics of leaflets dropped against Nazi Germany in Western Europe by the British at each successive stage of military operations subsequent to Allied invasion of Europe.

65. Reguly, Robert J. "The Gimmicks of War." **THE NATION**, 200 (Mar 29, 1965), 333-336. In a commentary on "Exercise Polar Strike," a joint U.S.-Canadian military exercise conducted in Alaska in Feb 1965, mock brainwashing measures, and air drops of leaflets are described.
66. Robbs, P. H. "Murzansk, North Russia," **THE FALLING LEAF**, 5 (Dec 1964), 193, 202-203. A Russian propaganda leaflet directed against German sailors in World War II and emphasizing the futility of German U-boat warfare is unusual because of its acknowledgement of the significant contribution of Allied sea power toward the eastern front.
67. Szulc, Tad. "Dominican Resentment," **THE NEW YORK TIMES**, 114 (May 11, 1965), 20. Contending that the U.S. is indirectly aiding the Communists and promoting anti-American feeling by identifying itself with the new Dominican national council, the author describes and evaluates USIA, U.S. Air Force and Army psyops in the Dominican crisis.
68. Szulc, Tad. "Red Raids Recall Infiltration Aim," **THE NEW YORK TIMES**, (Feb 12, 1965), 12. The author, citing Viet Cong "troop proselytizing campaign" launched against S. Vietnamese Army in Sept 1964, explores Communist infiltration as a possible reason for success of Viet Cong attacks against U.S. installations at Pleiku and Quinhon.
69. Thornton, Thomas Perry. "Terror as a Weapon of Political Agitation," in **INTERNAL WAR: Problems and Approaches**, ed. Harry Eckstein. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964. pp. 71-99. In a theoretical discussion, the author analyzes the uses of terrorism at each stage of insurgency to secure maximum psychopolitical effect.

Psyops Techniques

Manipulative Methods, Approaches, Devices

70. "Chinese Expelled from Burundi After Assassination," **COMMUNIST AFFAIRS**, 3 (Jan -Feb 1965), 21-22. By the time of their expulsion, which followed upon the assassination of the Burundi prime minister in Jan 1965, the Chinese Communists in Burundi had freely distributed bribes and formed front groups in the Tutsi tribe.

71. Leoni, (Lt Col) Luis Alberto. "Letters to the Peasants," **MILITARY REVIEW**, 45 (Jan 1965), 17-19. Ill. Dissemination of carefully-prepared letters, with a limited vocabulary expressing the themes of everyday problems and relationships and addressed to peasants, is a special propaganda technique recently developed by the Communists in Latin America.

72. Searls, Guy. "Peking Pounds Beatles," **THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR**, (June 24, 1964), 1. The Chinese are attempting, with limited success, to convert Beatle-like emulation of romantic figures from traditional Chinese plays and operas into enthusiasm for modern plays dramatizing the themes of "socialist realism."

73. Topping, Seymour. "Peking's Propaganda Reflects Close Study of Opinion in U. S.," **THE NEW YORK TIMES**, 114 (Apr 24, 1965), 2. Distorted emphasis on a call for volunteers for Vietnam in a summary of a declaration by the National People's Congress is an example how Peking's propaganda is tailored to exploit fear of war in the U.S.

Themes, Slogans, Appeals, Symbols

74. "Anti-U.S. Campaign in U.S.S.R. Intensified," **COMMUNIST AFFAIRS**, 3 (Jan-Feb 1965), 16. The post-Khrushchev period in the U.S.S.R. has been marked by mounting anti-U.S. and anti-German propaganda. Author believes that U.S. moderation toward recent demonstrations at its embassies is viewed by Communists as a sign of weakness.
75. "Chicom International Affairs," **FBIS DAILY REPORT: Far East**, (Mar 23, 1965), BBB1-BBB25. Mass demonstrations in Communist China protesting U.S. aggression in Vietnam are described, including propaganda themes and groups which participated.
76. "Cypriot Press Unleashes Anti-Soviet Campaign," **FBIS DAILY REPORT: Middle East, Africa, and West Europe**, (Jan 28, 1965), K2-3. Because the Soviet Union now favors a federal system for Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot press has begun an anti-Soviet campaign and has stopped its anti-Turk propaganda due to fear of Turkish intervention.
77. Hughes, John. "Hanoi Aims Plea at U.S.," **THE (Boston) CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR**, 57 (Mar 20, 1965), 4. In a major propaganda effort, women leaders in N. Vietnam appealed in an open letter to American women to end the war in Vietnam. Other possible Viet Cong psywar tactics are also discussed.

78. "Iraq," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Middle East, Africa & West Europe, (Mar 30, 1965), cl-c2. Information is given on the sit-in staged at the Moroccan Embassy in Baghdad by Moroccan students studying in Iraq. The issue involved protests against maltreatment of students in Morocco.
79. "Japan," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Far East, (Mar 31, 1965), qqql-2. Ten major propaganda slogans issued by the Japanese Communist Party for use during the Upper House elections in Japan are listed. See p qqql.
80. Langguth, Jack. "Saigon Catholics Contend Regime Is Easy on Reds," THE NEW YORK TIMES, 114 (May 10, 1965), 1, 14. A new Catholic group, the Greater Unity Force, issued a strong resolution calling for "invading and holding" N. Vietnam, this action being viewed as further evidence that Vietnam Catholics suspect the motives of the Quat govt.
81. Pollard, Francis C. "Green Beret 'Repugnant'," THE JOURNAL OF THE ARMED FORCES, 102 (Feb 6, 1965), 10. In a letter to the editor, a Commander, U.S. Coast Guard (Ret.), maintains that the green beret and other marks of distinction of the U.S. Army Special Forces personnel, are repugnant to regular troops and against U.S. Army traditions.
82. Rowe, David Nelson. "Korea 1965," NATIONAL REVIEW, 17 (Mar 9, 1965), 184. Communist propaganda, through agents and literature smuggled in from N. Korea, exploits the S. Korean desire for unification by claiming that U.S. policy toward Korea represents the permanent division of that country.

83. Scott, Richard. "Vietnam Gas 'Propaganda Gift to Communists'," THE (Manchester) GUARDIAN, (Mar 25, 1965), 11. Despite the non-lethal nature of the gas being used by the U.S. in S. Vietnam, the psychological revulsion of "ordinary people everywhere" has placed the U.S. in an awkward position and has handed the Communists another psywar weapon.
84. U.S. Army. BAVPAC, Hq. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS RESEARCH REPORT NUMBER NINE. Mimeo. May 28, 1963. 26pp. Maps, charts. In Section IV of a resume of the issue of repatriation of Koreans from Japan, there is a description of propaganda activities of and themes used by the N. Korean Govt to induce Koreans in Japan to emigrate to N. Korea.
85. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE FAR EAST: 1963. (R-63-64). Washington: USIA, July 8, 1964. iv, 50pp. Mimeo. The Communist bloc propaganda offensive in this region was dominated by the Sino-Soviet rift, as each side sought to extend its influence over local Communist parties.
86. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION TO THE CONGO RESCUE MISSION. (R-187-64). Washington: USIA, 1964. 1, 27pp. Angry outcries of "imperialism" from the African, Asian, and Communist media contrasted with the emphasis on the humanitarian nature of the operation in the European and Latin American press.
87. Willetts, Harry. "De-opiating the Masses," PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, 13 (Nov-Dec 1964), 32-41. Ill. A recognized expert on the U.S.S.R. examines current Soviet anti-religious propaganda and policies to reveal how its campaign has reached new heights of intensity and sophistication within the last few years.

See also items 20, 41, 53, 55, 63, 98,
108, 116, 127, 131

Counterpropaganda

88. Hanna, Willard A. "The Importance of Being Afro-Asian," AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES FIELD STAFF REPORTS: Southeast Asia Series, 12 (Dec 1964), 903-20. To counter Indonesian suspicions and pretensions, Malaysia is attempting with some success to identify itself with "Afro-Asianism": non-alignment, anti-colonialism, revolution, and national identity.
89. Hughes, John. "Reds Aim at Thai 'Soft Spot'," THE (Boston) CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 57 (May 6, 1965), 1, 6. The author, in listing the advantages and disadvantages of each side, evaluates the Thai Govt's chances of successfully combating Communist subversion and propaganda in NE Thailand before it reverts to insurgency.
90. "When Buddhists Cry Wolf," THE ECONOMIST, (Jan 16, 1965), 205-6. Several new newspapers launched in S. Vietnam to counter Buddhist propaganda activities is evidence that Buddhist political agitation has fallen into disfavor with the U.S. govt and the Vietnamese people.

See also items 43, 58, 61, 125, 129

Mass Indoctrination and Brainwashing

91. Ashdown, John. "China's Nursed Grudges," FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, 63 (Apr 22, 1965), 208-09. The author analyzes the motives behind Communist China's current socialist education campaign aimed at the new middle class and concludes that if this new class fails to acquire a "bitterness" toward past mistakes, sterner means will be adopted.
92. "Chinese Communist Rectification Campaign In Full Swing," FREE CHINA AND ASIA, 12 (Feb 1965), 12-15. The current Chinese Communist rectification campaign to eradicate "undesirable tendencies," especially among the peasants and party cadres in the communes, has been unsuccessful. Information is provided on themes and indoctrination techniques.
93. Cohen, Arthur A. THE COMMUNISM OF MAO TSE-TUNG. Chicago: Univ of Chicago Press, 1964. 210pp, Ind. Except for his strategy of guerilla warfare, author belittles Mao's contribution to Communist thought. The sections on the "paper tiger" concept(pp.59-71) and the brainwashing of Chinese businessmen(pp.126-136) are pertinent.
94. Johnson, Chalmers. "How Sharp Are the Dragon's Claws?" THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, 114 (Feb 28, 1965), pp. 22,85-87. In an evaluation of the ability of the Chinese Communist Army to conduct and sustain a full-scale war, the author briefly examines the emphasis given to "political education" in its military training program.

95. **"People in Free Areas Step Up Victory Moves,"** FBIS DAILY REPORT: Far East, (Feb 26, 1965), kkk4. The mass education activities of the Education Committee of the National Liberation Front in the "liberated" province of Binh Thuan in S. Vietnam are described.
96. Powell, Ralph L. "Commissars in the Economy," ASIAN SURVEY, 5 (Mar 1965), 125-138. The author discusses the implications of a major propaganda campaign launched by the Communist Chinese early in 1964 in which the people in general and economic ministries in particular, were directed to emulate the "advanced" ideological work of the Chinese Army.
97. Rose, Jerry A. "How Strong Is China's Army," THE REPORTER, 32 (Mar 11, 1965), 23-25. In addition to a higher degree of technical proficiency and military professionalism, the intense political indoctrination in its Armed Forces is a major source of Chinese Communist military strength.

See also items 7, 65

Media and Support

Printed Matter:
Newspapers, Books, Leaflets

98. Brunn, Robert R. "Revolt Takeover: Cast Studied," THE (Boston) CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 57 (May 7, 1965), 1, 5. The extent of Communist involvement in the Dominican Republic rebellion is explained, giving names and positions of Communist leaders, describing their terroristic activities and propaganda leaflets containing anti-U.S. themes.

99. "Nationalist China," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Far East, (May 13, 1965), eee1. In documenting the claim that anti-Communist activities on the Chinese mainland are increasing, mention is made of distribution of pamphlets in Huiyang in Kwangtung Province and the burning of propaganda materials by Tibetans.
100. Romerstein, Herbert. "American Friends of the Vietcong," NATIONAL REVIEW, 17 (Apr 6, 1965), 278-79. The author conducts a detailed survey of the tangled web of front groups and individuals in the U.S. and their extensive propaganda activities on behalf of the Viet Cong, including demonstrations, speeches, pamphlets, and films.
101. "South Vietnam," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Far East. (Mar 16, 1965), kkk1-10. On p. kkk6, brief mention is made of leaflets with anti-U.S. themes. These leaflets were circulated in Saigon and nearby Gia Dinh in Feb by Viet Cong front organizations.
102. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. AFGHANISTAN: A Communications Fact Book. (R-179-64). Washington: Nov 12, 1964. ii, 22pp. Mimeo. Map, tables. A review of Afghanistan's government controlled media shows that radio is the most highly developed. Informal channels still retain their ancient importance.
103. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. ARABIAN PENINSULA: A Communications Fact Book. (R-156-64). Washington: USIA, Oct 15, 1964. ii, 50 pp. Mimeo. Tables. Modern communications media are making inroads against the religious traditionalism of the Muslims with a high rate of development in such areas as Kuwait and Aden.

104. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. **COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN LATIN AMERICA: 1963.** (R-200-64). Washington: 21 Dec 1964. v, 49 pp. Mimeo. Charts. Communist Chinese, Russian, and Cuban propaganda activities in Latin America, 1963, are summarized and evaluated.
105. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. **COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA: 1963.** (R-162-64). Washington: USIA, Oct 20, 1964. v, 102pp. Mimeo. Tables. Communist propaganda strategy, themes, and media of dissemination are comprehensively reviewed on a country-by-country basis.
106. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. **IRAQ: A Communications Fact Book.** (R-1-65). Washington: USIA, Jan, 1965. iv, 24pp. Mimeo. Map, tables. Essential data is given on extent of development and influence of mass media in Iraq. A high illiteracy rate and popular suspicions of govt control limits their effectiveness.
107. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. **SELECTED COMMUNIST FOREIGN LANGUAGE PERIODICALS: 1963.** (R-67-64). Washington: USIA, May 25, 1964. i, 25pp. Mimeo. An extensive list is given of Communist publications with information on circulation promotion techniques and target groups. Soviet anti-Chinese magazines are also noted.
108. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. **SELECTED COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA: 1962.** (R-61-63 (AN)). Washington: USIA, Apr 8, 1963. ii, 101 pp. Mimeo. App., tables. A comprehensive survey of Communist activities indicates several local successes though overall efforts showed decreased effectiveness.

109. U.S. Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. SYRIA: A Communications Fact Book. (R-181-64). Washington: Nov 1964. iii, 35pp. Mimeo Map, tables. Syria's media are relatively well developed, especially radio, but govt censorship policies and political and social cleavages result in a heavy dependence on oral communication.

See also items 5, 11, 12, 18, 29, 53, 57, 60, 64-66, 85, 90

Radio, TV, Loudspeakers

110. "Moscow Inaugurates Broadcasts in Quechua," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Latin America, (Jan 8, 1965), cccc 1. Radio Moscow has begun broadcasting twice weekly in Quechua to the Indian populations of Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and northern Argentina.

111. "South Vietnam," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Far East, (Mar 15, 1965), kkk1-10. On pp. kkk5-7 there is a description of activities of village "K" in N. Vietnam in support of the govt's current military enlistment drive; festivals, social action cells, loudspeakers, and colored pennants with slogans.

See also items 5, 11, 12, 18, 29, 40, 57, 102-106, 108, 109

Films, Displays

112. "North Vietnam," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Far East, (Mar 25, 1965), JJJ1-jjj25. "Documentary" films being shown in N. Vietnam include the Soviet film, "The Young Woman Rider," and the Chinese film, "Never Forget." The films aid drive to boost production and increase combat readiness. See p jjj25.

See also items 5, 53, 85, 100, 102-106, 108-109

Informal Media:

Word-of-Mouth, Front Organizations
Rumors, Lectures, Plays, Speeches

113. "Albania," FBIS DAILY REPORT: USSR & Eastern Europe, (May 10, 1965), mml-mm2. N. Vietnamese students studying at Leningrad Univ attempted to organize a protest meeting and plan demonstrations against U.S. military actions in Vietnam but they were brutally suppressed by the Soviet authorities.
114. Altbach, Philip G. "Youth Meets in Moscow," PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, 13 (Nov-Dec 1964), 64-67. An observer at the World Youth Forum in Sept 1964 notes that, while the U.S.S.R. was victorious gaining adoption of its ideological position by Communist youth groups, the Asians' and Africans' attraction for the Chinese position was undeniable.

115. "Argentina," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Latin America, (May 13, 1965), bbbbl-2. OFLUSE. Demonstrations sponsored by leftist groups in Buenos Aires, Cordeba, and Rosario, accompanied by terrorism, protested U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic.
116. "Bulgaria," FBIS DAILY REPORT: USSR & East Europe, (Mar 23, 1965), KK1-kk3. A description is given of the session of the International Christian Organization for the Defense of Peace held in Sofia, Bulgaria from 2 to 5 Mar 1965. Propaganda themes included cessation of the war in Vietnam and Nazi crimes.
117. "Chicom International Affairs," FBIS DAILY REPCRT: Far East, (Mar 22, 1965), BBB1-bbb20. On pp. BBB5-BBB11, summaries are given of various speeches, rallies, and parades in Communist China denouncing alleged U.S. "aggression" in S. Vietnam.
118. Communist China's International Affairs," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Far East, (May 18, 1965), BBB1-bbb22. Latin American, Asian, and African students were suppressed by terroristic methods by Yugoslav police while they were demonstrating in Belgrade against U.S. "aggression" in the Dominican Republic.
119. DeTaubinger, Laszlo and Stella Musulin. "Two Communist Fronts at Work," NATIONAL REVIEW, 17 (Apr 20, 1965), 328. Planned front conferences, festivals, mass demonstrations, and propaganda themes for 1965 of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Union of Students are listed.

120. "International Communist Front Conferences," **COMMUNIST AFFAIRS**, 2 (Nov-Dec 1964), 11. Current activities and objectives of Communist international front groups are catalogued. Additional evidence of the Sino-Soviet rift is given; the Chinese appear to be gaining support among Africans and Latin Americans.
121. Van der Kroef, Justus M. "Indonesian Communism's Cultural Offensive," **AUSTRALIAN OUTLOOK**, 18 (Apr 1964), 4C-61. The author discusses Indonesian Communist Party activities among cultural groups and concludes that the Party's strategy of "national democracy" is effective under the radical nationalism of the Indonesian Govt.
122. Morton, Ward M. **CASTRO AS CHARISMATIC HERO**. Lawrence, Kan.: Center of Latin American Studies, 1965. 30pp. Notes. Citing Max Weber's definition, the author contends that Castro is an embodiment of the "charismatic hero." He bases the success of the Cuban revolution and Castro's control of the Cuban people on this.
123. "Nicaragua," **FBIS DAILY REPORT: Latin America**, (May 10, 1965), qqqq1. Information is furnished on the formation and initial activities of the United Front of Nicaraguan Youth, composed of revolutionary groups protesting U.S. military intervention in the Dominican Republic.
124. "Pakistan & Afghanistan," **FBIS DAILY REPORT: Middle East, Africa & West Europe**, (May 12, 1965), 01-02. Mass demonstrations by Kashmiris in Kashmir, Pakistan, and Great Britain protested Indian Govt reprisals against the agitation of the "freedom movement" in Kashmir.

125. "South Vietnam," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Far East, (Mar 24, 1965), KKK1-KKK17. On p. KKK13, Liberation Radio, broadcasting to S. Vietnam, assays prospects for the success of the peace movement in S. Vietnam, claiming that govt countermeasures are ineffective and that the peace movement of Quang Lien is counterfeit.
126. Steck, Henry J. "The Re-emergence of Ideological Politics in Great Britain: The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament," WESTERN POLITICAL QUARTERLY, 18 (Mar 1965), 87-103. The author traces the political and social causes of the growth since 1957 of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Great Britain—the "ban the bomb" movement.
127. "Syria," FBIS DAILY REPORT: Middle East, Africa & West Europe, (Mar 22, 1965), G1-g2. A statement issued by the Syrian Peasants General Federation and demonstrations by students, workers, and peasants in Latakia protested Bourguiba's conciliatory statements on the Palestine issue.
128. Wilhelm, Bernhard. "The Australian 'Peace' Front," COMMUNIST AFFAIRS, 2 (Nov-Dec 1964), 9-12. The proceedings of the Australian Congress for international Cooperation and Disarmament in Oct 1964 illustrate the thesis that "non-Communists always lose by entering a united front, for any purpose whatsoever, with Communists."

See also items 16, 18, 26, 29, 100-106, 108, 109, 111

Psyops Analysis

Evaluation

129. "Orthodox Observance and New Soviet Rites in Alma-Ata Oblast," **CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW**, 13 (Jan-Mar 1965), 61-68. The text and analysis of a survey by V. Chernyak written for the Kazakh Academy of Sciences reveals the extent of religious practice in Kazakhstan and Soviet counterpropaganda, e.g., staging elaborate state weddings.

See also items 20, 54, 56, 82-85, 108, 128

Recommendations

130. Hughes, John. "Tips for Vietnam Fight." **THE (Boston) CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR**, 57 (Feb 26, 1965), 1,6. According to British and Malay counter guerrilla experts, the U.S. must adopt a civilian approach to administration, propaganda, and civic action to win the psychological war for the hearts and minds of the S. Vietnamese People.
131. Oka, Takashi. "Peace Slogans: Vietnam Weapons," **THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR**, (Mar 3, 1965), 1. An intelligent propaganda counteroffensive by the S. Vietnamese govt, using the Communist's own peace slogans, would place the onus for obstructing peace with the Viet Cong and N. Vietnam.

PART II: HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

Early Experiences

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