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Submitted by TYLER
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SUB-COMMITTEE ON PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

Tuesday, October 1, 1946

Notes on the terms, Political and Psychological Warfare

1. Although the terms "political warfare" and "psychological warfare" have been loosely used by scholars and public officials, it is agreed that the following definitions will be used for purposes of planning policies and organization:

a) Political Warfare is the use of all political means to influence a foreign State to act in conformity with the requirements of our foreign policy. Political warfare is a part of our foreign policy, and can be waged at any time that the national interest requires it. Any means short of war, including economic pressure and bargaining, information and propaganda, can be used to achieve its objectives. It continues in time of war as in times of de jure peace, and at all times must be consistent with our foreign policy.

b) Psychological Warfare is the planned use of any means specifically designed to influence the thought, morale, or behavior of a given foreign group in such a way as to favor the accomplishment of the military, strategic, or national aims of the United States. Political warfare as defined above thus forms a part of the whole concept: psychological warfare. Psychological warfare usually appears as a wartime expansion of political warfare, ~~adding the~~ including elements of combat propaganda, subversion, [deception,] and black operations. It is of paramount necessity to coordinate psychological warfare with all other types of military operations, and to

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continue throughout, political control of all its aspects which impinge on our foreign policy by their political implications.

2. The four instruments for making national policy effective in the international field consist of (1) diplomacy (negotiation and bargaining among governmental representatives), (2) economic bargaining and pressure, (3) the threat or employment of military force, and (4) information and propaganda. Information and propaganda must be applied in conjunction with action in the other three fields, for maximum effect.

3. Maximum effectiveness in the management of our foreign relations can only be achieved if all four instruments are used in a planned and coordinated fashion. It is necessary for those persons in charge of planning, coordination, and execution to be keenly aware of the capabilities and ~~potentialities~~ limitations of the various techniques offered by all four elements.

4. The State Department is responsible for the planning and policy control of the execution of all phases of our foreign policy. The Department has recently established an Office of International Information and is conducting a program of world-wide information and cultural relations which could serve as an agency to execute many aspects of a program of political warfare, if one is required by our national policy. Other arms of the Department are similarly in a position to execute other aspects. The Department has absorbed many persons who were active in the political and psychological warfare programs executed during the last War, and thus has acquired a good deal of the available know-how concerning the use and coordination of propaganda with other instruments of foreign policy. Hence there is a strong case for centralizing the

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organization to plan for political warfare in the Department.

5. Since psychological warfare as here defined is seen to contain aspects important in both the political and military fields, and which require coordination with other political, economic, and military functions, it is advisable to establish a subcommittee of SWNCC to deal with inter-departmental questions.

This subcommittee should ensure the means whereby the State Department maintains control over the political aspects of psychological warfare, while the War and Navy Departments maintain control over its military aspects.

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