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COPY NO. 43

PSB D-33/2
May 5, 1953

PSYCHOLOGICAL STRATEGY BOARD
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STRATEGY BOARD:

SUBJECT: The U.S. Doctrinal Program, PSB D-33/2, May 5, 1953

The attached draft of the U.S. Doctrinal Program is circulated for vote slip action at your earliest convenience. This paper was prepared and unanimously approved by a PSB Panel established by the Board at its Fifteenth Meeting on September 11, 1952, to study the problem of "doctrinal warfare," specifically as directed against Soviet doctrine, and to make recommendations for U.S. action.

Annex "B" will receive special handling and limited distribution in accordance with the wishes of the member agency principally concerned.

George A. Morgan
Acting Director

Enclosure:
PSB D-33/2, "U.S. Doctrinal Program", May 5, 1953,
COPY NO. 43

DIA review(s) completed.
NSC review(s) completed.

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COPY NO. 43

PSB D-33/2
May 5, 1953

PSYCHOLOGICAL STRATEGY BOARD
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

U.S. DOCTRINAL PROGRAM

(FOR BOARD APPROVAL)

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PSB D-33/2
May 5, 1953

U.S. DOCTRINAL PROGRAM

Summary Statement of the Problem: This U.S. doctrinal program is a belated effort--35 years late--to meet the Soviet influences in the doctrinal field. It has been assumed that Communism has its greatest appeal to the underprivileged and to the hungry masses. However, Communism breeds less in empty bellies than in empty minds. Communism has effectively appealed to thought leaders and has been able to increase its international influence because it has not had intelligent, consistent and extensive refutation. Stalin's death and the end of the personalized apostolic succession of Marx-Lenin-Stalin make it most appropriate now that the U.S. undertake a doctrinal program with clarity, determination and energy. An aggressive doctrinal program cannot increase the threat of war.

1. Psychological Objectives for a U.S. Doctrinal Program

(a) In its short-range activities, the doctrinal program (as defined and justified in Annex "A") will seek to achieve the following results:

(1) to create confusion, doubts and loss of confidence in the accepted thought patterns of convinced Communists, captive careerists, including the military and managerial groups, and people otherwise under Communist influence.

(2) to pave the way for multiple deviations from and schisms in totalitarian thought patterns by stimulating intellectual curiosity and free thought on political, scientific and economic subjects.

(3) to weaken objectively the intellectual appeal of neutralism and to predispose its adherents towards the spirit of the West.

(b) In its medium-range activities, the doctrinal program will seek, by providing a permanent literature and by fostering a long-term intellectual movement, to:

(1) break down world-wide doctrinaire thought patterns which

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have provided a fertile intellectual basis for Communist and other doctrines hostile to American objectives.

(2) foster a world-wide sympathetic acceptance by free men of the free mind as one solution for the world's problems.

(c) As its long-range objective, the U.S. doctrinal program will, based on the accomplishments of the short- and medium-range activities, predispose young, as well as developed, minds against any new versions of Communism or other totalitarian doctrines, and encourage universal acceptance of the philosophy and spirit of the Free World.

3. Basic Principles (developed in Annex "A", pp. 20-22)

(a) To be effective, this U.S. doctrinal program requires the interdepartmental development of:

(1) a long-range objective intellectual activity aimed at influencing the developed minds in all areas (See: Proposal I).

(2) provocative and stimulating doctrinal materials, in all fields of human thought and interests which critically and effectively analyze Communism and hostile doctrines, as well as the American philosophy.

(3) new and improved distribution mechanisms for permanent literature, not only American (See Proposal II) but also foreign materials, and other carriers of doctrinal materials.

(4) the positive aspects of the American philosophy, as well as the attack of hostile doctrines.

(b) Detailed government control over the production of most overt doctrinal material, which is repressive to creative thought, will be reduced to the minimum. Control over the production of other materials must be flexible and not restrictive.

(c) Any U. S. doctrinal program sufficient to forward substantially the goals set forth in this paper requires budgetary allocation of new funds,

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not merely a shift in current emphases.

4. Summarized Basic Tasks

(a) This doctrinal program is not the "propagandizing" of the American people, but it is the practical effort to develop materials which will be acceptable to the world market and which, in their entirety, or with minor modifications, can be widely distributed with expectation that they will have a doctrinal impact.

(b) The following planning tasks are not listed in order of priority. They indicate to the participating departments and agencies what will be included in their implementing doctrinal plans. These tasks are only the minimum activities to be undertaken in their implementing plans:

(c) Department of State (and/or the agency inheriting the information program)

(1) All facilities will be employed, as feasible, to support and further this doctrinal program. e.g.,

(a) increase the doctrinal aspects of information work:

(1) VOA to increase doctrinal inclusions, particularly for publicizing and promoting interest.

(2) increased documentation and basic interpretations in periodicals, particularly native language journal:

(3) extensively increased book programs, e.g., Franklin Publications, Inc., and Arlington Press.

(4) increased doctrinal emphasis in the Exchange of Persons Program.

(5) promoting American publications through USIS libraries.

(b) Cultural and commercial attaches, and mission chiefs will foster increased markets for American publications.

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(c) Explore with a view to administering a book distribution guarantee program (See Proposal II) and attempt by all means to increase the distribution of American books.

(d) Overseas personnel will cooperate in and with local doctrinal activities, which support or parallel American objectives. Overseas personnel could give lectures, provide publications and insure local contacts with equivalent American institutions.

(e) Defectors and escapees will be exploited for doctrinal purposes.

(f) Doctrinal developments will be regularly reported and analyzed by all foreign missions.

(d) Central Intelligence Agency

The Agency will give high and continuing priority to all activities supporting the objectives of this program. (CIA's basic tasks are presented in a separate annex "B" of limited distribution).

(e) Department of Defense

(1) All facilities will be employed, as feasible, to support and further this doctrinal program, e.g.,

(a) Doctrinal background will be given in all service schools for officers and enlisted personnel. Organizations and units will be provided doctrinal materials through I&E activity.

(b) Troop recreational libraries, armed forces editions and soldiers' publications, from the comic to the tome, will include doctrinal matters.

(c) Each service will incorporate doctrinal aspects into its strategic and tactical planning in the psychological

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warfare field. Corollary military activities, e.g., escape and evasion, and protective indoctrination in case of capture, will employ doctrinal materials.

(d) American POW camps, in recreational, informational and educational work, will incorporate doctrinal materials.

(e) Planning for occupied areas will recognize and take steps to incorporate doctrinal aspects into its planning and training.

(f) Armed forces network will include doctrinal developments to stimulate its major, and its "spill-over" audiences to read doctrinal books.

(g) Doctrinal materials will be made available to military chaplains for such use as they consider appropriate.

(h) Orientation materials for American troops in foreign overseas stations will contain doctrinal materials which are suitable for circulation among foreign audiences.

(i) Speeches and addresses by service and departmental officials will exploit doctrinal aspects.

(j) Technical military magazines will be encouraged to carry material of a doctrinal character.

(k) The Research and Development Board, or its possible successor, will study the development of operational equipment specifically required for doctrinal operations.

(f) Other Departments and Agencies

(1) Policy and information planners in the other federal agencies will be advised of the U.S. doctrinal program and its relationship to their primarily domestic activity, i.e., policy recommendations and regularly published brochures and reports

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could have important doctrinal value overseas.

5. General Guidance

(a) New and stimulating ideas, even contradictory ideas, have self-generative powers and are desired.

(b) Delays are crippling. There is a premium on swift and positive action to galvanize the creation and distribution of ideas and a permanent literature.

(c) Doctrinal production is not limited to political and philosophical analyses. All fields of intellectual and cultural interests, from anthropology and artistic creations to sociology and scientific methodology, come within the gamut of the doctrinal program.

(d) The American doctrinal program is not limited to American materials. Foreign production and activity, consistent with our doctrinal objectives, will be fostered, promoted and distributed. Acceptability to Western philosophy of life, and not strict American ideas, will be the criteria of selecting non-American materials.

6. Administrative Provisions

(a) Coordination of the U.S. Doctrinal Program

So that the U.S. doctrinal program may be initiated immediately, pending the establishment of the permanent organization for the American psychological effort, the Director of PSB will be responsible for the initial coordination of the member agencies' implementation of this doctrinal program. When the pending reorganization of informational and psychological activities has been directed, he will prepare a detailed recommendation to the PSB, or its responsible successor, for the permanent coordination and implementation of this doctrinal program.

(b) Evaluation of the U.S. Doctrinal Program

The Office of Evaluation and Review, during the first year of

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the doctrinal effort, will undertake the analysis of methodology required to make an adequate evaluation and review of the U.S. doctrinal program. An over-all evaluation and review will be made on a yearly basis, with the expectation that if the Office of Evaluation and Review notices significant trends, whether favorable or unfavorable, it will immediately develop a special evaluation and review to so inform the Board.

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SECURITY INFORMATION
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PROPOSAL I
PSB D-33/2
May 5, 1953

PROPOSAL I

INTERNATIONAL DOCTRINAL INSTITUTE

1. The production of effective materials for a U.S. doctrinal program requires:

(a) systematic, thorough and scientific analyses of Communism and other hostile doctrines, the proper collation of these analyses, and, if possible, their distribution.

(b) a planned, consistent and continuing production of objective scholarly studies emphasizing the contradictions, inconsistencies and vulnerabilities of Communism.

(c) a continuing cadre of doctrinal experts who can not only spot variations in hostile doctrines but who can rapidly publish devastating documentary rebuttals.

(d) a doctrinal servicing center where foreign scholars can be educated so that they will later produce doctrinal materials on return to their native lands, and where the basic doctrinal materials are available in readily accessible form, to assist scholars and writers.

(e) a center which will be informed of, and become the focal point for, doctrinal developments: publications, seminars, forums, lecture series, whether in U.S. or overseas and which can stimulate and foster increased emphasis on doctrinal activity.

2. It is the panel's considered view that these five requisites can most economically, effectively and efficiently be provided, outside the normal pattern of government machinery, by providing for the subsidizing of a special scholarly effort in an existing university institute. This special institute could be financed on a long-range basis through a budgetary transfer to the National Science Foundation. In view of the current uncertainty of the American psychological organization, the panel can not now

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make a recommendation as to whether one member agency or the Board should provide the funds necessary to establish this institute. The National Science Foundation (NSF) is proposed as a medium because it pro-rates funds over several years since its activities are not restricted by fiscal years. NSF has a tradition for dealing with universities which would make the establishment of a doctrinal institute easier and more effective. Private foundations would continue such an institute after its reputation was established.

3. It is visualized that this doctrinal institute would consist of a relatively small group of specialists, American and foreign, in doctrinal and, particularly Communist, matters. Under a Director, these specialists would as their first major function, develop the complete analysis of Communist doctrine. In this effort, they would collect analyses already in existence and fill the gaps, not merely from Russian publications, but from all Communist output throughout the world. Through conferences and seminars at the institute, Communist techniques throughout the world would be classified and compared. This systematic analysis, after collation and organization, would provide the basic material for the U.S.doctrinal program against Communism. In mimeographed form, these analyses could be sent to deposit libraries and to centers of regional studies, so that they would be more readily available to doctrinal students and to protect the doctrinal program, if the institute might be destroyed.

4. While the analysis was in process, and definitely after the Communist material had been thoroughly analyzed, the staff would be expected to produce objective studies based on the collated raw materials. Not all objective production would be limited to institute personnel. The Institute Director, aided by his staff, would know outside specialists who could be provided with the collected doctrinal materials on a particular feature of Communist doctrine. This specialist would then produce his own manuscript, independent of the institute and its Director. Stress would be

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put on the development of manuscripts for those aspects of Communist doctrine which had not already been thoroughly covered. The manuscripts produced for the doctrinal program would be of a character that they could be commercially published and sold on the open market. To insure that these publications received the greater prestige of valid academic work, they might be published as a special series of university publications. These publications would be expected to maintain the highest standards of scholarly objectivity and at the same time, they should be so readable that they would be widely salable, not only on the domestic market, but also in the foreign market.

5. In addition to the analytical research and the manuscript production work, the institute's staff would maintain a light teaching schedule in the doctrinal field. In this way, they would maintain the spirit and value of academic environment. Most importantly, these specialists could thereby train Americans and visiting foreign students in doctrinal problems and thereby increase the number of capable and productive specialists on anti-Communist doctrine.

6. The institute would also develop and nurture American and international scholarly contacts which would provide useful information for exploitation under the doctrinal program. An annual prize ($300.00) with publication in the institute's series would provide the institute with knowledge of manuscripts usable in the over-all doctrinal program. Such contacts would enable the institute to foster doctrinal seminars, forums and conferences, both national and international in character, in foreign lands. Such gatherings and particularly the publicity about them would increase the attention upon doctrinal developments.

7. A key factor in the success of the doctrinal institute is the Director. He provides the inspiration, as well as the control, for the production of overt doctrinal materials. The Director, who would have to

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be approved by the coordination mechanism for this doctrinal program, should possess the following qualifications:

(a) widely accepted reputation as a sound, productive scholar.

(b) interest and imagination related to the field of doctrine.

(c) fair administrative ability, without tendencies to "empire building".

(d) receptive to guidance, but willing to accept major responsibility.

(e) deep knowledge of, and ability to push through, objective doctrinal output.

(f) capable of the highest security clearances from all member agencies.

Through the Director, the following controls would be maintained over the program of doctrinal production:

(a) institute's program would be worked out in detail prior to staffing and be cleared through the coordination mechanism for this program.

(b) unsatisfactory materials developed at the institute would not be circulated and not be published in institute series.

(c) proposed distribution machinery for doctrinal program would not be employed for overseas circulation of unsatisfactory publications.

The Director would not only be expected to be guided by the coordination mechanism for this program, but he would be expected to keep the coordinators informed of major developments of a doctrinal nature, so that effective advantage can be taken of such developments. He would indicate when important contributions to the doctrinal program should be started or would appear. He would interest and attract other scholars to use institute research and facilities to produce their own doctrinal achievements. He would recommend, or on request, assist in, the production of a provocative or controversial contribution to the doctrinal program, which would not be

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attributed to the institute. While the Director of the institute is so important, and his qualifications difficult to fulfill, it is not impossible to find the necessary capable individual who can make a major success of this proposal.

8. Financial estimates for the institute can only be approximations. While the institute would have a small faculty, it would seek the outstanding specialists, who would require a respectable honorarium. The panel, after discussions of the cost factor, cannot reliably estimate the amount of money ultimately required, but for a program of five years' duration, an allocation of about $1,000,000 would get this effort underway.[1] After five years, the increased enrollment of students at the institute, the profit from its publication program, and grants and gifts from various American foundations (Ford, Rockefeller, etc.) and university benefactors, might be expected to maintain the institute on a basis independent of subsequent government grants. This development is necessarily speculative, but it has reasonable grounds for policy acceptance. The analysis of doctrines hostile to the U.S. certainly will have been accomplished within the period of full government subsidy. The available analyses will provide a continuing impetus for private production of doctrinal studies. A five-year period will also give a fair indication of the possibilities of this institute developing into a self-maintaining institution.

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[1] An interesting comparison to this estimate is found in the fact that each of America's three largest automotive companies annually provides three times that amount merely for the publications aspects of their much broader advertising effort.

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PROPOSAL II
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May 5, 1953

PROPOSAL II

INCREASED COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN BOOKS:
A BOOK DISTRIBUTION GUARANTEE

1. Outside the United States, the book is considered as a window to the national soul. Hence European publishers and governments foster the foreign distribution and sale of books as an important profitable subsidiary to the domestic national market. Most American publishers are unconcerned with the foreign market, and few American books are extensively distributed abroad through commercial channels. Hence America is not made known to an important audience.

2. Factors which have militated against greater commercial distribution of American books overseas are:

(a) indifference of most publishers to the audience potential of the overseas market; American costs are pro-rated on domestic consumption.

(b) American books priced for the American market are out of the price range for overseas markets, except for technical works which are required by the foreigners.

(c) use of foreign distributing agents who push the books of their own country rather than American books.

(d) little overseas promotional activity which has built up the domestic market.

(e) currency exchange problems which have been mitigated by State's currency exchange guarantee.

3. Commercial distribution of American books is a normal and proper concern of the national government. All major nations except U.S., act on that principle. Commercial distribution is better than "give-away" practices, apart from its economics, because it insures greater and more permanent reader interest. Foreigners habituated to buying and reading American books cannot help but better understand America and the American way of life.

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PROPOSAL II
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4. Proposal for the increased commercial distribution of American books

(a) Arrangement by a government agency, probably ICS of IIA, with major American publishers and American overseas distributors to enter a guarantee agreement:

(1) publishers to make "overruns" on American edition at publication cost plus small profit.

(2) publisher or distributor to bind as a special overseas edition for sale "outside of U.S. territory".

(3) distributors to promote and push overseas sales at varying prices commensurate with foreign market.

(4) publisher and distributor to be guaranteed basic costs and expenses, but not their profit.

(5) returns on guaranteed books to be pooled so that balance of year's issue can be made.

(6) pro-rated percentages of profits to be used to replace original revolving fund set up for guaranteed distribution.

(b) Coordinated promotional support of American book distribution by the member agencies.

(c) Contribution to national objectives will be one criterion for a book's acceptability for guarantee.

5. A Revolving Fund for a distribution guarantee program would be relatively small, about $250,000 to carry on two years' operations before the profits and losses were determined and the Fund recovered from the operation itself. Gradually the fund would be returned to the government as profits replaced the original grant.

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Analysis of the Problem (Annex "A")

1. Definitions

(a) In order to understand the subject matter of the analysis and to indicate certain limits within which the discussion will take place, it is considered proper to give herein, without attempting to justify their accuracy or completeness, certain basic definitions:

(1) Doctrinal Program: A planned and systematic attack against a basic hostile doctrinal system conducted concurrently with a positive advocacy of the basic philosophy of one's own system. In the main, the doctrinal program is directed at a specifically defined group, rather than at the mass.

(2) Doctrinal System: An inter-related body of ideas, whether consciously organized or not, which reflects the manner or content of thinking characteristic of individuals or classes, justifies a particular type of social belief and structure, and provides a body of principles for human aspirations.

(3) Target for the Doctrinal Program: Those higher government officials, journalists, professors, students, teachers and progressive business leaders, who are interested in and who attempt to base their judgments on a philosophy or an ideology.

(a) In theory, any individual interested in, and capable of utilizing, concepts of a doctrinal nature can be considered as the target for the doctrinal program. In reality, however, the vast majority of even educated and intelligent people are doctrinally passive; that is, they accept the doctrine, not on the basis of personal rationalization or mental justification, but mainly because it was put to them in their educational process and because it is accepted by the society, traditions

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and environment in which they are accustomed to live. While this group is capable of accepting different doctrinal materials, it rarely reacts to them even on an individual basis. Even less frequently does this passive group attempt to influence others to adopt these different doctrinal approaches. Hence the passive group is a target only in the sense of its capability of receiving and understanding doctrinal materials. In the sense of being an effective target for which doctrinal materials should be developed, it holds a low priority.

(b) The main and the effective target for the doctrinal program is the more limited group of people who are capable and interested in mentally manipulating doctrinal matters and who make their own judgments from the doctrinal viewpoint, and thereafter attempt to persuade other people whom they can influence to modify their original doctrine. This latter group is the major target for the doctrinal program inasmuch as it is this group which is capable of being seriously influenced by the doctrinal approach. It is this group also which is most likely to continue the effectiveness of the doctrinal approach started by the American effort so that it appears to be a native development.

(c) Hence the major target of the doctrinal program is the developed, articulate mind. This mind, engaged in developing concepts and rationalizations and capable of projecting the same to others, possesses the ability to classify, analyze and synthesize. The developed mind contains a store of knowledge, prejudices, opinions, predispositions, and traditional use patterns of these

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elements. It is characterized by an active urge to present to others the conclusions of its mental processes.

(d) The developed mind may occur in all professions and social groups, e.g., teachers, students, labor, farmer or business leaders, etc., but members of the elite most generally possess developed minds. This group regularly and in their everyday business uses the developed mind as its chief tool. Even though the developed mind is more frequent among the influential class, it is not a man's position, however, but his proficiency in using his mind, which designates him as a proper target for the doctrinal program.

(b) The doctrinal program assumes that a relatively small group of individuals, through the use of their intellectual power, carries a weight and influence in forming, or at least predisposing, the attitudes and opinions of the opinion-moulding leaders in an area. This intellectual elite secures some of its doctrine from the traditional environment out of which it develops but it also secures portions of its doctrine from the external influences, particularly of an intellectual character, with which it comes in contact. The doctrinal program is the consciously planned effort to bring this elite into contact with thought-stimulating materials which will interpret that elite's environmental ideologies into a pattern which will prepare those intellectuals to accept an attitude favorable to, or predisposing this elite towards, the philosophy held by the planners of the doctrinal program.

2. Necessity for a U.S. Doctrinal Program

(a) A doctrinal program, like many other activities in psychological operations, is not reducible to facts or statistics. However, the influence of ideas has proven powerful in the long history of man. One only has to recall the rapid and significant spread of the religious ideas involved in

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Christianity, and in Mohammedanism, to appreciate that ideas have significance in motivating human actions. Coming closer to the present, it is sufficient to mention the importance of ideas to the American revolutionary movement which not only separated us from Great Britain, but developed our unique form of government. In the same trend, there is no one who will deny the pervading influences of the French revolutionary ideology and even of the Marxian philosophy of revolution in the mid-19th Century. Attention should also be given to the influence of the ideas of a few men in moderating human courses of action. The influence of John Dewey in American edudation, the influence of Oliver Wendell Holmes in the American tradition of legal liberalism, and the significance of Lenin as a demagogue to the Russian people, are a few of many influential individuals who have demonstrated that in the long run, the pen is much more influential than the sword. Hence history establishes the significance of the importance of doctrinal developments in the progress of man. America has supported this thesis for generations without calling it doctrinal activity.

(b) Even if the historical record did not provide such logical justification for America's undertaking a conscious doctrinal program, an analysis of the Communist efforts would be sufficient justification for our getting into this activity with greater emphasis. For thirty-five years, the Bolsheviks have been engaged in a massive, comprehensive effort to make converts to international Communism, as Communist doctrine is interpreted by them. Throughout this period, they have consistently assumed that progress toward world domination required the co-equal emphasis on three basic factors--the military, the economic, and the ideological. This tripartite emphasis follows the pattern of previous national expansions--theirs as well as our own--the rifle, the plough, and the bible.

(c) In our belated efforts to meet this challenge, we have greatly strengthened two of our weapons--the military and the economic--but we have

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failed to emphasize to anything like the same degree the third element--the doctrinal, or ideological--which the Soviet leaders have developed, through thirty-five years of intensive experimenting. It is hardly assumed in the U.S. that Communism has its greatest appeal only to the underprivileged masses. It is true that hungry mobs are good material for the uses of the Communist leadership, but it is also a fact that Communism breeds less in empty bellies than in empty minds. The Communists could not possibly have achieved their past conquest if they had not appealed to thought leaders everywhere and to the sons and daughters of the influential intelligentsia. In part, their success has been due to superior organization, and it will be the work of years for us to rival the Party apparatus in this respect. On the other hand, it has been due in even larger part to our neglect in meeting the challenge wherever the organization has not yet taken hold.

(d) Basically, the problem is a simple one. Russia has nine men on the diamond; we have two or three. Furthermore, they are playing the game with a shrewd sense of audience reaction, and we are not. Our greatest handi cap has been in assuming that opinions and convictions are formed in other parts of the world in the same way that our own are formed. Because we take most of our ideas from newspapers, television, radio and magazines, we assume that others are influenced by the same means. This is a fatal fallacy.

(e) In most parts of the world, the radio and television are still novelties; magazines have low circulation; and newspapers circulate mostly among political groups whose opinions are already formed. Almost everywhere else, books--permanent literature--are by far the most powerful means of influencing attitudes and, except for the Information Libraries of the State Department, we have done little to promote the publication and circulation of the books favorable to our cause and damaging to the Communist Party line. The technique of the Communists has not been to promote free distribution of

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books which carry the inference of propaganda--but to subsidize the circulation of their books through regular commercial trade of every country in which they can obtain a foothold.

(f) In this they have been highly successful. In recent years, the largest selling book in the world--with the possible exception of the Bible--has been the Short History of the Communist Party which is the testament of the Communists. Its circulation exceeds 41,000,000 copies. This book is on sale in the U.S. bookstores for $1.00 on fine paper, beautifully printed. The latest attempt to reply to this basic testament is Dr. Stefan T. Possony's A Century of Conflict, in which an effort is made to record the true story of the Party history. This book sells for $7.50. There is no organized promotion of its sale at home or abroad; and, like other books of similar significance, it will undoubtedly sell no more than 6,000 copies in the United States and throughout the world.

3. Summary of National Policy Applicable to a National Doctrinal Program

(a) NSC objectives, while not explicitly mentioning a doctrinal program, provide ample justification for the use of doctrinal warfare as a means of accomplishing basic American objectives vis-a-vis USSR and its Satellites. Three NSC papers, NSC 20/4, 68/2 and 135/3, provide the major basis for national policy, while supplementary objectives towards Satellite countries are indicated in NSC 58/2 and 48/5. Current national policy provides for the reduction of Soviet power, including that of its Satellites, to a status which will not be a threat to the security of the U.S. or the Free World. All methods "short of war" are implicitly included as means of accomplishing this major objective. The most recent statement of American objectives regarding Communism provides the U.S. should develop on a worldwide basis, positive appeals which would be superior to Communism. The U.S. should do everything possible to exploit the difficulties which arise between the Soviet leaders and other Communist states and those people whom they are oppressing. While those NSC papers do not explicitly mention a doctrinal

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program, it is clear that such a program is one means of accomplishing such objectives since it can contribute to the reduction of Communist appeals and influence on the intellectual elite, both within and without the Communist orbit, and thereby contribute to the reduction of Soviet power.

4. Communist Use of Doctrinal Warfare

(a) Before discussing specific Communist activities in doctrinal warfare, attention should be given to the predisposition towards Communism engendered by the wide emphasis given to the Marxian, or the economic, interpretation of history and life. Before Leninism, much less Stalinism, had developed their major theses, the materialistic philosophy of Karl Marx had become a basic hypothesis of the world intellectuals. Marx's interpretation was particularly acceptable to the intellectuals from the so-called colonial areas, who were being educated in the Western universities. His theory of capitalism and economic determinism appeared to be a validly rational explanation for colonial imperialism and the international rivalries and conflicts of the early Twentieth Century. The initial spread of Marxism was not connected with any Soviet design or objective. In evaluating Communist developments and in developing an American doctrinal program, the predisposition of intellectuals toward Marxism must be recognized.

(b) Soviet Communism as organized into a political reality in Russia by Lenin and subsequently by Stalin has been characterized as a political fulfillment of Marx's Communist Manifesto. Lenin and Stalin, however, were international revolutionaries, whereas Marx had been only a European revolutionary. Marx expected the industrialized workers of the West to bring about a new era. Lenin and Stalin, coming into power in an agrarian country with few industrialized workers, discovered that Marx's doctrine had to be modified. This modification became especially necessary when industrialized Western Europe became less and less disposed in 1919-1920 to follow the Russian example. Hence Lenin, and subsequently Stalin, found it necessary

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to re-interpret Marx and to develop a doctrine justifying their Soviet political and social philosophy. Since they claimed to be disciples of Marx, this new Soviet doctrine had to continue the appearance that Marx was still its basic oracle. The desire to retain the connection with Marxism was also undoubtedly due to the known widespread acceptance of Marxian philosophy which would provide entre to Soviet interpretations of Marxism. Hence, the development of a whole series of writings by both Lenin and Stalin, with subsequent popularizations by lesser Communist disciples, to re-interpret Marx's philosophy in the terms and in the ideology of the new Soviet regime.

(c) The Soviet regime, while limited to Russia for its political existence, had always been visualized as an international movement. From the beginnings of the Soviet State, the maintenance of closely connected international cadres of local national Communists was visualized. Lacking control of communications which would insure close supervision of these widely scattered and, at times, antagonized local organizations, Lenin and Stalin visualized their written interpretations of Marx as the philosophical basis which would be planned by Moscow. These re-interpretations would provide the philosophic or doctrinal basis for properly orientating and training local national Communists. They would be the equivalent of uniform textbooks for training and indoctrinating neophytes. They would also provide source materials or documentation which might induce unsuspecting non-Communist Marxists to look with favor upon the Soviet interpretation and become pro-Soviet in viewpoint, if not in action.

(d) From the early 1920's the Soviet leaders have maintained two complementary lines in the distribution of their printed material. The Foreign Languages Publishing House or the International Book Publishers (Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga) was established in Moscow to produce Communist texts in the major languages of those areas where the Communists hoped to be influential.

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In the past thirty-five years, the Soviets claim to have published 978,377,000 works of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. At the same time, national Communist Parties under Soviet influence established their own publishing companies to produce locally the same basic materials which would provide the local ideological foundation for Soviet Communism. Production is only one part of doctrinal warfare. The proper distribution to the potential adherents is an equally important aspect of doctrinal warfare. The local Communist Party is mainly responsible for the distribution of Communist materials, either directly to peoples known to be interested in Communism or to intellectual centers, where it will be available to professors and scholars who have been trained to study all aspects of an intellectual subject. Hence it was that the Communists quite early in their ideological effort aimed at the intellectual elite as the group most likely to be interested in and influenced by a doctrinal or philosophical basis for Communism. Hence they concentrated on libraries, universities and research groups as locations where their published material might be most extensively used and thereby be most influential in predisposing intellectuals and their disciples towards accepting Communist ideology.

(e) The material for estimating the current doctrinal warfare effort of the Soviets is most difficult to isolate. The OIR series, Analysis of Communist Propaganda is excellent in its coverage of the Soviet publication efforts, but only six countries have been covered. Evidence of the importance of doctrinal warfare to the Kremlin is Stalin's statement in his article, "Economic Problems" in Bolshevik (October 1952):

> I think that the comrades are not taking into account the full significance of a Marxist textbook on political economy. The textbook is needed not only for our Soviet youth; it is particularly needed for the Communists of all countries and for people who sympathize with the Communists. . . .
>
> They want to know all this and many other things not simply out of curiosity but in order to learn from us and to use our experience for their own countries.

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That is why the appearance of a good Marxist textbook on political economy is not only of internal political significance but also of major international significance.

(f) A recent OIR article gives significant figures on Soviet book production in the past thirty-five years. Soviet figures do not permit breakdown of their total of a billion books into the copies per foreign language, but it is establishable that Stalin's Problems of Leninism was published in 55 languages, Stalin's On the Draft Constitution, in 89 languages, and Stalin's Short History in 67 languages, while his report to the 18th Congress of the Party appeared in 72 languages. (IR No. 5630.108, Feb 5, 1953). The Soviets have given evidence that they appreciate that in every civilized society, the printed book has been the carrier of the major attitudes and ideals on which the civilization rests. These publications are devoted to the task of instilling the conviction, even among intelligent readers, that Communism possesses the key to our time and that all other conceptions are false. By developing Marxian interpretations, by references to a better future world, and by maintaining a consistent emphasis on the unquestionable truth of the Communist position, the Soviet leaders have carefully distributed their books into the world's intellectual centers where they get intensive attention from students and intellectuals. Communist books possess a documentary character while available anti-Communist books seem to be mere diatribes. Communist publications thereby influence the intellectual elite with their relative monopoly in the publications field.

(g) Individuals may question whether the Soviet figures for the number of books published is really valid inasmuch as they classify as a book, an 8 to 20 page excerpt or essay. What is important is not whether they are books comparable in size with American books, but whether the world recipients and users of Soviet books consider them to be permanent literature or merely political pamphleteers. Unfortunately for the West, the reprint of a Stalin

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essay, because it has the form of a book, is considered as permanent literature whereas American reprints, having the form of a pamphlet, are too frequently viewed as ephemeral propaganda materials. The West, and particularly America, need not compete with the millions of copies of so-called Soviet books, but America should compete with the Communists in getting a more thorough and influential distribution of better books prepared to combat Soviet doctrine throughout the world.

(h) The Communists do not rely solely on books. Having gotten their initial books distributed, they develop the technique of "study groups" to foster the detailed and intensive study and analysis of their books. It is part of the Communist Party training program that members, particularly those of an intellectual caliber, must participate in regular "study group" discussions. These "study groups" are not mass gatherings, but they are small in number and consist of carefully selected individuals who are guided along the road of the Lenin-Stalinist line by a trained Party worker. Using the Communist texts which each member must read, analyze and comment upon, the group leader guides the members to the right answers to all possible non-Communist objections to their system. Communism uses the "study group" method for all its members, but this system is most important for training the intellectual Party members to become proficient in handling doctrine, theory and dogma. Reports on the Communist Party in the U.S. during the 30's, on the Communist Party in China in the 20's, in continental Europe in the 30's, and even now in Japan in the 50's, all testify that the compulsory reading and discussion of the basic writings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin by "study groups" has been a major technique in training and indoctrinating the more intelligent Party members. A quotation from George E. Taylor's "Intellectual Climate of Asia" is equally applicable to Communist techniques throughout the world:

> Through long experience the Communists have acquired considerable skill in influencing the intellectual climate.

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The leaders they train do not come from the poor peasantry or the illiterate textile workers of the sweatshops. They come from the professions, from the highly educated sons and daughters of good families, from the frustrated idealists fired with dreams of social justice, from the young men hungry for power. The politburo of the Hukbalahaps includes some of the best blood of the Philippines; the majority have been to college. In India, the aristocracy has given quite a few of its sons and daughters to the movement. The Chinese Communist movement was a peasant movement only in the sense that it used peasants to get to power; most of the leaders would not know the right end of a plough. Mao Tse-tung was a librarian, not a farmer, and Chou En-lai one of the smoothest intellectuals of modern China.

(i) The "study group" indoctrination is tied in very closely with Communist book stores as a method of insuring the proper distribution of Communist books. There are lists by countries of the known Communist book stores and centers which act as local distributors for Communist literature, but our intelligence does not provide any real analysis of their sales procedures and of the arrangements between the Moscow publishers, the various national wholesalers and the local Communist book store. A recent cable from Israel [redacted] indicated that the International Publishing House in Moscow determines what books and in what quantities wholesalers must take Communist publications. When wholesalers or retailers request certain titles which they know they can profitably sell, they are only given those titles on condition that they also take and distribute less salable Communist literature. Similarly, the price variations and the particularly profitable discounts to dealers give an indication of those books which the Soviets really wished to be distributed in Israel. Full-sized books, particularly the writings of Stalin and Lenin, are priced at ridiculously low figures while scientific books or books with a current demand are priced extremely high. It hardly seems that such maneuvers are strictly accidental, particularly when funding or exchange arrangements are provided by the local Soviet diplomatic office in proportion to the successful sale of those Communist publications which they wish distributed in a particular area.

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5. Existing U. S. Doctrinal Program

(a) Even though the greatest emphasis in American informational and psychological operations has been to make America better known and better understood before the world, doctrinal activity has been a small part of this general effort. Starting with Office of War Information's book program in 1943, there has been a continual effort to provide American books about American life in overseas libraries and likewise to foster their commercial sale and distribution. Most of these books, however, merely explain how we arrived at the conditions under which we live, or how we do things. There were and are histories of the U.S., of our political, economic and even labor developments. There are explanations of the American system and even theory of government, but apart from the strictly literary books, novels, etc., the majority of serious books are of a "know-how" type. Few books portraying the basic philosophy of American life and American government and American economics have been included in our book distribution programs. This situation is almost equally true today with the ICS program of IIA. It is most difficult to classify books by doctrinal criteria, but it would be a fair estimate to indicate that on an average, only a few of a hundred titles distributed by ICS are properly of a doctrinal character.

(b) In this area, a major overt doctrinal effort can be developed by the American government. It does not need the establishment of any new program, but merely needs a re-emphasis on doctrinal items in the selection of books. There are already existent a sufficient number of the writings of leading Americans in one-volume editions, as well as one-volume editions of the basic documents of American history. Greater attention might also be given to the selection of theoretical studies of a fundamentally scholarly character which explained the American attitude and philosophy, even the apparent inconsistencies in such American approaches, to government, economic problems, labor and sociological problems. These studies, rather than manuals

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on irrigation, soil conservation, machine handling, etc., are the type of books which the intellectual elite would find most satisfactory and would secure a more friendly and influential reaction towards the U.S.

(c) In addition to the book program, the radio and news operations from its beginnings under Office of War Information until the present has used the doctrinal approach as one method of attracting increased audiences and of influencing basic thought. The emphasis on doctrine may have declined between 1946 and 1951, but certainly at the present time, the Voice of America (VOA) is including doctrinal aspects in its work. VOA has developed a special ideological unit which prepares master scripts showing how current news can be doctrinally interpreted to the embarrassment of Communist doctrine. These master scripts are circulated to all the output desks and VOA directives urge the desks to give more and more attention to doctrinal items. However, basic doctrinal materials can only be a small part of a VOA program. Similarly, radio has the definite disadvantage that, being an ephemeral medium, it can do hardly more than stimulate interest by an unconvinced person in a new idea or give an already convinced anti-Communist a jibe which he may find useful. However, because the spoken word is very rapidly completed and cannot be completely recalled for extended and analytical study, it makes relatively little impression on the enlightened mind which might be expected to develop the doctrinal line and thereby influence others. This peculiar limitation is characteristic of radio as a medium of information. Nevertheless, VOA should increase its doctrinal emphasis. It should plan to develop audience interest in permanent literature which contributes a strong doctrinal argument against Communism. For example, any broadcast of a doctrinal character could quote to the listener those passages of an important Communist tract which are contradictory. It might also refer the listeners, especially in broadcasts to peripheral areas to a good locally available doctrinal treatment of the particular issue under discussion. More importantly, the

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radio, by very carefully excerpting of new doctrinal publications, might stimulate its audiences to want to read the new book and might thereby develop demand for books of a doctrinal nature. The VOA has definite limitations within the doctrinal field, but the VOA can and should do more than it is now doing for the doctrinal program.

(d) A similar generalization should be made for IIA's International Press Service (IPS). Following the example of HICOG's Der Monat and Ost problume, IPS has developed an English language periodical entitled, Problems of Communism, which is definitely an important facet of a U.S. doctrinal program. Prepared in Washington, and aimed at the same general target audience as is proposed in this doctrinal program, Problems of Communism attempts to cover all aspects of Communist doctrine. It is emphasizing articles by named intellectual leaders, and it is now increasing the number of non-American contributors to have greater audience appeal. Recent issues have been delayed by the department's directives regarding security clearances on all contributors and by the limitation on the quotations from Communist sources. The periodical is increasing its circulation to the practical capacity for an English language journal, i.e., 3,000 copies. Problems of Communism clearly has made an impact on its target, the doctrinal elite.

(e) It can be visualized that in the coordination of this national doctrinal program, greater use of Problems of Communism and similar publications can be made. Foreign language editions should be seriously considered, so that doctrinal material would be available to the larger audience not now controlling the English language. Problems of Communism and similar doctrinal periodicals should definitely be published on scheduled dates so that the audience may expect issues at a particular time and habituate their anticipation of its reception. IPS so planned Problems of Communism, but administrative and clearance difficulty has caused inordinate delays. There was also the question as to whether Problems of Communism might best be published

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as a government publication, when its distribution is directly controlled by the overseas missions or whether it should be published as a private or academic effort with some distribution through diplomatic missions, but mainly by direct mailing from the publisher, or academic center. There is also need for a more uniform, consistent effort by all overseas missions so that the greatest distribution in all areas is accomplished. It is hard to conceive how 200 copies can be distributed in Finland, and only 100 in London; or how 500 can be distributed in India, and relatively few in France and in other important pro-Western areas.

6. Feasibility of Increased Doctrinal Program

(a) It has previously been stated that the Communists, through permanent literature and documentary materials, have predisposed educated groups to accept portions of Communist philosophy as the logical explanation for world conditions. That Communist effort has provided an intellectual justification for the Communist propaganda approach to the masses on practical day-to-day problems. If Communism, which is an illogical, unrealistic system which avoids facts about itself, is able to employ doctrinal instruments to influence human judgments and human behavior, American efforts which concentrate on ascertainable facts must necessarily be more effective inasmuch as the American approach is logical and is based on a more widely accepted appreciation of human nature. In other words, American philosophy is based on logical and scientific truth and hence must be more acceptable to the intellectual elite than a philosophy of authority and falsehood.

(b) The Soviet leaders have had success in the doctrinal field because they have continuously supplied the basic materials, books and thought-provoking periodicals, whereby influential thought patterns were moulded towards Communist goals. America has not concentrated on insuring that the merits of our basic views were permanently available throughout the world. America has let the Soviet philosophy be the major influence upon the developed minds.

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This doctrinal program is not a direct effort to sell the world on the American system. It is a program to make the world aware of the dangers of the Communist philosophy and the advantages of the Free World's approach. The doctrinal program is the effort to balance the availability of Communist literature with objective studies which would be appealing to the enlightened minds.

(c) Except for the hard-core Communist, educated people have a trained intellectual curiosity. They wish to know more if they can have available materials whose objective value they respect. This doctrinal program will develop that material and through the improved distribution methods and techniques will insure that the target audience learns that this material is readily and economically available. The natural curiosity of the developed mind will be stimulated to read more and more as doctrinal discussions become increasingly significant, on both the local and international level. Like other humans, the educated man wants to keep up with his confreres; he hopes to be in on the "know"; and he desires to discuss new developments intelligently. It is this natural desire which will increase the market for doctrinal materials and which will keep the market open for a continued program which becomes self-generating of new and more stimulating ideas.

(d) There is little question that Americans are capable of producing materials of the desired type. American scientific methodology is an accepted pattern throughout the world. Americans have had the practical experience of selling their ideas on the domestic market and, with the language of scientific methodology, the same basic American contributions can be a stimulating influence throughout the world.

(e) The main limitation on the American effort has been the lack of determination to engage in a concentrated world-wide effort. Our writers concentrate on discussing American problems for an American audience. More importantly, our publishers have concentrated on publishing only for the

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American market and have not selected items which would have much broader appeal. The doctrinal program will merely bring to the front and make conscious the fact that these same materials which are prepared and distributed for the American market can have an important impact if they are made available to the international market. Momentarily, a concentrated publicity and promotional effort may have to be initiated in the overseas market to arouse interest in American publications, but in view of the success of existing promotional activities in the American book trade and in view of the greater world interest in books, promotional activities are clearly feasible and fruitful.

7. The Development of Basic Principles

(a) The doctrinal program is necessarily a long-range intellectual activity which must be continuously and consistently fostered and accelerated to insure that all types of basic materials which will appeal to the intellectual elite are available in all areas. A doctrinal program requires time to accomplish its desired impact on influential groups in any area. It requires more time for the doctrinal targets to influence the decision makers. The doctrinal program cannot be expected to make an immediate impact nor can it expect to change doctrinal thought patterns quickly or as a result of a short-term effort. In addition to a continuous effort, the doctrinal program requires the development of published materials which will be recognized by their overseas readers as critical and objective studies and analyses of Communism and other totalitarian doctrines.

(b) Some such doctrinal material is already available and should be revived and intensively re-distributed. However, enormous gaps exist in such analyses, particularly doctrinal materials which the proposed target group would not classify as mere propaganda fomentations against Communism. Hence there is a need for a machinery which, on a systematic and scientific basis, would itself produce and would stimulate the production by others at

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home and abroad of new studies, handbooks and documentary reprints which critically and objectively analyze Communism and also portray the American way of life. This material would be produced on a level of objectivity which would be acceptable to the vast majority of the educated elite throughout the world (See: Proposal I).

(c) In addition to such critical and objective production, additional provocative material which would appeal to a reading public below the level of the enlightened minds should also be produced. All literate people throughout the world need:

(1) to know what Communism is;

(2) to recognize Communist Party lines in sundry issues;

(3) to have refutation for party doctrinal slogans.

A primer of Communism written as the overt answer to The Short History of the Communist Party is a necessary part of the doctrinal program. It is also conceivable that some studies which might not be completely objective would be useful for a particular target audience or a particular area. Similarly, a collection of cartoons (the New Yorker variety)might be prepared as a visual stimulant to doctrinal activities. This material definitely should be included in the doctrinal effort. However, it should be carefully separated from the objective production of doctrinal material in order that the intellectual influence and acceptability of the objective studies and analyses will not be weakened by material of a shorter-range character. This latter might be developed through government contracts with individuals and with publishers in such a way that it is not directly connected with the long-range doctrinal production. In the same category, periodical literature, particularly materials which would be capable of being published in foreign language journals, should receive special consideration.

(d) The production of doctrinal materials is only the initial step in a doctrinal program. These materials must be distributed on a world-wide basis so that they will reach the particular target aimed at by the U.S.

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doctrinal program. Not only must the commercial distribution of American books be stimulated and increased by Government efforts (See: Proposal II) but all government facilities should be regularly employed to promote, stimulate and foster greater reader curiosity and reader interest in doctrinal production. Provision should also be made for such promotional and stimulating activities to be intensified when a particularly significant doctrinal development occurs.

(e) The doctrinal production, which emphasizes the positive aspects of the American philosophy, should not be primarily a government responsibility. Such material is constantly being produced for the American market as part of the American free way of life. The distributing machinery for the doctrinal program, however, should continually pick up the more appropriate material of this type which would be understandable and acceptable to doctrinal targets and push its distribution throughout the world. The purpose of this distribution is not so much to sell the American ideas or the American way of life as the sole solution to world problems, but rather to show to the world how the American approach attempts to solve its problems as an example of what free men can do.

8. Possible Enemy Reactions

It is difficult to visualize what the Soviet reaction to the American doctrinal program will be. For quite a while, it can be expected that the Soviet leaders will ignore the American effort. A particularly effective exposure of Soviet doctrine can be expected to be characterized as American Government or capitalistic propaganda. However, the intelligent foreigner will judge American doctrinal materials on their basic objectivity and logic. It can be assumed that as the Soviet leaders attempt to compete extensively in the doctrinal field, they will not be very successful. Every counter-effort or re-interpretation of doctrine by the Communists requires an intensive and concentrated effort to develop an apparently logical justification

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and explanation out of the illogical and unhuman basis of Communist philosophy. Their effort will get enmeshed and caught in the toils of increasing inconsistencies and contradictions which will be evident to the target group. If American doctrinal materials are of a truly scientific and objective character, Communist attempts to belittle it will have less and less impact on the particular targets selected for this doctrinal program.

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