

IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE  
ROTARY CLUB - WEST PALM BEACH  
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Let me start with a short story--a few months ago my wife and I travelled by train from Budapest, in Hungary to Belgrade, in Yugoslavia. In the compartment there was only a third person--a gentleman in his 50's; he wore a business suit, rather bureaucrat looking. He was reading the Belgrade newspaper "Borba," the official organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

Soon after we cleared the suburbs of Budapest, we engaged in, at first cautious, but more and more lively discussion--the gentleman was a Soviet Professor, teaching at the Moscow University, subjects on history of south-Slavic countries, political indoctrination and the development of contemporary ideologies--he was on his vacation destined to Bulgaria and amazingly free with his explanations regarding the scientific bases of the doctrines he teaches. At my questioning the morality of thought-control, he replied, with conviction, that the state has the perfect right and duty to influence the ideological underpinning of societies, within and outside of the country--what I learned from him was the following:

That to be engaged in the systematic and scientific research and study of ideological manipulation is considered in the U.S.S.R. as an honorable occupation. He said that there were hundreds and thousands of people dedicated to these disciplines, achieving, as he did 20 years ago, a Doctorate in this science.

How much do we know about the Soviet effort in this direction? Each year about 100,000 men and women receive training on either propaganda or political agitation. The Ministry of Agitation and Propaganda operates 6,000 schools and has some 380,000 agents in the field. These schools are located from one end of the U.S.S.R. to the other. Even in such a remote place as the Buriat-Mongolian Republic there is a seminary for Buddhist Lamas and their activist indoctrination. Outside of the Soviet Union the apparatus employs between 4 - 500,000 people. The total expenditures are estimated at over 2 billion dollars a year, or \$2.00 per each person in the Free World. We spend on the average 1½¢ per person, and adding the effort of our allies, the Free World spends 2¢ per person. Ratio of 1:100.

I am conveying this to you to establish that our main adversary considers the ideological struggle as a legitimate function of national and international policy.

As you will appreciate we have great difficulties with the concept that it is proper, moral or part of a free people to even consider the manipulation of thought-control--to most of us such an endeavor is repugnant and contrary to our instincts of Human Rights, Democracy and the sanctity of the individual--

yet, I submit, that we can no longer deny the world-wide existence of a scientifically manipulated ideological confrontation--I would further argue that in the unfolding conflict, we have lost ground in Europe and Latin America, precisely because we have ignored the importance of this tool in the arsenal of political struggle.

We should not think that this is something entirely new. In 1622 Pope Urban the VIII established the Office of Propaganda Fide, the Propagation of Faith. In the book of judges, in the 13th century B.C., Gideon applied propaganda to confuse the Midianites.

At one time or another our government has considered this subject and tried to formulate policies. In 1917 President Wilson authorized the creation of a committee on public information, which was abolished two years later because the Congress expressed suspicion about the art of propaganda. Elmer Davis, the noted journalist, headed the War Information Office during the Second World War, and in 1953 President Eisenhower consolidated all information programs into the United States Information Agency, the U.S.I.A. There are many other efforts on our part to disseminate information. One such successful organization is the U.S. International Agency, which sends abroad yearly about 500 - 600 distinguished Americans who usually talk to foreign opinion-makers. Let me immediately focus on the difference between our efforts and our enemies' efforts. We construct our activity mainly in the area of information. The Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and

a chain of radio stations, developed a reasonably reliable network of information sources, in the main believable to foreign audiences. We emphasize the truth and facts through which we assume to be making our case.

Gentlemen, ideological warfare is one notch higher than the dissemination of information. It is the deliberate, studied and planned influencing of friends or foes, for a variety of purposes, in the national interest. My involvement with this tool of confrontation comes from the realization that our adversaries have successfully penetrated the political expectation phantasies of so many populations, and when sufficiently entrenched, achieve the distabilization of nations friendly to us. Our wish to resist is presently handicapped by the nature of the confrontation which excludes the use of our nuclear capabilities, and by the reluctance of our youth and the Congress to use conventional forces to respond to the challenges which are facing us.

What then is left? How are we to defend our position in the world? I suggest, that we undertake a massive propaganda apparatus, using all known methods of ideological warfare, such as T.V., radio, communication satellites, and such other means of political technology as our collective genius can produce--we must reinforce the will of our friends, and distabilize our foes. We must transfer our beliefs in ourselves, in a contagious message as the hope for oppressed populations. We must become militant about our way of life, and we should challenge our adversaries in the ideological struggle.

There is a point which needs to be emphasized--the Soviets are much more afraid of their own people and peoples under their domain, than they are afraid of us, or NATO or any specific combination of forces. If it became known that we are about to start a massive effort to contact the Soviet and satellite populations, not only as we are doing now, but that we are going to challenge the political structure, the economies, the daily decision-making, and that we are to take advantage of Soviet internal contradictions, and that we are to engage in ideological competition for Soviet masses, the Kremlin would tremble. If we would spend but a fraction of resources which we now plan to spend on armaments which we hope not to use, and we spend it on ideological warfare, the dividends would be enormous. The time has come to remove the artificially created pressures on the Free World, and transfer the pressure on the camp of our enemies. I have no illusions that this would be easy, but I believe it could and should be done.

I ask, would we be denied the science of medicine, or engineering, or biology? Why then deny that a science has developed which deals with influencing political attitudes in the international arena? I submit we should use it. With many I share the free man's dilemma. I accept the flawed and contradictory arguments between Democracy and what is here proposed, but I am unable to find any other practical answer to the challenge we are facing. Thank you for listening.