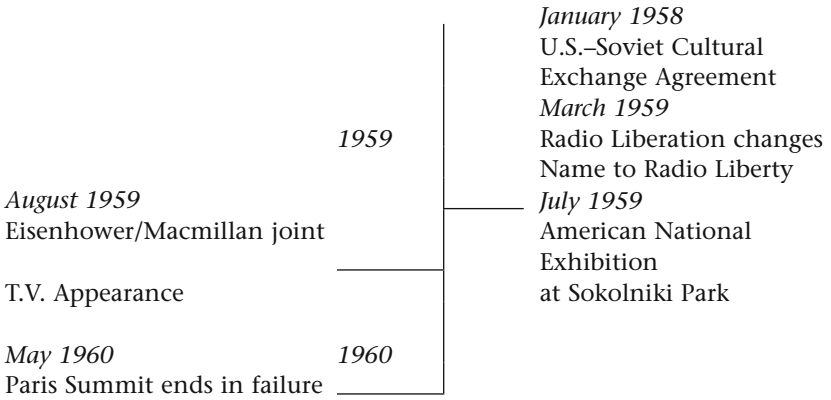


Appendix: Chronology of Propaganda Institutions and Wider Cold War Developments

Britain		United States
	1945	
		August 1945 OWI and OSS disbanded
<i>December 1945</i>		
Ministry of Information disbanded		
	1946	
<i>March 1946</i>		
BBC Russia Service begins		
<i>April 1946</i>		
Russia Committee formed		
<i>October 1946</i>		
Ian Jacob joins Russia Committee		
	1947	
		February 1947 VOA Russia Service begins
		March 1947 Truman Doctrine announced
<i>October 1947</i>		July 1947 CIA established
Mayhew writes letter to Bevin urging a response to		

COMINFORM		<i>December 1947</i>
	1948	Marshall Plan approved by Congress
<i>January 1948</i>		
Cabinet approves 'Future Foreign Publicity Policy' and inception of IRD		<i>January 1948</i> Smith-Mundt Act launches overt propaganda campaign
<i>September 1948</i>		<i>September 1948</i>
Services Plan for Cold War Planning Staff rejected	1949	OPC begins covert propaganda operations
		<i>April 1949</i> Soviet Union begins jamming of Western shortwave stations
<i>July 1949</i>		
IRD campaign against Soviet Labour camps		
	1950	<i>April 1950</i> NSC 68 approved and Campaign of Truth launched
		<i>June 1950</i> Korean War begins
	1951	<i>April 1951</i> Psychological Strategy Board (PSB) established
<i>October 1951</i>		
Churchill becomes Prime Minister cuts Information Services Budget		
	1952	<i>April 1952</i> OPC brought under CIA control, OPC propaganda operations merged into CIA's International Organization Division (IOD)
<i>January 1952</i>		
PUSC 16 recommends moving toward a 'Modus Vivendi' with the Soviet Union		

	1953	January 1953 Eisenhower becomes President
March 1953 Stalin dies		March 1953 RL begins broadcasting
		June 1953 USIA formed
November 1953 Drogheda Committee reports to Prime Minister	1954	September 1953 PSB replaced by Operation Coordinating Board
November 1954 Drogheda Committee recommendations approved		
	1955	
June 1955 Soviet Relations Committee of British Council established		July 1955 Geneva Summit
	1956	
April 1956 Khrushchev visit to UK		February 1956 Khrushchev denounces Stalin at Twentieth Party Congress
June 1956 Foreign Office decision to alter British propaganda strategy		June 1956 NSC 5607 Policy of Cultural Infiltration adopted
October 1956 Suez and Hungarian crises	1957	
January 1957 Harold Macmillan becomes Prime Minister		
July 1957 BBC Russia Service attacked in Spectator Magazine	1958	



Notes

Introduction

1. Walter Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture and the Cold War 1945–1961* (New York: St. Martin Griffin, 1997), p. x.
2. Kenneth A. Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence, KA: University of Kansas Press, 2006); Andrew Defty, *Britain, America, and Anti-Communist Propaganda 1945–1953: The Information Research Department* (New York: Routledge, 2004); James Vaughan, *The Failure of American and British Propaganda in the Middle East, 1945–1957: Unconquerable Minds* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
3. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*; Philip M. Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Era* (Manchester: Patrick Stephens, 2003); Phillip M. Taylor, "Projection of Britain, 1945–1951," in John Young and Michael Dockrill (eds), *British Foreign Policy 1945–1956* (London: St. Martin Press, 1989); Phillip M. Taylor, "Through a Glass Darkly? The Psychological Climate and Psychological Warfare of the Cold War," in Gary Rawnsley (ed.), *Cold War Propaganda in the 1950s* (London: Macmillan, 1999); and Scott Lucas, *Freedom's War: The American Crusade against the Soviet Union* (New York University Press, 1999).
4. John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford University Press, 1997); John Gaddis, "On Starting All Over Again: A Naïve Approach to the Study of the Cold War," in Odd Arne Westad (ed.), *Reviewing the Cold War* (London: Frank Cass, 2000).
5. Douglas J. Macdonald makes this point in "Formal Ideologies in the Cold War: Toward a Framework for Empirical Analysis," in Odd Arne Westad (ed.), *Reviewing the Cold War* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), p. 183. On the role of ideology in the Soviet policy, see Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Vojtech Mastny, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity: The Stalin Years* (Oxford University Press, 1996); Sergei N. Goncharov, John W. Lewis, and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War* (Stanford University Press, 1993); Chen Jian, *China's Road to the Korean War: The Making of the Sino-American Confrontation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).
6. Zubok and Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War*; Patrick Major and Rana Mitter, "East is East and West is West? Towards a Comparative Socio-Cultural History of the Cold War," *Cold War History*, vol. 4 (2003) no. 1, pp. 1–22.
7. Mastny, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity*, p. 5.
8. From Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz and Head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Richard Meyers, "Global War on Terror," October 16, 2003, as reported in *USA Today*, October 22, 2003 (emphasis added).
9. William Rugh, "Fixing Public Diplomacy for Arab and Muslim Audiences," in Adam Garfinkle (ed.), *A Practical Guide to Winning the War on Terrorism* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2004) pp. 145–62, and Derk Kinnane, "Winning Over the Muslim Mind," *The National Interest* (Spring 2004), pp. 93–9.

10. Dr. Condoleezza Rice National Security Advisor, lecture at the US Institute of Peace on August 19, 2004. A transcript of this event can be found on the US Institute of Peace website at <http://www.usip.org/peacewatch/2005/jan/rice.html>
11. On the American side see among others Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*; Scott Lucas, *Freedom's War*; Thomas C. Sorensen, *The Word War: The Story of American Propaganda* (London: Harper and Row, 1968); and Gregory Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin: America's Strategy to Subvert the Soviet Bloc 1947–1956* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000). On the British government's overall propaganda efforts see Defty, *Britain, America, and Anti-Communist Propaganda*; Richard Aldrich, *The Hidden Hand: Britain, America and Cold War Secret Intelligence* (London: John Murray, 2001); and Paul Lashmar and James Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War: The Foreign Office and the Cold War, 1947–1977* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998).
12. Douglas Hurd coined the phrase “punches above its weight” in a lecture on February 3, 1993 at Chatham House, the headquarters of the Royal Institute for International Affairs. It refers to Britain playing a larger role politically and militarily in the world than other nations with larger economies and populations.
13. Histories of the entire period of the Cold War include Richard Crockatt, *The Fifty Years War: The United States and the Soviet Union in World Politics 1941–1991* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Ralph Levering, *The Cold War: A Post Cold War History* (Arlington Heights, IL: Routledge, 1994), and Martin Walker, *The Cold War: A History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993). The American side of the origins of the Cold War can be found in John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford University Press, 1992); and Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1977). Accounts of the history of the origins of the Cold War from a British perspective include John Kent, *British Imperial Strategy and the Origins of the Cold War, 1944–1949* (Leicester University Press, 1993); Alan Bullock, *Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary* (London: W. W Norton, 1983); and Victor Rothwell, *Britain and the Cold War, 1941–1947* (London: Cape, 1982). The Soviet side of the origins of the Cold War is now well covered in Zubok and Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War*, and Mastny, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity*.
14. D. C. Watt, “Intelligence Studies: The Emerging British School,” *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 3 (1988) no. 2, pp. 338–41. Defty also covers the literature on British intelligence studies on pp. 7–9.
15. D. Leigh, “UK Propaganda Machine Worked On in Peacetime,” *The Observer*, January 29, 1978, and “The Ministry of Truth,” *The Leveller* 13 (March 1978), pp. 11–13. Later work along similar lines are Lashmar and Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War* and Frances Stonor Saunders, *The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters: The Cultural Cold War* (New York: The New Press, 2000).
16. James Vaughan, “Cloak Without Dagger: How the Information Research Department Fought Britain's Cold War in the Middle East 1948–1956,” *Cold War History*, vol. 4 (2004) no. 3, pp. 56–84; Aldrich, *The Hidden Hand*; Hugh Wilford, *The CIA, The British Left and the Cold War: Calling the Tune?* (London: Frank Cass, 2003); and Defty, *British, American, and Anti-Communist Propaganda*.
17. On the early years of the CIA see Evan Thomas, *The Very Best Men: Four Who Dared: The Early Years of the CIA* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995). George Kennan's role in setting up American Cold War political warfare efforts is covered

- in Peter Grose, *Operation Rollback: America's Secret War Behind the Iron Curtain* (New York: Houghton and Mifflin, 2000); Wilson Miscamble, *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy 1947–1950* (Princeton University Press, 1992); and Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin*. The early years of the State Departments Information programs are discussed in Edward W. Barrett, *Truth is Our Weapon* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1953) and John Henderson, *The United States Information Agency* (New York: Praeger Publishers 1969) pp. 3–48.
18. Literature on the Psychological Strategy Board includes Scott Lucas, "Campaigns of Truth: The Psychological Strategy Board and American Ideology, 1951–1953," *The International Historical Review*, vol. 18 (1996) no. 2 and Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin*, pp. 59–82.
 19. On Eisenhower and propaganda see Osgood, *Total Cold War*; Blanche Wiesen Cook, *The Declassified Eisenhower: A Divided Legacy* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1984); and John Allen Stern, *Propaganda in the Employ of Democracy: Fighting The Cold War With Words* (PhD thesis, State University of New York, Stony Brook, 2002). Eisenhower's use of rhetoric is analysed in Shawn J. Parry-Giles, *The Rhetorical Presidency, Propaganda, and the Cold War, 1945–1955* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publications, 2002); Parry Giles, "The Eisenhower Administration's Conception of the USIA: The Development of Overt and Covert Propaganda Strategies," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 24 (Spring 1994), 263–76.
 20. Three volumes of Asa Briggs's five-volume work on the history of the BBC discuss the BBC Russia Service: Asa Briggs, *The History of the Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: Volume III: The War of Words* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970); *The History of the Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: Volume IV: Sound and Vision* (London: Oxford University Press, 1979); *The History of the Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: Volume V: Competition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1995). See also Gerard Mansell, *Let the Truth Be Told: 50 Years of BBC External Broadcasting* (London: Weidenfeld, 1982). A history of short-wave broadcasting in the Cold War can be found in Michael Nelson, *War of the Black Heavens: The Battles of Western Broadcasting in the Cold War* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997). Also see Gary D. Rawnsley, *Radio Diplomacy and Propaganda: The BBC and Voice of America in International Politics, 1956–1964* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 6–17.
 21. The general relationship between the BBC and the IRD has been discussed in Lyn Smith, "Covert British Propaganda: The Information Research Department, 1947–1977," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 9 (1980) no. 1, pp. 67–83; Scott Lucas and C. J. Morris, "A Very British Crusade: The Information Research Department and the Beginning of the Cold War," in Richard Aldrich (ed.), *British Intelligence, Strategy and the Cold War* (London: Routledge, 1992); and Lashmar and Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War*.
 22. For the early years of Voice of America see Holly Cowan Shulman, *The Voice of America: Propaganda and Democracy, 1941–1945* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); Robert W. Pirstein, *The Voice of America: A History of the International Broadcasts of the United States Government 1940–1962* (PhD thesis, Northwestern University, 1970); Henderson, *The United States Information Agency*; and Alan L. Heil, *Voice of America: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).
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24. Victor Rosenberg, *Soviet-American Relations, 1953–1960: Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange During the Eisenhower Presidency* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2005); Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003); and Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*.
 25. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, p. xv.
 26. Robert English, *Russia and the Idea of the West: Gorbachev, Intellectuals and the End of the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
 27. The scope of this book encompasses the years of 1945–60 so it does not include the efforts at cultural infiltration of the Détente years of the 1970s. On this topic see James Mayall and Cornelia Navari (eds), *The End of the Post War Era: Documents on Great-Power Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Vojtech Mastny, *Helsinki, Human Rights, and European Security* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1985); Richard Davy (ed.), *European Détente: A Reappraisal* (London: Saga, 1992); and Michael B. Froman, *The Development of the Idea of Détente: Coming to Terms* (London: Macmillan, 1991).
 28. See, for example Vladimir Tolz's paper "The 1950s: Soviet Reaction to Foreign Broadcasts" presented at a conference on Cold War Broadcasting Impact sponsored by the Hoover Institution and the Woodrow Wilson Centre for Scholars, 13–15 October 2004. Other conference papers included Oldich Tuma, "Broadcasting: Its Impact on Czechoslovakia" and Jane Curry, "RFE and the Polish Elite: The Fifth Branch of Government."
 29. George Kennan, "Russian Language Broadcasts; Their Purpose, Potentialities, and Policies," undated Box 5, Charles Thayer Papers, Folder Voice of America, Harry S. Truman Library (HSTL).
 30. English, *Russia and the Idea of the West*; Raymond Garthoff, *The Great Transition: American–Soviet Relations and the End of the Cold War* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1994); Archie Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Vladislav M. Zubok, "Why Did the Cold War End in 1989? Explanations of the Turn," in Odd Arne Westad (ed.), *Reviewing the Cold War* (London: Frank Cass, 2000).
 31. See English, *Russia and the Idea of the West*, pp. 81–157, for how these years influence Russian intellectuals.
 32. Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1999), p. 6. A large number of scholars have attempted to define the term "propaganda." See for example Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (New York: Knopf, 1965); Anthony Pratkanis and Elliot Aronson, *Age of Propaganda: The Everyday Use and Abuse of Persuasion* (New York: W. H. Freeman, 2001); and Philip M. Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Day* (Manchester: Patrick Stephens, 2003).
 33. Phillip M. Taylor, *British Propaganda in the Twentieth Century: Selling Democracy* (Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 196.
 34. Definition of white, gray, and black propaganda draw from Jowett and O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, pp. 11–15.

35. See Dr. Edward P. Lilly, "The Development of American Psychological Operations 1945–1951," December 19, 1951, Box 22, Records of the Psychological Strategy Board, HSTL.
36. Osgood also points this out in his PhD thesis, *Total Cold War: U.S. Propaganda in the Free World, 1953–1960* (University of California Santa Barbara, 2001), p. 13.
37. Sir Robert Marett, *Through The Back Door: An Inside View of Britain's Overseas Information Services* (London: Pergamon Press, 1968), pp. 148–52.
38. White Paper Cmd 9138, *Summary of the Report of the Independent Committee of Enquiry into the Overseas Services*, April 1954.
39. Marett, *Through the Back Door*.
40. This is the explanation given in Jowett and O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, p. 205.
41. Harold Lasswell, *Propaganda Techniques in the World War* (New York: Knopf, 1927) and J. D. Squires, *British Propaganda at Home and in the United States from 1914–1917* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935).
42. Taylor, *British Propaganda in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 35–43.
43. Aldrich, *The Hidden Hand*.
44. On the British side this type of language is often found in the memoranda written by Lord Tedder, Chief of the Air Staff, Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery, the first post war Chief of the Imperial Staff, and most especially in Air Marshall Sir John Slessor. See for example PRO AIR 75/116 John Slessor Cold War Note by the Commandant I.D.C, July 1948 and PRO CAB 21/1787 MDM (51) 2, "Defence Policy and Global Strategy," June 1951. This is also highlighted in Aldrich, pp. 13–14.
45. This kind of language is found throughout the documents of the Psychology Strategy Board. See for example Frank Wisner, then Assistant Director of Policy Coordination for the CIA, memorandum to the Assistant Director of Intelligence Coordination entitled "Psychological Strategy Board," May 28, 1951, Box 1, Psychological Strategy Board, Gordon Gray Papers, HSTL.
46. Frank Roberts of the Foreign Office and George Kennan and Charles Bohlen of the State Department were the most articulate diplomatic officials to express these views. See for example Bohlen's comments on political warfare at the Princeton Conference meetings, Transcript of Princeton Meeting 10–11 May 1952, Box 83, Jackson Papers, Princeton Meeting, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library (DDEL).
47. Saunders, *The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*, Lucas, *Freedom's War*, and Lashmar and Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War* all fit into this category.
48. This methodology is a common feature of the "new Cold War history" school of scholarship. Others include Gaddis, *We Now Know* and Aleksandr Fursenko and Timothy Naftali, *One Hell of A Gamble: Khrushchev, Castro, and Kennedy*, 1958–64 (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998).
49. This term comes from English, *Russia and the Idea of the West*, p. 18. Zubok and Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War*, p. 4 have a similar concept, which they call "revolutionary-imperial paradigm".
50. Robert C. Tucker, *The Psychological Factor in Soviet Foreign Policy* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, RM-1881, 1957).
51. The size of the Soviet defense budget and the share of the total Soviet economy devoted to defense spending was a constant source of controversy during the Cold War. In general, Soviet records now available indicate the CIA did an adequate job estimating the Soviet defense budget but overestimated the size of the Soviet economy, especially in the 1970s and 1980s. For the CIA view of this issue

- see Noel E. Firth and James H. Noren, *Soviet Defense Spending: A History of CIA Estimates, 1950–1990* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1998). Criticism of CIA estimates can be found in Abraham C. Becker, “Intelligence Fiasco or Reasoned Accounting? CIA Estimates of Soviet GDP,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 10 (1994), pp. 291–329, and William Lee, “Book Review of Soviet Defense Spending,” *Slavic Review*, vol. 58, No. 1 (Spring, 1999), pp. 262–3, no. 1.
52. For an interesting study of the role the Soviet Union’s unique ideology and social construction played in its interaction with the international system, see Richard Saull, *Rethinking the History of the Cold War: The State, Military Power, and Social Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2000).
 53. Tucker, *The Psychological Factor in Soviet Foreign Policy*, p. 22.
 54. William Taubman, *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), p. xx.
 55. Mastny, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity*, pp. 47–62.
 56. On the end of the Gulag prison system see Anne Applebaum, *Gulag: A History* (New York: Anchor Books, 2003), pp. 506–26.
 57. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, p. 3.
 58. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

1 The Genesis of Britain’s Anti-Communist Propaganda Policy

1. PRO, CAB 129/23, CP (48) 5, “Policy in Germany,” January 5, 1948; PRO, CAB 129/23, (48) 6, “The First Aim of British Foreign Policy,” January 4, 1948; PRO, CAB 129/23, CP (48) 7, “Review of Soviet Policy,” January 4, 1948; and PRO, CAB 129/23 CP (48) 8, 1948 “Future Foreign Publicity Policy,” January 4, 1948.
2. PRO, CAB 129/23 CP (48) 8, “Future Foreign Publicity Policy,” January 4, 1948.
3. Especially good on the origins of Britain’s propaganda policy is Defty, *Britain, America, and Anti-Communist Propaganda 1945–1953*, Chapter 1, “The Origins of Britain’s Anti-Communist Propaganda Policy,” pp. 26–62.
4. John W. Young, *Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century* (New York: St. Martin Press, 1997), pp. 141–3.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
6. J. Kent and J. W. Young, “The Western Union Concept and British Defence Policy,” 1947–8, in Aldrich (ed.), *British Intelligence, Strategy, and the Cold War 1945–1951*.
7. J. D Parks, *Culture, Conflict, Coexistence: American-Soviet Cultural Relations, 1917–1958* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1983), pp. 21–2.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
9. Bill Jones, *The Russia Complex: The British Labour Party and the Soviet Union* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977) calls this period “the enchantment” of the Labour Party (pp. 11–30).
10. For Mayhew’s early views of Communism, see his memoir: *A War of Words: A Cold War Witness* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998), pp. 1–6.
11. Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization* (London: Charles Scribner’s Son, 1936).
12. *Ibid.*
13. Dmitri Volkogonov, *Stalin: Triumph & Tragedy* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1988), pp. 201–13.
14. This term comes from English, *Russia and the Idea of the West*, p. 18.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

16. Tucker, *The Psychological Factor in Soviet Foreign Policy*.
17. Zubok and Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War*, pp. 28–33, quoting a memorandum from Maisky and Litvinov to Molotov and Stalin.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Mastny, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity*, p. 24.
20. Antony Beevor, *The Fall of Berlin 1945* (New York: Penguin Group, 2002), p. 422.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, p. 423.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 423.
24. Tucker, *The Psychological Factor*, p. 22.
25. English, p. 48.
26. Vladimir Pechatnov, "Exercise in Frustration: Soviet Foreign Propaganda in the Early Cold War, 1945–1947," *Cold War History*, vol. 1, no.2 (January 2001) pp. 1–27.
27. Jones, *The Russia Complex*, pp. 33–54.
28. PRO FO 371/47923/N6582/672/38, no. 358 "Roberts to Eden," May 24, 1945.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
32. Bullock, *Ernest Bevin*, p. 235.
33. On Bevin's role in setting British foreign policy between 1945 and 1948, see Kenneth O. Morgan, *Labour in Power 1945–1951* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) and Bullock, *Ernest Bevin*.
34. PRO FO 371/56832 N5572/605/G38 "Minutes of meeting to brief Sir Maurice Peterson," March 18, 1946.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Ray Merrick, "The Russia Committee of the British Foreign Office and the Cold War, 1946–1947," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 20 (1985), pp. 453–68.
37. PRO FO 371/56763 N4157/97/39 Roberts to Bevin, "Letter to Bevin," March 18, 1946.
38. PRO FO 371/54885 N5170/5169/38 "The Terms of the Russia Committee," April 12, 1946.
39. Aldrich, *The Hidden Hand*, p. 128.
40. PRO FO 371/56832 N6344/605/G38 "The Soviet Campaign Against This Country and Our Response to It," April 2, 1946, Memorandum by Warner.
41. John Zametica, "Three Letters to Bevin", in John Zametica (ed.), *British Officials and British Foreign Policy 1945–1950* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1990), p. 87.
42. Warner, PRO FO 371/56832 N6344/605/G38 "The Soviet Campaign Against This Country and Our Response to It," April 2, 1946, Memorandum by Warner Note 40.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. PRO FO 371/56784/N6733/140/38G. The memo was ticked but there were no comments. It was, however, forwarded to various missions abroad and met with general approval. Also see Lucas and Morris, "A Very British Crusade," p. 89.

51. Raymond Smith, "Ernest Bevin, British Officials, and British Soviet Policy, 1945–1947," in Anne Deighton (ed.), *Britain and the First Cold War* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), p. 38.
52. Raymond Smith and John Zametica, "The Cold Warrior: Clement Attlee reconsidered, 1945–1947," *International Affairs*, vol. 61, no. 2, pp. 237–52, (Spring 1985).
53. PRO FO 930/488/P449/1/907. Minute by Kirkpatrick to the Russia Committee, May 22, 1946.
54. *Ibid.*
55. Smith, "Ernest Bevin, British Officials, and British Soviet Policy," p. 41.
56. PRO FO 930/488/P449/1/907 and Smith, "Ernest Bevin, British Officials, and British Soviet Policy," p. 41.
57. It is not clear whether Kirkpatrick is referring to circulation within the British government or whether he is suggesting providing certain sections of the intelligence summaries to a wider audience.
58. PRO FO 930/488/P449/1/907
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*
61. PRO FO 930/488/P449/1/907, Bevin minutes undated.
62. PRO FO 371/56763 N4156/97/38 no. 181, "Letter to Bevin," March 14, 1946; NO 4065/97/38 no.189 "Letter to Bevin," March 17, 1946; N4157/9738 no. 190 "Letter to Bevin," March 18, 1946.
63. Zametica, "Three Letters to Bevin," p. 71.
64. PRO FO 371/56763 N4156/97/38 no.181 "Letter to Bevin," March 14, 1946.
65. Zubok and Pleshakov, pp. 41–6.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. PRO FO 371/56763 NO 4065/97/38 no.189 "Letter to Bevin," March 17, 1946.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*
78. PRO FO 930/488 P449/1/907 "minute to Sargent," May 29, 1946.
79. Anne Deighton, *The Impossible Peace: Germany* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
80. PRO FO 371/ 66370 N7457/271/38 "telegram from Ambassador Peterson," June 20, 1947.
81. PRO FO 371/66371 N9549/271/38G "minutes of the Russia Committee," August 14, 1947.
82. Morgan, *Labour in Power 1945–1951*, p. 234.
83. See for example Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion: A study of the Relationship of Military Power to National Advantage* (London: Heinemann, 1910).
84. Jones, *The Russia Complex*, pp. 105–6 and Morgan, *Labour in Power 1945–1951*, p. 237.
85. Jones, *The Russia Complex*, pp. 104–6.
86. Young, *Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century*, p. 146.
87. Jones, *The Russia Complex*, pp. 108–9.

88. The group was given the name "Keep Left", after the publication by the *New Statesman*, London, in May 1947 of a pamphlet of that name which was produced for the Labour Party conference in the spring of 1947.
89. Jones, *The Russia Complex*, p. 137.
90. *New Statesman* August 31, September 7, 21, and 28, 1946.
91. Anthony Howard, *Crossman: The Pursuit of Power* (London: Jonathan Cape Press, 1990), p. 131.
92. Jones, *The Russia Complex*, p. 140.
93. Quotations from Attlee's November 18 speech are from Kenneth Harris, *Attlee* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1982), pp. 302–3.
94. Bullock, *Ernest Bevin*, p. 329.
95. "Cards on the Table," published by the Labour Party (Smith Square London: Co-operative Printing Society, May 1947). London School of Economics Pamphlet Collection.
96. "Cards on the Table," p. 12.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
101. Mayhew, *A War of Words*, p. 7.
102. Mayhew, *A War of Words*, p. 18.
103. C. Mayhew to E. Bevin, "Extracts of Memorandum: Urging establishment of IRD," in *A War of Words*, pp. 120–2.
104. Cominform was a successor organization to the Communist International, generally shortened to Comintern. The Comintern was founded by Lenin in 1920 with the purpose of fostering worldwide revolution through the united action of various national Communist parties. The organization, which was dominated by the Soviet Union, was the Kremlin's instrument for influencing and sometimes directing the actions of Communist parties in Europe. In 1943, in a gesture to the West, Stalin disbanded the Comintern, symbolizing the Soviet Union's decision to defend its traditional national interests at the expense of promoting a worldwide Communist revolution. The renewal of an international communist organization (Cominform) devoted to worldwide revolution in the late summer of 1947 was therefore a clear reversal of this policy and a sign to the West that the Soviet Union was returning to its previous stance of open ideological confrontation. On Stalin's reasons for founding the Cominform and its ties to Western Communist parties, see Mastny, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity*, pp. 30–5 and Zubok and Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War*, pp. 125–33.
105. Mayhew to Bevin, "Extracts of Memorandum," p. 122.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
107. *Ibid.*
108. Mayhew, *A War of Words*, p. 18.
109. Defty, *Britain, America, and Anti-Communist Propaganda 1945–1953*, p. 52. Defty conducted his interview with Mayhew in May 1996 before his death in January 1997.
110. Christopher Mayhew, *Time To Explain: An Autobiography* (London: Century Hutchinson 1987), p. 97.
111. Mayhew, *Time to Explain*, pp. 91–7.
112. "Record of meeting to discuss a possible counter-offensive against Communism on the lines set forth in Mr. Mayhew's paper of the 17th of October 1947,"

- November 20, 1947, Christopher Mayhew Papers File 4/1/1 Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King's College, London, UK (LHCMA).
113. *Ibid.*
 114. PRO FO 953/128/P138/138/950G "Third Wave Propaganda," Mayhew to Bevin, December 6, 1947.
 115. *Ibid.*
 116. *Ibid.*, and Mayhew, *A War of Words*, p. 21.
 117. PRO FO 953/128/P138/138/950G, "Third Wave Propaganda."
 118. PRO FO 953/128/P138/138/950G Warner to Bevin, January 1, 1948.
 119. *Ibid.*
 120. PRO FO 371/71648/N134/31/38G Meeting to discuss "Third Way Propaganda," December 30, 1947. See also Lucas and Morris, "A Very British Crusade," p. 94.
 121. *Ibid.*
 122. See Lucas and Morris, "A Very British Crusade," p. 94. For more on the Chiefs of Staff propaganda plan see PRO DEFE 4/16 "Meetings of the Chiefs of Staff," September 10, 1948.
 123. On Mayhew's evolving relationship with Bevin, see Mayhew's diary entries of June 3, 1947 and December 21, 1947, in "Extracts from C. P. M.'s Diary," Christopher Mayhew Papers File 5/2 LHCMA.
 124. Christopher Mayhew's diary entries January 5, 1948, in "Extracts from C. P. M.'s Diary," Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, Christopher Mayhew Papers File 5/2.
 125. January 3, 1948, Prime Minister Attlee's New Year broadcast as quoted in Harris, *Attlee*, p. 309.
 126. *The Times*, January 5, 1948, as quoted in Lucas and Morris, "A Very British Crusade."
 127. Mayhew diary entry January 5, 1948.
 128. PRO CAB 129/23 C.P. (48) 7, "Review of Soviet Policy," January 4, 1948.
 129. PRO CAB 129/23 C.P. (48) 7 and Bullock, *Ernest Bevin*, p. 513.
 130. PRO CAB 129/23 C.P. (48) 5, "Policy in Germany," January 4, 1948.
 131. PRO CAB 129/23 C.P. (48) 6, "The First Aim of British Foreign Policy," January 4, 1948.
 132. Full text of Bevin's January 22 speech can be found in *Royal Institute Documents 1947-1948*, p. 201-21.
 133. Lucas and Morris, "A Very British Crusade," p. 94.
 134. PRO CAB 129/23 C.P. (48) 6, "The First Aim of British Foreign Policy," January 4, 1948.
 135. PRO CAB 129/23 CP (48) 8, "Future Foreign Publicity Policy," January 4, 1948.
 136. *Ibid.*
 137. *Ibid.*
 138. *Ibid.*
 139. *Ibid.*
 140. John Kent, "Bevin's Imperialism and the Idea of Euro-Africa," in M. Dockrill and J. W. Young (eds), *British Foreign Policy, 1945-1956* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1989); Defty, *Britain, America, and Anti-Communist Propaganda 1945-1953*, p. 51; Lucas and Morris, "A Very British Crusade."
 141. PRO CAB 129/23 CP (48) 8, "Future Foreign Publicity Policy," January 4, 1948.
 142. *Ibid.*
 143. *Ibid.*
 144. Mayhew, *A War of Words*, p. 22.
 145. PRO CAB 128/5 CM 2 (48) Conclusions of Cabinet meeting January 8, 1948.

2 The Initial Years of the Information Research Department: The Organization and Strategy of Britain's Political Warfare Effort

1. On the IRD and MI6 see Stephen Dorrill, *MI6: Inside the Covert World of Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service* (New York: Free Press, 2000), pp. 70–80. The mistaken belief that the IRD was a re-creation of the PWE is widespread; see for example Taylor, *British Propaganda in the Twentieth Century*, p. 237.
2. D. Leigh, "UK Propaganda Machine Worked On in Peacetime," *The Observer*, January 29, 1978; Richard Norton-Taylor and Seumas Milne, "Orwell Offered Blacklist," *Guardian*, July 11, 1996; Tom Utley, "Orwell is Revealed in Role of State Informer," *Daily Telegraph* July 12, 1996; and Bernard Crick, "Why Are Radicals so Eager to Give Up One of their Own?," *Independent on Sunday* July 14, 1996.
3. On the operational side of the IRD, see James Vaughan, "Cloak Without Dagger," *Cold War History*, vol. 4, no. 3 (April 2004) pp. 56–84; Aldrich, *The Hidden Hand*, and Dorrill, *MI6*; on the IRD's relationship with foreign governments and organizations, see Defty, *British, American, and Anti-Communist Propaganda*; on the IRD and the British left, see Wilford, *The CIA, The British Left and the Cold War*, pp. 48–77.
4. PRO CAB 128/5 CM (45) 60th Meeting December 6, 1945.
5. Vaughan, *The Failure of American and British Propaganda*, p. 17.
6. Frances Donaldson, *The British Council: The First Fifty Years* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1984) pp. 1–2.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
8. Richard Aldrich, "Putting Culture into the Cold War: The Cultural Relations Department (CRD) and British Covert Information Warfare," *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Summer 2003).
9. *Ibid.*
10. Aldrich, *The Hidden Hand*, p. 122.
11. PRO FO 924/206/LC6031/1406/452 Clerk-Kerr to London, December 15, 1945. Also see Aldrich, "Putting Culture into the Cold War."
12. *IRD: Origins and Establishment of the Foreign Office Information Research Department 1946–1948*. Historians Note; LRD No. 9 (August 1995) FCO, p. 8.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
14. Mayhew, *A War of Words*, p. 24.
15. Dorrill, *MI6*, p. 78.
16. *IRD*, p. 7.
17. *Ibid.* Under a secret vote, a portion of IRD funding would be lumped together in a single bill with other covert government activities. Parliament would get a single up-or-down vote on the total package of government covert activities without the ability to scrutinize these activities, as it would under normal parliamentary procedures. The opposite of a closed vote is the normal open vote in which parliament is able to investigate and examine all of the activities the government is asking to have funded.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
19. *Ibid.*
20. PRO FO 1110/328/PR59/1/G "Discussion of Allocation of IRD expenditures between Secret and Open Vote." Meeting attend by Mr J. A. Crombie (Treasury); Mr C. F. A Warner, Mr. F. R. Murray IRD January 6, 1950.
21. Budget figures are from Marett, *Through the Back Door*, p. 145. Marett estimates that, with the high cost of inflation between 1948 and 1953 factored in, British overt information efforts were effectively cut in half.

22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., and the follow-up memorandum from Murray to J. A. Crombie Esq. KBE CMG Treasury 18 January 1950 PRO FO 1110/328/PR59/1/G.
25. Marett, *Through The Back Door*, p. 145.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. PRO FO 1110/38 /PR137/137/913G "Anti-Communist Propaganda," Memo by the Secretary of the Cabinet, March 23, 1948.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. PRO FO 1110/38/PR 137/137/G Sargent response to Services March 24, 1948.
37. Ibid.
38. PRO FO 1110/38/ PR 290/137/913G Inter-Service Committee on Propaganda Dissemination, Minutes of Meeting held on May 4, 1948.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. PRO FO 1110/16/PR22/10/93 "Memo by Murray to BBC," February 17, 1948.
42. PRO FO 1110/38/ PR 290/137/913G.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. PRO FO 1110/38 PR 418/137/913G Second Meeting of Inter-Service Committee on Propaganda Dissemination, Minutes of Meeting held on June 8, 1948.
48. PRO AIR 75/116 "Cold War Note by the Commandant I.D.C.," Slessor July 1948.
49. Dorril, *MI6*, pp. 82–3.
50. Air 75/116.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid. It is interesting to note this type of concern was strongly echoed by Senator McCarthy during his hearings from 1950 to 1954.
57. PRO FO 1110/38 PR 418/137/913G.
58. Ibid.
59. PRO FO 1110/38 PR 418/137/913G, "Note from Murray to Group Captain D. C. Stapleton," June 15, 1948.
60. PRO DEF 4/16 Notes on September 10th Chiefs of Staff Committee, September 10, 1948.
61. PRO DEF 4/16 C.O.S. Meeting with Ivone Kirkpatrick September 29, 1948.
62. Ibid. Field Marshall Montgomery's suggestion was very much in line with Slessor's thoughts on the need for a Cold War Planning Staff.
63. Ibid.
64. See Aldrich, *The Hidden Hand*, pp. 150–2 on these pivotal series of meeting.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
66. PRO DEF 4/16 C.O.S. Meeting with Ivone Kirkpatrick September 29, 1948.
67. *Ibid.*
68. PRO FO 1110/38 /PR /986/137/913G "Note Murray to Warner," November 16, 1948.
69. PRO FO 1110/307PR/32/1 copy of COS (49) 189 mtg between Foreign Office and Chiefs on "Cold War Propaganda," December 22, 1949.
70. See for example, Defty, *British, American, and Anti-Communist Propaganda*, pp. 182–245 and Dorril, *MI6*, pp. 81–9.
71. Defty, *British, American, and Anti-Communist Propaganda*, p. 183.
72. Aldrich, *The Hidden Hand* pp. 160–80; Dorril, *MI6*, pp. 165–299; and Bennett Kovrig, *Of Walls And Bridges: The United States and Eastern Europe* (New York University Press, 1991), pp. 41–5.
73. Beatrice Heuser, "Covert Action in UK and US Concepts of Containment," in Richard Aldrich (ed.), *British Strategy and the Cold War 1945–51* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 64–80.
74. PRO FO 1110/359/PR110/5 "Progress Report of on the Work of the IRD," Murray to Warner 21 March 1950 and PRO FO 1110/460/PR126/9 "Anti-Communist Propaganda Operations Revised Memo," original memo was Peck to Gordon Walker July 24, 1951; memo was revised for incoming Churchill government dated December 18, 1951.
75. FO 1110/460.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.*
85. *Ibid.*
86. Donaldson, *The British Council*, pp. 150–1.
87. FO 1110/460.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*
90. See Dorril, *MI6*, pp. 150–1, discussion of the "Defector Committee" set up by the Services and MI6 in 1948.
91. Defty, *British, American, and Anti-Communist Propaganda*, pp. 182–3.
92. FO 1110/460.
93. *Ibid.*
94. *Ibid.*
95. *Ibid.*
96. Additional details about the IRD's early output and dissemination abroad can be found in Hugh Wilford, "The Information Research Department; Britain's secret Cold War weapon revealed," *Review of International Studies* vol. 24 (1998), pp. 366–99, and Defty, *British, American, and Anti-Communist Propaganda*, which utilizes the large volume of material on the IRD declassified under the Waldegrave Initiative.
97. PRO FO 1110/359/PR110/5 "Progress Report of on the Work of the IRD," Murray to Warner March 21, 1950.

98. PRO FO 1110/359/ Cover letter by Warner on Murray's Report on IRD, Warner to William Strang March 20, 1950.
99. FO 1110/460.
100. Defty, *British, American, and Anti-Communist Propaganda*, pp. 138–71 does an excellent job reviewing the IRD's relationship with the US government and showing how IRD materials were used by various US agencies between 1948 and 1953.
101. PRO FO 1110/ 359 "IRD Briefs and Basic Papers Produced up to 31st March 1950."
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. PRO FO 1110/29/PR653/57/913 "Letter from the Hague" and see Historians Note p. 12.
106. *IRD: Origins and Establishment of the Foreign Office Information Research Department 1946–1948*. Historians Note; LRD No. 9 (August 1995) FCO, p. 9.
107. PRO FO 1110/26/ PR 195/57/G Note from Prague Embassy to IRD April 9, 1948.
108. Lashmar and Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War*, p. 36–7 quoting various IRD documents.
109. Aldrich, *The Hidden Hand*, p. 132.
110. For additional information on the IRD and literary intellectuals, see Wilford, *The CIA, the British Left and the Cold War*, pp. 57–64. Wilford makes the key point that, despite the IRD's willingness to utilize left-wing intellectuals' fiction for propaganda purposes, British government officials, unlike their American counterparts, rejected the idea of opening an intellectual front in the Cold War.
111. Christopher Hitchens, *Why Orwell Matters* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), p. 161.
112. Lashmar and Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War*, pp. 96–7.
113. FO 1110/189/.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid.
116. PRO FO 1110/221/PR 3361/33/913 "Publication of Animal Farm in Russian," June 24, 1949.
117. Ibid.
118. Aldrich, *The Hidden Hand*, p. 134.
119. PRO FO 1110/732/PR151/1 "Distribution list of trends of Communist Propaganda," November 26, 1954.
120. Ibid.
121. Smith, "Covert British Propaganda," p. 71.
122. Mayhew, *A War of Words*, p. 36.
123. PRO FO 1110/173/PR1730/5/913 Letter to Gen Ian Bloc from the IRD July 7, 1949.
124. Ibid.
125. File PRO FO 1110/174 "General Press Coverage of Information on Russian Labour Codex," in the Public Record office details the meticulous efforts of the IRD to record the world wide press attention of the release of the Codex.
126. Ibid.
127. FO 1110/359/PR110/5.
128. Lashmar and Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War*, p. 29.
129. Defty, *British, American, and Anti-Communist Propaganda*, p. 13.
130. Ibid., pp. 250–1.

131. See for example the press coverage of the Soviet Labour Codex in PRO FO 1110/174 "General Press Coverage of Information on Russian Labour Codex" among others.
132. Defty, *British, American, and Anti-Communist Propaganda*, pp. 251–3, reaches a similar conclusion.

3 The BBC Russia Service: Britain's White Propaganda Station (1946–53)

1. White Paper on Broadcasting Policy, Cmnd. 6852, London: HMSO, July 1946.
2. On the vital importance of the 1946 White Paper to the relationship between the BBC and the government, see also Mansell, *Let the Truth Be Told*, p. 213 and Briggs, *The History of the Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: Volume IV*, pp. 45–6.
3. White Paper on Broadcasting Cmd 6852 (1946).
4. White Paper as quoted in "The Purpose and Methods of the BBC Broadcasts in Russian," a paper prepared by the Eastern European Service BBC, January 1958 E1/2 455/2 Russia Service, BBC, Written Archives Centre (WAC).
5. Briggs, *The History of the Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: Volume IV*, p. 42.
6. "Debate in Parliament," noted in Board of Governors Papers in Haley to the Board of Governors, "The Principles and Purposes of the BBC External Services" G68/46 R1/82/3 14 November 1946 BBC WAC.
7. White Paper on Broadcasting Cmd 6852.
8. Nelson, *War of the Black Heavens*, p. 10.
9. Mansell, *Let the Truth Be Told*, p. 218.
10. PRO FO 371/56763 N4156/97/38 no.181 "Letter to Bevin," March 14, 1946.
11. Briggs, *The History of the Broadcasting*, vol. iv, p. 149.
12. H. J. Dunkerley letter 23 November 1945 E1/1280/1 Russia Service, BBC, WAC.
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15. Haley to Kirkpatrick, 22 February 1946 1945 E1/1280/1 Russia Service, BBC, WAC.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Kirkpatrick to Grisewood, 23 March 1946 E1/1280/1 Russia Service, BBC, WAC.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Grisewood to Kirkpatrick, 25 March 1946 E1/1280/1 Russia Service, BBC, WAC.
20. Telegram from Moscow Embassy, 2 March 1946 E1/1280/1 Russia Service, BBC, WAC.
21. *BBC Year Book 1947*, p. 117 BBC, WAC.
22. Grisewood to Kirkpatrick, 25 March 1946 E1/1280/1 Russia Service, BBC, WAC.
23. *BBC Year Book 1947*, p. 117 BBC, WAC.
24. Lashmar and Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War*, pp. 57–65.
25. Briggs, *The History of the Broadcasting IV*, p. 510.
26. General Sir Charles Richardson, *From Churchill's Secret Circle to the BBC: The Biography of Lt. General Sir Ian Jacob: GBE CB DL* (London: Brassey's, 1991), p. 46.
27. Richardson, *The Biography of Lt. General Sir Ian Jacob*, p. 59.
28. Mansell, *Let the Truth Be Told*, p. 215.
29. Briggs, *The History of the Broadcasting IV*, p. 126.
30. Mansell, *Let the Truth Be Told*, p. 215.

31. Ian Jacob, Directive No.1 "Statement of Policy for the European Services," July 29, 1946 E40/251/1 BBC, WAC.
32. Ibid.
33. Haley to the Board of Governors "The Principles and Purposes of the BBC External Services," G68/46 R1/82/3 14 November 1946 BBC WAC.
34. Jacob, "Statement of Policy for the European Services," July 29, 1946. BBC, WAC.
35. Michael Tracey, *Notes on A Variety of Lives: A Biography of Sir Hugh Greene* (London: Bodley Head, 1983), pp. 120–1.
36. Ibid.
37. PRO FO 371/5886/N12335/5169/38G "Minutes of the Russia Committee Meeting," September 17, 1946.
38. Ibid.
39. PRO FO 371/5886/N13979 Minutes of the Russia Committee Meeting October 24, 1946.
40. PRO FO 371/5886/N15583 Minutes of the Russia Committee Meeting October 17, 1946.
41. PRO FO 371/66371 Minutes of the Russia Committee Meeting July 31, 1947.
42. PRO FO 371/66374 Minutes of the Russia Committee Meeting October 23, 1947.
43. PRO FO 371/66375/ N14304 Minutes of the Russia Committee Meeting December 4, 1947.
44. Red Star Newspaper article of August 20, 1947 found in PRO FO 371/66371.
45. PRO FO 371/66374 Minutes of the Russia Committee Meeting October 23, 1947.
46. PRO CAB 129/23 CP (48) 8, "Future Foreign Publicity Policy," January 4, 1948.
47. PRO FO 371/257 PE 918/177/938 Ian Grey Eastern European IRD to R. Poston First Secretary Information Moscow Embassy April 28, 1948.
48. "The Purpose and Methods of the BBC Broadcasts in Russian," a paper prepared by the Eastern European Service BBC, January 1958 E1/2 455/2 Russia Service, BBC, WAC.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
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54. Ibid.
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60. Ibid.

61. PRO FO 1110/ 16 PR22/10/93 "Note by S. H. C Woolrych," February 26, 1948 PRO.
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68. PRO FO 1110/296 Kolarz, East European Service to Central European Service and Mr. M. Latey IRD "Communism in Practice Series," August 17, 1950.
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81. Briggs, *The History of the Broadcasting iv*, p. 447.
82. Critchlow, *Radio-Hole-In-The-Head*, pp. 22–3.
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4 American Cold War Propaganda Policy during the Truman Administration

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6. Shulman, *Voice of America*.
7. Krugler, *The Voice of America and the Domestic Propaganda Battles, 1945–1953*, p. 31.
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14. Executive Order 9621 “Termination of the OSS,” September 20, 1945 in Dr. Edward P. Lilly, “The Development of American Psychological Operations 1945–1951,” December 19, 1951, Box 22, Records of the Psychological Strategy Board, HSTL.
15. Grose, *Operation Rollback*, p. 26.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Thomas, *The Very Best Men*, p. 9.
18. See Dr. Edward P. Lilly, “The Development of American Psychological Operations 1945–1951,” December 19, 1951, Box 22, Records of the Psychological Strategy Board, HSTL, p. 16.
19. Krugler, *The Voice of America and the Domestic Propaganda Battle*, p. 43.
20. Heil, *Voice of America*, p. 87.
21. “Include AP Out,” *Newsweek* 27, Number 4, January 28, 1946 as quoted in Krugler, p. 39.
22. Quotations from John Knight are from Mr. Benton’s speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, “American News Abroad,” April 18, 1946, Box 166, White House Central Office File OF-20E, HSTL.
23. Assistant Secretary of State William Benton speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, “American News Abroad,” April 18, 1946, Box 166, White House Central Office File OF-20E, HSTL.

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27. Sorensen, *The World War*, p. 21.
28. Barrett, *Truth is Our Weapon*, p. 54.
29. Vaughan, *The Failure of American and British Propaganda*, p. 17.
30. Young, *Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century*, p. 141.
31. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, p. 31.
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33. Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas, *The Wise Men: Six Friends and the World They Made* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986) p. 158.
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35. Benton to Stone "Memorandum on the Beginning of Russian Broadcasts," January 6, 1947 Box 5, Charles Thayer Papers, Folder Voice of America, HSTL.
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37. Ibid., p. 5.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Walter L. Hixson, "Reassessing Kennan After the Fall of the Soviet Union: The Vindication of X?," *The Historian*, vol. 59, no. 4 (1997), pp. 849–58.
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42. This subject has been well covered in recent years. Of particular note are Grose, *Operation Rollback*; Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin*; Lucas, *Freedom's War*; and Thomas, *The Very Best Men*.
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45. Miscamble, *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy*.
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49. Walter L. Hixson, *George F. Kennan: Cold War Iconoclast* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), p. 56.
50. See Mastny, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity*, pp. 30–5 for Soviet reasons for relaunching the Comintern.
51. Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin*, p. 17.
52. Dr. Edward P. Lilly, "The Development of American Psychological Operations 1945–1951," December 19, 1951, Box 22, Records of the Psychological Strategy Board, HSTL, p. 35.
53. Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin*, p. 18.
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59. Policy Planning Staff to National Security Council "The Inauguration of Organized Political Warfare," May 4, 1948, Record Group 273, Records of the National Security Council, NSC 10/2, National Archives and Records Administration.
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70. Ibid.
71. Ibid., pp. 42–3.
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73. Lucas, *Freedom's War* pp. 60–1.
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78. Tom Braden, "I'm Glad the CIA is 'Immoral,'" *Saturday Evening Post* (May 10, 1967).
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80. W. Scott Lucas, "Beyond Freedom, Beyond Control: Approaches to Cultural and the State-Private Network in the Cold War," *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Summer 2003), pp. 53–72.
81. See Anne Karalekas, "History of the Central Intelligence Agency" Senate Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (Church Committee) Final Report, Book IV (Washington, DC, 1976), p. 31–2.
82. Grose, *Operation Rollback*, p. 114.
83. Spreadsheet of RFE from 1950–1970 in Box 189, Free Europe Committee Budget, RFE-RL/CA, HIA.
84. See Dr. Edward P. Lilly, "The Development of American Psychological Operations 1945–1951," December 19, 1951, Box 22, Records of the Psychological Strategy Board, HSTL, p. 53.
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87. Barrett, *Truth is Our Weapon*, p. 116.
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92. Ibid.
93. Barrett, *Truth is Our Weapon*, p. 72.
94. David F. Krugler, "Will It Play in Peoria? The Campaign of Truth and the Reconstruction of Cold War Propaganda," a paper presented to the British Association of American Studies Annual Conference in Birmingham, UK, April 1997.
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96. See Krugler, *The Voice of America*, p. 106 on this issue.
97. President Truman Address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April 20, 1950 as quoted in Barrett, *Truth is Our Weapon*, pp. 73–4.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Krugler, *The Voice of America*, p. 137.
101. International Information Program of US Department of State Memorandum "The Campaign of Truth," undated Box 5, The Paper of Howland Sargeant, HSTL.
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103. Krugler, *The Voice of America*, p. 139.
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109. See Chapter 3, pp. [100–1] for more detail on the British government thinking in regards to broadcasting in minority languages.
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111. Lithuanian broadcast, October 17, 1951, Box 28 VOA Papers, RG 306 USIA as quoted in Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, p. 40.

112. Krugler, *Voice of America*, p. 75.
113. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, p. 43.
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130. *Ibid.*
131. *Ibid.*
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133. Thomas, *The Very Best Men*, p. 69.
134. C. D Jackson quoted in the transcript of Princeton Meeting 10–11 May 1952, which included many future members of the Eisenhower Administration, Box 83, Jackson Papers, Princeton Meeting, DDEL.

5 The Early Years of Radio Liberty, 1953–60

1. Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy*.
2. Tom Braden, "I'm Glad the CIA is Immoral," Saturday Evening Post (May 10, 1967).
3. Critchlow, *Radio-Hole-In-The-Head*, p. 20.

4. Policy Planning Staff to National Security Council "Organized Political Warfare," May 4, 1948, Record Group 273, Records of the National Security Council, NSC 10/2. National Archives and Records Administration.
5. *Ibid.*
6. See Chapter 6 for more details on the National Committee for a Free Europe.
7. Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), p. 1.
8. This account draws from "Negotiations For an Effective Partnership: A Study of the Negotiations Between the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism and the Leaders of the Emigration from the USSR to Create a Central Émigré Organization for Anti-Bolshevik Activities" (1956, Hoover Institution Archive). This document is an unpublished CIA report by William Cates and was given to the author by the Hoover Institution archive staff.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Radio Liberty press releases from February 8, 1951, February 27, 1953, and August 27, 1953 in Box 30, Personal and Press Clippings, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Corporate Archive (RFE-RL/CA), Hoover Institution Archive (HIA).
11. "Negotiations For an Effective Partnership."
12. A similar point is made in Grose, *Operation Rollback*, p. 133.
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14. Critchlow, *Radio-Hole-In-The-Head*, p. 8.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
17. Radio Liberty Profile 1964 in Box 32, Profile of Radio Liberty, RFE-RL/CA, HIA and Sosin, *Sparks of Liberty*, p. 24.
18. Critchlow, *Radio-Hole-In-The-Head*, p. 2.
19. Author's interview with Gene Sosin, April 2005 in Westchester, New York. Phone interview with Jim Critchlow, July 2005. Also see Sosin, *Sparks of Liberty*; and Jon Lodeesen, "Radio Liberty (Munich): Foundations for a History," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television*, vol. 6, no. 2, (1986), pp. 197–210.
20. Sosin, *Sparks of Liberty*, p. 4.
21. Boris Shub, *The Choice* (New York: Duell, Sloane, & Pearce, 1950).
22. PRO FO 1110/16 "Notes from J. H. Watson on Meeting Between Boris Shub, and Christopher Warner," December 23, 1948. Additional comments in the file from C.R.A Rae of IRD and Ian Bloc, head of BBC External Services.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.* Shub comments on the BBC and its reaction to them are described extensively in Chapter 3.
26. Sosin, *Sparks of Liberty*, p. 8.
27. Critchlow, *Radio-Hole-In-The-Head*, p. 19.
28. Interview with Sosin April, 2005.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Sosin, *Sparks of Liberty*, pp. 45–7.
31. Sosin interview and Sosin, *Sparks of Liberty*, p. 39.
32. Critchlow, *Radio-Hole-In-The-Head*, p. 14.
33. Sosin, *Sparks of Liberty*, p. 4.
34. Interview with Sosin.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Phone interview with Jim Critchlow, July 2005.

37. Large parts of the transcripts of this meeting are contained in Box 11, Gene Sosin Collection RFE-RL/CA, HIA.
38. *Ibid.*
39. "Press Release: American Committee for Liberation From Bolshevism Inc.," Box 30, Personal and Press Clippings, RFE-RL/CA, HIA.
40. Minutes of December 17, 1957 Meeting between Foreign Office and IRD, E1/2 455/1 Records of Russian Service 1955–1958 BBC, WAC.
41. Interview with Sosin.
42. "Memorandum on Baltic Committees," November 29, 1955, Box 154, Baltic Committees, RFE-RL/CA, HIA.
43. Interview with Sosin.
44. Transcript of Byelorussian Broadcast, May 20, 1954, Box 11, Gene Sosin Collection RFE-RL/CA, HIA.
45. Sosin, *Sparks of Liberty*, p. 17. Transcripts of RL first day broadcast March 1, 1953 author's collection.
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49. *BBC Year Book 1956*, p. 37 BBC, WAC.
50. Joseph G. Whelan, *Radio Liberty: A Study of Its Origins, Structure, Policy, Programming, and Effectiveness* (Washington DC: Library of Congress Research Service, 1972), p. 188.
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52. Gene Sosin compared the character to Archie Bunker, from the American family comedy *All in the Family*, in *Sparks of Liberty*, p. 11.
53. This section is drawn from Critchlow, *Radio-Hole-In-The-Head*, p. 36–48.
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55. Sosin, *Sparks of Liberty*, p. 4.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
57. Michael Scammell, *Solzhenitsyn* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984).
58. Sosin, *Sparks of Liberty*, p. 74.
59. Nelson, *War of the Black Heavens*, pp. 91–2. Quoting a report, from August 6, 1958 to the Central Committee, signed by L. Iiyichev, A. Romanov and G. Kazakov, CPA fond 5, Op.33, case 75 163–7.
60. Critchlow, *Radio-Hole-In-The-Head*, p. 56.
61. "Regime Reaction Report 24–58," October 31, 1958 Box 553, Regime Reaction Reports 1956–1962, RFE-RL/CA, HIA.
62. Interview with Sosin.
63. "Regime Reaction Report 22–58," October 13, 1958 Box 553, Regime Reaction Reports 1956–1962, RFE-RL/CA, HIA.
64. Max Ralis, Manager Audience Research and Evaluation Department "Three Years of RadLib Audience Research Part 1," October 1, 1959, Box 1, Sprague Committee, DDEL.
65. Critchlow, *Radio-Hole-In-The-Head*, p. 101.
66. Lazarsfeld's early work on the use of radio in the Second World War can be found in Paul Lazarsfeld and F. N. Stanton (eds), *Radio Research: 1942–1943* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944).
67. There are five boxes just covering the 1950s (Box 528, 545, 546, 553, and 554) RFE-RL CA/HIA.
68. Critchlow, *Radio-Hole-In-The-Head*, p. 108.

69. Phone interview with Jim Critchlow, July 2005.
70. Ibid.
71. Max Ralis, Manager Audience Research and Evaluation Department "Three Years of RadLib Audience Research Part 1," October 1, 1959, Box 1, Sprague Committee, DDEL.
72. Ibid.
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74. Box 3 and 4 Operation Coordinating Board 1953–1954, Central File, DDEL document the history of the 169 Study Group and the prominent role Dr. William Schramm played in it.
75. Wilbur Schramm, "A Communication Research Man Looks at Radio Liberation," August 1958 Box 6, Gene Sosin Collection RFE-RL/CA, HIA.
76. Schramm memo.
77. Ibid.
78. Dr. Wilbur Schramm, "A Communication Research Man Looks at Radio Liberation," August 1957 Box 6 Gene Sosin Collection RFE-RL/CA, HIA. Quotes from Sosin, *Sparks of Liberty*, p. 74.
79. "Grey Broadcasting Operations," June 15, 1958, Appendices to Memorandum for the President from the Director of Central Intelligence declassified for Conference on Cold War Broadcasting Impact conference, Stanford, California October 13–15, 2004, Document Reader.
80. Ibid.
81. "Grey Broadcasting Policy Toward The Soviet Union," May 1, 1958, Committee on Radio Broadcasting Policy declassified for Conference on Cold War Broadcasting Impact conference, Stanford, California October 13–15, 2004, Document Reader.
82. Ibid.
83. Sosin, *Sparks of Liberty*, p. 32.
84. Interview with Critchlow.
85. Interview with Ross Johnson.
86. Interviews with Sosin and Critchlow.
87. I am grateful to Ross Johnson, the former head of RL for his insights into the CIA–RL relationships. Dr Johnson is currently working on a book on the history of RL with a focus on its relationship with the CIA. Dr. Johnson shared some of his conclusions with me in an interview at RFE/RL Corporate headquarters in June 2005.
88. Whelan, *Radio Liberty*, p. 58.
89. Spreadsheet of RFE from 1950–1970 in Box 189, Free Europe Committee Budget, RFE-RL/CA, HIA.
90. "Summary of Proposals For Contingency-Allotment Projects," October 15, 1962 Box 189, Free Europe Committee Budget RFE-RL/CA, HIA and "The Effect of Budgetary Proposals on FEC," March 5, 1962 Box 189, Free Europe Committee Budget RFE-RL/CA, HIA.

91. Interviews with Sosin, Critchlow, and Johnson.
92. "Grey Broadcasting Policy Toward The Soviet Union" May 1, 1958 Committee on Radio Broadcasting Policy declassified for Conference on Cold War Broadcasting Impact conference, Stanford, California October 13–15, 2004, Document Reader.
93. Sosin, *Sparks Of Liberty*, p. 74.
94. Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom*, p. 30.
95. Ibid.
96. Interview with Sosin.
97. Memorandum of Conversation, Participants, Mr Charles E. Bohlen, Mr. Edmund A. Gullion, and Col. Joseph Coffey Special Assistant to the Secretary, Department of State March 30, 1960, Box 1, Sprague Commission, DDEL.
98. Memorandum of Conversation, Participants, Mr. Foy Kohler, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, Mr. Edmund A. Gullion, and Col. Joseph Coffey Special Assistant to the Secretary, Department of State, March 30, 1960, Box 1, Sprague Commission, DDEL.
99. Mr. E. A. Gullion to Mr. W. A. Nielsen cover letter for interviews with Ambassadors Dowling's and Bohlen, April 13, 1960, Box 1, Sprague Commission, DDEL.
100. Memorandum of Conversation, Mr Charles E. Bohlen, Ibid.
101. Memorandum "RL's mission and output in relationship to that of VOA," September 6, 1962 Box 7, Gene Sosin Collection RFE-RL/CA, HIA.
102. Memorandum of Conversation, Participants, Mr. Howland Sargeant, Mr. Bentrandius, Mr. King, Mr. Edmund A. Gullion, and Col. Joseph Coffee April 6, 1960, Box 1, Sprague Commission, DDEL.
103. Memorandum "RL's mission and output in relationship to that of VOA".
104. Ibid.
105. Interview with Sosin.

6 American Cold War Propaganda Efforts during the First Eisenhower Administration

1. *Scope and Content Note*: Finder Guide, US Committee on International Information Activities (Jackson Committee); Records, 1950–1953, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library.
2. See the Records of the President's Committee on Information Activities Abroad (Sprague Committee), Box 1–Box 20, DDEL.
3. On Eisenhower and the use of propaganda, see Osgood, *Total Cold War*; Cook, *The Declassified Eisenhower*; Stern, *Propaganda In the Employ Of Democracy*; Parry-Giles, *The Rhetorical Presidency, Propaganda, and the Cold War, 1945–1955*; and Parry-Giles, "The Eisenhower Administration's Conception of the USIA". A broader look at Eisenhower foreign policy can be found in Dockrill, *Eisenhower's New Look National Security Policy, 1953–1961*; Robert. A. Divine, *Eisenhower and the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); and C. D. Pach and Elmo Richardson, *The Presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower* (Lawrence, KA: University Press of Kansas, 1991).
4. Osgood, *Total Cold War*.
5. Lucas, *Freedom's War*.
6. Martin J. Medhurst, "Eisenhower and the Crusade for Freedom: Rhetorical Origins of A Cold War Campaign," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 27 (Fall 1997), pp. 646–61 and Parry-Giles, *The Rhetorical Presidency, Propaganda, and the Cold War, 1945–1955*.

7. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, pp. 59–98 also discusses these organizational changes.
8. H. W. Brand Jr., *Cold Warriors: Eisenhower's Generation and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 118.
9. *Ibid.*
10. C. D. Jackson quote is from Cook, *The Declassified Eisenhower*, p. 13.
11. Eisenhower Speech to the National War College, October 3, 1962, Eisenhower Post-Presidential Papers, Speeches Series, box 3, Defense College (1) DDEL, as quoted in Osgood, *Total Cold War*, p. 25.
12. Medhurst, "Eisenhower and the Crusade for Freedom" p. 649.
13. Medhurst, "Eisenhower and the Crusade for Freedom", p. 653.
14. Quotations of the Eisenhower speech are from Martin J. Medhurst, *Dwight D. Eisenhower: Strategic Communicator* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), pp. 141–4.
15. Eisenhower speech, October 8, 1952, C. D. Jackson Records Box 2, DDEL, as quoted in Osgood, *Total Cold War*, pp. 1–2.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Scope and Content Note*: Finder Guide, US Committee on International Information Activities (Jackson Committee); Records, 1950–1953, DDEL.
18. C. D. Jackson to Dwight D. Eisenhower, Personal Letter on Jackson Commission, 17, December 1952, Box 50, Jackson Papers, DDEL.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Henderson, *The United States Information Agency*, p. 49.
21. David W. Guth, "From OWI to USIA: The Jackson Committee's Search for the Real Voice of America," *American Journalism*, vol. 19 (2002) no. 1, p. 25.
22. Leo Bogart, *Cool Words, Cold War: A New Look At USIA's Premise for Propaganda*, Revised Edition (Washington DC: University Publishing Association, 1995), p. xv.
23. Sorensen, *The Word War*, p. 38.
24. Guth, "From OWI to USIA", p. 26.
25. *Ibid.*, quoting US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations report, April 10, 1953.
26. Henderson, *The United States Information Agency*, p. 52.
27. Walter Lippmann, "Abolish the Voice of America," *New York Herald Tribune*, April 27, 1953 as quoted in Guth, "From OWI to USIA," p. 27.
28. Editorial, "Psychological War," *Washington Post*, February 14, 1953 quoted in Guth, "From OWI to USIA.
29. See Box 14, The Jackson Committee Records, DDEL, which is almost entirely devoted to various press clippings.
30. Brand, *Cold Warriors*, p. 120.
31. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, p. 67.
32. Jackson to Hauge, February 23, 1953, Box 7, Jackson Records DDEL, as quoted in Brand, *Cold Warriors*, p. 121.
33. Brand, *Cold Warriors*, p. 117.
34. Osgood, *Total Cold War*, p. 68.
35. Stephen E. Ambrose, *Eisenhower: Soldier and President* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), pp. 316–17.
36. C. D. Jackson to John Foster Dulles, "Voice of America," February 19, 1953, Box 3, Jackson Records, DDEL.
37. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain*, pp. 25–7.
38. Sorensen, *The Word War*, p. 45.
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7 Cultural Infiltration: A New Propaganda Strategy for a New Era of Soviet–West Relations

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Afterwards: The Role of Propaganda in the Cold War and Its Implications Today

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