

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE KOREA 1951

For: Public Opinion and Propaganda.
Professors Atkinson and McDonough

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Major Infantry

[Note: Paper prepared by Mr. Brauer for course at Georgetown University, 1953]



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PART I INTRODUCTION

Shortly after General Matthew B. Ridgeway assumed command of the Eighth United States Army in Korea, December 1950, an increased emphasis on Psychological Warfare was ordered. At that time ten officers and myself were assigned to the Army's reorganized Psychological Warfare Division. With the exception of one officer none of us had had any previous psychological warfare experience. During initial operations, aid was given to us by Mr. Charles Dauthey from the O.R.O. who had gained some psychological warfare experience against the Japanese in WWII. A member of the Chinese Nationalist Embassy staff was also placed on thirty days temporary duty with the Division. About this time, we were also favored with a three-day visit from Doctor Paul M. A. Linebrager.

Dr. Linebrager inspired us all in the possibilities of psychological warfare and gave us many valuable suggestions. Upon his departure he presented us a copy of his book, "Psychological Warfare." Although I desired to read the book at the time I always seemed too busy. A year later, after I had completed my psychological warfare duties and was waiting for my transfer to Japan, the book was finally read. I was surprised to find that many techniques and ideas mentioned in the book had been employed by us independently.

The first and greatest problem in conducting Psychological warfare in Korea was to know the mind and character of the target audience. This, of course, is true in any psychological operation. However, against an oriental target it is especially difficult because of the wide differences between the cultures of the East and the West.

Since I began my psychological warfare career without any pre-conceived ideas or notions, I was able to begin my psychological work on, how to win friends and influence people with an open mind. And I did not consider myself qualified until I had spent many hours in conference both with the Asian on my staff and a prisoner of war panel, and had analyzed the results of hundreds of leaflet surveys.

The ideas and critique of leaflets illustrated are based on my personal experience in Korea. These, I believe, show to some extent the mind of the Oriental target audience.

PART II TESTING AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

In the first year of the Korean War many leaflets were, out of necessity, prepared and dropped without being evaluated. In June 1951, the Army Psychological Warfare Division moved to Seoul. Here the prisoners of war in a nearby processing point were made available for psychological warfare testing and sampling. Tests were conducted to determine the following:

1. Knowledge quotient: surveys were run on photos and drawings of common symbols and famous personalities of both United Nations and Communists.

2. Literacy rate.

3. The relative effectiveness of all leaflets previously dropped--in this test leaflets were divided into groups of three or four according to themes. The prisoners of war were then asked what each leaflet meant to him, which he considered the most effective and why. On the basis of these answers leaflets were graded and used as a guide in the preparation of new leaflets.

4. The effectiveness of proposed leaflets--this test proceeded as in three (3) above. As a result of this testing, the effectiveness of new leaflets was materially increased.

Every effort was made in conducting these tests to get the POW's own opinion instead of what he believed we would like to hear. The interrogations were conducted in a friendly leisurely manner. Cigarettes were available and the POW's were encouraged to discuss personal feelings and problems. Approximately 98% of the POW's cooperated voluntarily and apparently in good faith. Many, in fact, seemed genuinely apologetic that they could not supply more information. All answers interrogators had reasons to suspect as not being genuine were discarded.

Results of these tests indicated:

1. That American high pressure advertising is too subtle for the Oriental, and that the only sensible and sure way to ascertain their reactions is to run a survey.
2. That 56% of the North Koreans and 22% of the Chinese Communists were literate.
3. That the Chinese had difficulty in comprehending most of drawings while having comparatively little trouble with the photographs. The difference in comprehension was not so pronounced in the North Koreans.
4. That texts should be written in good easily understood Chinese or Korean instead of a word by word translation from the English.
5. That an overwhelming majority believed the good treatment theme to be the most effective. This involved a personal appeal. It was something they liked to hear, especially after Communist charges that we killed or mistreated POW's.
6. That the anti-morale, material superiority (especially photos of dead Communist soldiers) were least effective. The general feeling seemed to be: "we know this only too well, but what can we do?" This fatalistic attitude, together with a lack of individual initiative was, I believe, the psychological factors most difficult to combat.
7. That a large percentage of the illiterate would have friends read the leaflets to them secretly. These illiterates could understand many of the photo leaflets.



Message to 45th North Korean Division

PART III

CRITIQUE OF UNITED NATIONS LEAFLETS

(Text is under leaflet)

TEXT:

(Page 1) Sketch, with caption..

"Welcome Chinese Officers and Men"

Come over to our side and we are all Friends

(Page 2) Troops of the many nations fighting you in Korea offer you a chance to save your life.

Follow these rules to safety:

1. Leave your unit.
2. Throw away your weapons.
3. Approach the UN lines in daytime, along the main roads.
4. Raise your opened hands above your head. This shows the UN Forces that your intentions are friendly.

You will be given good food and warm shelter.

Change your fate and save your life so that you may see your family again.

REMARKS: This surrender appeal leaflet was one of the first effective leaflets prepared. It was reissued several times and in later issues a photo replaced the sketch. A small surrendering figure was also used many times on the reverse side with the text. Thus it became to some extent synonymous with UN and good treatment. Surveys indicated the Chinese lacked individual initiative and always desired information on how to surrender.

TEXT:

Page 1

Illustration, with the following caption:

"THE NEXT ATTACK WHY MUST I BE LED TO MY DEATH"

Page 2

"Why must I be led to my death in the next attack?"

Why have the Communist leaders tried to blind me to the truth about the overwhelming numbers of United Nations planes, tanks and artillery units?

Why have they tried to deafen me with the hollow pounding of war drums and political indoctrine--deafen me to the dying cries of my fellow soldiers?

WHY SHOULD I NOT LIVE TO RETURN TO THOSE WHO LOVE ME

REMARKS: This leaflet was prepared by the Psychological Warfare Branch, General Headquarters, Far East Command, Tokyo. It is an excellent example of the use of a sketch and theme that would be effective against Americans but of little or no value against Orientals. The artwork is of no value whatsoever as it is completely foreign to the enemy. (See attached results of survey). In addition, the text is written in such a manner as to make little sense to the Chinese Communist. I estimate that about 70% of all leaflets prepared in Korea exhibited to some degree this same kind of weakness. In other words they did not speak the language of the enemy either in picture or language.

SURVEY OF LEAFLET #7943

MEANING OF LEAFLET	LEFT PICTURE	CENTER PICTURE	NIGHT PICTURE
1. (I) Don't know	UN soldier in form of ghost	CCF surrendering	Soldier
2. (I) Don't know	Death	CCF soldier with eyes covered	Dead
3. (I) Don't know	Don't know	CCF indoctrinated blindly	Wounded
4. (I) Don't know	Don't know	UN soldier	CCF soldier scared at UN
5. (I) Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know
6. (I) Don't know	Don't know	CCF with eyes covered	CCF shot
7. (I) Don't know	Woman	NK with eyes covered	Surrendered civilian
8 (I) Soldiers surrendering	Don't know	Soldier	Soldier
9. (I) Don't know	Don't know	CCF surrendering	CCF killed
10. (I) Don't know	Don't know	CCF soldiers	CCF killed
11. (I) Don't know	Don't know	CCF surrendering	CCP killed
12 (I) Don't know	Don't know	CCF with eyes covered surrendering	CCF killed
13. (I) CCF surrendering	Don't know	CCF with eyes covered holding weapon	CCF killed

14. (L) Could read but did not know what sketch meant	Don't know	CCF soldier with eyes covered	Wounded CCF
15. (L) Could read but did not know what sketch meant	Unknown man	CCF surrendering to unknown man	Wounded CCF
16. (L) Could read but did not know what sketch meant	Don't know	CCF with eyes covered	Wounded CCF
17. (L) Could read but did not know what sketch meant	Russian	CCF	Wounded CCF
18. (L) Could read but did not know what sketch meant	Don't know	CCF with eyes covered	CCF shot
19. (L) Could read but did not know what sketch meant	Don't know	CCF with eyes covered	Wounded CCF
20. (L) Ghost (left) boasting about CCF arty & planes & persuading CCF (center) to fight. CCF tried to give weapon away and cease fighting on the next offensive.	Ghost	CCF	Wounded CCF
21. (L) Surrender at next offensive	Don't know	CCF soldier	Wounded CCF
22. (L) US (center) is going to shoot at communist	Communist	US soldier	Wounded
23 (L) If CCF don't surrender they will be killed	Don't know	CCF surrendering	CCF killed
24 (L) Could read but did not know what sketch meant	Don't know	CCF with eyes covered	CCF wounded

1. (I) = Illiterate 2. (L) = Literate

TEXT

(PAGE 1)

Sketch, with caption----

"You have choice of three deaths

1. By Artillery
2. By Starvation
3. By Overwork

(PAGE 2)

"But you have only one way to save your life"--

"by coming over to U.N."

REMARKS: Another example of the use of a sketch foreign to the target audience. This layout was prepared by a former American advertising artist. The symbol of "death" is, of course, portrayed in a typical American manner. How to effectively portray "death" to the Oriental target audience was a problem which I believe was never satisfactorily solved. This leaflet was prepared under my direction although I had grave doubts about the sketch, recommended it be dropped in order to capitalize on the "three deaths" theme which intelligence reports indicated was being secretly discussed in many enemy units. I may add that my commanding officer believed this to be an excellent, well-prepared leaflet, therefore, probably it was not prepared in vain, for I discovered that not only is it necessary to prepare propaganda which you believe effective against the target audience but your C.O. must also like it.

TEXT:

(Page 1) Sketch with caption---

WHERE IS THE COMMUNIST AIR FORCE?

(Page 2) Day and night UN aircraft sweep the skies of North Korea. They search in vain for the Communist Air Force, but find, the skies as empty as the promises of your leaders.

The few Communist aircraft which dare to raise their wings, flee from the UN challenge as a chicken before a hawk.

WHY? WHY???

Because your leaders feed you with false promises. They have promised you air support at the front, but you stand alone, unaided. You know it is true. Your

own eyes tell you that the UN controls the skies. Your eyes do not deceive you as do your leaders.

THE UN AIR FORCE SHALL CONTINUE TO DOMINATE THE SKIES, UNAFRAID,
CHALLENGING, AND EAGER FOR AN OPPONENT.

REMARKS: One more example of the use of an illustration suitable for Americans but too subtle for the Oriental. The simple Communist soldier trying to figure this one out probably thought we were crazy trying to make him believe in a half bird and plane creature. This leaflet was one of the first prepared by my replacement. The illustration had appeared on the cover of "Time and the Chief of the Psychological Warfare section thought it a sure thing. Leaflet was not tested on POWs nor were Chinese on staff consulted. I volunteered my thought (which was not WO well taken) that it was of questionable value. One year later when I revisited Korea my replacement admitted that enemy reaction to it had been negative.

TEXT: Page 1 Photographs, with caption CHOOSE LIFE OR DEATH

Page 2 OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE CCF

At this very moment the choice between life and death is yours.

Do not become a ghost in a foreign land, but come to UN lines and safety.

When your unit moves to the rear take the opportunity to escape.

Stay in your foxholes and hide or intentionally lag behind till, you can leave your unit.

When the UN arrives, raise your hands over your head and come out of hiding.

You will receive good treatment and your personal property will be protected.

REMARKS: Leaflet was prepared under my direction. The theme "Choose Life or Death," I believed, would be obvious to both literate and illiterate. However, a survey on 50 Chinese POWs showed even this to be too subtle. A large percentage simply could not get the connection. All they could see was a dead Chinese soldier which was bad and somebody that was hungry. Leaflet, however, was effective against North Koreans. They, in many cases, were able to comprehend our leaflets much better than the Chinese. This may have been, at least in part, due to their higher literacy rate.

TEXT:

(Page 1) Photos, with captions---

"You can live or you can die"

"Will you be a corpse before you are 25?"

(Page 2) Recruits of the CCF Army:

The dead CC soldier on the other side is only 17 years old. He was forced to leave his home and his parents. He was cheated and forced to come to Korea. He was untrained and frightened and did not want to be a soldier.

Friends, your chances of living through this senseless foreign war become less each day.***

However, you may save your life by coming to UN lines. The UN welcomes all who come in peace and guarantees good treatment.

REMARKS: Direct appeal to Chinese Communist under 25 years of age, stressing choice of life or death. Intelligence reports had indicated that in some units a large percentage of the personnel was composed of individuals under 25 years of age.

Leaflet was tested on POWs and despite its similarity to the previous leaflet proved to be very effective. Both illiterate and literate were able to comprehend the theme, "Surrender or Die." Leaflet was prepared some time later than the previous leaflet and the ease in which it was understood may in part be due to the educational effect our leaflets were having.

TEXT:

Page 1: Sketch, with caption—..

"The Hands That Keep You From Safety" Page 2:

Why are you not allowed to discuss the contents of UN leaflets?

Is it because the Communists fear that you will learn the truth and realize that the thousands and thousands of your comrades have died in a foreign land for the Russian Communists?

Is it because the Communists fear that you will learn and realize that thousands of your comrades have come to UN lines and that they are all receiving good treatment?

Suppression of leaflets is an unmistakable sign of guilt.

Do not be oppressed any longer.

Come over to UN lines and safety.

REMARKS: Intelligence reports indicated Communist officers and cadres were continuously forbidding men to read UN leaflets. This leaflet was designed to counter this. It was considered such a good leaflet by me and others that it was not tested on POWs prior to dropping. Later a survey was conducted and to the question: What does this leaflet mean to you, a large percentage of POWs answered, "If you read leaflets your officers will punish you." Needless to say, we stopped dropping it.

TEXT:

Page 1: Illustration of sleeping woman.

"While their forms in dreams Arise to fair ones far away..."

This woman dreams of the day her husband will come home.

Page 2: Illustration of dead soldier.

Text-

"...but along the river bank their bones Lie scattered where they may."

Her husband will not return home because he lies dead by a river bank.

But You can escape.

REMARKS: This leaflet, general nostalgia, attempts to capitalize on a famous Chinese war poem and to exploit the sex angle. However, it is too complicated and was probably understood by only a few of the better educated. Whether leaflet has sex appeal is purely speculative and highly improbable. Sex evidently does not appeal (strange as it may seem) to the Oriental in any manner comparable to that of Americans. All Orientals I worked with held this view.

They could, however, give no satisfactory explanation, nor did they know how the sex angle could be exploited against an Oriental target audience.

I conducted a simple test on three members of a POW panel who were aiding us in the preparation of leaflets, in an effort to determine if even a rudimentary reaction to sex (by our standard of measurements) could be detected. Four proposed leaflets, together with a picture of a luscious female nude, were handed to these members for any response upon which effective propaganda leaflets could be based. They took one look at the nude and without batting an eye handed it back as no good.

TEXT:

(Page 1) Sketch, with captions-

(Vertical caption) "Will the Communists allow you to lead such a life?"

(Horizontal caption) "The sun sets in the West and you return from day's work,

Your wife is waiting for you and you are welcomed by your son - is this not happiness?"

(Page 2) There is an old Chinese proverb which put it well: "There are three sins which result from failure to fulfill filial duty and the first and the most unforgivable of these is to be without offspring."

To be a "virtuous man" one must have a family and a career.** When will you return home to fulfill your obligations? On this foreign battleground you are the cannon fodder of the Communist aggressor.

Reflect Warriors: Many of you are killed, wounded, or crippled each day. How can you expect to marry and father children?

Friends: Come over to UN lines now: Save your life so that you will live to see your parents again, marry, and have children.

REMARKS: Chinese, Anti-Morale and Surrender Appeal. This leaflet was developed to heighten feelings of nostalgia in the CCF and to create concern at the lack of fulfillment of social duty generated by his being in a foreign land. The concept of filial duty or obligation is particularly important to the individual Chinese. Its importance is probably greatest in rural areas where the Communist program of attacking traditional "folk ways" has not been markedly effective. Many of the CCF are unmarried youths from rural areas who should be especially susceptible to such an appeal. The message is crystallized in terms of marriage, tending the land, and fathering a son, this I believe, is the only way that sex can be used effectively against the Chinese Communist.

REMARKS: Combination "Good Treatment" and "Safe Conduct Pass" in Chinese, English, and Korean. Leaflet was prepared by Psychological Warfare Branch, General Headquarters, Tokyo, and would have been effective were POW eyes not blanked out. (See reverse side). Intelligence reports indicated that Communists were telling men that this was proof that UN removed POW eyes. Consequently, UN policy was changed and photos without blanking out eyes could be used, provided POW written permission was obtained.

EUSAK 8529

(Page 1) IN CHINESE:

"PASS" "PASS"

Come over, Save your life; Good Treatment to you

"SAFE CONDUCT PASS"

Your personal property will be protected.

(Page 2) IN CHINESE:

"GOOD TREAT 2" "GOOD

Safety Pass

IN ENGLISH: "Safe Conduct Pass"

This certificate guarantees good treatment.

Signed: James A. Van Fleet

REMARKS: Currency-Safe Conduct Pass, Chinese and Korean. The engraving on the front is a reproduction of a 1,000 South Korean Won with the UN flag and Eighth Army patch, an official Eighth Army Chop (seal). The back is a reproduction of a 100 North Korean Won with General Van Fleet's signature. The color (red) approximates that of the 2th Korean currency, thus Communist soldiers could hide it among their North Korean money. Survey results indicated that it was one of the most effective safe conduct passes developed. Intelligence indicated that reports were circulated among the Communists that it was a good idea to possess one of these. POWs liked its official appearance and the small size which permitted them to hide it among their person.

Dr. Linebrager on his visit to our section had suggested a currency pass, based on some old Chinese gold standard currency. However, none of these were available to copy. This leaflet was originally developed from a good treatment theme.

REMARKS: Anti-Morale and Surrender Appeal. Two good examples of the effective use of photos. The captions on these leaflets read: "Join your comrades who have come over to UN line," and "Lay down your arms and be friends." Leaflets were addressed and dropped on the units to which POWs had belonged. The leaflet with the United States soldier is perhaps the better of the two as GI helps to strikingly identify the POW with the UN and good treatment. The POWs also appear to be more relaxed and happier.

TEXT: (Page 1:)

THE GOOD OFFICERS FIRST RESPONSIBILITY IS TO HIS MEN... WHERE WILL YOU LEAD THE MEN WITH WHOSE WELFARE YOU ARE, CHARGED--?

(Captions at top of Page 1)

--Into the Deathtrap of a
Lost War--?

--Into the Sanctuary
Offered All Chinese Officers and Men
Behind the UN Lines--?

(Captions on small sketches at bottom of page 1)

(Page 2:)

When the military situation means death for the men of his command, the real leader knows that surrender is the only honorable course of action.

To continue fighting for the Communists in Korea means death for you and your men.

Good treatment is guaranteed by the United Nations Forces to Chinese officers and men alike.

YOUR MEN LOOK TO YOU FOR WISE LEADERSHIP

REMARKS: Surrender Appeal to Communist Officers (Chinese). Effective against literate personnel. (See attached results of survey).

SURVEY OF LEAFLET #7058

MEANING	LEFT PICTURE	CENTER PICTURE	RIGHT PICTURE
1. (I) Don't know	CCF soldier	Officer	American officer dressing CCF wound in hospital
2. (I) Don't know	Dying soldier	Unidentified officer	American dressing wounded CCF
3. (I) Don't know	Soldier wounded in combat	Officer	CCF receiving medical treatment from US after surrendering
4. (I) Don't know	CCF dying	American officer	US soldier dressing wounded CCF
5. (I) Don't know	Wounded CCF	Don't know	UN soldier dressing a CCF wounded who surrendered
6. (I) Don't know	Wounded CCF	Don't know	Surrendered CCF receiving medical treatment from UN

7. (I) Surrender yourselves to the UN. They will treat those who are wounded	Wounded CCF	Don't know	CCF wounded receiving medical treatment from UN
8. (I) Don't know	Wounded CCF in battle	Don't know	UN dressing a CCF soldier who has surrendered
9. (I) Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	UN dressing a CCF soldier who has surrendered
10. (I) Don't know	Wounded CCF in battle	Don't know	Wounded CCF receiving medical treatment from US after he surrendered
11. (I) Don't know	Dead CCF in battle	Don't know	Wounded CCF receiving medical treatment from US after he surrendered
12. (I) You will be killed if you don't surrender	Dead CCF in battle	Officer	Dressing CCF wounded
13. (I) Don't know	Wounded CCF in battle	CCF officer	US soldier dressing wounded CCF
14 (I) A CCF officer watching a man dressing a wounded soldier		CCF Officer	Dressing a wounded soldier
15. (L) Why should you (CCF officers) send your men to die for an unworthy cause when you could receive good treatment from UN by taking your men and surrender yourself	Dead CCF in battle	CCF officer	UN medical treatment to CCF
16. (L) CCF officers: Don't send your men to the route of death. Take all your men with you and surrender to the UN. You will be treated kindly.	Dead CCF in battle	CCF officer	UN medical treatment to CCF wounded
17. (L) If you are a good officer, you should bring your men and surrender to the UN, otherwise you will be killed.	Dead CCF in battle	CCF officer	UN medical treatment to CCF wounded

16. (L) Good officers of the CCF you could save the lives of your men and surrender. This is the only way to be alive.	Dead CCF in battle	CCF officer	UN medical treatment to CCF wounded
19. (L) The CCF cadre why should you send your men to die for an unknown cause when you could save both your live and theirs by surrendering. Take your men and surrender before it is too late.	Dead CCF in battle	CCF officer	UN medical treatment to CCF wounded
20. (L) CCF officer, you are responsible for the lives of your men. Take your men and surrender before it is too late. You will be treated kindly by the UN.	Dead CCF in battle	CCF officer	UN medical treatment to CCF wounded
21. (L) CCF officers. Take your men and surrender to the UN or you will be punished or slaughtered by your men.	Dead CCF after being shot by UN	CCF officer	CCF officer being given medical aid by UN after surrendering
22. (L) If you are a good officer and want to be alive, take your men and surrender. You will be kindly treated.	CCF killed in battle	CCF officer	CCF given medical treatment by UN
23. (L) If you were a good officer, you would shoulder the responsibility of your men's lives. You are fighting a defeated war. Take your men and surrender to us and you will be treated kindly.	CCF killed in battle	CCF officer	CCF given medical treatment by UN

24. (L) Cadres of CCF, you are holding the life and death of your men in your hand. A good officer should know the best way to save your life and the lives of your men is to take all your men and surrender.	CCF killed in battle	CCF officer	CCF given medical treatment by UN
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TEXT: (Page 1) Sketch, with caption—

"Come beck, my son!"

(Page 2)

My son, My son,

How much longer are you going to be away from home? My eyes fill with tears when I think of what is happening to our beloved China.

Thousands and thousands of peaceful Chinese are killed every day by the murderous Communists. The Communists took your father away days ago and we have not seen him since. **** My son, only you, the young generation, can save us - you and others must come back and save us from these brutal Communists.

I, your mother, who has never said an unkind word, nor quarrelled. with anyone, could hardly tolerate the Communist's atrocities. We have to avenge.

The Communists are mad dogs - they are murderers:

I shall die hating them:

Oh, my son, my son, come back:

Your Mother

REMARKS: This Chinese anti-morale leaflet was, in my estimation, the most effective leaflet prepared in the Korean war. All the emotional ties between mother and son are stressed to create maximum home sickness. A survey of this leaflet with five other leaflets was conducted on one hundred POWs. 90 picked this leaflet as the most effective. It was easily understood by both literate and illiterate and was so effective that some cases POWs burst into tears as they discussed the leaflet. "Everyone has a mother," was the comment made time after time.

The artwork for the leaflet was prepared by an anonymous Chinese artist in South Korea. Pe gave the sketch to the Chinese Nationalist Embassy from where it found its way to my desk. It was almost not printed as our art section did not believe it would reproduce satisfactorily.

TEXT: Page 1: Photo, with caption--

"DING HOW" (The Best)

Page 2: CCF Officers and Men:

During World War II when Chinese and American soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder the term "Ding How" was widely used among themselves. It was symbol to snow traditional Sino-American friendship.

The Americans are deeply emotional. Today in Korea they still remember this friendship.

In accosting GIs, your comrades who have come over still use the term "Ding How." They are now well fed, clothed, have shelter, plus American cigarettes and various amusements.

Friends, do not hesitate. When you come over to your old friends, you too will receive "Ding How" treatment.

REMARKS: Good treatment, Sino-American Friendship.

Survey results indicated that this was one of the more effective leaflets prepared. It might have been improved somewhat by having the POWs on the bottom of leaflets dressed in their Communist uniform in order to make them more easily identified.

TEXT: Page 1: Illustration with the title Why BE Hungry?

Page Text -

This Korean communist soldier, now safe behind the UN lines, enjoys hot rice with side dishes, each day. Along with thousands of his comrades ho no longer suffers hunger during the long night marches he once had to make.

With his stomach filled with hot rice and vegetables he now enjoys life away from the war.

But what about you, soldier?

Why be hungry this fall when the UN offers you an abundance of good food?

SAVE YOUR LIFE --ESCAPE TO THE UN LINES

REMARKS: Korean, Anti-morale, Food theme.

Leaflet was prepared by the Psychological Warfare Division, Tokyo. A survey showed that it was in bad taste and created a negative result. The Koreans are taught from childhood to go hungry, and that there are finer things than filling one's stomach. An appeal based on solely on this theme is, therefore, considered vulgar. SAVE

TEXT: (PAGE 1) Mute cartoon strip--

(PAGE 2) In jingle form:

For the sake of "Revolution" you have been forced to join the army.

Now the air raid shelters are your quarters,

You dare not complain when you suffer from hunger and cold.

You suffer more when it snows,

You have to hide yourself when you hear the sound of an airplane.

The strafing makes you shudder.

Friends, think it over!

You'll find safety by coming over to UN lines.

Decent food and good quarters are guaranteed.

Stoves are already installed here.

You will be free to express yourself.

You'll find you will be in an atmosphere of happiness.

REMARKS: Anti-Moral -- Surrender Appeal.

This is one in a series of mute cartoon character leaflets, which had the advantage of imparting a specific message without the aid of the written word. This proved to be an effective way of imparting a message to the large number of illiterate in the target audience. In its preparation it must be tested and retested on POWs to be certain that the correct message is conveyed. Invariably, it must be redrawn several times before it will be correctly interpreted.

TEXT: (Page 1) Sketch, with caption---

"A Winter Tragedy"

(Page 2) Unfortunate Soldiers of the NKPA:

Winter warfare is upon you for the second time. Your bitter foe - THE COLD - has already taken its toll of your comrades.

Many of your comrades have already perished and you can dig no grave for them in the frozen ground. Your Communist leaders continue their aggressive war!

Comrades: Save yourselves: Warmth and food means life. Leave your units and come to the UN lines. All men of the NKPA, officers and cadre alike, are given the same good treatment.

Tomorrow may mean another victory for your enemy -THE COLD! TOMORROW MAY BE TOO LATE! ESCAPE NOW!

REMARKS: Korean Cold Weather, Anti-Morale: The art work in this cold weather leaflet was surveyed on a group of 30 North Korean POW., All but one of the PsW were convinced that this sketch would be effective in lowering the morale of North Korean troops. Each PW was then asked to tell what was happening in the sketch and their descriptive stories, which were surprisingly similar formed the basis for the written text. In general, this particular sketch excited feelings of self-pity in the PsW and brought to their minds the more unpleasant aspects of winter warfare.

MAY FAVORABLE WIND BE WITH YOU DURING YOUR TRIP HOME

(Reverse: Text)

CADRES AND WARRIORS OF THE CC/

With the signing of the armistice, the fighting is over now. Peace and quiet returns to the hills and valleys of Korea.

We are happy to know that the days of fear, hunger, cold and exhaustion are over for you. We hope you will soon leave the Army for peace-time pursuits at home.

With you, though, we bow our heads in deep sorrow for the thousands of your dead-- who, asleep forever, will not be able to join in the joyous reunion at home.

As the war ends, everybody is entitled to the traditional right to rebuild his shattered homeland, till his fields, rear his sons, and lead a peaceful life. With permission from your leaders, you would be assured of such a free life.

Lastly, the fighting men of the United Nations send a farewell to you. May you be permitted to return to your homes speedily, may you soon be reunited with your families, may we never meet again on the field of battle.

REMARKS: Chinese Korean, Friendly Farewell.

This is the last leaflet dropped in the Korean War. It is designed as a friendly gesture of farewell. The text, however, is filled with stimuli planned to excite feelings of discontent and nostalgia when normally expected events do not occur.

PART IV

CONCLUSIONS

A. Knowing the target audience:

Information as to the character and nature of the audience is as essential to psychological warfare as intelligence is to combat. The effectiveness of the psychological warfare soldier's propaganda is directly related to his understanding of the nature of the target audience.

The following methods were utilized in gaining information on the character of the audience in Korea.

1. History and area study.

2. Construction of a propaganda man. (a description appreciation of a typical audience member). Dr. Lineborger, "Psychological Warfare", pp. 153-154.

3. Full and proper utilization of Orientals on the psychological staff. These individuals should be made to feel that they are members of a team. and should be encouraged to discuss and even criticize projects under consideration. If this is not done they will merely do what they are told and agree to everything, for to disagree would be impolite. Care must be taken to prevent real or imagined loss of face on their part. This may happen when the suggestions of one are accepted over another. One must also be careful not to look down on them or criticize their customs and traditions. Americans who cannot take this attitude have no place in any psychological warfare program. I remember, in one instance, an officer who continuously treated the Orientals as inferiors, and, since the garlic order of "Kim-chi" (Korean food staple) offended him issued an order prohibiting the Koreans from eating it.

4. Prisoner of War Panel:

A prisoner of war panel was (unofficially) established in Korea in February 1951. The panel was composed of 15 officers and enlisted men, Lt. Col. to private. All were volunteers and strangely anti-Communist. Their services were especially valuable to us prior to our access to other prisoners of war. On the negative side, the panel was dominated by a few individuals. Panels also had a tendency to become static. Therefore, members should be rotated provided the older members can be gracefully disposed of and not funneled back into regular POW channels.

5. Sampling and testing:

Against an Oriental target audience, I believe every major echelon of command should have a "Research and Testing Section." This is the surest and safest way of gaining sufficient information as to the character of the audience, thus enabling the waging of effective psychological warfare. In Korea a testing section operated to a limited degree under the psychological warfare intelligence section. This proved fairly successful. However, regardless of where a Research Section operated, its work must be closely coordinated with the section preparing the propaganda.

B. Photographs:

Photos of happy prisoners of war were used successfully on many propaganda leaflets. However, this effective form of pictorialization was not fully exploited. Photographs from China depicting typical Chinese villages, homes, farms, shrines, festival scenes, women and children, all could have been incorporated into effective anti-morale, nostalgia, homesickness propaganda leaflets. I made request for such photos but none were ever received. It is suggested that a library of such photographs from potential target countries now be established to assure their availability if needed.

C. News:

A weekly news leaflet was dropped in Korea. It proved very successful. The Communist desire for news could, I believe, have been more fully exploited. For example, it might have been advantageous to insert a single small straight news item on all leaflets dropped. Thus the interest in the leaflets would have been heightened and the audience increased. One might compare this to Americans subscribing to the daily paper in order to read comics or sports page.

An effective interest stimulating vehicle that an enemy could use against American troops would be a good joke on each leaflet.



Major Albert G. Brauer in Korea, 1951

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