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ORIGIN OF AMERICAN EARLY PROPAGANDA APPARATUS «COLD WAR» (1945-1948)

The main focus of this study was to identify the main stages of the American propaganda apparatus formation and development at the beginning of the Cold War. In this case, the historiographic works of contemporary American scholars had been analyzed and compared, concerning the activities of the President H. Truman administration on the transformation of existing and the creation of state propaganda new bodies. On the basis of the CIA 's open archival materials, was made an attempt to highlight the main steps taken by the US government to form a legal framework for confronting Soviet information and psychological activities outside the United States.

Keywords: propaganda apparatus, Cold War, USA, USSR, information and psychological confrontation.

Problem statement. Analyzing the events in the international arena at the beginning of the 21st century, the manifestations of confrontation between the United States and the Russian Federation are observed. Contemporary political scholars together with military experts consider them as features of the «new Cold War». Studies related to a preliminary phenomenon such as an antagonism is relevant to the present times. In conditions of current confrontations between major players in the international arena can contribute to formation of the national security of Ukraine. «Hybrid» nature of modern wars and conflicts prompts exceptionally significant research and analysis of counteraction to propaganda.

The urgency of the problem lies in the fact that there are no fundamental researches based on the American experience of countering Soviet propaganda during the Cold War in Ukraine. On the other hand, domestic historiography (as in other post-Soviet countries) is full of publications from the Soviet period, which objectively do not

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cover the events studied, but often mislead about the real state of affairs. An important role in this matter is played by the formation and activities of the USA propaganda special services, especially during the presidency of H. Truman.

Research analysis. There are some foreign studies devoted to analyzing the activities of the administration of President Truman at the beginning of the Cold War. Separately, I would like to highlight the study «The Rhetorical Presidency, Propaganda, and the Cold War, 1945-1955» where the historian Shawn J. Parry-Giles focused on how the Truman and Eisenhower administrations strengthened the power of the rhetorical presidency through the institutionalization of a government propaganda program in peacetime. Based on newly declassified archives and more than 100 interviews with veterans of public diplomacy, from the Truman administration to the fall of the Berlin Wall, another American scientist Nicholas J. Cull in his work «The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989» relates both the achievements and the endemic flaws of American public diplomacy in this period.

In Ukraine, research on this topic is practically non-existent, except for such historians as M. Bessonova, O. Lysenko, V. Poklyatskaya, and others. However, their scientific research only indirectly and partly affects the activities of American government advocacy programs of the specified period.

The purpose of the article was to identify the main stages of the American propaganda apparatus formation and development at the beginning of the Cold War.

Keeping in mind that an informational as well as psychological impact is executed in terms of «who-what-whom», namely the US propaganda apparatus is recommended to be investigated more precisely. An outbreak of the Cold War, specifically emergence, organization and dissemination of the propaganda during Truman's presidency at the beginning of the Cold War (1945–1948) is regarded as a starting point of the study.

Consequently, when in April 1945, the President Harry Truman took the post of the head of America, the propaganda basic state institution of the Military Information was to be dissolved by the government (*Winkler, 1978:15*). Referring to the American scholar Sh. Perry Giles there were demonstrations of «social hostility to the

US propaganda program», furthermore, the great mass of the population considered those programs as «relics of war period». In result, the administration of President Truman discussed the need to dismantle governmental propaganda in the postwar years. «As an interim decision, the president abolished the Military Information Institution, assigning propaganda operations to the State Department on August 31, 1945» (*Parry-Giles, 2001:5-6*).

Actually, the objective of the American President's administration was to redirect the US propaganda in order to support the US foreign policy. On the top of that, it was supposed to counteract the growing Soviet propaganda machine.

Some American historians have noted the following pertaining to a matter of the study: H. Truman was exposed by the report of American politician A. McMahon. Notably, the latter one claimed that «international information activities are an integral part of the foreign policy. The purpose of the activity should be to understand that on one hand, the knowledge among other people concerning the United States is veritable and unprejudiced, on the other hand it is scanty and distorted. Secondly, to ensure policies directly related to other nations include enough details and background information to shed light on» (*MacMahon, 1946*).

McMahon argued that the American military government propaganda agency should be preserved after the war in order to facilitate promotion of the US foreign policy. In accordance with the above-mentioned positions, the President urged the State Department to unite all the propaganda units into a body called the International Information Service (IIS). H. Truman tried to persuade the Congress that the US propaganda agency would be of vital importance to the post-war peace building of the world, additionally, the International Information Service would play an essential function in promoting the US foreign policy (*Cull, 2008:23*).

In September 1945, Truman appointed B. Benton as Assistant Secretary of State for Social and Cultural Affairs. He was tasked with «selling” America to the world, as well as announcing the idea of propaganda abroad to the American elites. The official found the cooperation with journalists potential as far as they were bound to advocate the US state information programs and their legislative framework. The campaign, supervised by Mr Benton as a director of the temporary program, reflected his own rhetoric throughout the

country. That fact convinced both the media and the Congress to prioritize the establishment of the government “news» in the war of a new generation - the «war of words». As B. Benton and his supporters in Congress emphasized, that «war of words» was designated to prevent armed conflicts, to support peace and accomplishment of the international obligations by countries in the post-war world (*Cull, 2008:6*).

In 1946, the Military Information Service department was reformatted to the State Department Office for International Information and Culture(OIC). At the end of 1946 it consisted of the United States Information Service (USIS) including a radio station «Voice of America». The OIC structure included the desks of the State Department, with five area divisions and a further five ‘operating divisions’ comprising International Broadcasting; International Press and Publications; Libraries and Institutes; International Exchange of Persons; and International Motion Pictures, which commissioned or purchased documentaries to be employed overseas, as Frank A. Ninkovich mentioned in his study «The Diplomacy of Ideas: US Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938–1950.» The effective operation of U.S. government information dissemination needed to be guaranteed, and so U.S. embassies each had an OIC representative working on U.S. government information initiatives (*Ninkovich, 1981:8-14*).

H. Truman had a goal to enforce the post-war peace through the function of the OIC. The congressional debate over funding the peacetime of the U.S. government overseas information activities from 1945 through 1948, was applied by the Truman administration – a journalistic paradigm – to allay doubts of the media and the Congress over the necessity for the peacetime propaganda program. Such an approach equated propaganda with news and required the testimony of leading editors and journalists to testify the propaganda’s employment and constitutionality (*Benton, 1973:16*).

President H. Truman, in conjunction with the State Department, was eager to enact legislation that would support and fund the U.S. government overseas information agenda. Prior to the renaming of the IIS into the OIC, W. Benton approached Representative Sol Bloom, chair of the Foreign House Affairs Committee, to support and introduce legislation that Benton’s office developed, which would allow the State Department to implement and maintain international information and exchange programs abroad (*Benton, 1973:18*).

W. Benton was willing to initiate and launch a campaign to stimulate mutual international understanding as well as the trustworthy image of the United States through radio and cinematic projects. Collaterally, the administration of the President H. Truman, assisted by the State Department, worked on the legislative framework to sustain and fund US foreign policy. Apart from that, it would allow the State Department to execute international information along with the propaganda programs abroad (*Krugler, 2000:38*).

H. Truman paid considerable attention to the collection and processing of intelligence data in anticipation and prognosis of the Soviet psychological war against the United States. Fears of American authority were not unreasonable ones, in accordance with a telegram of J. Kennan and the State Department Office for International Information and Culture considering announcements of the Voice of America in the USSR, revealed that the Soviet propaganda campaign against the United States was intensifying. H. Truman clearly realized the Soviets were more desperate for psychological than for physical war. Its purpose was to undermine the credibility of the United States throughout the world (*Cull, 2008:24*). To outsmart the official Moscow, the American President initiated the establishment of the reconnaissance apparatus designated to oppose the informational and psychological impact of the Soviet Union.

Truman's main vision was to create the U.S. intelligence agency to collect and analyze all intelligence information in order to provide effective communication between the U.S. government agencies. In his memoir, «Years of Decisions», H. Truman writes: «This scattered method of getting information for the various departments of the government first struck me as being badly organized when I was in the Senate. Our Senate committees, hearing the witnesses from the executive departments, were often struck by the fact that different agencies of the government came up with different and conflicting facts on similar subjects. It was not at first apparent that this was due to the uncoordinated methods of obtaining information. Since then, however, I have often thought that if there had been something like coordination of information in the government it would have been more difficult, if not impossible, for the Japanese to succeed in the sneak attack at Pearl Harbor» (*Truman, 1956*).

As a consequence, in February 1947 the White House presented a bill «On National Security, the Establishment of the Central

Intelligence Agency, the National Security Resources Board, the Joint Staff and the Ministry of Defense», which was approved in the same year, where the Central Intelligence Agency, had functions of the implementation regulator of propaganda methods, which are used to create and distribute informational messages abroad and within the country (*Bond, 1973*).

In 1947 the Marshall Plan was initiated by Secretary of State George Marshall as a mean of the economic aid to European countries in dire need of economic recovery. It was also called the European Recovery Program (ERP) including an informational aspect. According to M. J. Hogan, the «plan itself had a strong propaganda value, but its home agency – the Economic Corporation Agency (ECA) – had an explicit mandate for publicity.» (*Hogan, 1987:85-86*) The Marshall Plan was designed in part to educate the European public about the United States, its culture, society and democratic principles. However, the bill went beyond that realm. N. Cull mentioned, «the U.S. role in reconstruction soon expanded into a large-scale attempt to project the American way of life and the virtues of the free enterprise system» (*Cull, 2008:38*).

The next important step in the formation of propaganda apparatus at the state level was the US Law «On the Exchange of Information and Education of 1948 (Smith-Mundt Act).»

In his speech on containment in March 12, 1947, the President Truman intended to react decisively to negative Soviet propaganda against the United States. During a speech by Truman in Congress, the president clearly wanted his words to combine the congressional views for «confrontation with Stalin». The Moscow Embassy in the United States reacted brilliantly, stressing that the speech of the American president «clearly has an aggressive political content and puts an advocacy mechanism in defense» (*Truman, 1956*). The deterrence policies deployed by the president's apparatus required substantial assistance and the US involvement in Greece and Turkey in order to withstand the growing Soviet influence in the Middle East.

In order to implement the strategy, Benton quickly distributed information about the United States in Greece and Turkey, installing a radio broadcast of the Voice of America. Also, Assistant Secretary of State for Social and Cultural Affairs launched a collaboration with Carl Mundt, a member of the House of Representatives, who presented the bill on the exchange of information and education (also

named after Senator Alexander Smith, who advocated him), where «funding mechanisms have been proposed for dissemination information about the United States and their policies abroad» (*Benton, 1973:19*).

To verify the bill, the Congress formed a special subcommittee for *conducting on-site monitoring of the US propaganda abroad. The members of the subcommittee visited twenty-two European countries in September and October 1947. When they returned, the absolute majority of the Congress was impressed with their positive report on the bill. The bill was finally adopted both by the House of Representatives and the Senate, then, the President G. Truman signed it on January 27, 1948. (Parry-Giles, 2001:21)*

The law as the basis for propaganda, which was replaced by the term «public diplomacy» (Brown, 2008), which better reflects the changed perspective on government information. D. Krugler states: «The Smith-Mundt Act special lessons learned from war years defined a mission of the Cold War» (Krugler, 2000:38).

So, the administration of the president H. Truman created legislation that supported and funded the foreign information program of the US government, namely: 1) The 1947 Law on National Security envisaged the creation of an intelligence apparatus that organized and analyzed data and provided reliable information to US government agencies. 2) The European Recovery Program of 1948 (also known as the Marshall Plan) helped bring the European public true information about the United States. 3) The US Law on Information Exchange and Education of 1948 (also known as the Smith-Mundt Act) provided a legal framework for engaging in information, educational and cultural activities of US audiences around the world.

The study concluded, the primary indicators regarding the commence of the Cold War prompted the American leadership to generate a ramified and effective propaganda apparatus as a main instrument of struggle in that sort of confrontation. The agencies of the informational and psychological impact established at that time would be applied as a solid ground for the USA further propaganda campaigns in the continental part of the country as well as beyond it.

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ЗАРОДЖЕННЯ АМЕРИКАНСЬКОГО ПРОПАГАНДИСТ-
СЬКОГО АПАРАТУ НА ПОЧАТКУ «ХОЛОДНОЇ ВІЙНИ»
(1945–1948 рр.)

Актуальність дослідження проблеми продиктована передусім тим, що фундаментальні роботи з вивчення американського досвіду протидії радянській пропаганді в часи «холодної війни» в Україні майже відсутні. Натомість вітчизняна історіографія (так само, як і в інших пострадянських країнах) перенасичена виданнями радянського періоду, які не тільки необ'єктивно висвітлюють досліджувані події, але й нерідко вводять в оману щодо реального стану справ. Важливим фрагментом у цьому питанні є формування і діяльність інформаційних органів США, особливо в період президентства Г. Трумена.

Таким чином, основна увага цього дослідження була зосереджена на визначенні основних етапів формування та розвитку американського пропагандистського апарату на початку «холодної війни» другої половини ХХ століття. При цьому проаналізовано та порівняно історіографічні роботи сучасних представників американських наукових кіл щодо діяльності адміністрації президента Г. Трумена з трансформації існуючих та створення нових органів державної пропаганди. На основі відкритих архівних матеріалів ЦРУ зроблено спробу виокремити основні кроки американського уряду з формування законодавчої бази для протистояння радянській інформаційно-психологічній діяльності за межами США.

Адміністрація тогочасного президента створила законодавство, яке підтримувало і фінансувало зарубіжну інформаційну програму уряду США, а саме: Закон «Про національну безпеку» 1947 року передбачав створення розвідувального апарату, який організовував і аналізував дані, надавав урядовим установам США достовірну інформацію; Європейська програма відновлення 1948 року (також відома як план Маршалла) допомогла донести до європейської громадськості правдиву інформацію про Сполучені Штати; Закон США «Про обмін інформацією та освітою» 1948 року (також відомий як Закон Сміта-Мундта) надав законодавчу базу для залучення до інформаційної, освітньої та культурної діяльності США аудиторій по всьому світу.

Таким чином, станом на 1948 рік американський пропагандистський апарат мав розгалужену систему, кістяк якої склали: Управління Державного департаменту з міжнародної інформації та культури, до якої організаційно входили Інформаційна служба США і радіостанція «Голос Америки», а також Центральне розвідувальне управління як регулятор реалізації методів пропаганди, які використовуються для створення та розповсюдження інформаційних повідомлень.

В результаті дослідження зроблено висновок, що перші ознаки початку «холодної війни» спонукають американське керівництво до створення розгалуженого та ефективного пропагандистського апарату, що мав би стати головним інструментом боротьби у протистоянні такого типу. Проаналізований матеріал доводить, що створені у цей час структури інформаційно-психологічного впливу стали твердим підґрунтям для відповідних структур США, які ефективно проявили себе в подальших інформаційних кампаніях як в середині країни, так і за її межами.

Ключові слова: пропагандистський апарат, «холодна війна», США, СРСР, інформаційно-психологічне протиборство.