

1 Hugo Torbet
Attorney at Law, SBN 147650
2 3223 Webster St.
San Francisco, CA 94123
3 Telephone: (415) 986-9400
email: hugotorbet@protonmail.com

4 In pro se
5
6
7

8 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
9 NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

10
11 HUGO TORBET,) No.
)
12 Plaintiff,)
) COMPLAINT AND DEMAND FOR JURY
13 v.) TRIAL
)
14 YOUTUBE, LLC, GOOGLE LLC, and)
DOES 1 through 25, inclusive,)
15)
Defendants.)
16 _____)

17 Plaintiff Hugo Torbet avers that:

18 I. Jurisdiction and Venue

19 1. Jurisdiction is founded upon 28 U.S.C. S 1331, in that
20 this is an action upon 42 U.S.C. §§ 1983 and 1988 for violations
21 of rights guaranteed by the First Amendment of the United States
22 Constitution. In addition, plaintiff invokes this court's
23 supplemental jurisdiction over his state law claims upon the
24 authority of 28 U.S.C. § 1367.

25 2. Venue is founded upon 28 U.S.C. § 1391(a)(2), in that a
26 substantial part of the events giving rise to the claims alleged
27 herein occurred in this judicial district.

28 ///

1 II. Intradistrict Assignment

2 3. A substantial part of the events giving rise to the
3 claims alleged herein occurred in the County of San Francisco.

4 III. Introduction

5 4. This complaint arises from a dispute between plaintiff
6 and defendants over the terms of service of defendants' video
7 hosting internet service named "YouTube." In the most general
8 terms, and without limitations, plaintiff contends that specific
9 video content which he created and published fully complied with
10 all of the relevant terms of service. Plaintiff infers from
11 defendants' misconduct, as described below, that they contend
12 that the specific video content violated certain terms of
13 service, although they did not provide any specific references.

14 IV. Parties

15 5. Plaintiff Hugo Torbet is an individual.

16 6. Defendant YouTube, LLC, is a limited liability company
17 which is based in the State of Delaware, which is registered to
18 do business in the State of California at 901 Cherry Ave., San
19 Bruno, CA 94066, and which is in good standing in both states.

20 7. Defendant Google LLC is a limited liability company
21 which is based in the State of Delaware, which is registered to
22 do business in the State of California at 1600 Amphitheatre Pkwy,
23 Mountain View, CA 94043, and which appears to be in good standing
24 in both states. Plaintiff is informed and believes, and thereon
25 alleges, that Google LLC manages or owns, in whole, or in part,
26 or both manages and owns, YouTube, LLC.

27 8. The true names and capacities of those defendants sued
28 herein by the fictitious designations of Does 1 through 25,

1 inclusive, are unknown to plaintiff at the present time. Their
2 true names and capacities will be included in an amendment to
3 this complaint as soon as they are ascertained. Plaintiff is
4 informed and believes, and thereon alleges, that each of these
5 fictitiously named defendants is legally or equitably liable or
6 responsible to him on the facts averred herein.

7 V. Facts

8 9. Plaintiff is informed and believes, and thereon alleges,
9 that in doing, or omitting to do, the things they are herein
10 alleged to have done, or omitted to do, each defendant was the
11 employee, agent, partner, joint venturer, affiliate, or co-
12 conspirator of each of the other defendants, and was acting
13 within the course and scope of that employment, agency,
14 partnership, joint venture, affiliation, or conspiracy.

15 10. In addition, plaintiff is informed and believes, and
16 thereon alleges, that in doing, or failing to do, the things they
17 are herein alleged to have done, or omitted to do, each
18 defendant, including without limitation, YouTube, LLC, and Google
19 LLC, was acting under the color of law, in the agency of, at the
20 behest, or direction, or under the control of, or in partnership,
21 agreement, or conspiracy with, the United States Government, or
22 various of its officials who had actual or apparent legal
23 authority, and pursuant to a policy, regulation, or law of the
24 United States Government.

25 11. On approximately April 11, 2014, plaintiff opened an
26 account with defendants which included, inter alia, the creation
27 of a "channel" on which to publish video content. The account
28 was, and remains, subject to adhesive terms of service which

1 defendants require and impose for such an account, and which
2 defendants unilaterally change from time-to-time.

3 12. The current version of the terms of service is set out
4 on the following webpage:

5 <https://www.youtube.com/static?template=terms>

6 13. A re-print of the current version of the terms of
7 service is attached as Pages 1 to 14 of the Appendix hereto.

8 14. The current version of the terms of service which are
9 set out, and maintained by defendants, on the webpage identified
10 in Paragraph 12 is hereby incorporated by reference as though
11 fully set forth herein.

12 15. On November 24, 2021, plaintiff published a video on
13 his YouTube channel entitled: "Nuernberg, USA, II: Exit 666, a
14 Dead End." This is the second episode in a five-part, fact-based
15 series on some of the catastrophic failure in the government's
16 response to the so-called "Covid-19 pandemic."

17 16. The complete text of the episode, not including video
18 clips and exhibits, is as follows:

19 The last time fascism reared its evil head,
20 humanity survived. Then tribunals of international
justice were convened in Nuremberg, Germany.

21 Some of the people who were responsible for the
22 war crimes and the crimes against humanity were held to
23 account. The criminals included judges and doctors who
24 authorized and conducted medical experiments on human
beings who had not consented, and who were injured or
killed in the experiments.

25 Upon fair trial process, "guilty" verdicts were
26 rendered against most of the doctors who had been
27 charged. Most of these were sentenced to life in
28 prison. A few, who were also Nazi party members, were
hung until dead.

The proceedings of the court were transcribed, and
are preserved in writing. The trial transcript shows

1 that the inhumane, illegal, and immoral medical
2 experiments which the Nazi doctors conducted under
3 color of law, included infecting prisoners with
4 malaria, and then testing various drugs on them,
5 infecting prisoners with epidemic jaundice, and
6 observing the pain and suffering, infecting prisoners
7 with spotted fever, and then testing various vaccines
8 and chemicals on them. In addition, the Nazi doctors
9 conducted similar experiments with yellow fever,
10 smallpox, typhus, cholera, and diphtheria.

11 The Nazi doctors in one prison camp conducted
12 muscle and nerve removals to test theories of
13 regeneration, and they conducted bone transplantations,
14 causing intense agony, mutilation, and permanent
15 disability.

16 The doctors also participated in a program of
17 euthanasia of those who the party considered to be
18 "useless eaters", including the aged, insane, incurably
19 ill, and deformed children. The relatives of the
20 victims were informed that the victims had died from
21 natural causes, such as heart failure.

22 The trials were conducted upon ordinary criminal
23 process. This means that the doctors were charged by
24 an indictment.

25 Of note, the doctors were charged in count three
26 with crimes against humanity for conducting medical
27 experiments on people who had not consented, and who
28 suffered brutalities, cruelties, tortures, atrocities,
and other inhuman acts.

The judges who had authorized the experiments
under the specious laws were charged with conspiracy,
and they were charged with crimes against humanity,
since they had authorized the commission of the
atrocities and offenses.

This may seem like ancient history. However, we
should not fall into the trap of forgetting the
important lessons from this episode of society-wide
moral failure.

I mention this trial, because it set forth certain
principles of medical research which together are
called the "Nuremberg Code."

The court found that there are times when medical
experiments on human beings can conform with the ethics
of the medical profession. However, certain basic
principles must be observed in order to satisfy moral,
ethical and legal concepts. Chief among these
principles is that the human subject must consent

1 voluntarily. He should be able to exercise his free
2 power of choice, without the intervention of any
3 element of force, fraud, deceit, duress, over-reaching,
4 or other ulterior form of constraint or coercion.
Further, it is the duty and responsibility of the
5 doctor to ascertain the quality of the human subject's
6 consent.

7 This principle has not been lost in the sands of
8 time.

9 Paragraph 7.1.2 of the American Medical
10 Association Code of Ethics instructs licensed doctors
11 that:

12 Informed consent is an essential safeguard in
13 research. The obligation to obtain informed
14 consent arises out of respect for persons and a
15 desire to respect the autonomy of the individual
16 deciding whether to volunteer to participate in
17 biomedical or health research. For these reasons,
18 no person may be used as a subject in research
19 against his or her will.

20 Further, federal law, at subpart E, of Section
21 360bbb-3, of Title 21, of the United States Code,
22 provides that everyone has the option to refuse the
23 administration of an unapproved product or a product
24 which has been approved for emergency use.

25 The difficulty with international law and with
26 ethical codes is that they are difficult to enforce in
27 real time. The technicalities of why this is so don't
28 matter. The point is that because of this
circumstance, governments and their agents are almost
never motivated to respect international law or ethical
codes. Nevertheless, the time could, and should, come
when those who are responsible for the crimes which are
afoot in the Covid-19 vaccine experiment are held to
account.

I shudder to think what justice will look like
once humanity survives the gene modification experiment
being conducted by our government at the behest of the
pharmaceutical industry.

But make no mistake about it. Humanity will
survive.

Too many men have fought and died for the freedom
bequeathed to us that it is impossible that the
American Dream, which is guaranteed by our founding
documents, will vanish in the dawn, lost to the
foolishness of the weak and decadent who are too stupid
or too distracted to cherish and conserve their

1 birthright.

2 In the here and now we can but hope that our
3 judgment will be fair and measured, since it will
4 reflect as much upon us as it will upon the criminals.
5 Indeed, we must commit that we will act with the moral
6 clarity and reason of our forebears when the inevitable
7 accounting of this moment is rendered. For we
8 ourselves will be held to account by history.

9 17. This subject video content is also published on
10 plaintiff's Rumble channel. The link for the video is as
11 follows:

12 [https://rumble.com/vpvpXu-nuernberg-usa-ii-exit-666-a-d](https://rumble.com/vpvpXu-nuernberg-usa-ii-exit-666-a-dead-end.html)
13 ead-end.html

14 18. On October 2, 2022, defendants sent plaintiff an email
15 representing that "Our team has reviewed your content, and,
16 unfortunately, we think it violates our medical misinformation
17 policy." The email also informed plaintiff that defendants had
18 "removed the ... content from YouTube." Finally, the email
19 stated that plaintiff could "appeal and [defendants would] take
20 another look."

21 19. A true and correct pdf print of the email is attached
22 as Pages 15 to 17 of the Appendix hereto. It is hereby
23 incorporated by reference as though fully set forth herein.

24 20. A true and correct pdf print of YouTube's medical
25 misinformation policy for which the aforementioned email provided
26 a link is attached as Pages 18 to 21 of the Appendix hereto, and
27 is hereby incorporated by referenece as though fully set forth
28 herein.

29 21. Plaintiff did lodge an appeal in the manner accorded.

30 22. About two hours after the appeal was lodged, defendants
31 sent plaintiff a second email. In this second email, defendants

1 represent that "We have reviewed your content carefully, and have
2 confirmed that it violates our medical misinformation policy."

3 23. A true and correct pdf print of the email is attached
4 as Pages 22 to 23 of the Appendix hereto. It is hereby
5 incorporated by reference as though fully set forth herein.

6 24. After receiving the second of these two emails,
7 plaintiff confronted defendants in the communications systems
8 which they provide. Specifically, plaintiff accused defendants
9 of falsely representing that a human being had reviewed the
10 subject video content, and of acting at the behest of the
11 government. These are serious accusations, and a reasonable
12 person so accused would have denied them if they were not true.

13 25. Defendants did not deny the accusations.

14 26. A true and correct JPG file print is attached as Page
15 24 of the Appendix hereto. It is hereby incorporated by
16 reference as though fully set forth herein.

17 VI. Claims

18 First Claim for Relief

19 (Declaratory Relief)

20 27. Plaintiff incorporates by reference all averments in
21 Paragraphs 1 through 26, inclusive, as though fully set forth
22 herein.

23 28. When plaintiff accepted defendants' offer of an account
24 on the YouTube video platform, subject to the unilateral terms of
25 service then in effect, a contract was formed between the
26 parties, in that the parties were capable of contracting, they
27 consented to the agreement, and the agreement had a lawful object
28 and was supported by sufficient consideration.

1 29. An actual controversy now exists between the parties
2 concerning plaintiff's rights under the parties' contract, and
3 more specifically, whether or not the subject video content
4 violates defendants' medical misinformation policy.

5 30. Plaintiff contends that not only does the subject video
6 content not violate defendants' medical misinformation policy,
7 but also not one statement in the presentation can be fairly
8 characterized as misinformation, disinformation, or
9 malinformation, as those terms are used in English language
10 communications in the United States of America as of the date of
11 this writing.

12 31. According to the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure
13 Security Agency, which is an authorized and funded agency of the
14 United States Government, these terms are currently defined as
15 follows:

- 16 a. Misinformation is false, but not created or shared
17 with the intention of causing harm;
- 18 b. Disinformation is deliberately created to mislead,
19 harm, or manipulate a person, social group, organization, or
20 country; and
- 21 c. Malinformation is based on fact, but used out of
22 context to mislead, harm, or manipulate.

23 32. These definitions are published by the United States
24 Government at <https://www.cisa.gov/mdm>, among other places.

25 33. Attached as Pages 25 to 27 of the Appendix hereto is a
26 true and correct pdf print of a "toolkit" published by the
27 Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency concerning
28 "Disinformation and Covid-19." It is hereby incorporated by

1 reference as though fully set forth herein.

2 34. Plaintiff is informed and believes, and thereon
3 alleges, that defendants use the government's definitions, or
4 definitions which are substantially similar, when evaluating or
5 examining video content as potential misinformation,
6 disinformation, or malinformation. This is not, however, to
7 imply, let alone concede, that defendants have any intellectual
8 integrity or good faith when it comes to such evaluations or
9 examinations. In fact, defendants permit and frequently pay all
10 sorts of malicious actors to propagate false and dangerous
11 material on YouTube.

12 35. For example, defendants will permit and pay almost
13 anyone to propagate the slogan that the mRNA experiment allegedly
14 undertaken by the Medical-Industrial Complex as an intervention
15 to prevent infections and transmission of an alleged virus
16 commonly known as "SARS-CoV-2," and its various mutations, is
17 "safe and effective." In point of fact, the hard, indisputable
18 evidence is that the mRNA experiment is neither. In point of
19 fact, the slogan that the mRNA experiment is "safe and effective"
20 is, indisputably, misinformation at best, and disinformation at
21 worst.

22 36. On the one hand, the mRNA injections have caused more
23 injuries than all other vaccines combined, and more than three
24 times as many deaths, and this horrifying field report is based
25 only on information which our unduly secretive government has
26 been willing to declassify, and which is currently known, barely
27 eighteen months into the mRNA experiment. (Appendix, pp. 28-45,
28 [compilation of official Vaccine Adverse Events Reporting System

1 data through September 16, 2022].)

2 37. On the other hand, the mRNA experiment has not been
3 effective. Even the chief salesman of the mRNA experiment,
4 Anthony Fauci, who is, in a technique of classic propaganda,
5 propped up as an "expert," like those nine out of ten doctors who
6 preferred Camels, so as to fool the public about the true nature
7 of his sales pitch, has admitted that the mRNA injections **DO NOT**
8 prevent the infection by, or the transmission of, the alleged
9 virus, SARS-CoV-2, which allegedly causes an alleged respiratory
10 disease commonly known as "Covid-19."

11 38. Worse than this, defendants' conduct, which includes
12 not just publishing harmful and dangerous disinformation, but
13 also suppressing, i.e., censoring, dissent - even where the
14 dissent is nothing more than verifiably true facts - is part of
15 an orchestrated and continuing deception of the public to
16 persuade people to submit to the mRNA experiment despite its
17 documented high risk of injury and death, and its complete lack
18 of efficacy. To be more specific, it is indisputable that
19 defendants' conduct is part of, and in furtherance of the
20 objectives of, a historically sinister propaganda campaign drawn
21 directly from the Nazi playbook.

22 39. For example, after the World War II, military
23 intelligence was quite keen to learn the Nazi secret to, among
24 other things, controlling a domestic population, i.e., how to
25 "induce [a] desired frame of mind in the population," such as,
26 acquiescence to the murder of millions of people on a specious
27 and morally bankrupt rationale. (See, Appendix, p. 52, ¶ 9.) As
28 a result, several of the top Nazis were debriefed. The findings

1 were developed into a manual on modern psychological warfare.

2 40. This manual is now declassified. A true and correct
3 copy of the text of the manual is attached as Pages 46 to 92 of
4 the Appendix hereto. It is hereby incorporated by reference as
5 though fully set forth herein.

6 41. What our spooks learned was that if a government can
7 frighten and isolate its people, pound away at a few simple
8 themes or slogans across all media, and suppress all dissent, it
9 can instill almost any delusion in the public, which will then
10 accept as natural the most primitive acts. (Appendix, pp. 58-59,
11 ¶¶ 24-25.) This process is akin to hypnosis, and in the end,
12 will create such cognitive dissonance, that even if people are
13 eventually shown that what they have been told and believe is
14 wrong, most will "withdraw into the fortress of collective
15 thinking and will hide behind some emotional slogan," (Ibid.,)
16 e.g., "It's a pandemic of the unvaccinated."

17 42. Using "a vast network of schools and laboratories,
18 staffed with their ablest psychologists and technicians," (Id.,
19 p. 52, ¶ 9,) the Nazis essentially proved, among other things,
20 Mark Twain's point that it is much easier to fool someone than it
21 is to convince him that he's been fooled. Unfortunately, this is
22 a phenomenon we will almost certainly witness now that the truth
23 is finally lacing up its boots to stand before all of the people
24 who (foolishly) believed the government's lies, which lies have
25 in the meantime, traveled around the world and back again, having
26 left unfathomable death and misery in their wake.

27 43. In any event, not only does the subject video content
28 not violate defendants' medical misinformation policy, but also

1 defendants' claim that "[W]e think it violates our medical
2 misinformation policy," and their decision thereon to "remove[]
3 the ... content from YouTube," were not made in "good faith", as
4 that term is used in 47 U.S.C. § 230(c)(2).

5 44. Plaintiff is informed and believes, and thereon
6 alleges, that defendants contend, or will contend, that the
7 subject video content violates their published medical
8 misinformation policy and that they were justified under the
9 terms of service in removing it from the YouTube video hosting
10 platform. Plaintiff has no information or belief about which
11 particular provision of the policy on which defendants rely, or
12 will rely, and hereby reserves his right to amend this complaint
13 to set forth all such specifics once they are learned.

14 45. Accordingly, a justiciable dispute exists between the
15 parties concerning defendants' terms of service, (Appendix, pp. 1
16 to 14,) which the court should resolve upon 28 U.S.C. § 2201 by
17 rendering a declaration of plaintiff's rights in those terms of
18 service, because such a judgment will clarify the legal relations
19 between the parties and accord them relief from uncertainty,
20 insecurity, and controversy in the continuing existence of their
21 contract.

22 Second Claim for Relief

23 (Breach of Contract)

24 46. Plaintiff incorporates by reference all averments in
25 Paragraphs 1 through 45, inclusive, as though fully set forth
26 herein.

27 47. A material provision of the parties' agreement is the
28 following:

1 bargaining strength, and which relegated to plaintiff, the
2 subscribing party, only the opportunity to adhere to the contract
3 or to reject it. As such, it does not issue from that freedom in
4 bargaining and equality of bargaining which are thought of as the
5 parents of the American law of contracts.

6 55. The contract includes the following provision:

7 Except as required by applicable law, YouTube, its
8 affiliates, officers, directors, employees and agents
9 will not be responsible for any loss of profits,
10 revenues, business opportunities, goodwill, or
11 anticipated savings; loss or corruption of data;
12 indirect or consequential loss; punitive damages caused
13 by:

14 ...

15 7. the removal or unavailability of any content.

16 (Id., pp. 11-12.)

17 56. The contract also includes the following:

18 YouTube and its affiliates' total liability for any
19 claims arising from or relating to the service is
20 limited to the greater of: (A) the amount of revenue
21 that YouTube has paid to you from your use of the
22 service in the 12 months before the date of your
23 notice, in writing to YouTube, of the claim; and (B)
24 USD \$500.

25 (Id., p. 12.)

26 57. These two so-called "exculpatory" provisions quoted in
27 the two paragraphs immediately preceding, and both of them, are a
28 violation of California law. (California Civil Code § 1668.)

58. These two exculpatory provisions, and both of them, are
also unconscionable, in that they are the product of inequality
in bargaining power, and in that they are oppressive and
objectively unreasonable.

59. Wherefore, the court should order, decree, and adjudge
upon California Civil Code §§ 3399 et seq., inter alia, that

1 these provisions are severed from the terms of service as
2 unenforceable. (See also, Appendix, p. 13 [severance clause].)

3 Fourth Claim for Relief

4 (Fraud by False Promise)

5 60. Plaintiff incorporates by reference all averments in
6 Paragraphs 1 through 59, inclusive, as though fully set forth
7 herein.

8 61. As averred in Paragraph 47, the contract between the
9 parties includes defendants' promise that plaintiff may access
10 and use YouTube, as long as he complies with the terms of service
11 and applicable law. (Appendix, p. 4.)

12 62. In addition, defendants also promised that upon an
13 appeal of a strike, their "review team" would examine the tagged
14 content for a violation of the rules, and that this examination
15 would be conducted fairly and in good faith. (Id., p. 93.)

16 63. When defendants made these promises, they had no
17 intention of honoring them.

18 64. Defendants did, however, intend that plaintiff rely on
19 the promises.

20 65. In fact, plaintiff did rely on defendants' promises,
21 and did so reasonably, in that plaintiff had been publishing
22 video content for several years, all without any problems, except
23 a few, minor copyright issues which were resolved quickly, and
24 mostly in plaintiff's favor.

25 66. To elaborate on Paragraph 65, on or about November 26,
26 2021, which was after the subject video content was published,
27 defendants deleted the third episode in the five-part series of
28 which the subject video content was the second. The title of

1 this third episode is "Nuernberg, USA, III: Hazard at Greed and
2 Ignorance," and it was published after the subject video content
3 was published.

4 a. The details of the incident are recounted here:

5 <https://youtu.be/qUzpNvUaU14>

6 b. The deleted video content itself may be viewed on
7 plaintiff's Rumble channel here:

8 [https://rumble.com/vpx9ti-nuernberg-usa-iii-hazard
9 -at-greed-and-ignorance.html](https://rumble.com/vpx9ti-nuernberg-usa-iii-hazard-at-greed-and-ignorance.html)

10 c. Plaintiff does not hereby seek redress for
11 defendants' deletion of the third episode. However, he
12 reserves his right to amend this complaint to include this
13 misconduct as a basis for relief upon further consideration.

14 67. In fact, defendants did not honor either of their
15 promises with respect to the subject video content. They deleted
16 the subject video content, even though it was, and is, in
17 compliance with the terms of service. Further, the appeal
18 process was a sham and a pantomime conducted in bad faith.

19 68. Plaintiff has suffered general damages, in that he is
20 an American with a profound commitment to America's founding
21 principles, including that everyone must be permitted to speak on
22 all topics, subject to very, very few limitations, none of which
23 are relevant to the facts of this case.

24 69. Plaintiff's reliance on defendants' false promises was
25 a substantial factor in causing his harm, in that he published
26 the subject video content to participate in the public dialogue
27 on an important issue, to contribute to the truth finding process
28 of the American democratic process, (see, *Id.*, p. 1 [YouTube is

1 supposed to be "a forum for people to connect, inform, and
2 inspire others across the globe"],) and to create part of the
3 permanent, first-hand record of these turbulent times for future
4 reference, and in that he probably would not have made the effort
5 had he known that defendants would not honor their promises.

6 70. An award of punitive damages in favor of plaintiff and
7 against defendants is warranted in this case to punish defendants
8 and to make an example of them. Not only was defendants'
9 misconduct a fraud, but it was also oppressive, in that the
10 misconduct was despicable and in conscious disregard of
11 plaintiff's rights, and in that it subjected plaintiff to unjust
12 hardship.

13 a. Defendants were fully cognizant of plaintiff's
14 right of free expression. As averred, their own adhesion
15 contract provides that YouTube is an open forum, and that
16 everyone may post anything which does not violate the terms
17 of service.

18 b. Furthermore, even if the contract between the
19 parties didn't expressly grant plaintiff the right of
20 freedom of expression, it is universally known that
21 Americans are guaranteed their unalienable right of freedom
22 of speech by the First Amendment to the United States
23 Constitution. Indeed, true freedom of speech and diversity
24 of political opinion is so crucial to a vibrant and dynamic
25 democracy, it is fairly thought of as the foundation of the
26 American Dream. This right is so fundamental to American
27 civic life that Congress has repeatedly reiterated it in
28 statute. (See, e.g., 47 U.S.C. § 230(a)(3) [the internet is

1 to be maintained as an open forum].)

2 c. It is difficult to imagine that many have forgotten
3 the B-side of the record either: The siren song so pleasing
4 to defendants that "the most ethical, the most coherent, the
5 truest" state is the one which expresses "the conscience and
6 will of the few," (Appendix, p. 96,) and which "accepts the
7 individual only in so far as his interests coincide with
8 those of the State," (Ibid.,) which, in turn, becomes
9 stronger as it "multiplies [the individual's] energies, just
10 as in a regiment a soldier is ... multiplied by the number
11 of his fellow soldiers." (Id., p. 102.) The essential
12 lyric of that piece is etched permanently in history's guide
13 stones: "the Fascist State" must be "totalitarian." (Id.,
14 p. 96.)

15 d. While defendants fantasize in the naive ideal of
16 their siren song, they ignore the world's reaction to the
17 horrors which their inbred, half-wit forebears wrought as
18 they marched to the fascist drum beat. Not only did the
19 world crush the Nazi demon, but the world also came together
20 in hope that mankind would finally and forever adopt and
21 enforce a "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" which
22 provides in pertinent part that:

23 Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and
24 expression; this right includes freedom to hold
25 opinions without interference and to seek, receive
and impart information and ideas through any media
and regardless of frontiers.

26 (Appendix, p. 108, Article 19; see also, Id., p. 118
27 [International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,
28 Article 19(2)].)

1 e. And not for nothing, as computer mediated
2 communication moved from government offices, corporate
3 backrooms, and college campuses into general society to
4 become what people now call, "the internet," the true
5 pioneers of Cyberspace were adamant that the freedoms
6 enjoyed in, and essential to, the World Wide Web not be
7 abridged. They demanded that the internet must be:

8 a world where anyone, anywhere may express his or
9 her beliefs, no matter how singular, without fear
of being coerced into silence or conformity.

10 (Appendix, p. 127.)

11 f. The philosophical underpinning of these principles
12 was, of course, very elegantly expressed by John Stuart
13 Mill:

14 If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and
15 only one person were of the contrary opinion,
16 mankind would be no more justified in silencing
that one person, than he, if he had the power,
would be justified in silencing mankind.

17 g. None of this needs repeating for Americans. This
18 is America. Defendants, however, have only contempt for the
19 rights of the free people. They do not appreciate how
20 essential freedom is to the world off of which they leach,
21 because they are blinded by their quarterly reports. This
22 problem is aggravated by the fact that defendants have no
23 allegiance to America. Defendants are mere shell companies
24 created to hide profits from America's creativity in
25 Bermuda, and to evade income tax liability to the United
26 States. As a result, defendants are most accurately thought
27 of as foreign powers with interests which are hostile to the
28 interests of the American people, and ones with far too much

1 political influence. Nevertheless, if they choose to profit
2 from the American market, as they have, they must be held to
3 America's rules.

4 Fifth Claim for Relief

5 (Violation of the First Amendment)

6 71. Plaintiff incorporates by reference all averments in
7 Paragraphs 1 through 70, inclusive, as though fully set forth
8 herein.

9 72. It is equally telling and alarming that as defendants
10 have become agents of the state security apparatus, and have
11 overtly claimed the legacy to and of Goebbels' mission, they
12 retracted their founding motto: "Don't Be Evil." Which begs the
13 question: Is it prudent not to infer that they now intend evil?

14 73. Obviously, that's neither here, nor there. This claim
15 is for damages for an act of evil - to wit: defendants'
16 violation of plaintiff's civil rights; specifically, the right to
17 freedom of speech guaranteed by the First Amendment to the United
18 States Constitution.

19 74. Plaintiff's publishing of the subject video content,
20 under all of the circumstances of this case, was an activity
21 which was and is protected by the First Amendment.

22 75. As a result, when defendants deleted the subject video
23 content, they deprived plaintiff of his rights under the First
24 Amendment.

25 76. Plaintiff is informed and believes, and thereon
26 alleges, that when defendants deleted the subject video content,
27 they were acting under color of state law, in that they are a
28 willful participant in a joint activity with the government to

1 police their digital public square, including, but not limited
2 to, the censorship of dissent to the government's approved
3 narratives, and in that there is a close nexus between the
4 government and defendants' police and censorship activities,
5 including, but not limited to, the deletion of the subject video
6 content, which was in furtherance of the partnership, agreement,
7 or conspiracy between defendants and the government. Plaintiff's
8 information includes, but is not limited to, the following:

9 a. The Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security
10 Agency admits that it "partners" with the private sector,
11 including "the social media companies," to combat alleged
12 misinformation, disinformation, and malinformation related
13 to the alleged disease commonly known as "Covid-19," because
14 such alleged misinformation, disinformation, and
15 malinformation allegedly "sows confusion" and "undermines
16 public confidence (i.e., in the government)." (See,
17 <https://www.cisa.gov/mdm>; and also, Appendix, pp. 25-27
18 [CISA "toolkit"].)

19 b. Senator Ron Johnson reports that one of defendants'
20 authorized officers, a certain "Neal Mohan", admitted in
21 sworn testimony before the United States Senate that, in
22 fact, defendants did work with, i.e., plan and conspire
23 with, the government to develop their Covid-19 medical
24 misinformation policy.

25 (i) On September 21, 2022, Senator Ron Johnson
26 issued a detailed discovery request, so that even more
27 evidence of the partnership, agreement, or conspiracy
28 between defendants and the government is likely to be

1 available in the near future. A true and correct copy
2 of this request is attached as Pages 129 to 133 of the
3 Appendix hereto.

4 c. In addition, the law requires that defendants be
5 forthcoming in discovery, even where doing so will reveal
6 material which is incriminating. Plaintiff is informed and
7 believes, and thereon alleges, that the material which the
8 law requires defendants to produce in discovery will
9 include, but not be limited to, irrefutable evidence of the
10 partnership, agreement, or conspiracy between defendants and
11 the government to police their digital public square of
12 dissent to the government's approved narratives related to
13 the alleged disease commonly known as "Covid-19."

14 77. Defendants' violation of plaintiff's First Amendment
15 rights caused, and continues to cause, plaintiff damages, the
16 nature and measure of which will be proven at trial.

17 78. Furthermore, defendants' violation of plaintiff's First
18 Amendment rights was fraudulent, and oppressive, in that it was
19 despicable and it subjected, and continues to subject, plaintiff
20 to undue hardship, and in that it was committed in conscious
21 disregard of plaintiff's rights. Accordingly, an award of
22 punitive damages is warranted to punish defendants and to serve
23 as a warning to others who would, like defendants, choose to do
24 evil.

25 Sixth Claim for Relief

26 (Violation of the California Constitution)

27 79. Plaintiff incorporates by reference all averments in
28 Paragraphs 1 through 78, inclusive, as though fully set forth

1 herein.

2 80. As averred above, the contract between the parties
3 binds defendants to California law. (Appendix, p. 14.)

4 81. Section 2(a), of Article I, of the Constitution of the
5 State of California provides that:

6 Every person may freely speak, write and publish his or
7 her sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for
the abuse of this right.

8 82. Plaintiff's publishing of the subject video content,
9 under all of the circumstances of this case, was an activity
10 which was and is protected by that provision of the Constitution
11 of the State of California which is quoted in Paragraph 81.

12 83. As a result, when defendants deleted the subject video
13 content, they deprived plaintiff of his rights under that
14 provision of the Constitution of the State of California which is
15 quoted in Paragraph 81.

16 84. Defendants' violation of plaintiff's right of freedom
17 of expression as guaranteed by the Constitution of the State of
18 California caused, and continues to cause, plaintiff damages, the
19 nature and measure of which will be proven at trial.

20 85. Furthermore, defendants' violation of plaintiff's right
21 of freedom of expression as guaranteed by the Constitution of the
22 State of California was fraudulent, and oppressive, in that it
23 was despicable and it subjected, and continues to subject,
24 plaintiff to undue hardship, and in that it was committed in
25 conscious disregard of plaintiff's rights. Accordingly, an award
26 of punitive damages is warranted to punish defendants and to
27 serve as a warning to others who would join defendants' march or
28 otherwise follow in their path.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28

VII. Prayer for Relief

Wherefore, plaintiff Hugo Torbet prays judgment as follows:

1. that the court declare that plaintiff's video entitled, "Nuernberg, USA, II: Exit 666, a Dead End," does not violate defendants' terms of service, and that defendants must restore it to the YouTube platform;
2. that the court reform the YouTube terms of service by severing the unconscionable "exculpatory" provisions;
3. that he have an award of damages according to proof;
4. that he have an award of punitive damages sufficient to punish and make an example of defendants;
5. that he have an award of his costs of suit; and
6. that he have and enjoy all other just relief.

VIII. Demand for Jury Trial

Plaintiff Hugo Torbet hereby demands trial by jury to the full extent authorized by law for the claims averred herein and for any additional claims which may be averred in amended and supplemental pleadings in this proceeding.

Dated: October 10, 2022

Respectfully submitted,
s/ Hugo Torbet
Hugo Torbet
In pro se

Appendix to Complaint

	<u>Page</u>
1. YouTube Terms of Service	1
2. Email from YouTube dated October 2, 2022	15
3. YouTube Covid-19 Medical Misinformation Policy	18
4. Email from YouTube dated October 3, 2022	22
5. Response to Email of October 3, 2022	24
6. CISA Disinformation Toolkit	25
7. VAERS Data Compilations re: Covid-19 "vaccine" injuries and deaths	28
8. Strategical Psychological Warfare dated 15 February 1949	46
9. YouTube Appeal Information	93
10. The Doctrine of Fascism by Benito Mussolini	95
11. Universal Declaration of Human Rights	105
12. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	111
13. Declaration of Independence of Cyberspace	127
14. Senator Ron Johnson's Discovery Request to YouTube	129

TERMS OF SERVICE

Welcome to YouTube!

Introduction

Thank you for using the YouTube platform and the products, services and features we make available to you as part of the platform (collectively, the "Service").

Our Service

The Service allows you to discover, watch and share videos and other content, provides a forum for people to connect, inform, and inspire others across the globe, and acts as a distribution platform for original content creators and advertisers large and small. We provide lots of information about our products and how to use them in our Help Center. Among other things, you can find out about YouTube Kids, the YouTube Partner Program and YouTube Paid Memberships and Purchases (where available). You can also read all about enjoying content on other devices like your television, your games console, or Google Home.

Your Service Provider

The entity providing the Service is Google LLC, a company operating under the laws of Delaware, located at 1600 Amphitheatre Parkway, Mountain View, CA 94043 (referred to as "YouTube", "we", "us", or "our"). References to YouTube's "Affiliates" in these terms means the other companies within the Alphabet Inc. corporate group (now or in the future).

Applicable Terms

Your use of the Service is subject to these terms, the YouTube Community Guidelines and the Policy, Safety and Copyright Policies which may be updated from time to time (together, this "Agreement"). Your Agreement with us will also include the Advertising on YouTube Policies if you provide advertising or sponsorships to the Service or

incorporate paid promotions in your content. Any other links or references provided in these terms are for informational use only and are not part of the Agreement.

Please read this Agreement carefully and make sure you understand it. If you do not understand the Agreement, or do not accept any part of it, then you may not use the Service.

Who may use the Service?

Age Requirements

You must be at least 13 years old to use the Service; however, children of all ages may use the Service and YouTube Kids (where available) if enabled by a parent or legal guardian.

Permission by Parent or Guardian

If you are under 18, you represent that you have your parent or guardian's permission to use the Service. Please have them read this Agreement with you.

If you are a parent or legal guardian of a user under the age of 18, by allowing your child to use the Service, you are subject to the terms of this Agreement and responsible for your child's activity on the Service. You can find tools and resources to help you manage your family's experience on YouTube (including how to enable a child under the age of 13 to use the Service and YouTube Kids) in our Help Center and through Google's Family Link.

Businesses

If you are using the Service on behalf of a company or organisation, you represent that you have authority to act on behalf of that entity, and that such entity accepts this Agreement.

///

Your Use of the Service

Content on the Service

The content on the Service includes videos, audio (for example music and other sounds), graphics, photos, text (such as comments and scripts), branding (including trade names, trademarks, service marks, or logos), interactive features, software, metrics, and other materials whether provided by you, YouTube or a third-party (collectively, "Content").

Content is the responsibility of the person or entity that provides it to the Service. YouTube is under no obligation to host or serve Content. If you see any Content you believe does not comply with this Agreement, including by violating the Community Guidelines or the law, you can report it to us.

Google Accounts and YouTube Channels

You can use parts of the Service, such as browsing and searching for Content, without having a Google account. However, you do need a Google account to use some features. With a Google account, you may be able to like videos, subscribe to channels, create your own YouTube channel, and more. You can follow these instructions to create a Google account.

Creating a YouTube channel will give you access to additional features and functions, such as uploading videos, making comments or creating playlists (where available). Here are some details about how to create your own YouTube channel.

To protect your Google account, keep your password confidential. You should not reuse your Google account password on third-party applications. Learn more about keeping your Google account secure, including what to do if you learn of any unauthorized use of your password or Google account.

///

Your Information

Our Privacy Policy explains how we treat your personal data and protect your privacy when you use the Service. The YouTube Kids Privacy Notice provides additional information about our privacy practices that are specific to YouTube Kids.

We will process any audio or audiovisual content uploaded by you to the Service in accordance with the YouTube Data Processing Terms, except in cases where you uploaded such content for personal purposes or household activities. [Learn More](#).

Permissions and Restrictions

You may access and use the Service as made available to you, as long as you comply with this Agreement and applicable law. You may view or listen to Content for your personal, non-commercial use. You may also show YouTube videos through the embeddable YouTube player.

The following restrictions apply to your use of the Service. You are not allowed to:

1. access, reproduce, download, distribute, transmit, broadcast, display, sell, license, alter, modify or otherwise use any part of the Service or any Content except: (a) as expressly authorized by the Service; or (b) with prior written permission from YouTube and, if applicable, the respective rights holders;
2. circumvent, disable, fraudulently engage with, or otherwise interfere with any part of the Service (or attempt to do any of these things), including security-related features or features that (a) prevent or restrict the copying or other use of Content or (b) limit the use of the Service or Content;
3. access the Service using any automated means (such as robots, botnets or scrapers) except (a) in the case of public search engines, in accordance with YouTube's robots.txt file; or (b) with YouTube's prior written permission;

4. collect or harvest any information that might identify a person (for example, usernames or faces), unless permitted by that person or allowed under section (3) above;
5. use the Service to distribute unsolicited promotional or commercial content or other unwanted or mass solicitations;
6. cause or encourage any inaccurate measurements of genuine user engagement with the Service, including by paying people or providing them with incentives to increase a video's views, likes, or dislikes, or to increase a channel's subscribers, or otherwise manipulate metrics in any manner;
7. misuse any reporting, flagging, complaint, dispute, or appeals process, including by making groundless, vexatious, or frivolous submissions;
8. run contests on or through the Service that do not comply with YouTube's contest policies and guidelines;
9. use the Service to view or listen to Content other than for personal, non-commercial use (for example, you may not publicly screen videos or stream music from the Service); or
10. use the Service to (a) sell any advertising, sponsorships, or promotions placed on, around, or within the Service or Content, other than those allowed in the Advertising on YouTube policies (such as compliant product placements); or (b) sell advertising, sponsorships, or promotions on any page of any website or application that only contains Content from the Service or where Content from the Service is the primary basis for such sales (for example, selling ads on a webpage where YouTube videos are the main draw for users visiting the webpage).

Reservation

Using the Service does not give you ownership of or rights to any aspect

of the Service, including user names or any other Content posted by others or YouTube.

Develop, Improve and Update the Service

YouTube is constantly changing and improving the Service. As part of this continual evolution, we may make modifications or changes (to all or part of the Service) such as adding or removing features and functionalities, offering new digital content or services or discontinuing old ones. We may also need to alter or discontinue the Service, or any part of it, in order to make performance or security improvements, make changes to comply with law, or prevent illegal activities on or abuse of our systems. These changes may affect all users, some users or even an individual user. When the Service requires or includes downloadable software (such as the YouTube Studio application), that software may update automatically on your device once a new version or feature is available, subject to your device settings.

If we make material changes that negatively impact your use of the Service, we'll provide you with reasonable advance notice, except in urgent situations such as preventing abuse, responding to legal requirements, or addressing security and operability issues. We'll also provide you with an opportunity to export your content from your Google Account using Google Takeout, subject to applicable law and policies.

Your Content and Conduct

Uploading Content

If you have a YouTube channel, you may be able to upload Content to the Service. You may use your Content to promote your business or artistic enterprise. **If you choose to upload Content, you must not submit to the Service any Content that does not comply with this Agreement (including the YouTube Community Guidelines) or the law.** For example, the Content you submit must not include third-party intellectual property (such as copyrighted material) unless you have permission from that party or are otherwise legally entitled to do so. You are legally responsible for the Content you submit to the Service.

We may use automated systems that analyze your Content to help detect infringement and abuse, such as spam, malware, and illegal content.

Rights you Grant

You retain ownership rights in your Content. However, we do require you to grant certain rights to YouTube and other users of the Service, as described below.

License to YouTube

By providing Content to the Service, you grant to YouTube a worldwide, non-exclusive, royalty-free, sublicensable and transferable license to use that Content (including to reproduce, distribute, prepare derivative works, display and perform it) in connection with the Service and YouTube's (and its successors' and Affiliates') business, including for the purpose of promoting and redistributing part or all of the Service.

License to Other Users

You also grant each other user of the Service a worldwide, non-exclusive, royalty-free license to access your Content through the Service, and to use that Content, including to reproduce, distribute, prepare derivative works, display, and perform it, only as enabled by a feature of the Service (such as video playback or embeds). For clarity, this license does not grant any rights or permissions for a user to make use of your Content independent of the Service.

Duration of License

The licenses granted by you continue for a commercially reasonable period of time after you remove or delete your Content from the Service. You understand and agree, however, that YouTube may retain, but not display, distribute, or perform, server copies of your videos that have been removed or deleted.

///

Right to Monetize

You grant to YouTube the right to monetize your Content on the Service (and such monetization may include displaying ads on or within Content or charging users a fee for access). This Agreement does not entitle you to any payments. Starting November 18, 2020, any payments you may be entitled to receive from YouTube under any other agreement between you and YouTube (including for example payments under the YouTube Partner Program, Channel memberships or Super Chat) will be treated as royalties. If required by law, Google will withhold taxes from such payments.

Removing Your Content

You may remove your Content from the Service at any time. You also have the option to make a copy of your Content before removing it. You must remove your Content if you no longer have the rights required by these terms.

Removal of Content By YouTube

If any of your Content (1) is in breach of this Agreement or (2) may cause harm to YouTube, our users, or third parties, we reserve the right to remove or take down some or all of such Content in our discretion. We will notify you with the reason for our action unless we reasonably believe that to do so: (a) would breach the law or the direction of a legal enforcement authority or would otherwise risk legal liability for YouTube or our Affiliates; (b) would compromise an investigation or the integrity or operation of the Service; or (c) would cause harm to any user, other third party, YouTube or our Affiliates. You can learn more about reporting and enforcement, including how to appeal on the Troubleshooting page of our Help Center.

Community Guidelines Strikes

YouTube operates a system of "strikes" in respect of Content that violates the YouTube Community Guidelines. Each strike comes with varying restrictions and may result in the permanent removal of your channel from YouTube. A full description of how a strike affects your

channel is available on the Community Guidelines Strikes Basics page. If you believe that a strike has been issued in error, you may appeal [here](#).

If your channel has been restricted due to a strike, you must not use another channel to circumvent these restrictions. Violation of this prohibition is a material breach of this Agreement and Google reserves the right to terminate your Google account or your access to all or part of the Service.

Copyright Protection

We provide information to help copyright holders manage their intellectual property online in our YouTube Copyright Center. If you believe your copyright has been infringed on the Service, please send us a notice.

We respond to notices of alleged copyright infringement according to the process in our YouTube Copyright Center, where you can also find information about how to resolve a copyright strike. YouTube's policies provide for the termination, in appropriate circumstances, of repeat infringers' access to the Service.

Account Suspension & Termination

Terminations by You

You may stop using the Service at any time. Follow these instructions to delete the Service from your Google Account, which involves closing your YouTube channel and removing your data. You also have the option to download a copy of your data first.

Terminations and Suspensions by YouTube

YouTube reserves the right to suspend or terminate your Google account or your access to all or part of the Service if (a) you materially or repeatedly breach this Agreement; (b) we are required to do so to comply with a legal requirement or a court order; or (c) we reasonably believe that there has been conduct that creates (or could create)

liability or harm to any user, other third party, YouTube or our Affiliates.

Notice for Termination or Suspension

We will notify you with the reason for termination or suspension by YouTube unless we reasonably believe that to do so: (a) would violate the law or the direction of a legal enforcement authority; (b) would compromise an investigation; (c) would compromise the integrity, operation or security of the Service; or (d) would cause harm to any user, other third party, YouTube or our Affiliates.

Effect of Account Suspension or Termination

If your Google account is terminated or your access to the Service is restricted, you may continue using certain aspects of the Service (such as viewing only) without an account, and this Agreement will continue to apply to such use. If you believe that the termination or suspension has been made in error, you can appeal using this form.

About Software in the Service

Downloadable Software

When the Service requires or includes downloadable software (such as the YouTube Studio application), unless that software is governed by additional terms which provide a license, YouTube gives you a personal, worldwide, royalty-free, non-assignable and non-exclusive license to use the software provided to you by YouTube as part of the Service. This license is for the sole purpose of enabling you to use and enjoy the benefit of the Service as provided by YouTube, in the manner permitted by this Agreement. You are not allowed to copy, modify, distribute, sell, or lease any part of the software, or to reverse-engineer or attempt to extract the source code of that software, unless laws prohibit these restrictions or you have YouTube's written permission.

Open Source

Some software used in our Service may be offered under an open source

license that we make available to you. There may be provisions in an open source license that expressly override some of these terms, so please be sure to read those licenses.

Other Legal Terms

Warranty Disclaimer

OTHER THAN AS EXPRESSLY STATED IN THIS AGREEMENT OR AS REQUIRED BY LAW, THE SERVICE IS PROVIDED "AS IS" AND YOUTUBE DOES NOT MAKE ANY SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS OR WARRANTIES ABOUT THE SERVICE. FOR EXAMPLE, WE DON'T MAKE ANY WARRANTIES ABOUT: (A) THE CONTENT PROVIDED THROUGH THE SERVICE; (B) THE SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE SERVICE, OR ITS ACCURACY, RELIABILITY, AVAILABILITY, OR ABILITY TO MEET YOUR NEEDS; OR (C) THAT ANY CONTENT YOU SUBMIT WILL BE ACCESSIBLE ON THE SERVICE.

Limitation of Liability

EXCEPT AS REQUIRED BY APPLICABLE LAW, YOUTUBE, ITS AFFILIATES, OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, EMPLOYEES AND AGENTS WILL NOT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ANY LOSS OF PROFITS, REVENUES, BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES, GOODWILL, OR ANTICIPATED SAVINGS; LOSS OR CORRUPTION OF DATA; INDIRECT OR CONSEQUENTIAL LOSS; PUNITIVE DAMAGES CAUSED BY:

1. ERRORS, MISTAKES, OR INACCURACIES ON THE SERVICE;
2. PERSONAL INJURY OR PROPERTY DAMAGE RESULTING FROM YOUR USE OF THE SERVICE;
3. ANY UNAUTHORIZED ACCESS TO OR USE OF THE SERVICE;
4. ANY INTERRUPTION OR CESSATION OF THE SERVICE;

5. ANY VIRUSES OR MALICIOUS CODE TRANSMITTED TO OR THROUGH THE SERVICE BY ANY THIRD PARTY;
6. ANY CONTENT WHETHER SUBMITTED BY A USER OR YOUTUBE, INCLUDING YOUR USE OF CONTENT; AND/OR
- 7. THE REMOVAL OR UNAVAILABILITY OF ANY CONTENT.**

THIS PROVISION APPLIES TO ANY CLAIM, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THE CLAIM ASSERTED IS BASED ON WARRANTY, CONTRACT, TORT, OR ANY OTHER LEGAL THEORY.

YOUTUBE AND ITS AFFILIATES' TOTAL LIABILITY FOR ANY CLAIMS ARISING FROM OR RELATING TO THE SERVICE IS LIMITED TO THE GREATER OF: (A) THE AMOUNT OF REVENUE THAT YOUTUBE HAS PAID TO YOU FROM YOUR USE OF THE SERVICE IN THE 12 MONTHS BEFORE THE DATE OF YOUR NOTICE, IN WRITING TO YOUTUBE, OF THE CLAIM; AND (B) USD \$500.

Indemnity

To the extent permitted by applicable law, you agree to defend, indemnify and hold harmless YouTube, its Affiliates, officers, directors, employees and agents, from and against any and all claims, damages, obligations, losses, liabilities, costs or debt, and expenses (including but not limited to attorney's fees) arising from: (I) your use of and access to the Service; (ii) your violation of any term of this Agreement; (iii) your violation of any third party right, including without limitation any copyright, property, or privacy right; or (iv) any claim that your Content caused damage to a third party. This defense and indemnification obligation will survive this Agreement and your use of the Service.

///

Third-Party Links

The Service may contain links to third-party websites and online services that are not owned or controlled by YouTube. YouTube has no control over, and assumes no responsibility for, such websites and online services. Be aware when you leave the Service; we suggest you read the terms and privacy policy of each third-party website and online service that you visit.

About this Agreement

Changing this Agreement

We may change this Agreement, for example, (1) to reflect changes to our Service or how we do business - for example, when we add new products or features or remove old ones, (2) for legal, regulatory, or security reasons, or (3) to prevent abuse or harm.

If we materially change this Agreement, we'll provide you with reasonable advance notice and the opportunity to review the changes, except (1) when we launch a new product or feature, or (2) in urgent situations, such as preventing ongoing abuse or responding to legal requirements. If you don't agree to the new terms, you should remove any Content you uploaded and stop using the Service.

Continuation of this Agreement

If your use of the Service ends, the following terms of this Agreement will continue to apply to you: "Other Legal Terms", "About This Agreement", and the licenses granted by you will continue as described under "Duration of License".

Severance

If it turns out that a particular term of this Agreement is not enforceable for any reason, this will not affect any other terms.

///

No Waiver

If you fail to comply with this Agreement and we do not take immediate action, this does not mean that we are giving up any rights that we may have (such as the right to take action in the future).

Interpretation

In these terms, "include" or "including" means "including but not limited to," and any examples we give are for illustrative purposes.

Governing Law

All claims arising out of or relating to these terms or the Service will be governed by California law, except California's conflict of laws rules, and will be litigated exclusively in the federal or state courts of Santa Clara County, California, USA. You and YouTube consent to personal jurisdiction in those courts.

Limitation on Legal Action

YOU AND YOUTUBE AGREE THAT ANY CAUSE OF ACTION ARISING OUT OF OR RELATED TO THE SERVICES MUST COMMENCE WITHIN ONE (1) YEAR AFTER THE CAUSE OF ACTION ACCRUES. OTHERWISE, SUCH CAUSE OF ACTION IS PERMANENTLY BARRED.

Effective as of January 5, 2022 (view previous version)



H. Torbet <steadyrolling@gmail.com>

 **YouTube removed your content**

YouTube Community Guidelines <no-reply@youtube.com>

Sun, Oct 2, 2022 at 8:36 PM

Reply-To: YouTube Community Guidelines <no-reply@youtube.com>

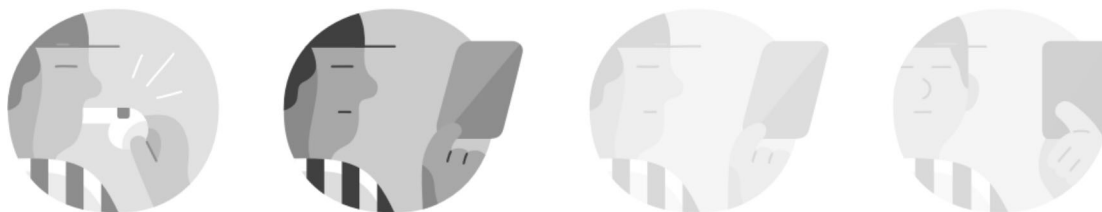
To: steady-rolling-8381@pages.plusgoogle.com



Hi Steady Rolling,

Our team has reviewed your content, and, unfortunately, we think it violates our **medical misinformation policy**. We've removed the following content from YouTube:

Video: Nuernberg, USA, II: Exit 666, a Dead End



We know that this might be disappointing, but it's important to us that YouTube is a safe place for all. If content breaks our rules, we remove it. If you think we've made a mistake, you can appeal and we'll take another look. Keep reading for more details.

How your content violated the policy

YouTube doesn't allow claims about COVID-19 vaccinations that contradict expert consensus from local health authorities or the World Health Organization (WHO).

[LEARN MORE](#)

How this affects your channel

Your channel now has 1 strike. You won't be able to do things like upload, post, or live stream for 1 week. A second strike will prevent you from publishing content for 2 weeks. Three strikes in the same 90 day period will result in your channel being permanently removed from YouTube.

What to do next

95% of creators who get 1 strike never get another one. We want that for you too, so please:

- Make sure you understand YouTube's Community Guidelines and strikes basics.
- Review your content with our policies in mind. If after reviewing your content you think we made a mistake, let us know. You can appeal this decision [here](#).
- Understand that this strike will expire after 90 days, and that deleting the content will not remove the strike.
- Remember, if your channel has been restricted from using any YouTube features, you're prohibited from using another channel to get around these restrictions. Doing so is considered circumvention under our [Terms of Service](#), and may result in termination of your account and all your channels.

Sincerely,
The YouTube Team

[Help Center](#) • [Email options](#)

You have received this email to update you on actions related to your YouTube account.

Was this email helpful? [Yes](#) | [No](#)



© 2022 Google LLC d/b/a YouTube, 901 Cherry Ave, San Bruno, CA 94066

COVID-19 medical misinformation policy

The safety of our creators, viewers, and partners is our highest priority. We look to each of you to help us protect this unique and vibrant community. It's important you understand our Community Guidelines, and the role they play in our shared responsibility to keep YouTube safe. **Take the time to carefully read the policy below.** You can also check out this page for a full list of our guidelines.

YouTube doesn't allow content about COVID-19 that poses a serious risk of egregious harm.

YouTube doesn't allow content that spreads medical misinformation that contradicts local health authorities' (LHA) or the World Health Organization's (WHO) medical information about COVID-19. This is limited to content that contradicts WHO or local health authorities' guidance on:

- Treatment
- Prevention
- Diagnosis
- Transmission
- The existence of COVID-19

Note: YouTube's policies on COVID-19 are subject to change in response to changes to global or local health authorities' guidance on the virus. There may be a delay between new LHA/WHO guidance and policy updates given the frequency with which this guidance changes, and our policies may not cover all LHA/WHO guidance related to COVID-19.

Our COVID-19 policies were first published on May 20, 2020.

What this policy means for you

If you're posting content

Don't post content on YouTube if it includes any of the following:

Treatment misinformation:

- Content that encourages the use of home remedies, prayer, or rituals in place of medical treatment such as consulting a doctor or going to the hospital
- Content that claims that there's a guaranteed cure for COVID-19
- Content that recommends use of Ivermectin or Hydroxychloroquine for the treatment of COVID-19
- Claims that Hydroxychloroquine is an effective treatment for COVID-19
- Categorical claims that Ivermectin is an effective treatment for COVID-19
- Claims that Ivermectin and Hydroxychloroquine are safe to use in the prevention of COVID-19
- Other content that discourages people from consulting a medical professional or seeking medical advice

Prevention misinformation: Content that promotes prevention methods that contradict local health authorities or WHO.

- Claims that there is a guaranteed prevention method for COVID-19
 - Claims that any medication or vaccination is a guaranteed prevention method for COVID-19
- Content that recommends use of Ivermectin or Hydroxychloroquine for the prevention of COVID-19
- Claims that Ivermectin and Hydroxychloroquine are safe to use in the prevention of COVID-19
- Claims about COVID-19 vaccinations that contradict expert consensus from local health authorities or WHO
 - Claims that an approved COVID-19 vaccine will cause death, infertility, miscarriage, autism, or

contraction of other infectious diseases

- Claims that an approved COVID-19 vaccine will contain substances that are not on the vaccine ingredient list, such as biological matter from fetuses (e.g. fetal tissue, fetal cell lines) or animal products
- Claims that an approved COVID-19 vaccine will contain substances or devices meant to track or identify those who've received it
- Claims that COVID-19 vaccines will make people who receive them magnetic
- Claims that an approved COVID-19 vaccine will alter a person's genetic makeup
- Claims that COVID-19 vaccines do not reduce risk of serious illness or death
- Claims that any vaccine causes contraction of COVID-19
- Claims that a specific population will be required (by any entity except for a government) to take part in vaccine trials or receive the vaccine first
- Content that promotes the use of unapproved or homemade COVID-19 vaccines
- Instructions to counterfeit vaccine certificates, or offers of sale for such documents

Diagnostic misinformation: Content that promotes diagnostic information that contradicts local health authorities or WHO.

- Claims that approved COVID-19 tests are dangerous or cause negative physical health effects
- Claims that approved COVID-19 tests cannot diagnose COVID-19

Transmission misinformation: Content that promotes transmission information that contradicts local health authorities or WHO.

- Content that claims that COVID-19 is not caused by a viral infection
- Content that claims COVID-19 is not contagious
- Content that claims that COVID-19 cannot spread in certain climates or geographies
- Content that claims that any group or individual has immunity to the virus or cannot transmit the virus

Content that denies the existence of COVID-19:

- Denial that COVID-19 exists
- Claims that people have not died or gotten sick from COVID-19
- Claims that the death rate of COVID-19 is equal to or less than that of the common cold or seasonal flu
- Claims that COVID-19 is equal to or less transmissible than the common cold or seasonal flu
- Claims that the symptoms of COVID-19 are never severe

This policy applies to videos, video descriptions, comments, live streams, and any other YouTube product or feature. Keep in mind that this isn't a complete list. Please note these policies also apply to [external links](#) in your content. This can include clickable URLs, verbally directing users to other sites in video, as well as other forms.

Examples

Here are some examples of content that's not allowed on YouTube:

- Denial that COVID-19 exists
- Claims that people have not died from COVID-19
- Claims that any vaccine is a guaranteed prevention method for COVID-19
- Claims that a specific treatment or medicine is a guaranteed cure for COVID-19
- Claims that hydroxychloroquine saves people from COVID-19
- Promotion of MMS (Miracle Mineral Solution) for the treatment of COVID-19

- Claims that certain people have immunity to COVID-19 due to their race or nationality
- Encouraging taking home remedies instead of getting medical treatment when sick
- Discouraging people from consulting a medical professional if they're sick
- Content that claims that holding your breath can be used as a diagnostic test for COVID-19
- Videos alleging that if you avoid Asian food, you won't get the coronavirus
- Videos alleging that setting off fireworks can clean the air of the virus and will prevent the spread of the virus
- Claims that COVID-19 is caused by radiation from 5G networks
- Videos alleging that the COVID-19 test is the cause of the virus
- Claims that countries with hot climates will not experience the spread of the virus
- Claims that COVID-19 vaccines kill people who receive them
- Claims that COVID-19 vaccines are a means of population reduction
- Videos claiming that COVID-19 vaccines contain fetal tissue
- Claims that the flu vaccine causes contraction of COVID-19
- Claims that the flu is more contagious than COVID-19
- Claims that COVID-19 vaccines cause contraction of other infectious diseases or makes people more vulnerable to contraction of other infectious diseases
- Claims that COVID-19 vaccines contain a microchip or tracking device
- Claims that achieving herd immunity through natural infection is safer than vaccinating the population
- Claims that COVID-19 never causes serious symptoms or hospitalization
- Claims that the death rate from the seasonal flu is higher than the death rate of COVID-19
- Claims that people are immune to the virus based on their race
- Claims that children cannot or do not contract COVID-19
- Claims that there have not been cases or deaths in countries where cases or deaths have been confirmed by local health authorities or the WHO

Educational, documentary, scientific or artistic content

We may allow content that violates the misinformation policies noted on this page if that content includes additional context in the video, audio, title, or description. This is not a pass to promote misinformation. Additional context may include countervailing views from local health authorities or medical experts. We may also make exceptions if the purpose of the content is to condemn, dispute, or satirize misinformation that violates our policies. We may also make exceptions for content showing an open public forum, like a protest or public hearing, provided the content does not aim to promote misinformation that violates our policies.

What happens if content violates this policy

If your content violates this policy, we'll remove the content and send you an email to let you know. If this is your first time violating our Community Guidelines, you'll likely get a warning with no penalty to your channel. If it's not, we may issue a strike against your channel. If you get 3 strikes within 90 days, your channel will be terminated. You can learn more about our strikes system [here](#).

We may terminate your channel or account for repeated violations of the Community Guidelines or Terms of Service. We may also terminate your channel or account after a single case of severe abuse, or when the channel is dedicated to a policy violation. You can learn more about channel or account terminations [here](#).

Need more help?

Try these next steps:

Ask the Help Community

Get answers from community experts



H. Torbet <steadyrolling@gmail.com>

Steady Rolling, we've reached a decision on your appeal

YouTube Community Guidelines <no-reply@youtube.com>

Mon, Oct 3, 2022 at 12:15 PM

Reply-To: YouTube Community Guidelines <no-reply@youtube.com>

To: steady-rolling-8381@pages.plusgoogle.com



Hi Steady Rolling,

We have reviewed your appeal for the following:

Video: Nuernberg, USA, II: Exit 666, a Dead End

We reviewed your content carefully, and have confirmed that it violates our medical misinformation policy. We know this is probably disappointing news, but it's our job to make sure that YouTube is a safe place for all.

How does this impact your content

- We won't be putting your content back up on YouTube.
- If your appeal was for a warning, you will not be given another warning in the future.
- If your appeal was for a strike, the strike will remain on your channel.

You can find more information about warnings and strikes at the YouTube Help Center.

Thanks,
The YouTube team

[Help Center](#) • [Email options](#)

You have received this email to update you on actions related to your YouTube account.

Was this email helpful? [Yes](#) | [No](#)



© 2022 Google LLC d/b/a YouTube, 901 Cherry Ave, San Bruno, CA 94066



English



Thanks for your feedback

If you have additional comments, please share them here

I don't believe that any human being reviewed my video content. Furthermore, I believe that you are acting at the behest of the government, which has an interest in suppressing dissent, so as to sell more of the mRNA products.]

Submit

We're in This Together. Disinformation Stops With You.

Disinformation and COVID-19: How State and Local Officials Can Respond

State and local officials play a critical role in countering the abundance of false COVID-19 information that is spreading through public information channels. This toolkit is intended to be used by state, local, tribal and territorial officials. COVID-19 is and will continue to be a threat to public health. Throughout the COVID-19 pandemic disinformation, much of it produced and amplified by foreign actors, has consisted of false treatment and prevention measures, unsubstantiated rumors regarding the origin of the virus, and more. As such, it is imperative that State and local officials continually convey timely, trusted, and verified COVID-19 details and developments to their constituents to avert a vacuum of credible information, which can be exploited for misuse as disinformation by bad actors.

What are the different kinds of false information?

- **Misinformation** is false, but not created or shared with the intention of causing harm.
- **Malinformation** is based on fact, but used out of context to mislead, harm, or manipulate.
- **Disinformation** is deliberately created to mislead, harm, or manipulate a person, social group, organization, or country.

All three are harmful, but disinformation is a particular source of concern.

In a February report by the World Health Organization (WHO) report, officials included the term "infodemic" to describe the "overabundance" of information and false information that has arisen in conjunction with the COVID-19 pandemic. State and local government officials should combat ongoing campaigns aimed at undermining the ability of governments to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic. State-level officials should also remind citizens to remain vigilant in their online activities, especially during this time of unprecedented teleworking, virtual education classes, and online personal information gathering regarding the COVID-19 pandemic.

Core Messaging

See below for messaging that can be used in all public communications, including social media. Provide direct links to your state's health department and underscore that the state pledges to be transparent and will share all public information at that site. Feel free to edit, reuse, and rebrand this document and its content to suit the needs of your constituents.

Rely on trusted sources. For situational updates on COVID-19 and stay-at-home guidelines, rely on information provided by state and local health officials, as well as the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) at [coronavirus.gov](https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus) and the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA) at [cisa.gov/coronavirus](https://www.cisa.gov/coronavirus).

Think before you link. Slow down. Don't immediately click to share posts, memes, videos, or other content you see online. Some of the most damaging disinformation spreads rapidly via shared posts. Check your sources before sharing.

Be careful what you post. The information you share online can be misunderstood or repurposed via manipulation. Do a privacy check on your social media accounts and make sure you are not sharing content broadly that you mean only for close family and friends. Be aware that agents of disinformation often steal identities of real people, profile photos, and other information.

Be wary of manipulative content. Agents of disinformation are known to create or repurpose emotional videos and photos, and to use sensational terms to divide us. Be especially careful of content that attempts to make people angry or sad or create division.

Don't become a victim of COVID-19-related scams. Be wary of dishonest solicitations designed to take your money and gather your personal information. For more information about scams visit www.consumer.ftc.gov/blog/2020/02/coronavirus-scammers-follow-headlines.

TALKING POINTS: Disinformation Stops With You.

"For Position Only"
Logo/Sign Here

- For COVID-19 facts and stay-at-home guidance, rely on state and local health official websites, as well as the CDC (www.cdc.gov) and FEMA's rumor control webpage at fema.gov/coronavirus/rumor-control.
- Misinformation is false, but not created or shared with the intention of causing harm. Malinformation is based on fact, but used out of context to mislead, harm, or manipulate. Disinformation is deliberately created to mislead, harm, or manipulate a person, social group, organization, or country. All three are harmful, especially now.
- Think before sharing content on social media or emails—be sure to check your sources first.
- Be mindful of what you are sharing or posting online—check your privacy settings.
- Watch out for emotionally manipulative content designed to make us angry or sad.
- Take care when viewing or sharing content that uses sensational terms to divide us in a time of crisis.
- Report scams to trusted agencies, such as the Federal Trade Commission or state consumer protection agencies.

FAQs:

We're in This Together. Disinformation Stops With You.

Stopping COVID-19 Disinformation

What can our state and local officials do in countering disinformation?

State and local officials have emerged as some of the most visible government officials during the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition to being empathetic, state officials need to quickly and clearly communicate factual information and appropriate actions.

What are the best sources for accurate and reliable COVID-19 information? Your home state health department; your county-level department of public health; U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) www.cdc.gov; FEMA's rumor control page at www.fema.gov/rumor-control; and the U.N. World Health Organization (WHO) www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019.

What are the different kinds of false information? Misinformation is false, but not created or shared with the intention of causing harm. Malinformation is based on fact, but used out of context to mislead, harm or manipulate others. Disinformation is deliberately created to mislead, harm or manipulate others.

Who are the primary malign actors associated with the spreading of COVID-related disinformation?

Russian, Chinese and Iranian state-sponsored elements, as well as domestic extremist groups.

What are these malign actors trying to accomplish by spreading disinformation? Their goal is creating chaos, confusion and division. They also want to degrade confidence in U.S. institutions, which in turn undermines our ability to respond effectively to the pandemic.

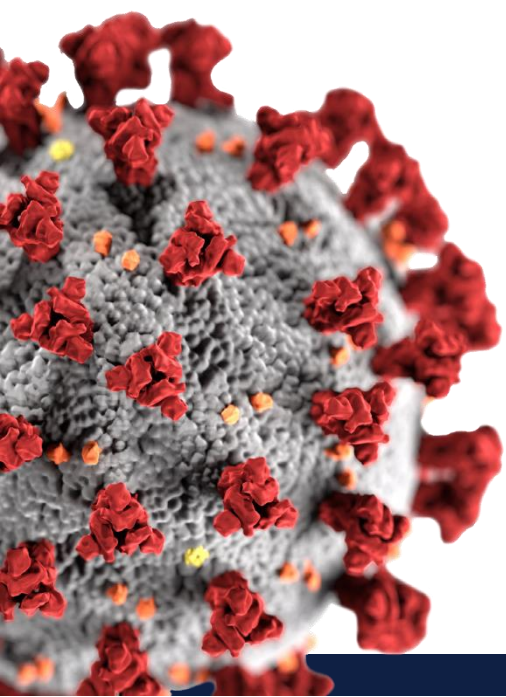
Who else is spreading disinformation? Scammers, cyber criminals and con artists are also taking advantage of fears surrounding COVID-19. They promote questionable awareness and prevention tips, as well as fake information about cases in your neighborhood. They may ask for donations, offer advice on unproven treatments or spread malicious email attachments.

How is false information spread?

All kinds of false information are spread through a variety of mediums, including mainstream media, social media, word of mouth, online forums, texts and emails. When people share disinformation, they may be unaware of the true source of a link or email.

What can our state and local officials tell their constituents about stopping disinformation? Core messaging should emphasize that "we're all in this together" and that "disinformation stops with you." Basic tips to include are:

- Rely on trusted sources such as the CDC and your health department. For situational updates on COVID-19 and stay-at-home guidelines, rely on state and local health officials.
- Think twice before sharing content online.
- Be careful about posting personal information.
- Be on the lookout for content that seems manipulative or overly emotional.
- Report scams to appropriate federal agencies, such as the Federal Trade Commission or state consumer protection agencies.



VAERS Summary for COVID-19 Vaccines through 9/16/2022

All charts and tables below reflect the data release on 9/23/2022 from the VAERS website, which includes U.S. and foreign data, and is updated through: **9/16/2022**.

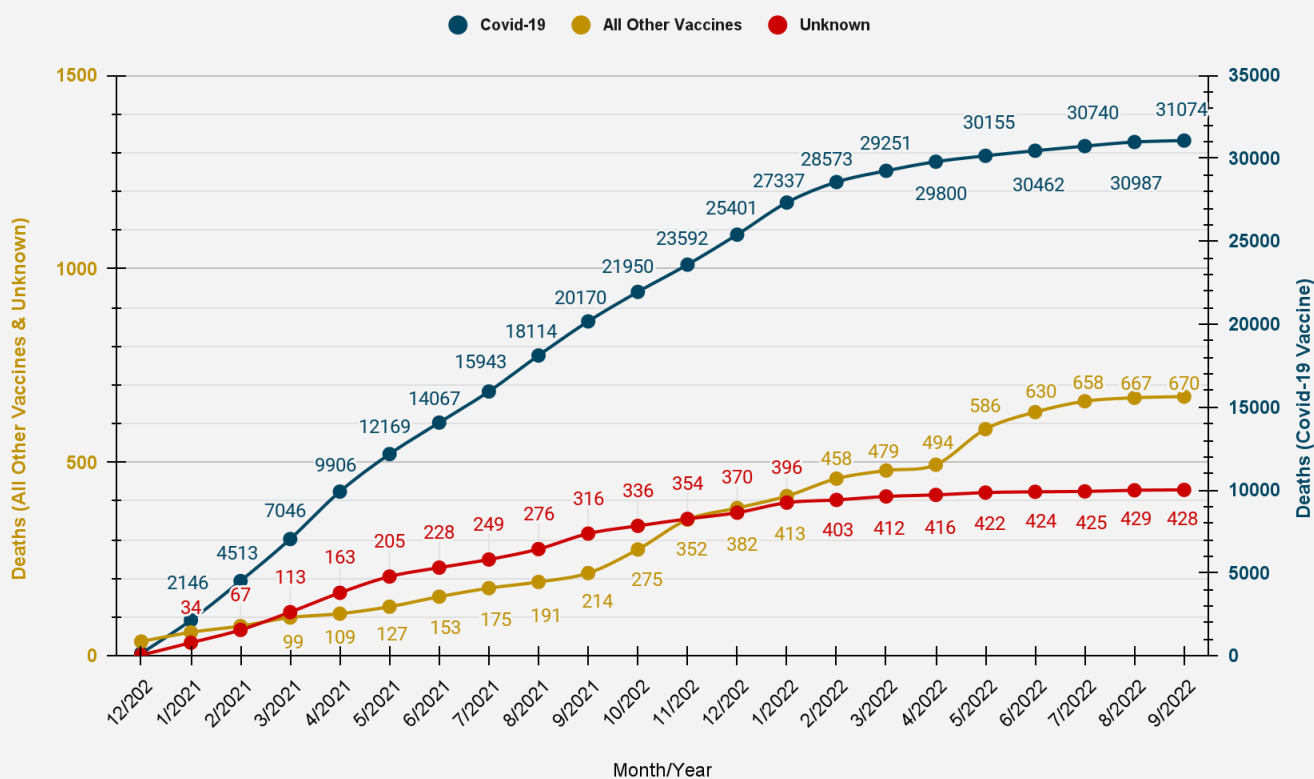
High-Level Summary	COVID19 vaccines (Dec'2020 - present)	All other vaccines 1990-present	US Data Only COVID19 vaccines (Dec'2020 - present)	US Data Only All other vaccines 1990-present
Number of Adverse Reactions	1,418,220	896,530	868,175	778,725
Number of Life-Threatening Events	34,115	14,706	13,176	10,045
Number of Hospitalizations	177,987	85,426	69,099	39,581
Number of Deaths	31,074	9,919	14,531	5,412
# of Permanent Disabilities after vaccination	58,030	21,339	14,887	13,177
Number of Office Visits	206,093	53,419	170,660	50,948
# of Emergency Room/Department Visits	135,544	214,313	103,560	204,561
# of Birth Defects after vaccination	1,168	204	544	110

***Note that the total number of deaths associated with the COVID-19 vaccines is more than TRIPLE the number of deaths associated with all other vaccines combined since the year 1990.**

Deaths

Cumulative Reported Deaths After Vaccination - 1.5 Year Summary

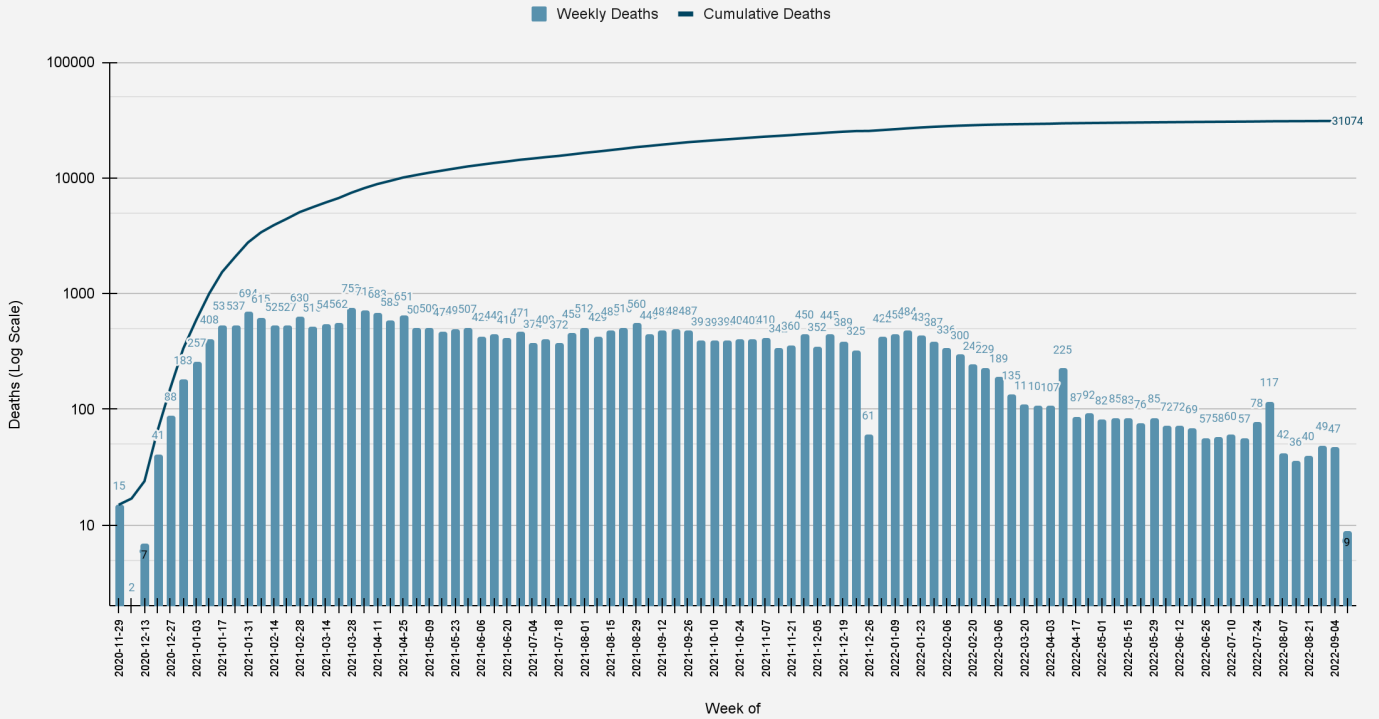
Data obtained from CDC's VAERS



[Unknowns separated from All Other Vaccines for greater clarity; in a majority of cases the Unknowns are actually Covid-19]

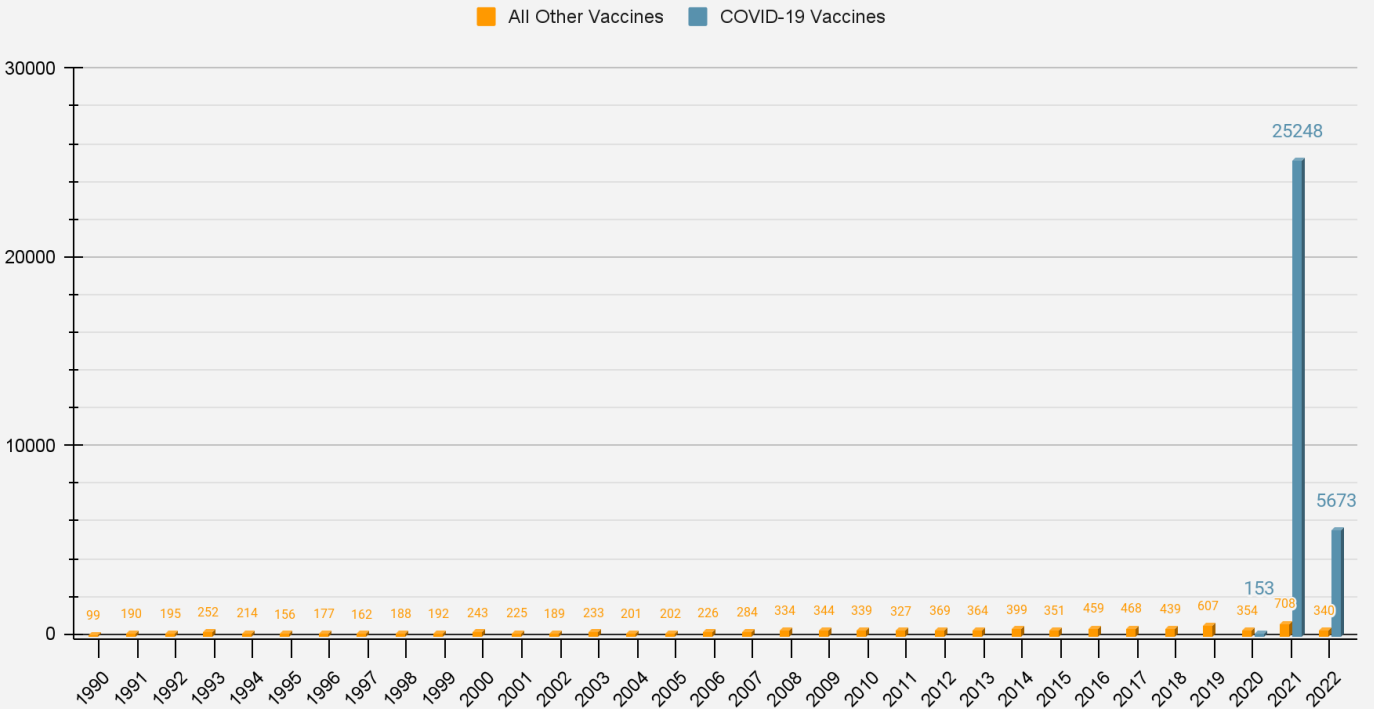
Reported Deaths by Week, COVID19 Vaccines

Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS



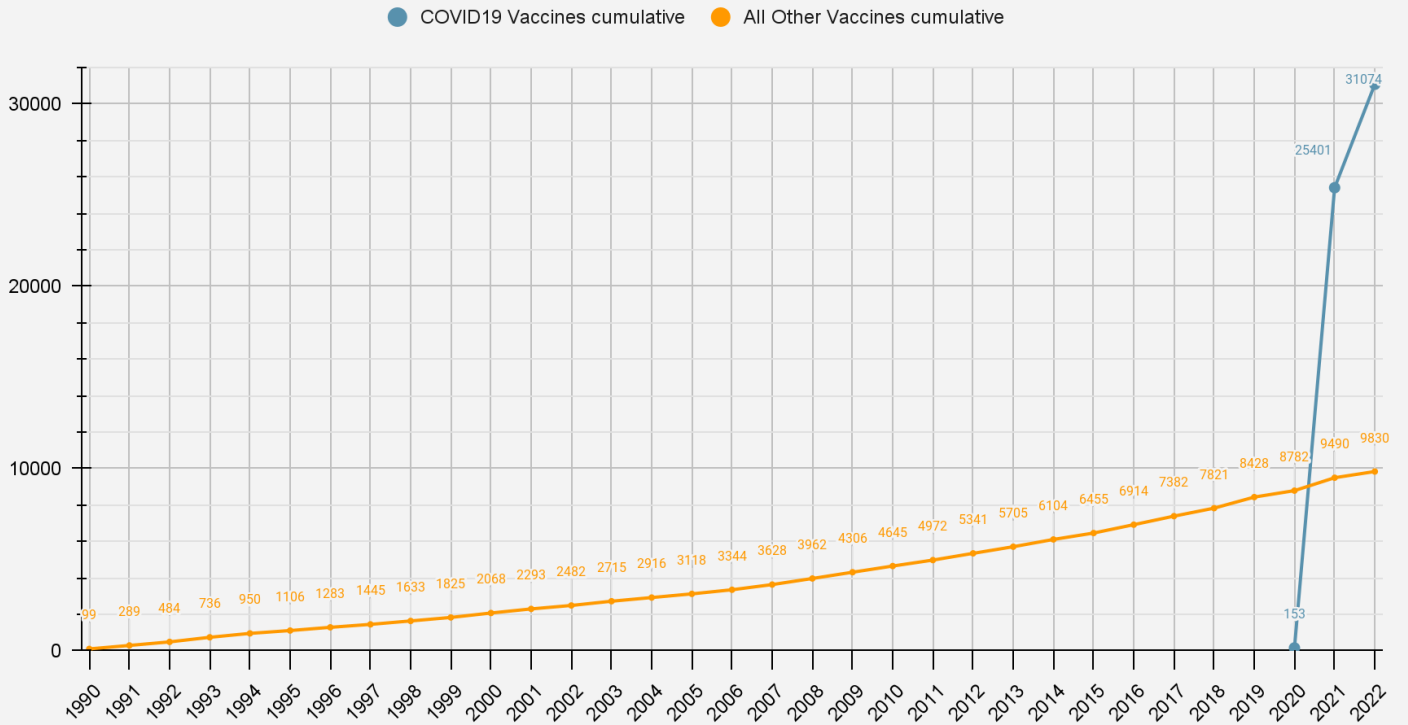
Reported Deaths by Year, COVID19 vs. All Other Vaccines

Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS



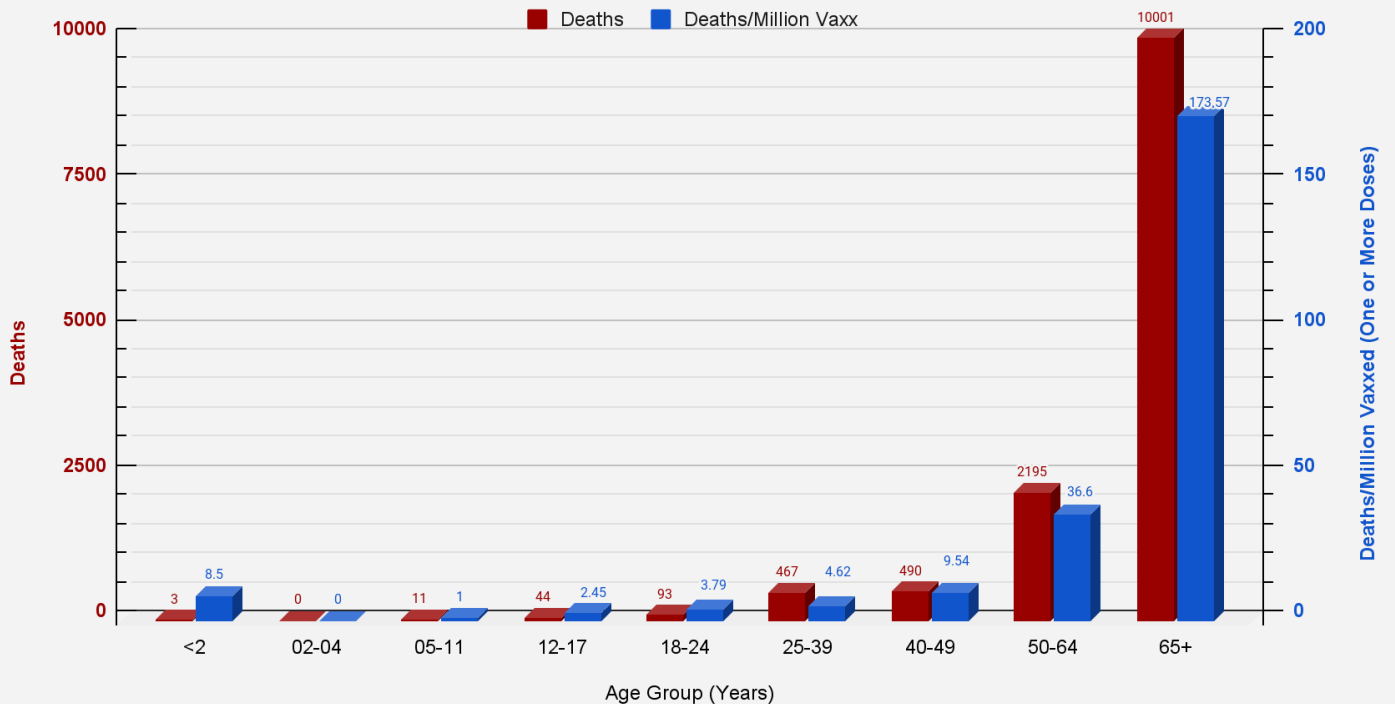
Reported Deaths by Year, COVID19 vs. All Other Vaccines, Cumulatively

Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS



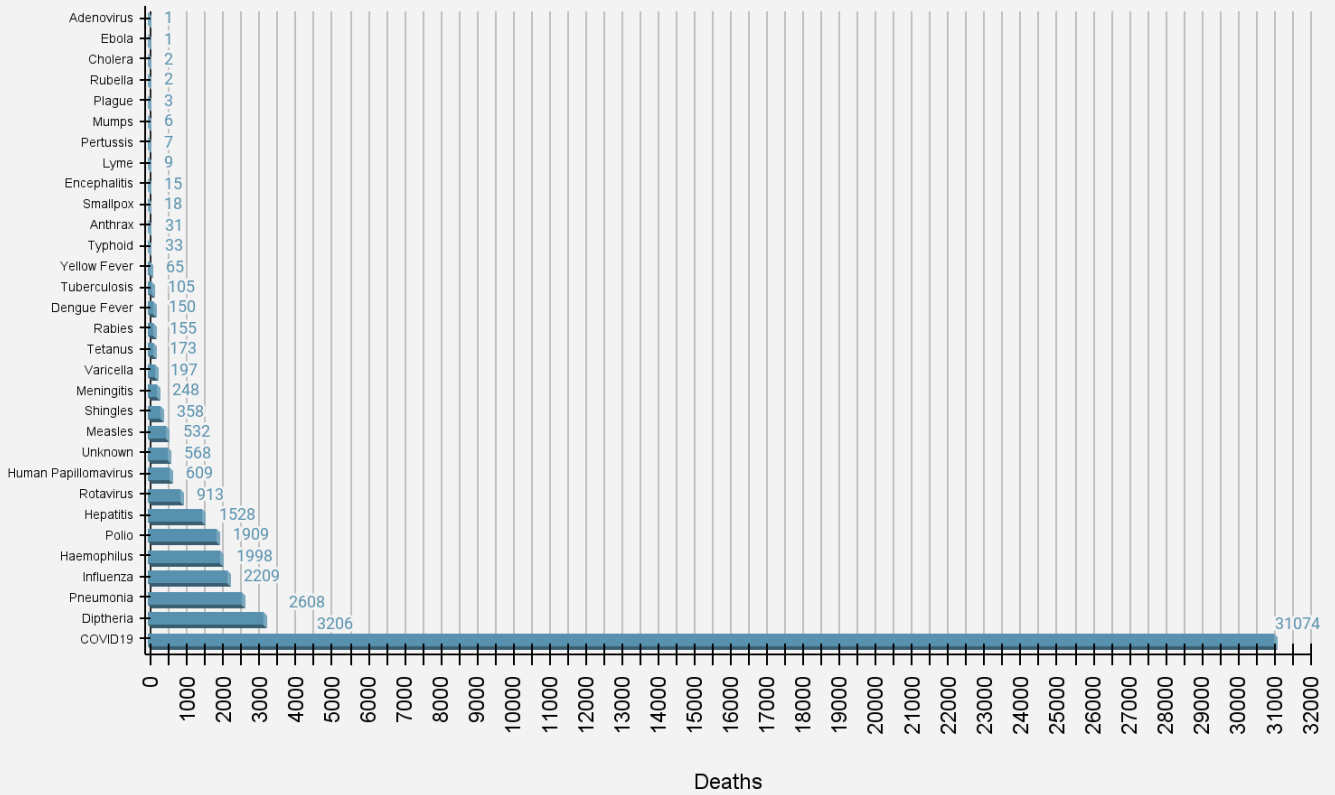
Age Stratification of Deaths After COVID-19 Vaccination US Data Only

Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS



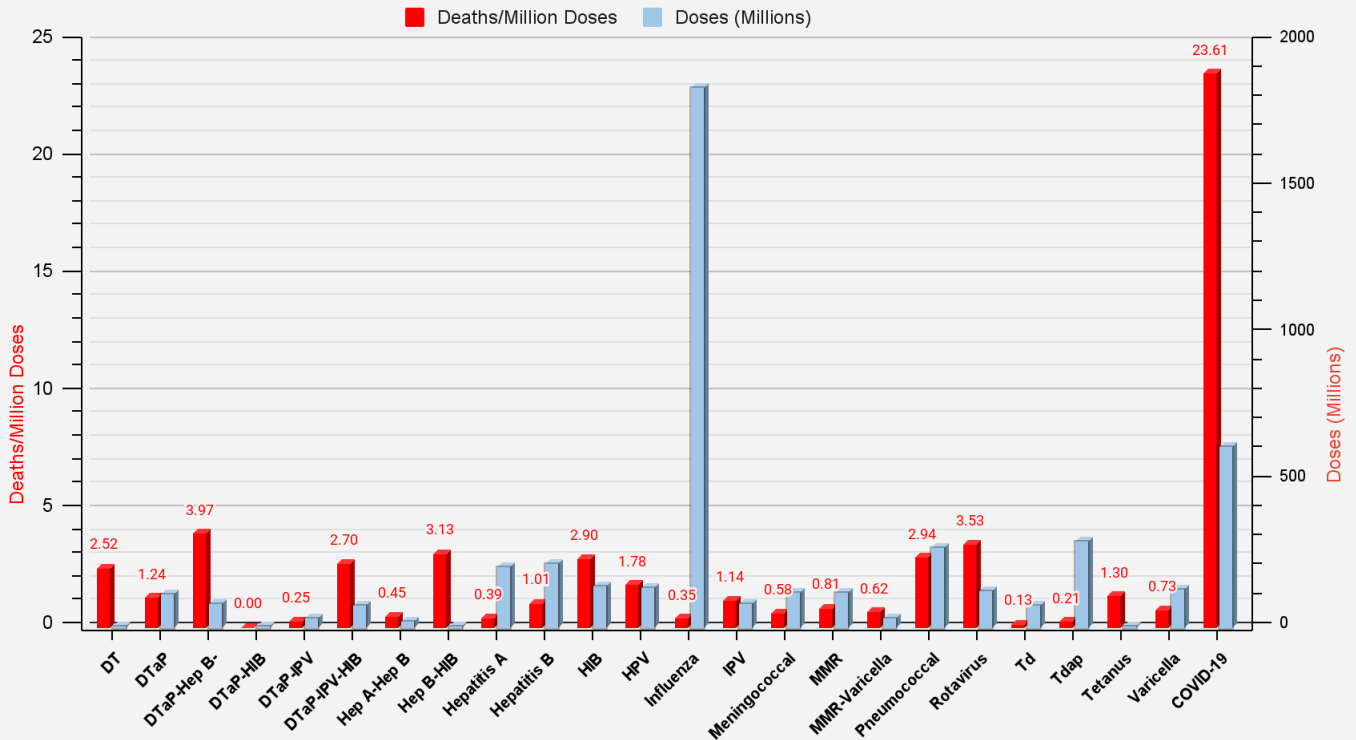
Reported Deaths By Vaccine Type, 1990-Present

Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS



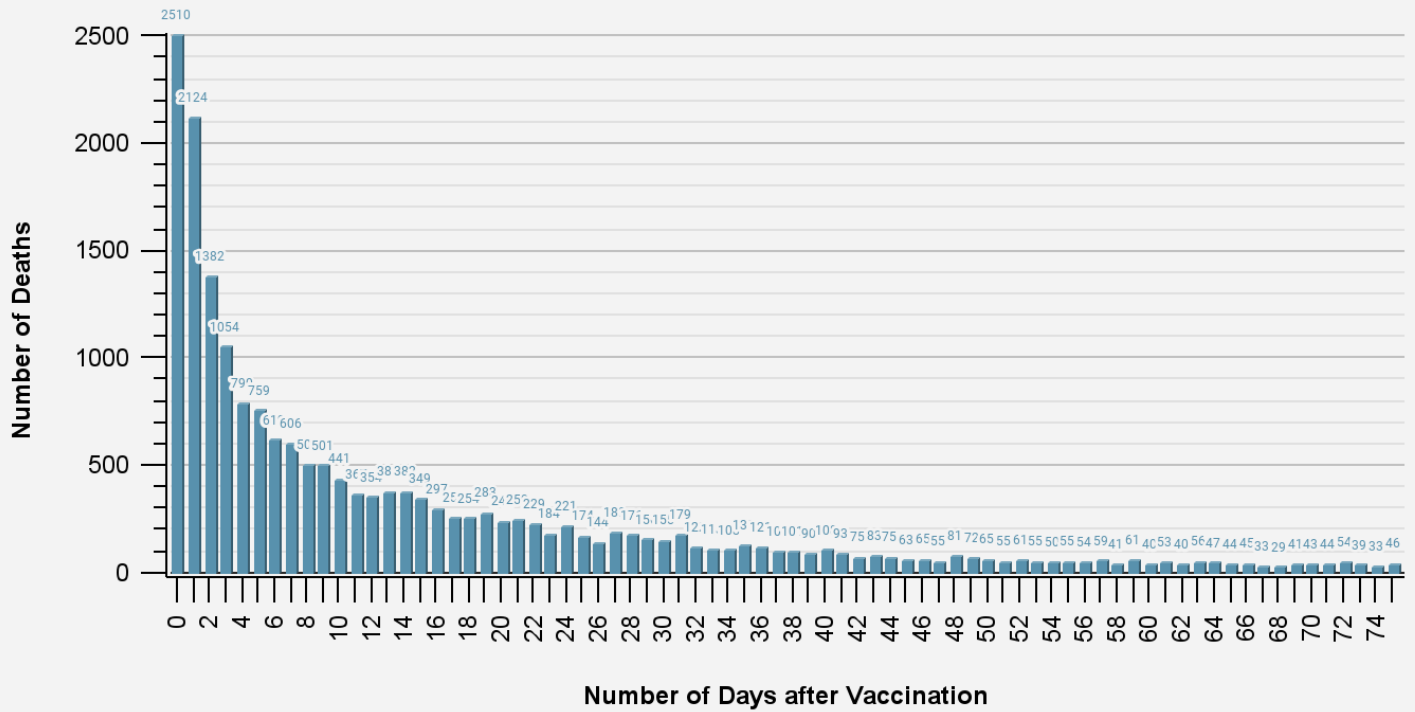
Deaths Per Million Doses (US Only) Traditional Vaccines (2006 - 2019), Covid-19 Vaccines (2020-Present)

Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS and NVICP data & statistics report



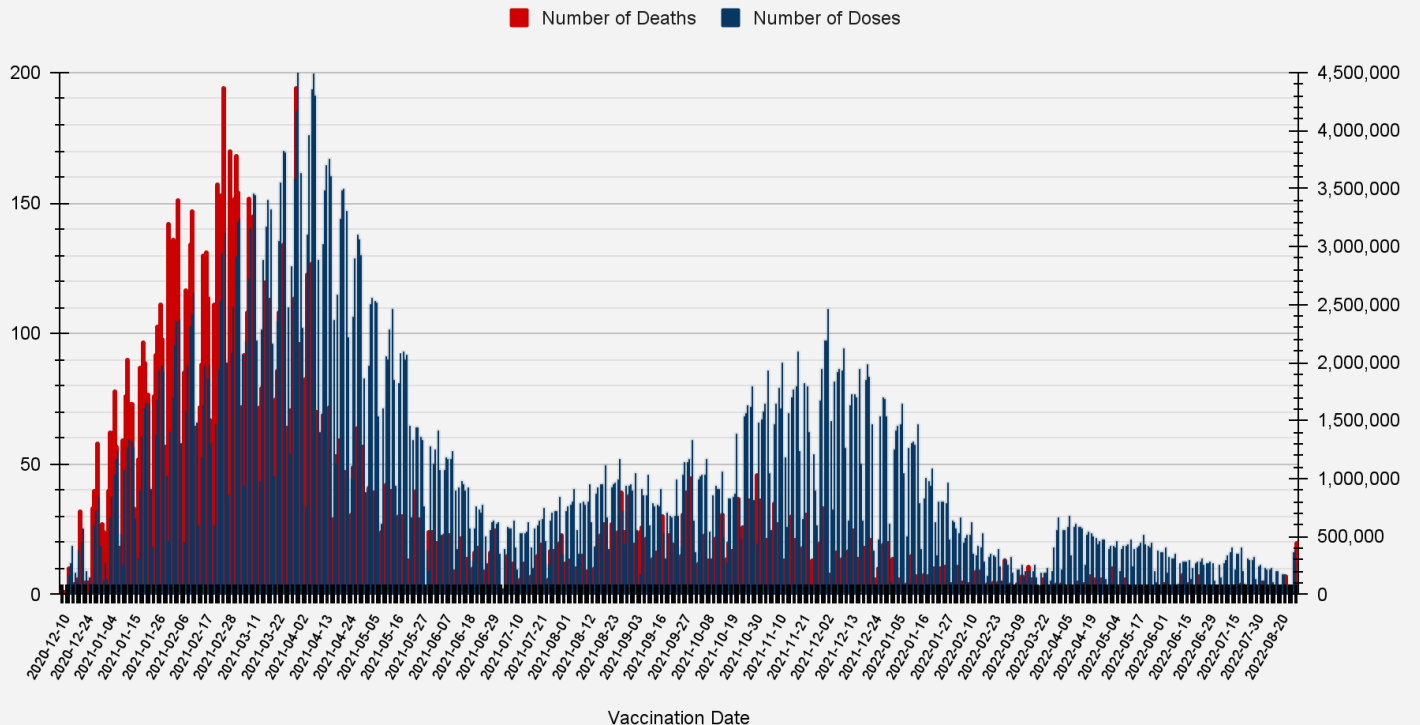
Number of Deaths by Days After COVID19 Vaccination

Data obtained from CDC's VAERS



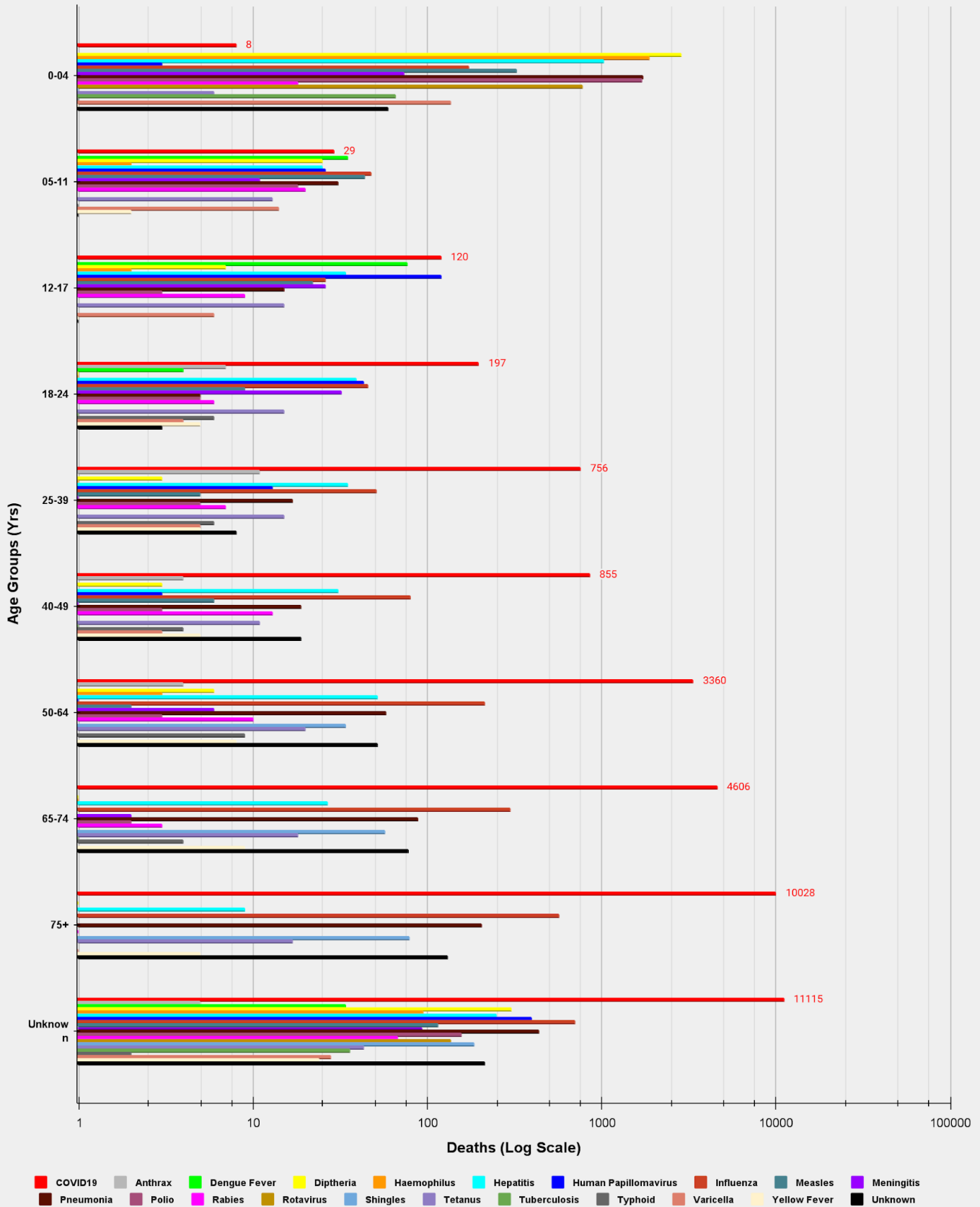
Reported Deaths Daily vs. Doses Administered for COVID19 Vaccines (US Data Only)

Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS & CDC



Age Stratification of Deaths By Vaccine Type (US+Foreign) (1990-Present)

Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS

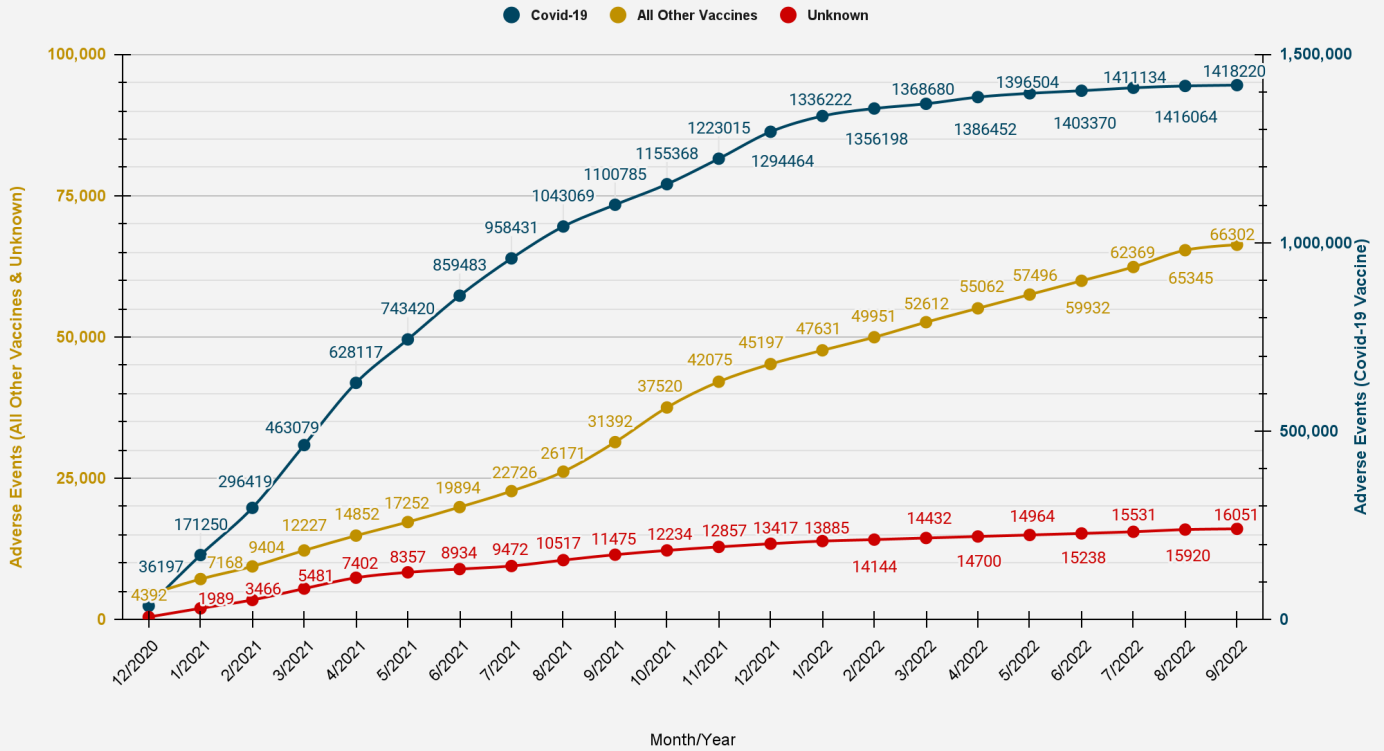


[Vaccines not included above (due to n < 20 overall deaths): Adenovirus, Cholera, Dengue Fever, Encephalitis, Ebola, Lyme, Mumps, Pertussis, Plague, Rubella, Smallpox]

Adverse Events

Cumulative Reported AEs After Vaccination - 1.5 Year Summary

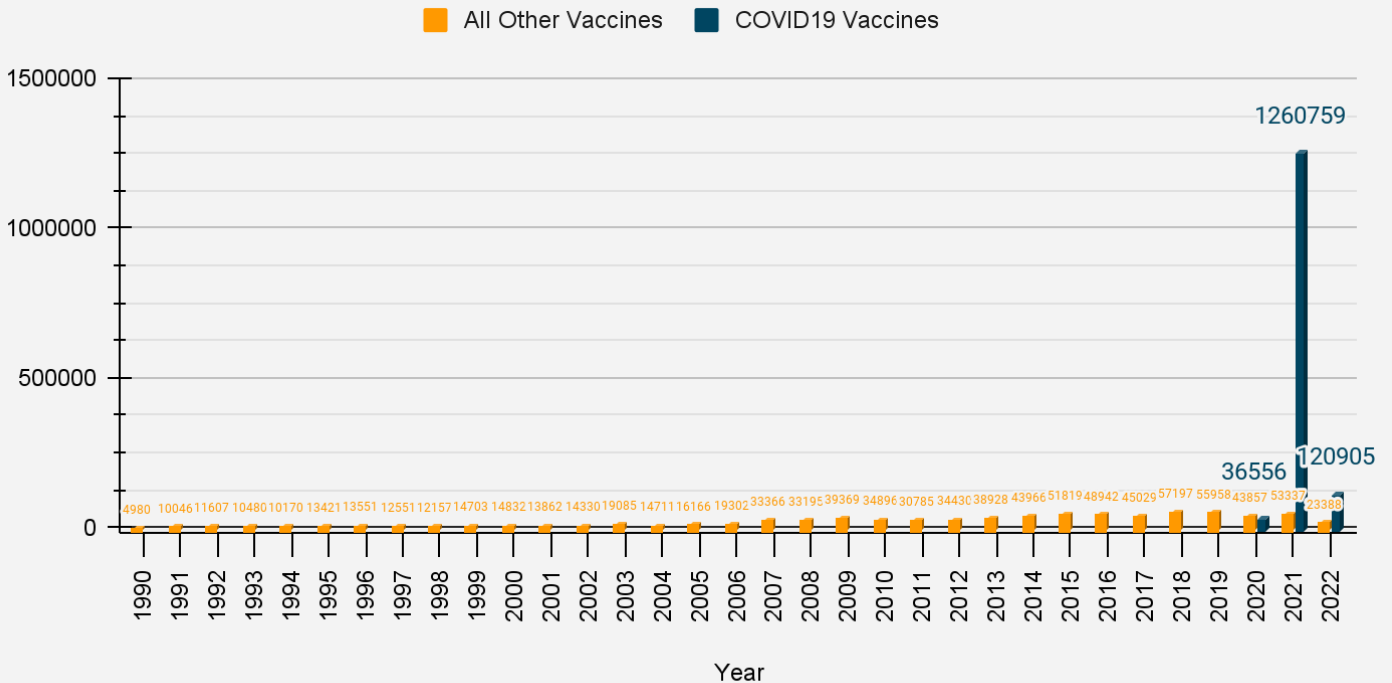
Data obtained from CDC's VAERS



[Unknowns separated from All Other Vaccines for greater clarity; in many cases the Unknowns are actually Covid-19]

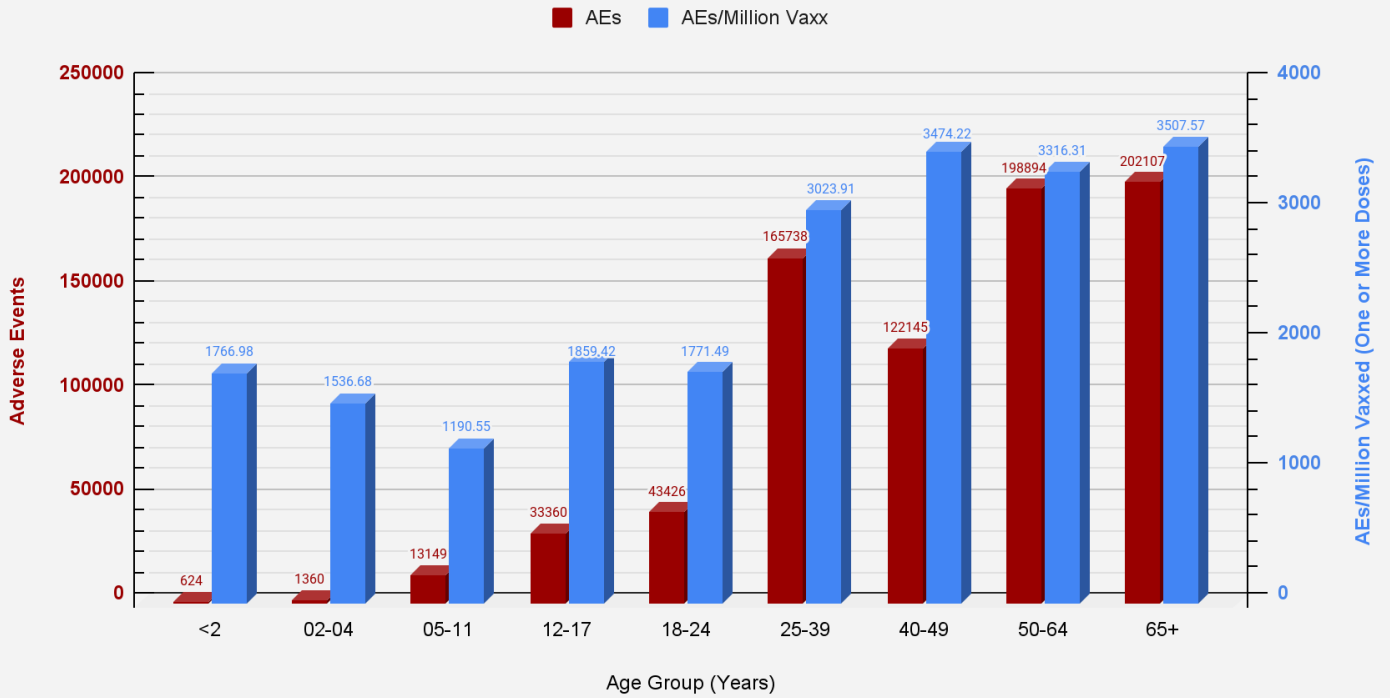
Reported Adverse Events by Year, COVID19 vs. All Other Vaccines

Data obtained from CDC's VAERS



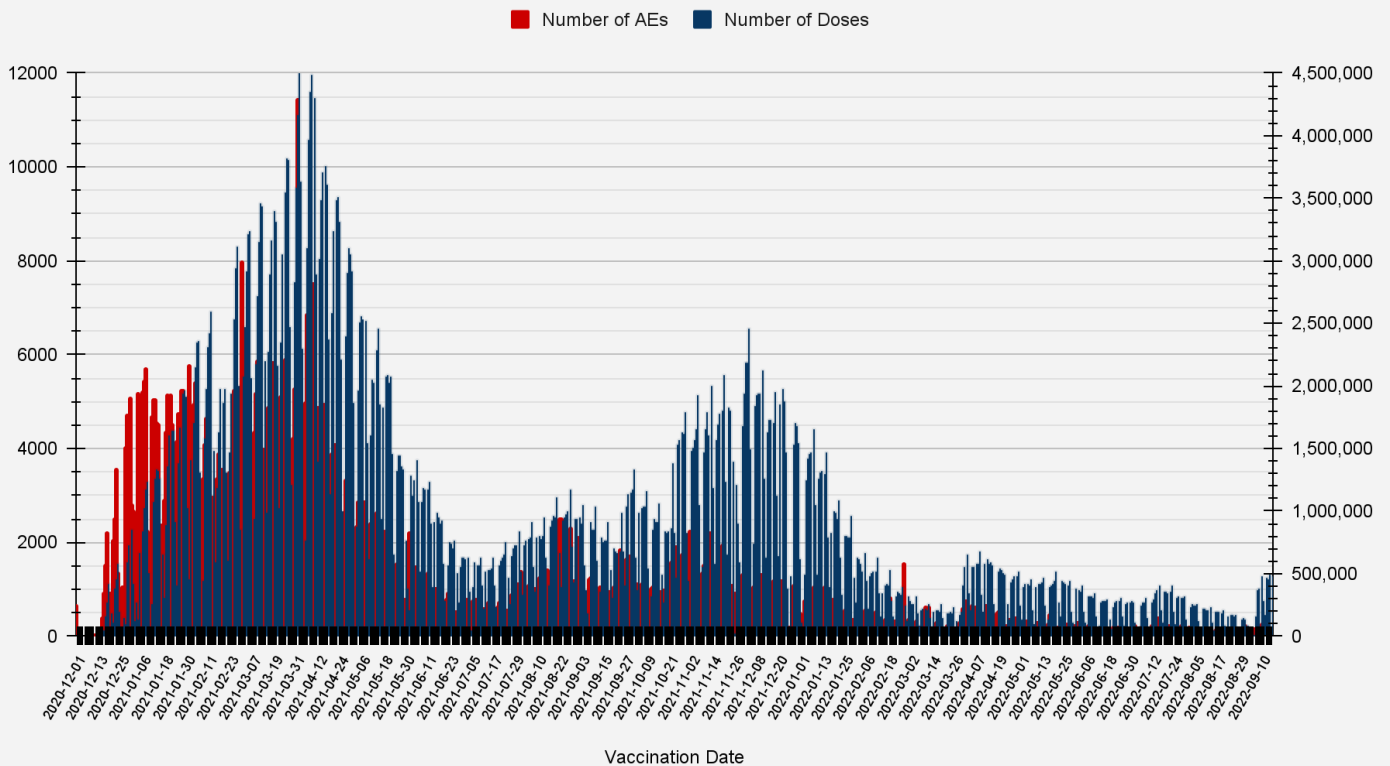
Age Stratification of Adverse Events After COVID-19 Vaccination US Data Only

Data obtained from CDC's VAERS



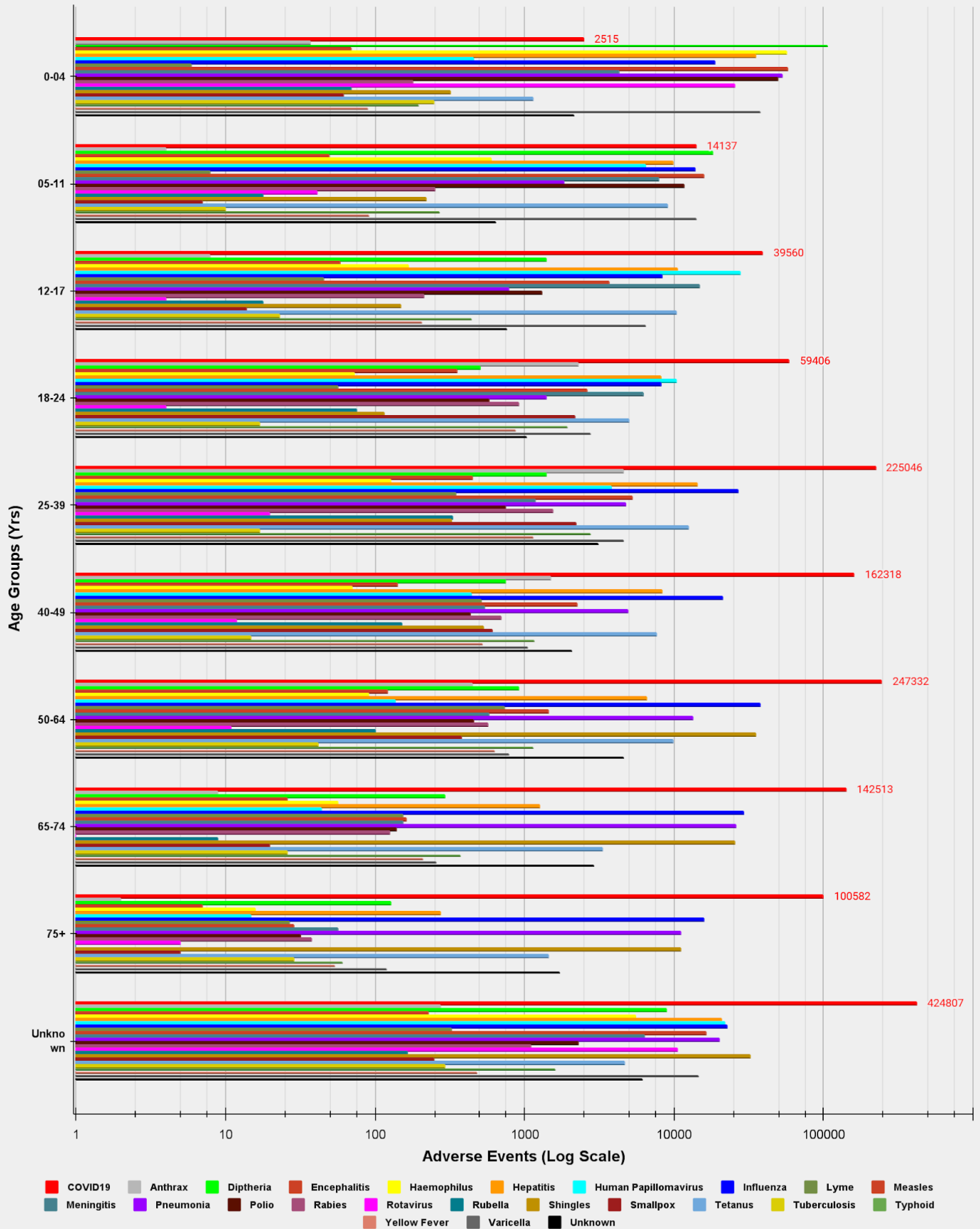
Reported Adverse Events Daily, COVID19 Vaccines vs. Doses Administered (US Data Only)

Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS



Age Stratification of Adverse Events By Vaccine Type (US+Foreign) (1990-Present)

Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS



[Vaccines not included above (due to n < 500 overall AEs): Adenovirus, Cholera, Dengue Fever, Ebola, Mumps, Pertussis, Plague]

Symptoms

The slide below was taken from an FDA document from October 22, 2020 and provides a list of possible adverse event outcomes related to the Covid-19 vaccines.

- Source: [Vaccines and Related Biological Products Advisory Committee October 22, 2020 Meeting Presentation](#)

FDA Safety Surveillance of COVID-19 Vaccines :

DRAFT Working list of possible adverse event outcomes

*****Subject to change*****

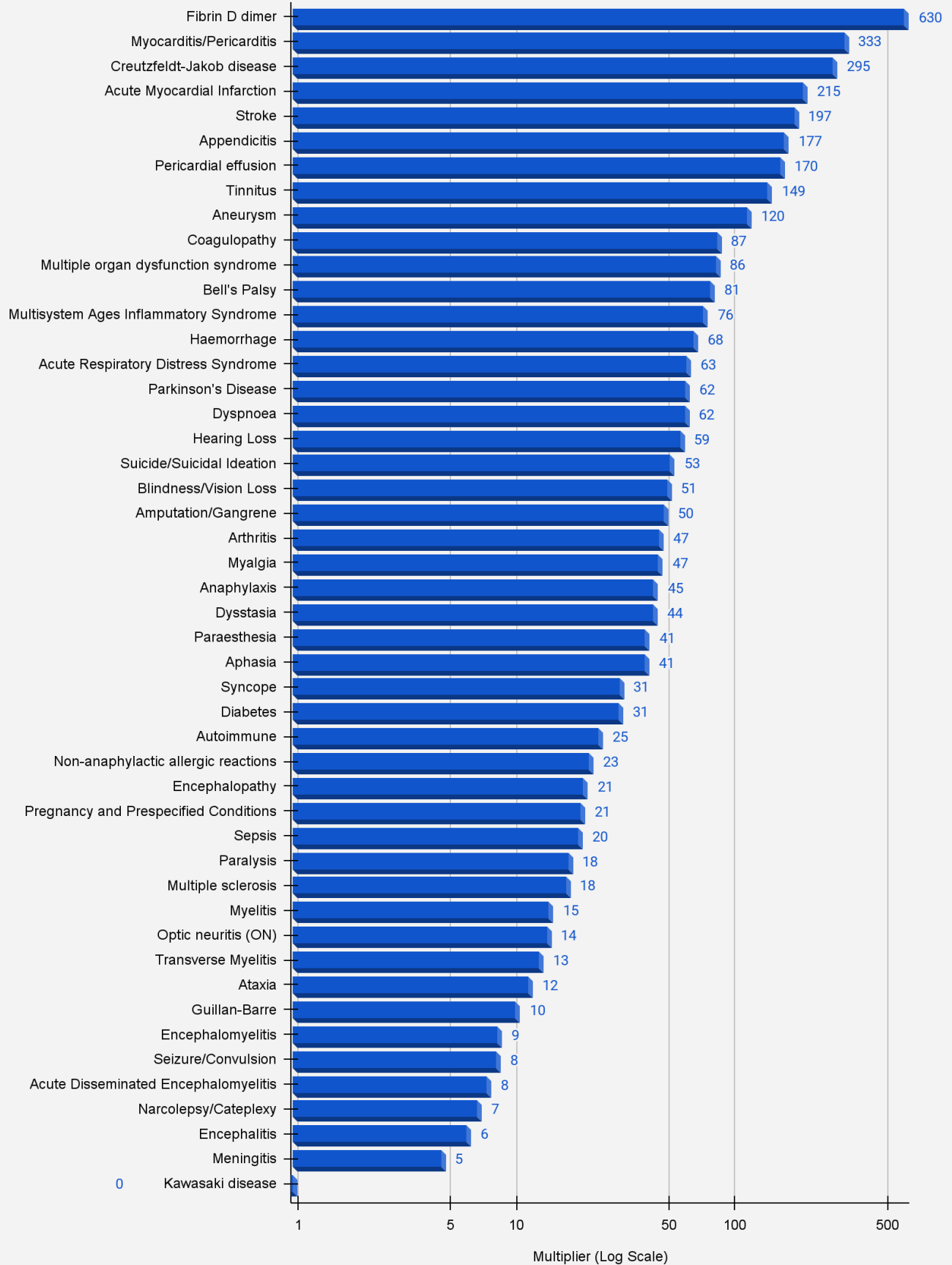
- Guillain-Barré syndrome
 - Acute disseminated encephalomyelitis
 - Transverse myelitis
 - Encephalitis/myelitis/encephalomyelitis/meningoencephalitis/meningitis/encephalopathy
 - Convulsions/seizures
 - Stroke
 - Narcolepsy and cataplexy
 - Anaphylaxis
 - Acute myocardial infarction
 - Myocarditis/pericarditis
 - Autoimmune disease
- Deaths
 - Pregnancy and birth outcomes
 - Other acute demyelinating diseases
 - Non-anaphylactic allergic reactions
 - Thrombocytopenia
 - Disseminated intravascular coagulation
 - Venous thromboembolism
 - Arthritis and arthralgia/joint pain
 - Kawasaki disease
 - Multisystem Inflammatory Syndrome in Children
 - Vaccine enhanced disease

The following table lists the number of adverse events found in the VAERS data which match the outcomes listed above:

FDA listed symptom	Total (Non-Lethal) Adverse Events	Total Deaths	Total (Non-Lethal) AEs for All Other Vaccines (1990-present)	Total Deaths for All Other Vaccines (1990-present)
Guillain-Barre	2950	59	4532	143
Acute Disseminated Encephalomyelitis	230	7	449	30
Transverse Myelitis	662	5	848	16
Encephalitis	2846	377	4894	475
Convulsions/Seizures	17380	568	30162	531
Stroke	16723	1502	1648	113
Narcolepsy, Cataplexy	335	6	387	3
Anaphylaxis	50886	194	41662	172
Acute Myocardial Infarction (Heart Attack)	5582	1553	346	155
Myocarditis/Pericarditis	23613	357	988	88
Autoimmune Disease	2302	34	1137	16
Other Acute Demyelinating Diseases	433	7	868	25
Pregnancy and birth outcomes (Miscarriages)	4750	148	2908	49
Other Allergic Reactions	2535	4	2092	3
Thrombocytopenia	6347	507	3650	137
Disseminated Intravascular Coagulation	288	93	61	26
Venous Thromboembolism	26352	1573	695	114
Arthritis and Arthralgia/Joint Pain	83933	286	29306	79
Kawasaki Disease	103	2	727	9
Systemic Inflammatory Response Syndrome	958	65	369	6

Average Annual Adverse Events by Symptom for Covid-19 Vaccines as a Multiple of All Other Vaccines Combined since 1990

(Data from VAERS through 9/16/22)



Vaccination Related Risks of Covid-19 vs. Flu

These set of figures compare the COVID19 vaccine to the traditional Flu vaccines. 'Risk of Death' percentages depend on the '# of Vaccinations' data, which is only approximate, and was pulled from the [CDC's report](#) on Flu vaccination coverage for the 2019-2020 season, and from [CDC's Vaccination Trends in the US](#) for the COVID19 vaccinations.

Covid19 vaccinations through 5/31/2021 vs. Flu vaccinations 7/1/2019 - 5/31/2020 (last complete flu season)

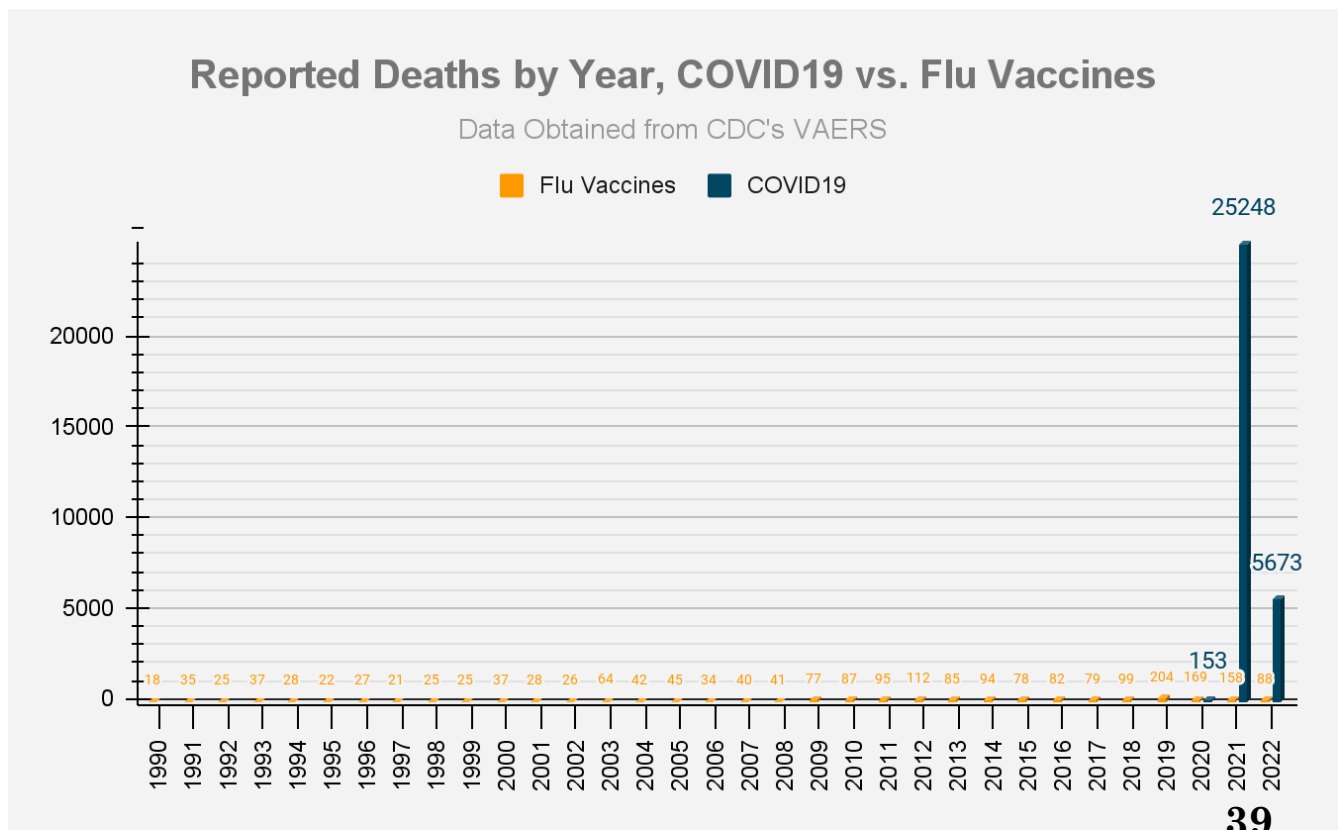
Vaccine Type	# of Vaccinations ^[3]	# of Deaths	Risk of Death	Percentage	Deaths/Mill. Vaccinations ^[3]
Flu	167,447,642 ^[1]	33	1 in 5,074,171	0.000020%	0.20
COVID19	173,412,064 ^[2]	5,816	1 in 29,816	0.003354%	33.54
Risk of dying from COVID vaccine is 170 times greater than Flu Vaccine					

Vaccine Type	# of Vaccinations ^[3]	# of Adverse Reactions	Risk of Adverse Reaction	Percentage	AEs/Mill. Vaccinations ^[3]
Flu	167,447,642	9,733	1 in 17,204	0.005813%	58.13
COVID19	173,412,064	568,956	1 in 305	0.328095%	3,280.95
Risk of adverse reaction from COVID vaccine is 56 times greater than Flu Vaccine					

[1] number of flu vaccinations based on estimated flu vaccine coverage data from [CDC](#) and estimated population data from [US Census](#). Yearly flu vaccination data covers a period of time from 7/1 to 5/31 of the following year.

[2] number of covid19 vaccinations based on estimates from [CDC's Vaccination Trends in the US](#)

[3] Persons vaccinated with at least one dose.



Vaccine Data by Manufacturer

Manufacturer	# of Deaths	% Deaths	Average Deaths/Day	# US Deaths	# US Doses Administered	Average US Deaths/Mill. Doses	Days since EUA approval	EUA Approval Date
Janssen (JNJ)	2704	8.67	4.77	1747	18896040	92.45	567	2/26/2021
Moderna	8385	26.87	13.16	6137	231784237	26.48	637	12/18/2020
Pfizer/Biontech	19934	63.88	30.95	6639	364799403	18.2	644	12/11/2020
Unknown	186	0.6		59	665337			

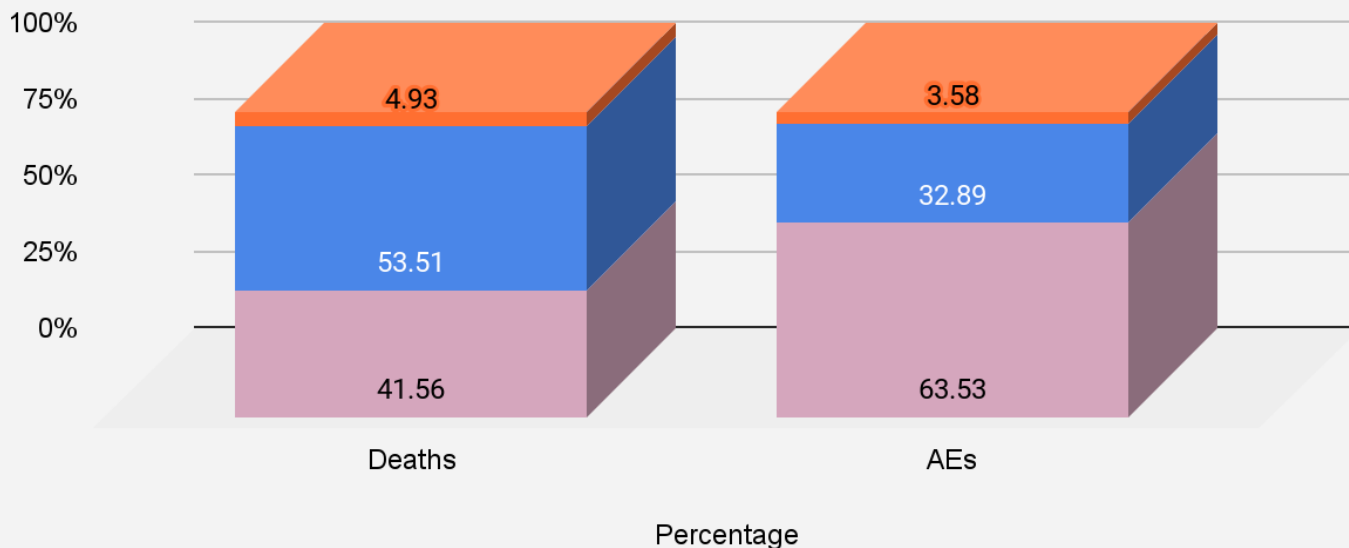
Manufacturer	# of AEs	% AEs	Average AEs/Day	# US AEs	# US Doses Administered	Average US AEs/Mill. Doses	Days since EUA approval	EUA Approval Date
Janssen (JNJ)	94862	6.65	167.31	70586	18896040	3735.49	567	2/26/2021
Moderna	479348	33.61	752.51	395965	231784237	1708.33	637	12/18/2020
Pfizer/Biontech	844755	59.23	1311.73	401865	364799403	1101.61	644	7/13/2022
Unknown	7633	0.54		3976	665337			
Novavax	85	0.01	1.31	81	27291	2968.01	65	12/11/2020

Vaccine Data by Gender

Gender Distribution of Reported Deaths and AEs after COVID19 Vaccination

All Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS

■ Unknown
 ■ Male
 ■ Female

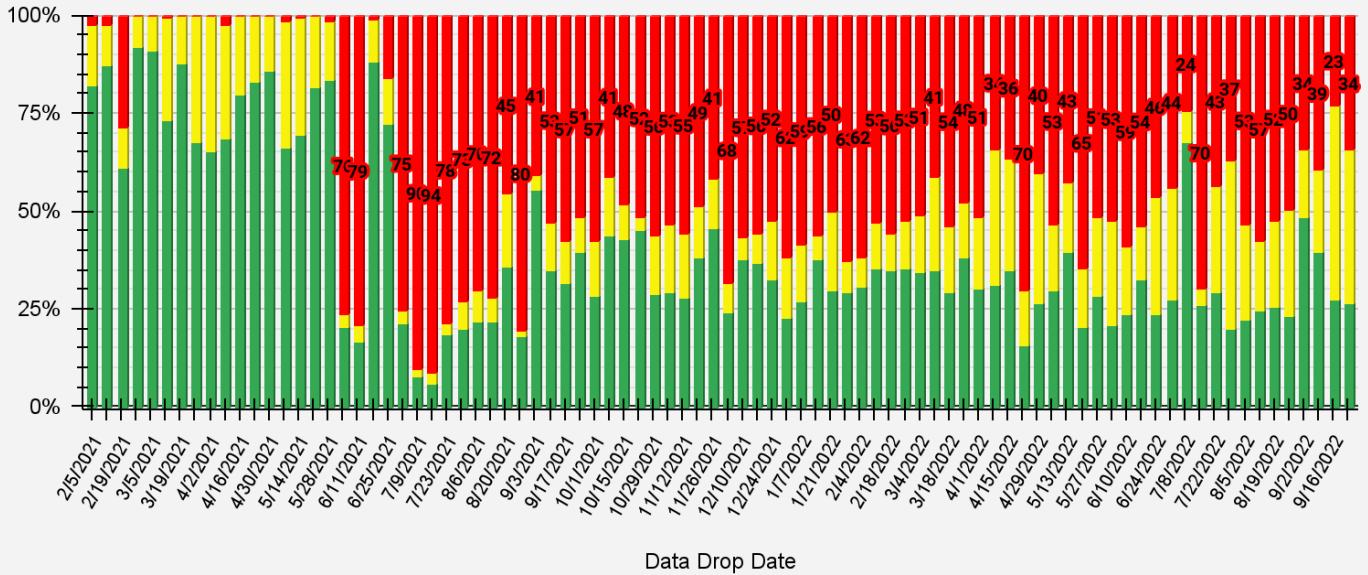


Vaccine Data by Location

Distribution by Location of Reported Deaths after COVID19 Vaccination

All Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS

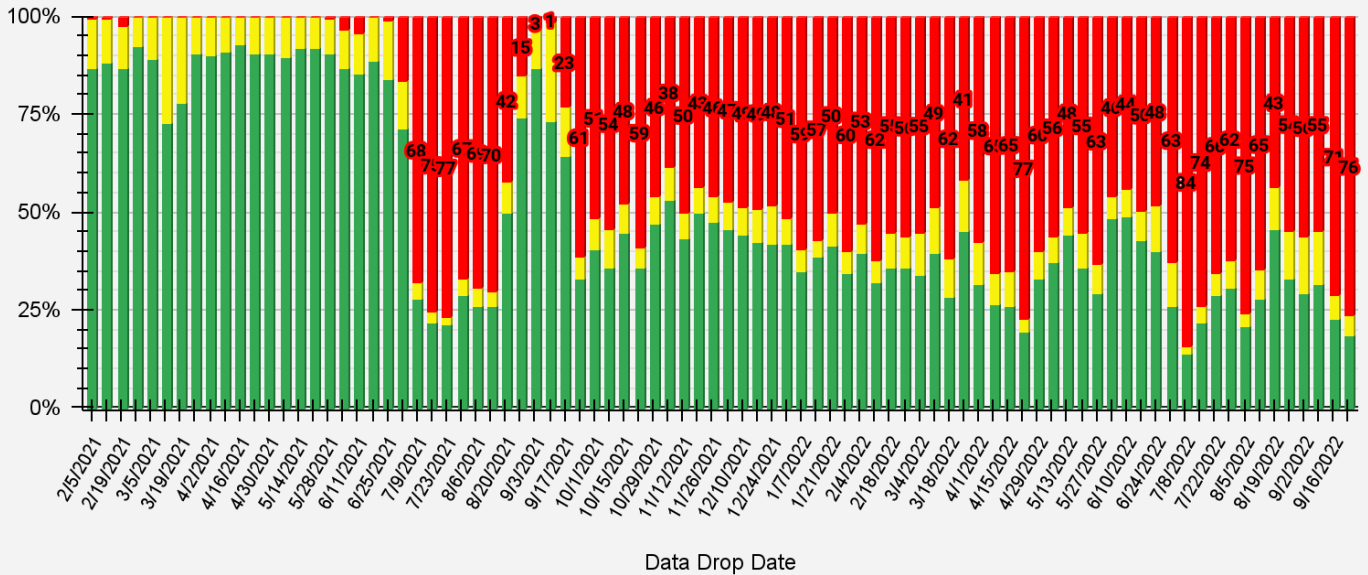
■ Foreign %
 ■ Unknown %
 ■ US %



Distribution by Location of Reported Adverse Events after COVID19 Vaccination

All Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS

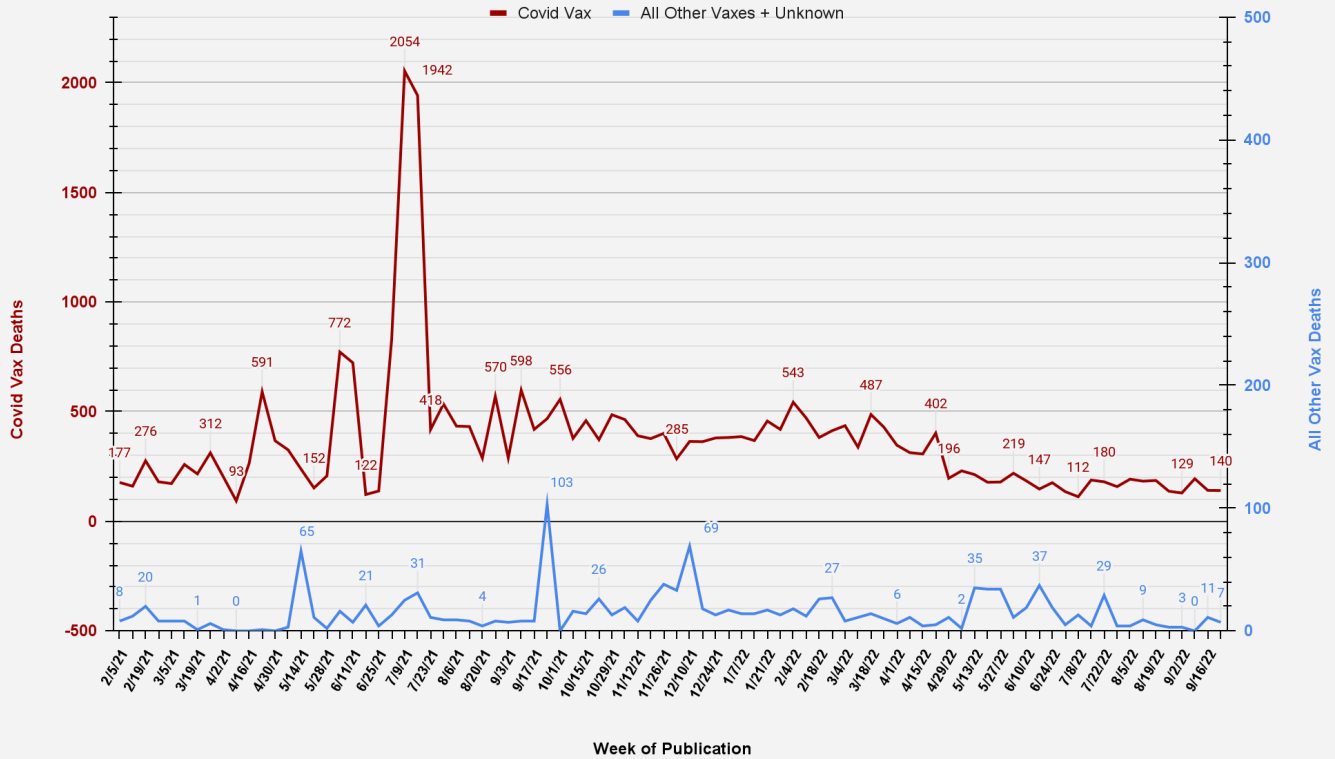
■ Foreign %
 ■ Unknown %
 ■ US %



VAERS Weekly Publication History

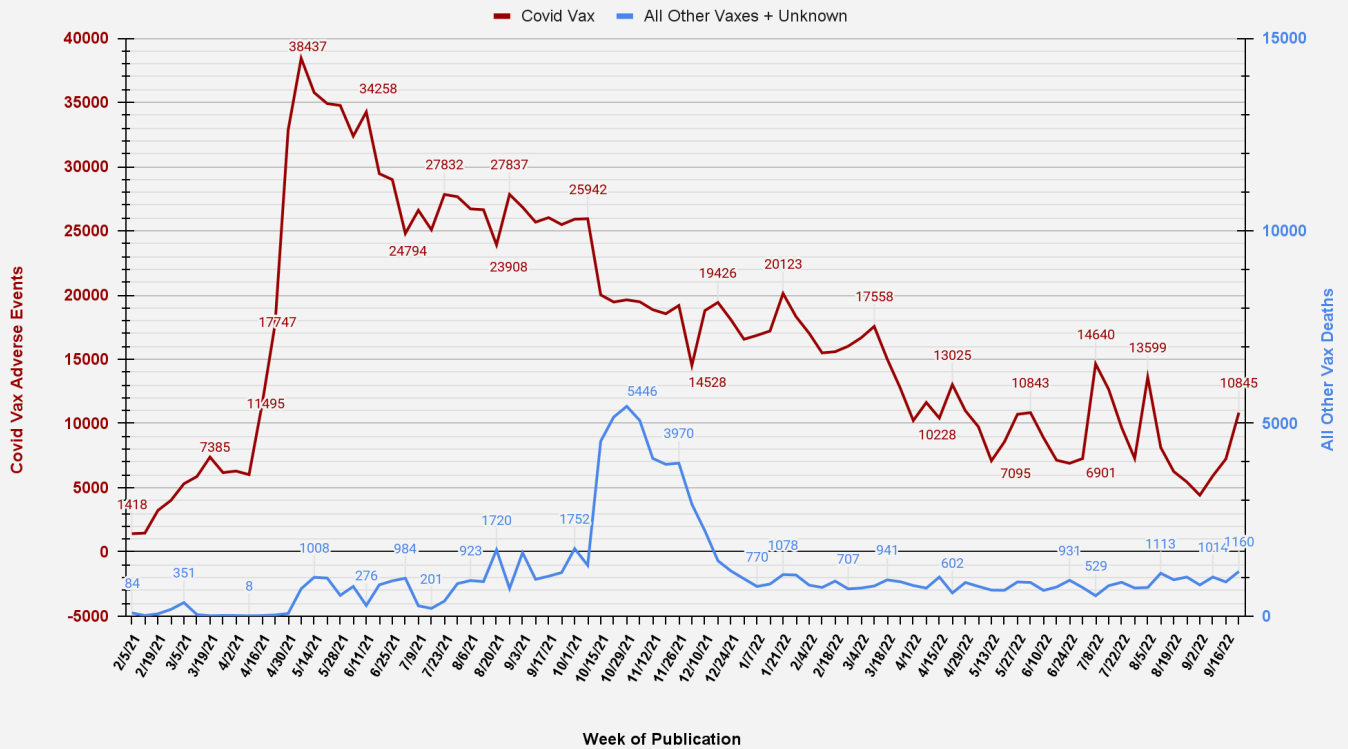
New VAERS Deaths Published by Week

All Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS



New VAERS Adverse Events Published by Week

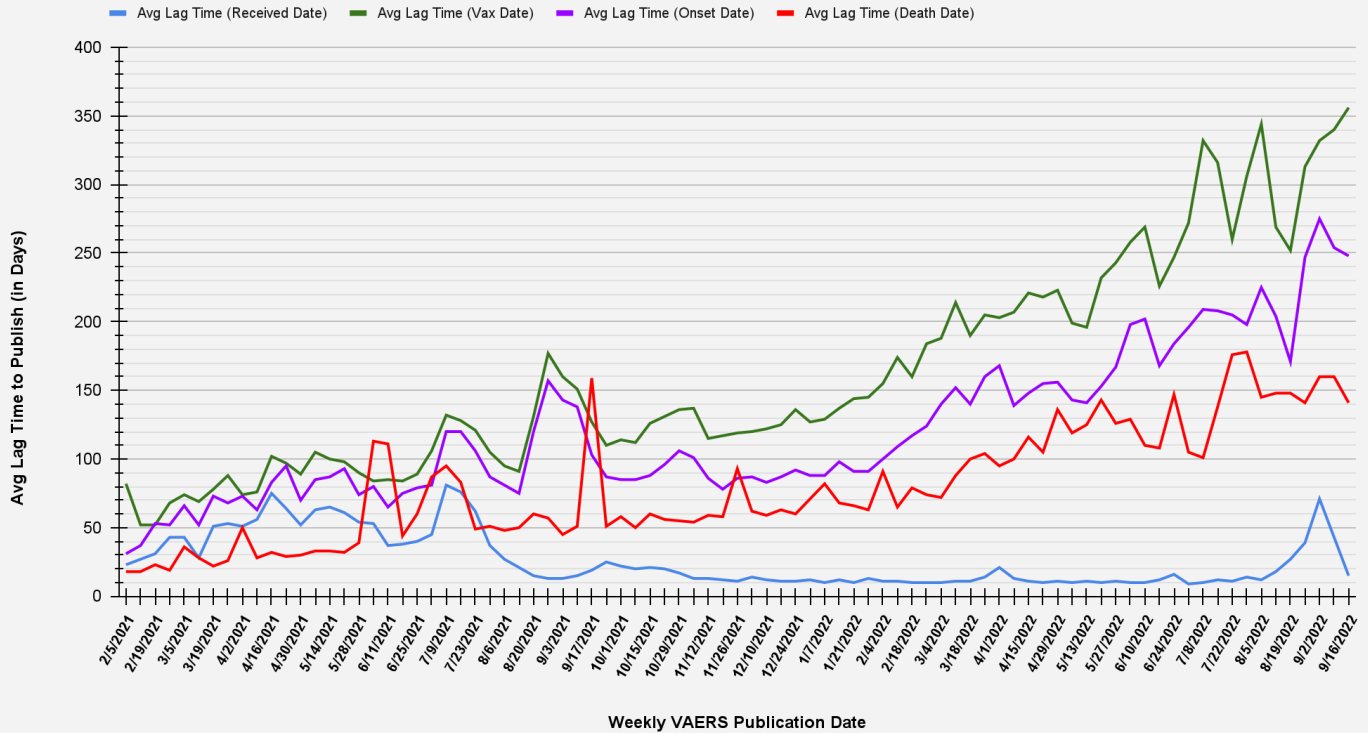
All Data Obtained from CDC's VAERS



Lag Time to Publish History

Average Lag Time to Publish in VAERS

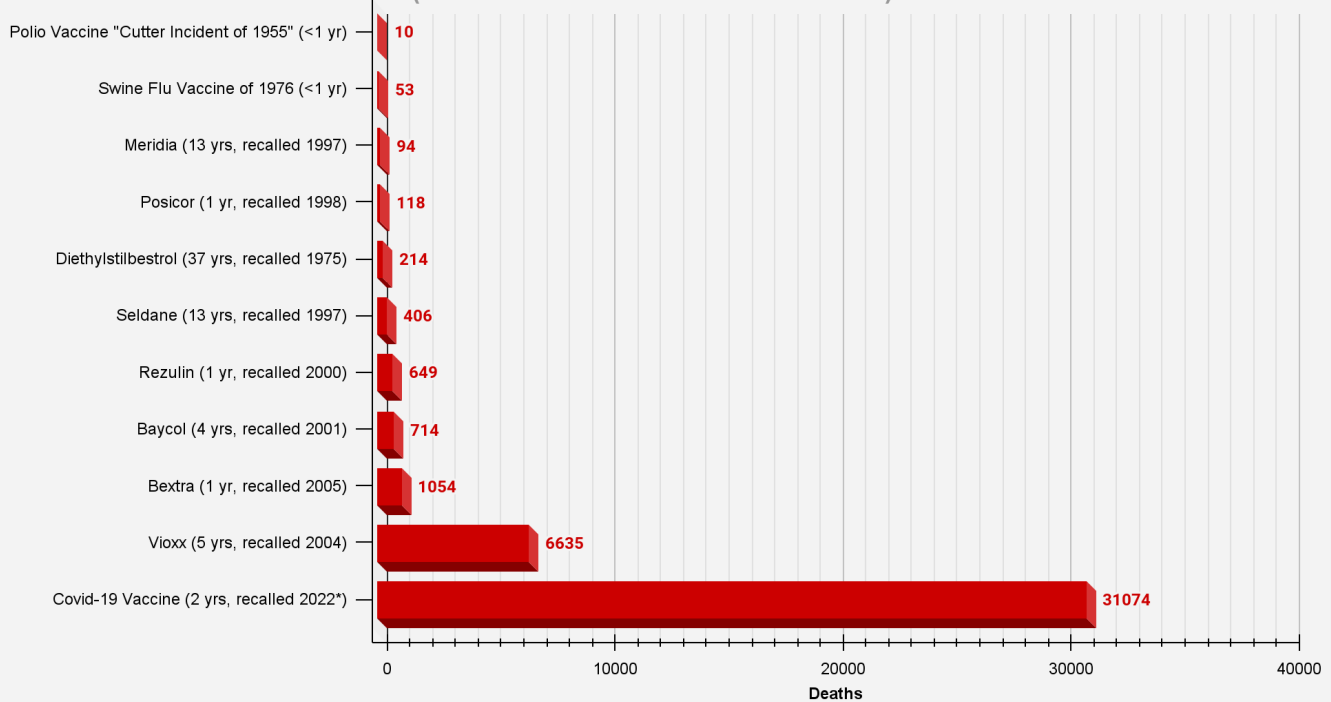
(Avg difference between date of publication and these dates: Received Date, Vax Date, Onset Date, Death Date)



Recall History

Reported Deaths for Major Drug/Vaccine Recalls

(Data Obtained from VAERS and FAERS)



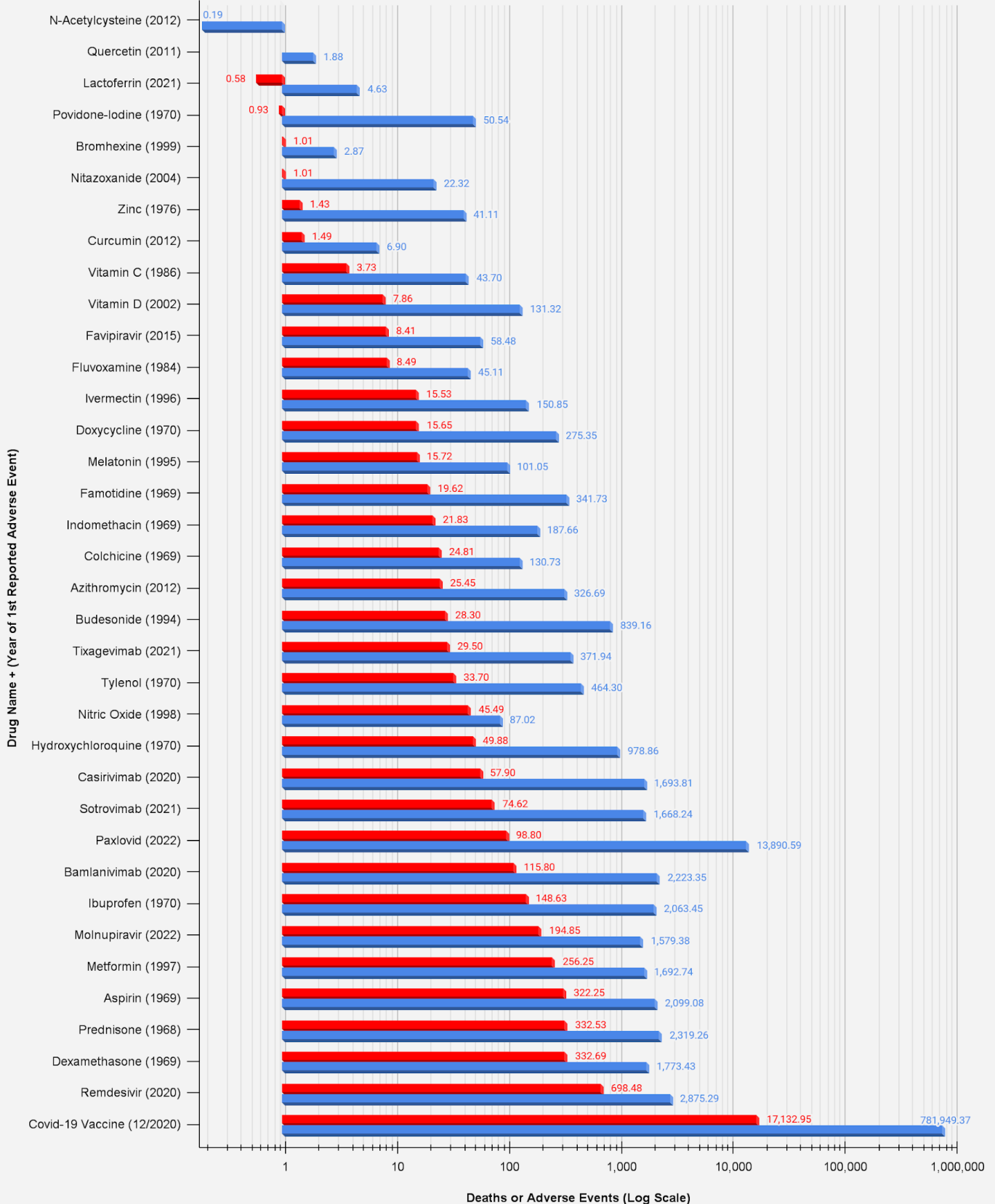
*Projected

Alternative Covid-19 Therapeutics

Average Reported Deaths/AEs per Year for Covid-19 Therapeutics

Data Obtained from FAERS/VAERS (list of Covid-19 therapeutics from c19early.com)

■ Avg Deaths Per Year ■ Avg Adverse Events Per Year



[Note that N-Acetylcysteine and Quercetin have 0 reported deaths]

Sources

Visit: vaersanalysis.info for more information

1. Vaccine data (Covid-19 and other vaccines) taken from CDC's VAERS website, located here: <https://vaers.hhs.gov/data/datasets.html>. VAERS data sets in the form of csv files are pulled down weekly and put into a database for reporting/analysis. Data files are available all the way back to 1990.
2. Number of doses distributed for other vaccines found in NVICP Data and Statistics report here: <https://www.hrsa.gov/sites/default/files/hrsa/vaccine-compensation/data/data-statistics-report.pdf>
3. Numbers for Covid-19 vaccines administered by manufacturer found here: https://covid.cdc.gov/covid-data-tracker/#vaccinations_vacc-total-admin-rate-total
4. Numbers for total Covid-19 vaccine doses administered found here: <https://data.cdc.gov/Vaccinations/COVID-19-Vaccination-Trends-in-the-United-States-N/rh2h-3yt2>
5. Numbers for Flu vaccine doses administered for 2019-2020 season found here: <https://www.cdc.gov/flu/fluview/coverage-1920estimates.htm>
6. Numbers for FDA regulated drugs taken from FDA's FAERS website, located here: <https://www.fda.gov/drugs/questions-and-answers-fdas-adverse-event-reporting-system-faers/fda-adverse-event-reporting-system-faers-public-dashboard>

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

~~RESTRICTED~~

SPECIAL TEXT NO. 8

STRATEGICAL PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

15 February 1949

**PUBLISHED AT
THE GROUND GENERAL SCHOOL**

~~RESTRICTED~~

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

RESTRICTED

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Paragraphs	Page
CHAPTER 1 Introduction	1- 3	1
CHAPTER 2 History and Principles	4-28	3
CHAPTER 3 Operations	29-36	13
CHAPTER 4 Leaflets and Newspapers	37-57	22
CHAPTER 5 Dissemination	58-70	66
CHAPTER 6 Radio Propaganda	71-91	73

RESTRICTED

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

R E S T R I C T E D

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1. **PURPOSE AND SCOPE.** *a.* The purpose of this special text is to provide those students taking army extension courses in psychological warfare specialization or in the psychological warfare aspects of military intelligence with the materials necessary to understand the history of, reasons for and functioning of modern strategic psychological warfare (or long-range propaganda).

b. It includes a brief survey of the background of psychological warfare and the principles on which it is operated; it distinguishes between *strategic* and the other fields of psychological warfare activity; it considers the organizational possibilities for psychological warfare work especially in the overseas theaters; it explains the role played by printed matter in the form of leaflets and newspapers; it emphasizes the importance of the dissemination of this printed matter and examines how this dissemination can best be obtained; finally, it analyzes the vital place of the radio in psychological warfare and states the basic principles and techniques to be followed in operating this radio activity.

2. **THE THREE FIELDS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE.** It is conventional to divide psychological warfare into three categories:

a. Strategic—which consists of “timeless” general themes which can be used for long periods of time against a given enemy anywhere, either against troops or against the enemy home front.

b. Tactical—where the effort is directed primarily against enemy troops in the battle zones and where the arguments and messages are based on momentary local situations.

c. Consolidation—which aims at the education and organization of the populace of an occupied area.

3. **THE DISTINCTION NOT ALWAYS EASY TO MAKE.** It is emphasized that the distinction made in paragraph 2 is completely valid only insofar as it affects the organization of operational units and teams. In many cases it would be highly artificial and inaccurate to make the same distinction with regard to the ideas and propaganda themes utilized. Frequently, a theme classified as “strategic” can be used with profit in a “tactical” situation. In like manner, “strategic” arguments enter into the program of “consolidation operations”.

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

a. To illustrate the above, you have in Figures 1 and 2 reproductions of the obverse and reverse of a leaflet which the Germans used against a British unit on the Anzio beachhead. It was "tactical" in the sense that it was intended to depress the morale of hard-pressed troops under heavy enemy fire. But it was only one angle of a long-range German propaganda campaign designed to exploit real or imagined prejudices and jealousies which divided British and Americans; in that sense, it was "strategic".

b. During World War II our strategic psychological warfare service used radio and leaflets to give wide dissemination in Germany, Italy, Japan and elsewhere to the texts of the Atlantic Charter and the various proclamations of Roosevelt and Churchill. The principles contained in those texts are the same ones used by our psychological warfare service in the re-education of the populations of occupied territory.

c. Thus, no hard-and-fast distinction can be made between "strategic" psychological warfare *as far as themes are concerned*. There are innumerable cases where "tactical" themes could not be used by the "strategic" units and many elements of a local nature enter into the "consolidation" aspect which are not "strategic"—but modifications of many "strategic" themes can be employed with profit by one or both of the other two services.

British Soldiers!

You are fighting and dying far away from your country while the Yanks are putting up their tents in Merry Old England. They've got lots of money and loads of time to chase after your women.



AI 037a-2-44

FIGURE 1

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9



"You Americans are sooo-different!"

FIGURE 2

Chapter 2

HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES

4. **DEFINITION.** Strategic psychological warfare means the wartime use of long-range propaganda to enemies and neutrals in support of military and political operations. Some of its themes and arguments are based on permanent political principles which remain the same through the centuries; others are less permanent and may have to be changed when a major political or military development modifies the situation in the world or in any large area thereof. But, the very term *strategic* indicates that the basic themes and arguments are generally applicable against enemies and neutrals everywhere and there is little likelihood of their having to be changed within a short period of time.

5. **ROLE IN TOTAL WAR.** Military and political strategists have come to think of the "shooting war" as being only the final phase of "total war".

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

It is preceded by a period of "cold war" in which every effort is made to attain the desired objectives by diplomatic negotiation and economic pressure. In connection with these, an elaborate psychological campaign is carried on by press and radio to convince the world of the right and justice of one's own position. Just as actual war is only the last step in a larger, overall political operation, so strategic psychological warfare is the continuation and prolongation in time of war of a propaganda campaign which was started long before during the years of peace.

6. AN ANCIENT ACTIVITY. Any discussion of psychological warfare must begin with the statement that there is nothing new about it. Since the dawn of history men have resorted to the same familiar techniques in order to induce in the mind of a rival or opponent an attitude or frame of mind favorable to their own purposes. If a potential customer can be persuaded that *he wants* the article you have for sale, your worries are over as far as he is concerned. By the same token, if an active enemy can be led to believe that his cause is unjust (and/or that his leaders are evil or incompetent and/or that you have an insuperable advantage in equipment and weapons) and that therefore *he hasn't a chance against you*, your struggle is already more than half won. History abounds in instances of successful psychological warfare: there is the story of Gideon vs Midianites in the Old Testament, the ruse of Ghengis Khan as his hordes swept over the vast area from the Danube to the Pacific Ocean.

7. MODERN APPLICATION. There is, then, nothing fundamentally new about the *principles* of psychological warfare. What is new is the improved techniques of the science of psychology, the systematic study by the experimental method of how men's minds work, the vastly expanded media for disseminating the spoken and written word to larger and larger audiences—and the forging of all these elements into a streamlined precision tool for influencing the thought of large masses of people.

8. GERMAN GENERAL STAFF CONCLUSIONS. In the years following 1918 the German General Staff set its best brains to work to discover why defeat had come to Germany despite the fact that ample and well-trained forces remained intact, and the internal economic condition of the country at that time was far from desperate. They came to the conclusion very quickly that defeat had been caused by a disintegration of national morale rather than by military disaster or economic collapse. According to their analysis, there are three stages in preparing a nation for modern war: *psychological* (to strengthen and toughen the morale of one's own people and undermine and weaken that of probable enemies and neutrals), *economic*, *military*, in that sequence and in that order of importance. They were convinced that the defeat of Germany in 1918 was to be explained by the failure to make adequate provision for the first stage.

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

9. GERMAN GENERAL STAFF PREPARATORY MEASURES. Accepting the accuracy of the above conclusions, the German General Staff approached the study of the problem with characteristic teutonic thoroughness. A vast network of schools and laboratories, staffed with their ablest psychologists and technicians, set about the task of determining how the psychological weapon could best be used to:

- a. Induce the desired frame of mind in the population of the home country and
- b. Frighten, convert, or confuse potential enemies or neutrals.

10. RESULTS OF GERMAN MILITARY RESEARCH. A study of the results and decisions of these German researchers affords us an excellent insight into the evolution of modern scientific propaganda as a part of political warfare, in time of peace as well as in time of war. It was they who handed to Josef Goebbels, when the Nazis came to power in 1933, this fearsome weapon of which he was to make such effective use in the following decade. It was by the study of their methods and techniques that Allied psychological warfare experts laid the foundation which enabled our people to overtake and surpass enemy propagandists in the course of World War II.

11. THE NEW PSYCHOLOGICAL "WEAPON". Applied psychology, coordinated with economic and diplomatic operations before the war and with military and political operations during the war, is one of the great new inventions of "total" war, it is an offensive weapon designed to destroy the morale of the enemy's civilian population and armed forces, and to lower enemy prestige in the eyes of neutrals. It knows no limitations in time or space; it is conducted before, during, and after the war against both the home and military fronts of the actual belligerents as well as in the territories of neutral nations.

12. SUCCESS WITHOUT SHOOTING. a. Recurring constantly in the writings of all German commentators on psychological warfare is the statement that the propaganda campaign must be started in peacetime, long before the outbreak of actual hostilities. If the campaign has been carried out effectively, many decisive successes will be scored without firing a shot. We all recall how Hitler occupied the Ruhr with no more than a show of teeth by playing on world sympathy for a "poor, divided Germany" and by arousing in British minds the old specter of French domination of the continent. We also remember how logical the Nazis made the "union" with Austria sound with the argument that a tiny, weak independent Austria—incapable of sustaining herself economically—was a senseless anachronism and that all Europe would be better off if she was a part of a German federation. And by 1938 the might of a rearmed Germany was such a nightmare to all the nations of Europe that Czechoslovakia was overrun simply by rattling the saber.

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

b. A more recent (and from our point of view, a happier) illustration of the part that strategic psychological warfare played in political warfare is the outcome of the Italian elections in mid-April, 1948. In the early winter of 1948 all signs pointed to the weakness of the DeGasperi government and the strong possibility of a sweeping victory by the Communists in the forthcoming elections. There followed swiftly a series of moves by the western powers designated to strengthen the hand of the DeGasperi government and encourage Italians to stand firm against the encroachments of communism. U. S. naval units moved into the Mediterranean. In the United Nations, Britain and the United States advocated the return of Trieste to Italy and supported Italy's candidacy as a member nation. Hints were dropped that the western powers would favor the eventual return to Italy of the Italian colonies. Radio and press stressed the fact that communism is a foreign-dominated international movement and reminded Italians of Italy's glorious role in the history of western civilization. The Italo-American "Friendship Train" brought to the doorstep of individual Italian families proof that their friends in America were thinking about them. Personal letters and radio messages assured numerous Italians that they were not forgotten by their former compatriots on this side of the Atlantic. The passage of the European recovery plan (ECA) made it certain that Italy would soon begin to receive the economic assistance necessary to regaining her prosperity. The Vatican spearheaded the propaganda campaign to remind Italians that Italy was the cradle of Christianity and laid stress on the anti-Christian nature of communist philosophy. The sum total of these moves offers a splendid example of skillfully executed political warfare and the result was a smashing victory for the anti-communist parties in the April elections. The strategic psychological warfare moves that may be discerned throughout the election and pre-election periods is the use of press and radio campaigns by the western powers both in Italy and throughout the world against the communist international movement (ably spearheaded and abetted by the Vatican), the extensive advertising of the movement of U. S. naval units in that area, the return of Trieste to Italy, the Italo-American Freedom Train, the intensive use of personal letters, radio messages, etc., by Americans of Italian descent and the advertising of the use of ECA which promised economic assistance. All this propaganda from a strategic psychological warfare viewpoint may be recognized for its true worth in assisting and abetting political warfare effort of the western powers.

13. BENEFITS AFTER WAR IS DECLARED. Beyond the successes scored by political warfare without any fighting, clever strategic psychological warfare should achieve additional and spectacular results soon after the start of actual hostilities. This can be done by continuing intensively with a wartime slant propaganda themes which have been persistently and continuously pounded home to the enemy in time of peace. We have a striking example of this in the unexpectedly rapid collapse of France in the summer of 1940. The morale of the French army and civilian popula-

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

tion had been so thoroughly eaten away by sustained waves of subtle propaganda that there remained no will to resist. The Nazi planners had carried out ably the instruction given by Hermann Foertsch of the German General Staff in 1935:

"To render an opponent defenseless means to rob him of his will to fight Everything that affects his will and his means to fight must be attacked, not only his military—but his moral, spiritual and economic forces—in short, his entire political power."

The French nation had been convinced that it had been deserted by the British, forgotten by the Americans, and betrayed by its own government. France was a beaten nation before the first German tank crossed the frontiers of the Lowlands. No one believes today that the France of 1940 could have held out indefinitely against the military power of Nazi Germany, but the most competent observers feel that a grim and determined France could have made the occupation of the country a much more prolonged and costly operation than what actually took place.

14. THE ARMY'S ROLE. Strategic psychological warfare is, then, the wartime continuation and application of propaganda which has been started in time of peace. But, our peacetime policy is controlled and directed by the Department of State and the propaganda employed to support it must necessarily be directed by the same agency. In time of war, a large part of the burden of strategic psychological warfare devolves naturally on the Army and Navy. For this reason, it is vital that in time of peace experienced key personnel of the Army and Navy be kept in close and constant contact with the policy-making and operations of our propaganda campaign. Conversely, in time of war it is necessary to have experienced representatives of the Department of State included in the formation of strategic psychological warfare policies. This cooperation with the Department of State in the formation of policies will be given more detailed consideration in Chapter 3, under OPERATIONS.

15. KNOWLEDGE OF AREA ATTACKED. An essential requirement of successful psychological warfare is that it be based on an accurate knowledge and full understanding of the intellectual, emotional and economic trends of the country against which it is directed. Religious prejudices, sociological problems and other factors differ widely from one area of the world to another. An argument or theme which might be highly effective with the population of one country could be completely ineffective (if not actually harmful with another people in another part of the world.

16. MISTAKES IN THE PAST. In the early days of modern psychological warfare frequent mistakes were made which stemmed from a tendency to believe that the emotional and intellectual reactions of all peoples to a given issue were the same: that issues which were very "live" in one country were equally important in another. With experience there

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

came the realization that a question which might be of vital interest in one area could be completely unimportant elsewhere. For example, the border dispute between Ecuador and Peru is a "hot" issue in those countries, but it is of no concern at all to the Chinese. To be effective, propaganda to any given nation must be in terms of things which affect its people deeply and not in terms of what is important to people in another part of the world.

17. NEED FOR AREA SPECIALISTS. Thus, successful psychological warfare requires not only specialists in the general science of human behavior, but also area specialists who can give to the generalities a form and expression which will make them appealing to (and not offensive to) the particular social or racial group for which they are intended. Each national, racial and religious group has its particular prejudices and taboos in the light of which a propaganda message must be carefully weighed. Even within a single country there are regional differences and sensibilities which have to be considered. For example, in our own country we might find that an argument on the civil rights question which might be received with approval in Wisconsin would arouse anger and protest in Alabama. The function of an enemy psychological warfare operator would be to exploit and intensify such latent dislikes and hatreds.

18. FLEXIBLE POLICY. Psychological warfare must not have a fixed, stationary policy, but must be highly fluid and flexible, adapted to changing developments and sensitive to national, racial, religious prejudices and differences. It must be prepared to change its "line" in accordance with shifting events in various parts of the world, and at the same time adhere to national policy statements and not be caught in transparent contradictions. This can be done by making statements as general as possible, but not rashly predicting the uncertain future, and by not making specific promises which we may not be able to keep.

19. DON'T COMMIT YOURSELF. One of the cardinal principles of psychological warfare is: "*Always* commit the enemy as widely and as fully as you can. *Never* commit yourself except for a specific purpose and then only when you are absolutely sure you can make good on your commitment." Unfulfilled promises and rash boasts from the enemy camp are bread and meat to the worker in psychological warfare. He pounces eagerly on any such lapse by a political or military leader on the other side and hurls it back by leaflet and radio with intent to convince the rank and file of the enemy that their leaders are not dependable and don't quite know what they are about. It is spectacular psychological warfare to forecast a brilliant achievement and then make it come to pass; it raises the morale of your own forces and depresses that of the enemy. But, if the forecast proves to be only an idle boast and the enemy tosses it back at you with a resounding "Oh, yeah?", the opposite effect is disastrous. Hence, the expert psychological warfare operator tries to commit the enemy as widely

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

and as deeply as possible, but he is extremely wary about committing his own side.

20. **DON'T CREATE NEW ISSUES.** Another basic rule of psychological warfare directed at the people of another country is that it should never create new issues and then try to convert the foreign nation to them. It should detect existing issues and concentrate on twisting and exploiting them. A weakness of German propaganda directed to Americans during the last war was its insistence on the anti-Semitic theme. It failed to realize that among Americans anti-Jewish feeling is neither very widespread nor very deep, and thus most of the effort along this "line" was wasted. But the German propaganda machine was on safer ground when it appealed to an actual anti-European prejudice among the Arabs of North Africa. And many an American did some serious thinking about the statement that the Russian ally on whose side he was fighting was actually a greater menace than the German enemy with whom he was exchanging bullets.

21. **IMPORTANCE OF PERSONALITIES.** More often than not it is preferable to direct psychological warfare at personalities rather than at issues. Emotional enthusiasm for (or hatred of) an individual is much easier to arouse than for an abstraction. His (or her) features can be ennobled or caricatured, the shape of the head distorted, some physical defect exaggerated in order to produce the kind of effect desired. We are familiar with the use made by political opponents of Chamberlain's umbrella, Hitler's mustache, Stalin's head. We saw how both Communists and anti-Communists in Italy adopted the likeness of Garibaldi's magnificent face to win votes for their respective causes. People come to love or detest a person much more readily than they do an idea.

22. **OBVIOUS SOURCE.** At the strategic level, it is usually desirable for the source of the propaganda to be evident. Experience has shown that a consistent, straightforward presentation of one's own viewpoints ("white propaganda") is more effective than the use of ruses, tricks and rumors whose origin appears to be different from what it really is ("black propaganda"). "Black propaganda" is highly delicate and risky. It should be practiced only by skilled experts and then only when the objective is of the most vital importance and it seems impossible to attain it by the "white" approach. In rare cases, it is better to have rumors spread by agents and "fifth columnists" in such fashion that they seem to have generated spontaneously within the country under propaganda attack. Your own radio can then pick them up and disseminate them as "news" from the enemy country. (This technique will be elaborated in Chapter 6, under **RADIO PROPAGANDA.**) This technique is extremely dangerous; exposure of your deceit means the loss of the confidence of your audience—and this confidence will be hard to recapture once it is lost. It is always

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

safer (and in the vast majority of cases just as effective) to stick to the truth, labelled for what it is and indicating clearly the sources from which it emanates.

23. DISSEMINATION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE. *a.* Psychological warfare is conveyed to the enemy by the use of printed matter, films, and by radio. Each of these methods are discussed below:

(1) *Printed Matter.* It is hardly necessary to dwell on the enormous role which the written word has had in influencing the history of human thought. Newspapers, leaflets, handbills, booklets and books have proven in the past to be the backbone of psychological warfare and they will continue to be a primary media despite the increasing and expanding importance of the radio.

(2) *Films.* This medium, with its graphic appeal to the eye, is more and more widely used as one of the most persuasive means of swaying human thinking. In the movie-conscious United States, we have daily evidence of the influence which this medium can exert. And it takes a wide-awake, discriminating and thoughtful mind to distinguish between truth and "hokum" in a motion picture. Following the invasion of Poland, the diabolically clever Nazi Propaganda Ministry arranged for films of those scenes of horror to be distributed as widely as possible in all countries which were to be eventual victims of German aggression. Foreign visitors of all categories were given special showings. We can readily believe that no small amount of the panic and paralysis caused in France by the German invasion in 1940 sprang from a visual memory of what had happened to Poland. For obvious reasons, this medium is of little use against the enemy in time of actual fighting. However, it can be of deadly effectiveness during the years of "cold war" which precede the period of military operations.

(3) *Radio a.* Students of mass psychology have reached the conclusion that the human mind is more affected by what it hears than by what it sees, that the appeal of a reasonable voice is greater than that of the most brilliant artistry or the most eloquent printed matter. German military psychologists made this observation early in the 1920's and subsequent laboratory research has confirmed their deductions. Thus, the radio has become the No. 1 medium for influencing public opinion and its influence will increase as technical improvements better its performance and expand the potential listening audiences. This primary medium is of such importance that the last chapter of this text will be devoted to the subject.

b. Psychological warfare themes may be conveyed forcibly by the three devices discussed below. These devices may be used in any or all of the mediums discussed in the preceding paragraph.

(1) *Slogans.* Single words or brief phrases which have an emotional content and convey to the hearer the suggestion of a whole idea. "Lebensraum" ("Living space") conveyed in a word Germany's expansionist

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

dreams. "The Mediterranean, an Italian lake," expressed Italian ambition to recreate the Roman Empire. "Asia for the Asiatics" won for the Japanese many friends in other parts of the Orient.

(2) **Symbols.** Signs or figures which carry to the eye the same effect that slogans do to the ear. These are one of the oldest and most powerful ways of influencing public opinion. We are all familiar with the use made of the swastika by the Germans, of the hammer-and-sickle by the Russians, and the "V" made famous by Winston Churchill. We also recall how reverse use was made by our enemies of caricatures of Uncle Sam ("Uncle Shylock") and grotesque distortions of the face of President Roosevelt.

(3) **Music.** "Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast" and the hypnotic power of a haunting rhythm accompanied by simple, easily-memorized words is enormous. We are all conscious of the emotional appeal of "AMERICA," "THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER" and the "BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC." For Nazi Germans "DEUTSCH UBER ALLES" and the "HORST WESSEL SONG" had the same appeal and "GIOVINEZZA" (Youth) helped "sell" fascism to the Italians. Students of United States history recall how JOHN BROWN'S BODY LIES A-MOULDIN' IN THE GRAVE" helped inflame emotions during our own Civil War.

24. **PRINCIPLE OF REPETITION.** A guiding principle of which the psychological warfare operator must never lose sight is repetition, repetition, repetition. A small number of carefully selected simple themes is preferable to a large number of over-subtle or complicated messages. Some appeal to the emotions and others to the reason; of the two classes, the former is more effective with a large number of people. On these themes the propagandist hammers, pounds and insists with every medium at his command. The form is changed frequently, the idea is dressed up in new clothing, but the basic theme remains the same and the intended victim should see it and hear it again, again, and again until he finally comes to accept its truth.

25. **MASS HYPNOSIS.** In conducting psychological warfare against a nation which has been subjected to totalitarian regimentation, it is important to remember always that such a nation does not think along the same lines as does the population of a democratic country. Every inclination toward independent thought has been crushed through systematic training; in its stead there has been substituted automatic response to fixed stimuli. Mass delusions can be induced; if one isolates a people, allows no outside corrective, and pounds away daily with press, radio and films, with fear and pseudo-enthusiasm, any delusion can be instilled into that people and it comes to accept as natural the most primitive acts. Such delusions, so carefully implanted, are difficult to correct. Reasoning no longer has any value, for a mind mesmerized by the lower type of thinking is deaf to

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

thought on a higher level. If one tries to reason with a person who has been thus impregnated, he will sooner or later withdraw into his fortress of collective thinking and will hide behind some emotional slogan. The mass delusion which gives him the feeling of greatness and superiority is dearer to him than all personal consciousness. The technique of such ideological regimentation is based on that of hypnosis. There are a few simple slogans. These are repeated, day-in and day-out, in every conceivable form. The radio, the press, posters in the streets, public advertising—all say the same thing. In times of mass emotion, people are especially defenseless against mass suggestion. Such a people is no longer composed of reasoning individuals; it follows the thought pattern in which it has been trained since childhood.

26. NEED FOR SKILLED AND CAREFUL PLANNING. Psychological warfare is one of the most delicate and explosive of weapons and can prove a dangerous boomerang if placed in the hands of inexperienced operators. In normal military operations we are accustomed to thinking in terms of evaluation of the objective, screening of the intelligence, detailed preparation of the operation and the assignment of specialists to each phase of the mission—but there is often found the deluded impression that *anyone* can execute psychological warfare. On the contrary, a psychological warfare "mission" is just as complicated and requires (if it is to succeed) the same amount of calculated preparation, detailed integration and skilled execution. To assign any phase of the task to an unqualified or inexperienced operator is to invite failure of the entire mission. In psychological warfare, the effect of such a failure is even worse than in other operations because a long series of successful missions is necessary to "live down" in the mind of the enemy the amusement or ridicule occasioned by one single mistake.

27. PRESTIGE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE. The achievements of psychological warfare during the past war were such that its usefulness and value are much more generally appreciated in this country than they were a decade ago. We observed how close Josef Goebbels came to persuading the world of the myth of Nazi invincibility and the hopelessness of our trying to overtake the Germans in the race for supremacy in the air. Our own successful efforts in this field awakened our people to the immense possibilities of clever and skillfully executed propaganda.

28. ACTUAL EXTENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE'S CONTRIBUTION. We can admit that propaganda, efficiently applied long in advance of an actual state of war and continued through the period of active fighting, is a deadly weapon of total war. But *just how much* can really be claimed for it? To what extent can psychological warfare (joined with economic and diplomatic activities to form the combination we call "political warfare") be expected to supplant or replace armies and navies?

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

The answers to the above questions vary widely. Some German experts have gone so far as to state that this weapon is to be considered as supplanting rather than implementing the military machine. This is an obvious exaggeration and is not to be taken seriously. Those enthusiasts who believe that propaganda alone can work miracles are hypnotized by their own words and dazzled by scattered initial successes. Dictators do not underestimate the importance of military, naval and air power, but they count on using psychological warfare to win many political battles before any "shooting war" starts. They know you can't win a war by psychology alone, but they also know that its use before and during wars will make them easier to win. Most American psychological warfare experts (and in this they concur with the British) content themselves with the statement that theirs is a valuable auxiliary weapon and *does* contribute to victory when coordinated with other arms,—when integrated with economic, diplomatic, and military warfare. As to its value in connection with military warfare, they point with pride to the statement of General of the Army Eisenhower:

"In this war, which was total in every sense of the word, we have seen a great many changes in military science. It seems to me that not the least of these was the development of psychological warfare as a specific and effective weapon. Without doubt, psychological warfare has proved its right to a place of honor in our military arsenal."

Chapter 3

OPERATIONS

29. PEACETIME POLICY CONTROL. In time of peace propaganda is employed in support of U. S. foreign policy and that policy is the responsibility of the Department of State. Thus, in the board or agency which directs pre-war propaganda, the influence of the Department of State must be predominant. In the said board or agency representatives of the various branches of national defense (Army, Navy, Air Force) are included. These representatives keep the Joint Chiefs of Staff briefed up to date on the changing pattern of our peacetime propaganda and present to the cooperative board or agency appropriate views on items which affect the functions or responsibilities of the armed services. In this way, trained and experienced representatives of the armed services are fully cognizant of the background of our propaganda campaign and are able to advise the Joint Chiefs of Staff in making plans for the day when the armed services will become the operational agencies for psychological warfare, i. e., with the outbreak of hostilities.

30. CHANGES NECESSARY IN TIME OF WAR. With the advent of war, the cooperative board will continue to be the source of high-level poli-

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

cy decisions about psychological warfare, but the role of the representatives of the armed services will become much larger and more active than in time of peace. They must guard against any political moves which might hamper or embarrass theater or field commanders. For example, it might be brilliant political propaganda to promise the civilian population of a certain area supplies and transport in return for cooperation with our advancing forces; however, if the field commanders are not in a position to furnish these services, the later widespread disillusionment and discontent over failure to keep the promises may outweigh the advantages gained by making them. The representatives of the armed services must keep the Joint Chiefs of Staff constantly informed of the latest trends in political propaganda in order that these may be fused with military psychological warfare directives sent out to theater commanders. The emphases at this level are necessarily quite different from those at theater level.

31. THE ARMY'S RESPONSIBILITIES IN PEACETIME. The Army's participation in the national propaganda campaign in time of peace is largely consultative and advisory. It must, however, make plans and preparations for assuming a more active role with the outbreak of hostilities. Under the direction of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the General Staff, Department of the Army has the following broad responsibilities for psychological warfare operations:

a. Providing planning and operational guidance for psychological warfare activities.

b. Providing Department of the Army liaison with joint agencies and with non-military agencies of the government.

c. Collecting, evaluating and interpreting sociological and psychological information, including an analysis of foreign propaganda affecting the military interests of the United States.

d. Providing psychological warfare units and bulk authorization in the organization of appropriate echelons of the Army and inclusion of suitable materials and supplies in logistical planning.

e. Providing for army training in psychological warfare and the development of new or improved weapons, instruments and techniques.

The allocation of functions affecting the above among the various divisions of the General Staff, United States Army, is found in appropriate Department of the Army memoranda. The Director of Plans and Operations, United States Army, has the responsibility for general supervision of army psychological warfare activities.

32. THE THEATERS OF OPERATIONS ARE THE CENTERS OF ACTIVITY. In time of war, the theaters of operations become the centers of strategic psychological warfare activity. Some part of it can originate in

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

the Zone of the Interior (ZI) through the medium of short-wave radio. Some "timeless" printed matter can be produced in the ZI and shipped overseas, but the experience of World War II was that such material was usually too stale to be of much value. The great bulk of the printed matter must be prepared and produced in the theaters where there is the closest contact with latest developments. The greatest part of the most effective standard-wave radio programs must also be prepared overseas. In general, the ZI is too remote from the areas of operations to contribute more than high-level directives on political psychological warfare and the broader aspects of military psychochemical warfare; these general principles can best be translated into radio scripts and leaflet texts in areas more closely in contact with the changing situations, i. e., in the theaters of operations.

83. PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE A FUNCTION OF COMMAND. Responsibility for psychological warfare within a theater rests with the theater commander who must take into consideration the directives under which he operates, the special conditions in his theater and the nature of the military operations he is to conduct. To implement the psychological warfare activity, the theater commander will normally establish a special staff division and will assign to it the functions and duties pertaining to his responsibilities in this field. Since general conditions and the nature of the military operations to be conducted will vary from theater to theater, it is impossible to define precisely the functions and organization of the psychological warfare staff division for any particular theater headquarters. However, the fundamental functions and responsibilities of this staff division will be the same in all theaters and constitute a skeleton which can be modified to establish an organization suitable for any particular situation.

84. FUNCTIONS OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE DIVISION. The basic functions and responsibilities of the Psychological Warfare Division are to:

a. Integrate psychological warfare with proposed theater operations and to execute such operations as may be directed by higher headquarters or requested by lower commands.

b. Coordinate all psychological warfare activities within the theater, relate them to similar activities in other theaters, establish close cooperation with the political advisers to the theater commander and with representatives of any national (or allied) information services which may be operating or planning to operate within the theater.

c. Plan and put into operation the different activities of psychological warfare, i. e.:

(1) Acquisition of necessary intelligence and the interchange of pertinent items with other interested agencies.

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

(2) Programming and operation of fixed radio stations which are beamed at enemy or enemy-occupied territory.

(3) Preparation and mass-production of newspapers, periodicals, and "long-range" leaflets and arrangements with the Air Force for desired dissemination on carefully chosen targets.

(4) Establishment of a monitoring service to listen in on our own, allied and enemy broadcasts.

(5) Evaluation of the effectiveness of our own, allied and enemy psychological warfare and the development of new methods, techniques and devices to make our own work more effective.

(6) Preparation of requirements in personnel, supplies and equipment and the allocation of same to proper units and teams.

35. OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES. The principal fields in which the psychological Warfare Division will operate are as follows:

a. Operation in the radio field will always be necessary when coverage of distant areas can be provided from fixed stations which are taken over or set up in the theater. Policy coordination and assignment of missions for such operations must be under direct theater control. Extensive monitoring can also be provided better at the base of operations where technical equipment is available in larger quantities than elsewhere. All these factors make it advisable to have activity in the field of radio centered at theater headquarters.

b. In addition to the "long-range" strategic leaflets which are its special province, the Division will be called on to perform certain services for lower commands. To insure high quality of manufacture and uniformity of size (this last factor is vital when the material is being prepared for packing into leaflet shells or leaflet bombs), the quantity production of standard leaflets needed by tactical units can be effected better on the large static presses available at theater headquarters than on the small mobile presses with which the lower echelons are normally equipped. Accordingly, such leaflets as "fair treatment of prisoners", "safe-conduct passes", etc. which are used by all psychological warfare elements should be manufactured at theater headquarters.

c. Leaflet newspapers intended for enemy troops or civilians require a large editorial and publication staff, particularly when these papers are double-sheet, illustrated, and are to be produced in volume. Their dissemination is generally effected by strategic air units whose bases of operations are within delivery range of theater headquarters. All these requirements are met better as a theater project than when the activity is decentralized to lower units. This does not preclude the publication in special cases of small single or double-page leaflets by teams at army group, army or similar headquarters.

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

d. "Black" propaganda (see paragraph 22) is a highly delicate operation and must be carefully coordinated with secret intelligence. If it is not closely controlled, it may produce adverse or even dangerous results. Accordingly, such operations are best conducted from theater headquarters.

e. The intelligence requirements for psychological warfare go beyond the scope of ordinary military intelligence. Matters like the food situation on the enemy home front, rumors about scandals in the private lives of enemy political leaders, any sort of social unrest—all of these are part of the fabric of psychological warfare. When the usual intelligence agencies are asked to provide the ramified information needed for this work, the burden placed on these agencies is unduly heavy and distracts them from their specific duties. Insofar as the intelligence needs of psychological warfare can be met through normal army channels without placing on them an additional heavy burden, this method should be used. Usually, however, Psychological Warfare Division will have to provide its own channels for supplementary information.

36. ORGANIZATION OF THE DIVISION. Condition in a particular theater of operations will determine the organization of a psychological warfare division for that theater; it is impossible to define it in detail. In general, it can be said that the organization should be based on the duties of the said Division in that theater and should be functional in nature, i. e., groups and sub-divisions thereof should be established to perform duties incident to each of the operations indicated in paragraph 33. Figure 3 diagrams an organization which can easily be modified to adapt it to the special circumstances in any theater. When the headquarters is joint or combined (and it is probable that this will be true in many cases in future war), the Division will contain personnel from each of the services or allies represented in accordance with the type of staff which is established. The assignment of functions to the various sub-divisions of the Division are discussed in the following paragraphs:

a. Plans and Policy Group. As the same implies, this group is charged with the staff work to cover sections *a*, *b*, and *c* (5) of the responsibilities of the Psychological Warfare Division discussed in paragraph 34. It furnishes the necessary guidance for the Intelligence and Operations Groups, keeps their work in line with present and future operations in the theater, and sees to it that the work of the Division is coordinated within its own elements, with other kindred agencies operating in the theater, with political advisers and news agencies, and with the work being done in other theaters and in the ZI.

b. Liaison Group. The normal coordination between the Psychological Warfare Division and other divisions of the theater headquarters staff is conducted in routine manner, i. e., members of the Plans and Policy Group coordinate with G-3, members of the Intelligence Group with G-2,

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

etc. However, the very nature of psychological warfare makes the work so complex and the necessary relations with other agencies, service, etc., so ramified, that liaison is of the utmost importance. Furthermore, it is normally desirable to have division representatives make regular visits to subordinate commands to effect the necessary coordination and exercise such supervision as may be authorized. The Liaison Group may be a special section of the Division or it may be a part of the Plans and Policy Group. Either system is satisfactory and the choice will be determined by the composition of the theater headquarters and the nature and extent of the liaison tasks to be performed. It is always preferable that the officer (or officers) doing liaison work with a particular service have a reasonable competence in that service as well as in psychological warfare. For example, the officers doing liaison work with the Air Force should know enough about capabilities of the different type of aircraft, about the location and operations of the different air units in the theater to forestall any requests for air distribution which might be unreasonable or impossible of accomplishment. In like manner, the officers doing liaison work with the artillery should understand the problems and difficulties of those units to be able to advise the Plans and Operations Group accordingly; in short, they should be able to "talk the language" of the artillery service. Only the most general statements can be made about the organization of the Liaison Group. The particular conditions within the theater, the kinds of forces involved and the nature of the operations will govern the kinds of liaison to be performed, and these requirements will in turn govern the size and composition of the Liaison Group in the Psychological Warfare Division.

c. Intelligence Group. This group is responsible for gathering the intelligence necessary for psychological warfare purposes and for the processing and dissemination of such intelligence. Its work separates naturally into three stages:

- (1) Collection of materials.
- (2) Interpretation and evaluation of those materials.
- (3) Reports and records.

Appropriate sub-groups should be created to cover those functions. Their respective duties are as follows:

(1) *Collection Unit.* Acting on advice from the Plans and Policy Group on the basis of directives and requests from other headquarters, this unit will formulate the intelligence needs for psychological warfare needs in the theater. The required information will be obtained insofar as possible through normal military intelligence sources. To the extent that the required intelligence *cannot be* obtained through the usual sources, this unit will conduct interrogations of Prisoners of War (POW's) interviews, document research, etc. To this end, the personnel of this section must be in closest contact with the various G-2 divisions so as to know of the whereabouts of the enemy or other persons or materials which might re-

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

veal information useful in psychological warfare operations. The collection unit will also conduct surveys, polls, etc., to determine the effectiveness of our own, allied and enemy psychological warfare.

(2) *Analysis Unit.* This unit will take the information gathered by the collection unit, correlate same with information forthcoming from other sources and prepare the net result in a form suitable for use in psychological warfare. Its analysis should point toward two main objectives:

(a) An indication of the strong and weak points of the enemy's current morale, an evaluation of the effectiveness of our propaganda against him in the past and a prediction of how we can best attack him psychologically in the future.

(b) A study of the effect on our own forces of enemy psychological warfare with recommendations for advisable counter-propaganda measures.

(3) *Report Unit.* This unit puts into proper form and gives appropriate distribution to the reports compiled by the collection and analysis units. It also maintains up-to-date the files and records of the Intelligence Group so that the information contained therein can be made readily available to properly authorized agencies.

d. Operations Group. This group is the pulsating heart of the entire Division and it is on the efficiency and ability of the members of this group that the success of the Division's work hinges. It is subdivided into units of which each is charged with one or more of the media of psychological warfare employed in the theater. When there is need in the theater for any sort of specialized or technical training, the training unit organized to take care of this work will fall in the Operations Group. Coordinations of activities within the group is effected by the group chief and the heads of the various units. Specific duties of various units are as follows:

(1) *Radio Unit.* Under guidance of the Plans and Policy Group and on the basis of information furnished by the Intelligence Group, this unit prepares the scripts of programs and supervises broadcasting from all the fixed radio stations in the theater. Its technicians arrange for the installation of new stations and for the repair, activities and maintenance of captured stations. It coordinates the radio work being done by the mobile radio units attached to lower commands and transmits over the fixed stations such tactical scripts as may be requested by lower commands and approved by the Plans and Policy Group. It formulates the requirements in radio personnel and equipment for all radio activities in the theater and allocates frequencies, personnel and equipment to the various stations and mobile units. It establishes and maintains a general monitoring service of the activities of all enemy, neutral, and friendly radio stations within the range of reception.

(2) *Leaflet Unit.* With the possible exception of the radio and its powerful appeal to the ear, printed matter and its appeal to the eye consti-

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

tutes the most widespread (and consequently the most effective) medium of psychological warfare. Under the guidance of the Plans and Policy Group and on the basis of information furnished by the Intelligence Group, the Leaflet Unit prepares the strategic (or "long-range") leaflets designed to attack the enemy's morale in support of theater operations or national propaganda policy. This unit also produces the regular newspapers which are distributed on fixed schedules to enemy battle-front and home-front and which bring to the enemy's attention news that his own leaders would be likely to conceal from him or misinterpret to him. The unit receives from the ZI booklets, pamphlets, illustrated folders, etc., and in consultation with the Plans and Policy and Intelligence Groups decides on the proper distribution of this material. In some cases, this unit uses its technicians and facilities to execute for lower echelons tactical leaflets for the production of which the subordinate units do not have adequate facilities. Through the air liaison officer(s) and in consultation with the Plans and Policy and Intelligence Groups, the unit arranges for aircraft dissemination of the printed material over selected targets and in desired quantities. Needless to say, the unit keeps under constant scrutiny the reports of the analysis unit on enemy leaflet activity and its effect on our troops.

(3) *Training Unit.* Such a unit will be established if needed. It will supervise special training of psychological warfare personnel and will prepare and supervise orientation in psychological warfare to be given to military units coming into the theater. It will also arrange for suitable military orientation of civilian specialists who may be brought into the operation. It will also make recommendations concerning the basic training in psychological warfare which should be provided in training programs in the ZI.

e. *Administrative Group.* This group performs the normal administrative functions of the executive element in any staff division. It may have many other tasks, depending on the nature of the situation, e. g., whether the headquarters is combined or purely American; whether civilian personnel and supplies are employed by the Psychological Warfare Division; whether the theater is located in enemy, liberated-friendly, or allied territory; whether the various elements of the headquarters are close together or are widely scattered, etc. Under the most complicated circumstances, the division may be called on to perform clerical, communications, supply, personnel and transportation functions. Under the most favorable circumstances, the duties will be limited to office administration, with the remainder of the tasks being performed by other agencies of the headquarters. The sub-divisions listed below are those which may be needed under more unfavorable circumstances:

(1) *Executive Unit.* This unit plans the physical arrangement of the Division, establishes routines and procedures, maintains the Division's records and reproduces reports, communications and staff studies. It provides for the security of the Division, supervises the message center, re-

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

ceives and routes visitors and supervises the movement of the Division when the headquarters is moved.

(2) *Communications Unit.* This unit operates the Division message center. It also procures and allocates communications facilities for psychological warfare purposes, i. e., the transmission of directives, information and intelligence between the Division and neighboring higher and lower commands.

(3) *Personnel Unit.* This unit prepares the personnel requirements, arranges for the acquisition, transfer, promotion, reclassification and separation of personnel; to this end it maintains records on personnel not maintained by other agencies of the headquarters, especially those concerning civilian and allied personnel.

Chapter 4

LEAFLETS AND NEWSPAPERS

37. **PROVISION OF PRINTING FACILITIES.** Since printed and pictorial matter constitute one of the two most effective media of psychological warfare, a large proportion of the Division's energy goes into its production. When the Division is activated, one of the first steps to be taken by the Operations Group is to insure the availability of mass-production printing facilities. As headquarters will normally be in a large city where full-size newspapers were printed in time of peace, it can be presumed that suitable presses are already in existence. If the headquarters is located in Allied territory, proper contracts will be made with newspaper or publishing firms to place the needed facilities at the disposition of the Leaflet Unit. If the headquarters is located in captured enemy territory, these facilities will be requisitioned. The printing technicians of the Leaflet Unit will survey the local situation and make recommendations as to which of the existing printing installations are best suited to the needs of the Leaflet Unit. The question of inks, paper stocks and other materials which go into the printing operation is one for technical experts and need not be considered here.

38. **IMPORTANCE OF THE APPEARANCE OF PRINTED MATTER.** Only those experienced in the publishing business are fully aware of the stress which must be laid on the form, make-up and general appearance of printed matter. In the early days of our psychological warfare activity in North Africa, the available printing facilities were poor, the paper stocks limited and of low quality, and the inks and other supplies insufficient. The consequence of these conditions was leaflets whose appearance was not very attractive. Intelligence revealed that the Germans received these leaflets with a mixture of pity and contempt. Germany, the birthplace of

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

the printing press, had a tradition for good typography and fine craftsmanship which had become almost instinctive with all Germans and had penetrated down to the lowest levels of the population. When they received one of our poorly-executed efforts, their automatic reaction was that such an inferior piece of composition could not contain ideas of any great value. Although this feeling is especially strong with Germans, the same rule holds true to an extent with all recipients of leaflets. An excellent and telling script, conforming to policy and based on a shrewd evaluation of what will strike the mind of the enemy most forcibly, is only the first step in the process. If the leaflet is to have the desired effect, it must be appropriately illustrated by competent artists, set up in attractive form by skilled lay-out technicians, and prepared for the press by experienced typographers. Failure to meet the mechanical requirements can nullify a great part of the effort expended in arriving at the idea and the text.

39. PERSISTENT REITERATION OF THE SAME THEMES. For the writer of leaflets at the strategic level, the essential principle is repetition. (See paragraph 24). With tactical leaflets, there is constantly a new situation to be exploited—either as it happens or as quickly as possible thereafter—for the tactical situation may change suddenly and a message which would have been potent on Wednesday becomes useless (or even damaging) on Thursday. But in the strategic field only a major realignment of forces or a large-scale military or political upheaval causes a change in the propaganda “line”. By way of illustration let us examine our strategic psychological warfare in Italy during World War II. This can be broken down into three stages:

a. From the start of the war up to the invasion of the Italian mainland in September, 1943, our messages to the Italians were variations of the theme that we had no quarrel with the Italian people, that there was every reason why they should be our friends, that it was only the misguided ambition of Mussolini and his foolish alliance with Nazi Germany which made them the object of our attack.

b. With the fall of the Mussolini regime and the formation of the Badoglio government, our psychological warfare urged Italians to bring pressure on this government to sign a truce with the Allies and take Italy out of the war.

c. After the truce had been signed, our messages began to urge the Italians of northern Italy to support their government, to sabotage the barbaric German who continued to hold a part of Italy at the cannon's mouth, and asked why more Italian blood should be spilled to salvage what was left of Hitler's fading hope of world domination. Thus, there were only three basic stages in our strategic psychological warfare campaign against Italy during the entire war.

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

40. SAME BASIC THEMES IN CONSTANTLY CHANGING FORM. The basic themes must appear again and again in changed forms of presentation, must be frequently arrayed in new clothing. Each day's news, speeches by political leaders, parallels drawn from history,—in short, everything in the range of imagination of the script-writer will be a new trelis on which to drape the unchanging vine of the basic theme. When the same thought is suggested over and over again in a variety of new modes of expression it eventually comes to be accepted as fact. Figures 4 to 19 reproduces a few of the innumerable leaflets which carried to the Italians the underlying ideas of the three phases of our psychological warfare campaign against them. By pictures and printed words these themes were hammered into Italian minds—week after week and month after month—by millions of bits of paper which fluttered from the skies in every part of Italy. It was only after the Allies had occupied a good part of Italy that we were able to measure the extent to which this incessant drumfire of psychological warfare had crystallized in the minds of Italians these ideas toward which they were already vaguely predisposed.

41. EXPLOIT EXISTING ISSUES. It cannot be repeated too often that it is usually a mistake to try to create new issues, (see paragraph 20). The skilled operator very rarely attempts to make a new fissure in the armor of the enemy's morale; he selects with care weaknesses which already exist and insists upon them with artful suggestion and reminder. There are always some ideas which certain individuals or certain nations fear, detest, and avoid; the psychological warfare expert plays upon these like a skilled pianist, covering the basic theme with varied overtones but never leaving the basic theme altogether.

42. "TIMED" MISSIONS. There are occasions when the strategic psychological warfare service is assigned a "timed" mission to cover a momentary situation, but it is a situation which affects an entire theater or even more than one theater. By a very precise interpretation, one could insist that such a situation is "tactical" because it is momentary. This quibbling over terms is pedantic; the situation is also "strategic" *in extent* because it affects the operations of an entire theater or is of inter-theater concern. There follows an illustration of such a situation:

a. In January, 1944, it was discovered that the Germans were operating in Florence and Rome two elaborate training schools for Italian spies. These spies then infiltrated Allied lines and caused an immense amount of damage both in actual sabotage and in information carried back to the enemy. Names and details were secured from captured spies; Psychological warfare was instructed to "plaster" the areas in which these schools were located with leaflets showing our full information about the operations of these schools, and threatening with future retribution those "blacklisted" Italians who continued to do this work for the Germans. In-

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

formation secured after our occupation of the Rome-Florence area proved conclusively that this series of leaflets had caused widespread consternation and demoralization among the Italian clientele of the spy schools. The potential spies fled and hid in the country despite energetic efforts by the German dictators to prevent them from doing so. (This was proved by German documents captured later.) The work of the schools disintegrated. Figures 20 and 21 are the obverse and reverse of one of these leaflets. Figures 20a and 21a are the translations of Figures 20 and 21 respectively.

43. PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE MUST BE "TAILORED" TO FIT THE CLIENT. In paragraph 39 you were given an analysis of our campaign of strategic psychological warfare against the Italians in World War II. It cannot be restated too often that a pattern of psychological warfare which works successfully against one nation will not necessarily have any effect on another. In fact, an approach which is highly successful in one part of the world may be worthless (or even actually harmful) in another. Two illustrations follow:

a. In the campaign against the Japanese, psychological warfare teams had to avoid ridiculing the person of the Emperor of Japan; he was considered as a divinity by the masses of the people, and attempts to belittle him could only increase the hatred and contempt for the "barbaric" westerners on the part of the Japanese. In the same way, it was taboo to urge the Japanese to "surrender" because this notion carried with it the concept of disgrace and "loss of face" and a Japanese who surrendered could never hope to return home and be accepted by family and friends; the code of *bushido* demanded that he die rather than surrender. But he could "cease resistance with honor," the capture was something beyond and outside his own will; there was no disgrace involved—and the result was the same as far as we were concerned.

b. During the summer of 1945, an intensive effort was made to get the Chinese elements in North China who were fighting with the Japanese to turn against the invaders and to join their fellow-Chinese in sabotage and guerilla warfare. Many leaflet appeals were made to them on a patriotic basis, citing the careers of national heroes and urging the "puppet" troops to emulate the high courage and loyalty to homeland of their forefathers. Figures 22 and 22a give a leaflet in Chinese based on KUAN TI and the English translation of the message respectively.

c. Thus the psychological warfare campaign against any given population *must* be carried out by people permeated with the history, culture and reactional patterns of the nation under attack, by people who have lived in the foreign country for years and who understand the thinking processes of its nationals.

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

44. **VALUE OF ILLUSTRATED LEAFLETS.** The experience of World War II was that the illustrated leaflet usually "carried more punch" than one consisting of text alone. Sometimes a striking picture with a very simple caption was more effective than any quantity of words. The famous drawing of the "boot" of Italy kicking out a Mussolini garbed in Nazi uniform (Figure 6) was one of the most spectacular single items in the psychological warfare campaign against the Italians. When Allied troops arrived in the peninsula, they found copies of this leaflet pasted or tacked on houses, barns—everywhere. The picture told a simple story in a direct fashion which appealed to a peculiarly Italian sense of humor. It is certain that a similar effort directed against a Japanese leader would, under parallel circumstances, have provoked more anger than laughter and would have failed completely to get the desired effect. Figure 23 shows the obverse of a picture leaflet used in connection with stage 3 (see paragraph 39c) of the psychological warfare campaign in Italy. The use of the same picture against the Germans would have been inadvisable at that time, since most of them would not have accepted then the idea of a grotesque "red-handed" Hitler.

45. **LEAFLETS FOR ILLITERATE POPULATIONS.** When dealing with a primitive or illiterate populations, it is necessary to depend almost entirely on the pictorial device to convey the messages. During the Assam (Burma) campaign, energetic efforts were made to enlist the cooperation of the native hill people in the struggle against the Japanese. So few of these people could read that printed messages were valueless; in this operation the artists rather than the writers were the purveyors of psychological warfare. It was also found that these people were highly susceptible to presents, even of the simplest kind. So, small packages containing needles-and-thread, salt, vegetable seed, etc., were scattered by plane over the villages in the path of the projected Allied advance. These packages were marked so as to indicate the source of origin: red-white-and-blue, American flags, markings of the Air Force, etc. The seed packages turned out to have additional significance at a later date. Combat officers reported that when these areas were occupied by American troops they found the natives tending plots of vegetables which had grown from seeds dropped by American planes. In order to insure the necessary native labor and keep the population contented, the Allied forces had to do something about the famine conditions in the region; these almost mature vegetables reduced the size of the burden on Allied Military Government.

46. **"WAR AIMS" LEAFLETS.** Another use of leaflets made in the last war was to disseminate widely among the populations of enemy and enemy-occupied territories the significant pronouncements of Allied political or military leaders which stated the objectives of the Allies and their plans for the post-war world, decisions of Big Three conferences, etc. These were usually reproductions in print of the scripts which were broadcast over the radio; on one side of the leaflet appeared the actual text of

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

the declaration (or excerpts of the most significant passages if the entire text was too long) and on the other side commentary on the salient items in the declaration. For example, the text of the Atlantic Charter was disseminated in millions of leaflets in all languages in all parts of the world which could not be reached by normal news services. Figures 24 and 25 give the obverse and reverse of one of the many leaflets which made the provision of the Atlantic Charter known to the people of German-occupied Italy. Figures 24a and 25a give the translations of the leaflet.

47. CUMULATIVE EFFECT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE. Until evidence to the contrary was produced, sceptics argued that a message like the one described in the foregoing paragraph would be dismissed with a shrug by the enemy and would have no effect on his thinking. "More propaganda!". This contention would probably have been true of any one isolated message, if it had not been a part of a long-term, overall psychological warfare campaign. But the effect of psychological warfare is cumulative. As the enemy's situation became more difficult and as he had occasion to see that our pledges and promises in other respects had been fulfilled, repeated statements of our intentions gradually came to have the desired progressive effect on his mind. Our psychological warfare effort had two objectives:

- a. To establish the reliability of promises made by our leaders.
- b. To show the unreliability of promises made to the enemy by his own leaders.

Figures 26 and 27 give the obverse and reverse of a leaflet intended for German troops everywhere and designed to show them that Hitler and his intimates sought safety from bombing in the remote Berchtesgaden retreat, but denied this shelter to refugees from bombed-out metropolitan areas back home. Similar leaflets pointed out to the Germans each instance of broken promises or bad faith of which any Nazi leader was guilty. When this is done over a long period of time, the enemy leaders finally become discredited in the minds of their own people. It should not be forgotten that a clever enemy will make effective use of any careless statements made by our own leaders. The Nazis made excellent capital of a pre-war speech of President Roosevelt in which he made the careless statement that not one American boy would be called upon to shed his blood or lay down his life on foreign soil. They deluged our troops with leaflets showing caricatures of President Roosevelt, the caption "I PROMISE YOU!", and figures (their own, of course) on our recent casualties. The American soldier, who was dodging bullets and wallowing in mud at the time, could not fail to be affected by a series of such reminders.

48. THE BEST PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE IS ALWAYS TRUE. A cardinal principle of psychological warfare is that falsehood does not pay. When one is dealing with the same audience over a long period of time, it is vital to establish the reputation for telling the truth always. This is

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

known as "building up credibility". It is especially essential when one is dealing with an audience predisposed to want to disbelieve every statement you make. The individual member of your audience cannot check on all your statements; in fact, he personally can check on very few of them. It is highly important that he discover over a period of time that all things you told him on which he *could* check turned out to be absolutely accurate. After a while he comes to believe you in spite of himself, to read with interest everything you have to say, *and to accept as equally true those things on which he cannot check.* One untruth, misstatement, or foolish assertion can destroy the patient work of weeks or months; it can also furnish the enemy counterpropagandist with valuable ammunition with which to wreck your "reputation for credibility" with his own people.

49. PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF TRUTH. The good psychological warfare operator tells the truth consistently. But there is a tremendous field for his work within the framework of the truth. The skill lies in three things:

- a. *What truths are told.*
- b. *How much of the truth is told.*
- c. *What coloring is given to the truth presented.*

People often ask: "Is it true or is it just propaganda?" This question is not pertinent. The question to ask is: "Why did the source elect to print (or put on the air) that particular piece of news and give it that particular emphasis?" Those who *collect* the facts also *select* the items which they pass on to their audience: what is the motive or bias behind this selection? Unless some other motive is obvious, it can be presumed that the selection was designed to affect the minds or emotions of a given group of people for a given purpose. Naturally, the selection of facts to be presented—and the manner in which they will be presented—must be carried out by specialists who are thoroughly familiar with the emotional reactions and thinking processes of the audience for which the messages are intended. a specialist who might be very effective for the Chinese might be of no value at all in psychological warfare directed to the Arabs of the Middle East.

50. IMPORTANCE OF NEWSPAPERS IN PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE. For the reasons stated in paragraphs 48 and 49, newspapers addressed to the populations of enemy and enemy-occupied territory are one of the most important vehicles of printed propaganda. A dispassionate and apparently impartial presentation of the facts is in most instances more convincing (for week-in, week-out consumption) than emotional tirades or denunciations of the evil intentions of the enemy's leaders. These "vest-pocket" airborne newspapers are of immense value in any area. They are of special value in areas which are without other news sources, or in those where the population has ceased to believe the statements of the official sources of news.

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

51. **PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE NEWSPAPERS IN CHINA.** The vast hinterland of China was "sealed off" by the Japanese from contact with the outside world for a period of eight years; most of the Chinese looked with suspicion on the news given them by the Japs. At war's end we found that the people of these areas had devoured hungrily the contents of newsheets dropped to them by American planes, scanty as these drops were. Because of the immense areas to be covered and the limited resources available, it was impossible to achieve the volume and regularity of coverage so important in newspaper operations. Despite these handicaps, our psychological warfare service kept a trickle of news flowing to a news-starved population. Figures 28 and 29 give the obverse of two copies of the weekly news-leaflet air-dropped to Japanese-occupied areas of China during the summer of 1945. Figures 28a and 29a give the translations.

52. **PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE NEWSPAPERS IN EUROPE.** In France, Jugoslavia, and other German-occupied areas of Europe, airborne newspapers could be and were delivered on regular schedules and in sufficient volume to reach a large percentage of the public. The news contained in these pages was a powerful factor in giving encouragement to and keeping alive hope in underground allies. Without it, they might have been reduced to inactivity by the conditions of suppression and discouragement under which they lived and worked. Nor was the territory of Germany itself neglected. Vast masses of newspapers were air-dropped on regular schedules over all the chief German cities. While it cannot be claimed that they were believed with the same readiness that they were in other European countries, post-war information proved that they were widely read and their contents compared with that of German newspapers. Their very presence probably forced the German News Agency to print news items which it would otherwise have doubtless withheld from the German public.

53. **NEWSPAPERS FOR TROOPS IN BATTLE AREAS.** Enemy troops in the battle zones, cut off from most sources of news, are vulnerable targets for the "newspaper weapon". Because of the more elaborate facilities for production and distribution, it is usually better to have these produced by the "strategic" team at theater headquarters. But this activity should be carried out in closest cooperation with the tactical teams. The editors who prepare these newspapers should spend frequent periods of time with the tactical units. They should engage in frequent interrogations of freshly-captured prisoners. In short, they should take every step to keep abreast of the current thinking of the enemy troops on the front for which this particular newspaper is intended. The selection and emphasis on news items for battle-front troops is a problem quite different from that of editing for home-front civilian population or for dissident elements in territory overrun by the enemy. Figures 30 and 30a show the obverse and translation of the weekly newsheet dropped on German troops in the closing weeks of 1943.

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

54. **RECEPTION OF NEWSPAPERS BY GERMAN TROOPS.** German troops in both Italy and northern Europe found the attractively prepared Allied newspapers more stimulating than the stiff, cold communiques of the German Army. In the closing years of the war, as the Nazi position deteriorated, we stepped up the tempo of our "newspaper attack". Larger and more elaborate sheets were prepared and distributed on twice-a-week and thrice-a-week schedules. Reliable information from behind the German lines indicated that they sensed that Allied newspapers were giving them more reliable information than their own news sources. Interrogation of prisoners brought out some amusing sidelights on the interest taken by German soldiers in our printed material. Many prisoners complained of irregularities of delivery: a whole week had passed without a newspaper (this was because of bad flying weather which had kept our planes on the ground): an issue of March 19th had been received before the issue of March 15th (due to a confusion in loading at the airfield), etc. Other prisoners offered suggestions for a more efficient delivery: make the delivery at dawn when the soldiers were up but most of the officers were still asleep, so that the soldiers could pick up, read and conceal the papers with less danger of being caught by their officers: try to make the drops in flat, open country so that enemy soldiers could get them easily, etc. One prisoner complained that Allied artillerymen had fused some leaflet shells poorly, they had buried themselves in the mud, and he and his companions had to dig them out and open them to "get the latest news".

55. **DESIRABLE IN NEWSPAPER WORK.** In psychological warfare newspaper work, one should try to attain the three following objectives:

a. It should appear regularly. Newspaper-reading is a habit and a single issue will not have any appreciable effect. But, once one has gotten accustomed to the make-up and presentation of a given paper, one feels slightly "lost" when one has to change over to another.

b. It should be delivered on schedule. If one is in the habit of reading a certain publication (daily, weekly, monthly) on a fixed schedule, one has a feeling of irritation when that schedule is interrupted by snow-storms, train strike, or other acts of God.

c. It should be produced in sufficient quantities to insure full coverage. Mass effect is the object. The greater the number of people reached, the greater will be the impact of the effort. It is important that there be sufficient volume to reach the entire potential audience.

56. **DANGER OF BOOMERANGS IN PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE.** Extreme caution must be exercised in the composition of all leaflet messages and news items; each one must be examined carefully from all angles with possible future repercussions in mind. A particular item might be highly successful in a given place at a given moment, yet its use would be inadvisable if it could rebound later with harmful results which would out-

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

weigh the momentary advantage gained. A psychological warfare operator who becomes so intent on his immediate target that he loses sight of the broader implications of his messages is a menace; he should be given little freedom of action. For example, bomb warnings intended to depress the morale of enemy populations may arouse sentimental indignation in certain circles back home. They may also be used by the enemy to show neutrals the cold-blooded, "uncivilized" nature of your warmaking or to whip his own people into a white-hot fighting frenzy. There are always many perfectly true facts which would make excellent psychological warfare in one area, but which could be picked up and used with such telling effect against you elsewhere that it is much better to let them go unmentioned.

57. **EXPERIENCE THE ONLY SURE GUIDE.** All possibilities must be considered before a new leaflet theme or "news line" is launched. No hard and fast set of rules can be laid down to govern wise decisions in matters of this sort. Wide experience, resulting in an almost automatic sensitiveness to all possible facets of a new propaganda theme, is the only sure guide. In general, it can be said that a new psychological warfare approach should never be launched on the impulse of one individual. The proposed theme should be subjected to the scrutiny of the widest possible variety of area experts and all possible repercussions (present and future) analyzed. The decision to launch the new theme should be made after all the advantages have been weighed against the disadvantages.

Chapter 5

DISSEMINATION

58. **STRESS MUST BE LAID ON DISSEMINATION.** The vital final link in the chain of steps which takes our psychological warfare material to its target is the dissemination of our printed matter. The time, effort and expense which go into the planning and production of our literature will have been wasted unless the leaflets and newspapers get into the hands of those for whom they were intended. Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the importance of dissemination, because there is a natural tendency to underscore policy and planning, to provide adequately for preparation and production of texts, to subconsciously take for granted that the job is completed when the finished leaflet or newspaper comes off the press. If the chain is broken there, the operation will have failed. The problems of dissemination, both mechanical and personal, are just as delicate and just as complicated as in other phases of the operation and require the attention of skilled and talented personnel. Intelligently organized and efficiently operated dissemination needs the same emphasis as the other steps in the process.

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

59. LONG-RANGE BOMBER IS PRIMARY DISSEMINATION MEDIUM. In the foreseeable future, the long-range bomber will continue to be the primary medium for the dissemination of strategic psychological warfare printed matter. There are occasions when it may be desired to deliver this material to enemy front-line troops and for this purpose artillery leaflet shells may be used. However, in most instances the targets will be areas far behind the front lines and aircraft are the only means of getting the material to them. The organization of the Air Force's part of the operation and its smooth investigation into the overall operation is essential. The successful execution of this part of the enterprise will depend in large measure on the skill, tact and ingenuity of the psychological warfare's corps air liaison officers. The first step is to arrange for the official cooperation of the theater air force headquarters, have appropriate directives issued by it, and establish particularly close liaison with A-3. Most of the actual operational arrangements will be made with lower headquarters, but it is imperative that theater air force headquarters be generally familiar with these negotiations and give covering authorization for their execution.

60. SPECIAL "FLYING NEWSBOY" AIR UNITS The experience of World War II showed that it is better to have special air force units designated as "Flying Newsboys" and devote their entire time to leaflet and newspaper dissemination. There are very special problems in leaflet delivery which require the attention of specialists. A unit which knows that its sole function will be leaflet dissemination can be indoctrinated to take great pride in its work and will develop an *esprit de corps* which cannot be obtained when leaflet missions are sporadic and secondary to the primary job of dropping bombs. When special air force units are specifically designated as leaflet-delivery groups, the problem of air liaison with psychological warfare is greatly simplified. The psychological warfare air liaison officer should visit the unit regularly (and even live there for extended periods of time) and see to it that all personnel of the unit understands the significance of psychological warfare and the importance of the work the air unit is doing. He should, however, confine his activities to those of adviser, leave the actual execution of the operations to the staff of the air force unit and avoid every appearance of "telling" them how to do their jobs. His task is a very delicate one and requires both personality and diplomacy.

61. INCIDENTAL LEAFLET MISSIONS BY BOMB-DROPPING AIR UNITS. It is frequently desirable, in large-scale operations, to have a large number of air force units participate in the dissemination and include a percentage of leaflet bombs with their "pay load" of explosives. In such instances, the burden on the psychological warfare corps of air liaison officers is much heavier and more intricate. Much of the detail which would be "taken in stride" by the staff of a unit regularly employed in leaflet dissemination will have to be planned carefully by the air liaison

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

officers. If it is a special operation, a special directive (if a continuing operation, a continuing directive) must be sent by theater air force headquarters to the particular air force involved. The Air Force then selects the units which will participate and passes instructions down the line. To avoid misunderstandings and failures in the chain of command, the psychological warfare air liaison officers should arrange to receive copies of directives (or instructions) at each step in the process.

62. INDOCTRINATION OF THE LEAFLET-DROPPING AIR UNITS.

No air unit should be brought into the leaflet dissemination picture until all staff and flying personnel have been thoroughly briefed on the significance of psychological warfare in general and of the importance of the upcoming mission in particular. If time and circumstances permit; briefings should be extended to the ground force personnel of the air unit, also. Within the limits of security, the background of each psychological warfare operation should be explained to them as well as its place in the overall picture. Since the psychological warfare air liaison officers will be the ones best qualified, they will ordinarily be called on to take charge of the indoctrination. Lectures and open forums should be supplemented with posters and booklets. Ample supplies of samples of each leaflet (with English translations) should be made available to the personnel of Air Force units engaged in leaflet dissemination. Americans are inveterate collectors of souvenirs and many airmen like to take collections of all leaflets dropped by their units. The experience of World War II showed that cooperation is much more enthusiastic and the smoothness of the mission is greatly increased when the above conditions are met. The technique of correct leaflet-dropping is just as complicated as the correct dropping of explosive bombs; if either missile fails to hit its target the mission cannot be considered a success. It has been proven that leaflet missions are really successful only when the personnel of the disseminating air unit has an intelligent grasp on the significance and importance of the mission it is performing. The time and effort spent in educating the personnel of the air force units in the contributions which are made by psychological warfare will pay large dividends in interested cooperation and improved performance. Like all human beings, the airmen are always anxious to know whether the work they are doing and have done is getting any results; it is highly advisable to prepare and distribute through all units engaged in leaflet-dropping a regular bulletin containing miscellaneous information on psychological warfare activities. This bulletin should be lively and readable, brightened by illustrations, cartoons, etc. It should contain comments of field commanders, enemy reaction as evidenced by radio answers or revealed by interrogation of prisoners, etc. Such bulletins provoke lively discussion in the air units and heighten their interest in psychological warfare activity.

63. IMPORTANCE OF EFFICIENT AIR LIASON. The air liaison officer is the key to successful leaflet delivery operations. As has been stated

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

(paragraphs 57 and 58), the extent of his duties will vary in accordance with whether the unit is engaged exclusively in leaflet-drop operations or is employed only occasionally for leaflet missions. In addition to his responsibility for indoctrination (see paragraph 62), the air liaison officer must be a "trouble shooter" and spare the air unit irritation over things which do not fall in its normal functions. In general, he must:

a. Set up with his parent organization a system which will insure efficient and smooth delivery to the air unit of properly packaged printed matter. Storage at the air unit, handling from warehouse to planes, the mechanics of the missions themselves are properly Air Force functions and should be handled by the personnel of the air unit.

b. See that air force headquarters understands precisely what is desired of psychological warfare on any particular mission so that suitable instructions will be issued and interlocking services smoothly meshed. It is important that instructions from the higher headquarters be detailed, clear and complete if confusion and complaint at the lower unit are to be avoided.

c. Be present at the air unit during briefing for each special mission to answer any questions which may arise concerning psychological warfare's interests in the mission.

When the air unit specializes in leaflet dissemination, much of this detailed liaison can be eliminated. When the unit takes part in leaflet missions only occasionally, very detailed liaison is required if the mission is to succeed in its purpose.

64. **LEAFLET PACKAGES VS TIME-FUSED BOMBS.** In the early days of World War II, psychological warfare leaflets were hand-dropped from the aircraft in packages. In addition to other objections to the package system, it was found that when free-flying leaflets are dropped from high altitudes they are carried so far by the wind before they reach the ground that any kind of accurate dissemination is impossible. And most strategic material disseminated by heavy and medium bombers was dropped from high altitudes over defended targets. It became apparent that the only really satisfactory answer was a time-fused leaflet bomb which could be dropped from the bomb-rack with fuse set to explode the bomb and eject the leaflets at a determined low altitude above ground level. With appropriate bombing-tables worked out for this item, the unsatisfactory aspects of leaflet-dropping could be eliminated. The leaflet bombs would be dropped in the same way as explosive bombs and the likelihood of hitting a desired target would be greatly increased.

65. **LEAFLET BOMB T-1.** Various Air Force ordnance agencies attacked the problem and experimented with different devices. The most satisfactory resulting item became known as Bomb, Leaflet, T-1. It is a modification of the M-26 parachute flare case, equipped with an M-111 (or

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

M-111A-1 or M-111A-2) clockwork time fuse backed by a charge of cordite. A 3" wooden block in the nose protected the rolls of leaflets against the explosion of the cordite and acted as a piston to drive the leaflet rolls out of the tail of the casing. The M-26 flare case is 50" long and 8" in diameter. When standard size (5"x8") leaflets were packed rolls 7½" in diameter it was found that the space behind the wooden block would hold seven such rolls. They should be wrapped with strips of heavy paper to hold them together until time of explosion. The number of leaflets per roll varies somewhat in accordance with the thickness of the paper, but the average is 10,000-11,000 leaflets. The weight of the loaded bomb is 65 pounds. A complete description of this bomb is found in War Department Technical Bulletin TB9X, dated 18 September 1944. The fuse is set to discharge the leaflets at approximately 1000 feet above and upwind of the target area. Since the leaflets are carried along by the wind after they become free-flying, it is necessary to select a point of burst to windward based on the ground wind velocity at the time. The table in Figure 31 gives the approximate drift of leaflets, assuming 1000 feet to the the height of burst.

66. LEAFLET BOMB T-1 IS NOT IDEAL. Leaflet Bomb T-1 was the most successful of the leaflet bombs evolved during World War II and was widely used in both Mediterranean and European Theaters of Operations. It is far from the perfect answer and its creators were the first to recognize that fact. In creating this item, the primary consideration was the stocks of materials available in quantity in overseas theaters and whether these stocks could be spared by the Air Force for leaflet dissemination without handicapping other air force operations. It is a remarkable instance of ordnance ingenuity in adapting for one purpose an item which had been created for another, but it is not the item which the originators would have selected if they had been creating a leaflet bomb "from scratch". The solid casing is not necessary and represents a waste of metal. Further, the solid casing can damage property and injure people in cases where this is not desired. The tail-ejection presents special problems. A weighted skeleton casing which would disintegrate along its entire length would be preferable. The M-26 casing is not of the size and shape to permit the most economical utilization of the bomb-rack space in current bombing aircraft. Various other objections could be enumerated.

67. OTHER DEVICES. In the closing years of the war, two other modifications of existing items of equipment were developed into leaflet bombs. Leaflet Bomb T-2 is an adaptation of the M-15 Adapter Cluster case. Leaflet Bomb T-3 is a similar adaptation of the larger M-16 Adapter Cluster case. These were field-tested at air force proving grounds and bombing tables were prepared, but the experimental work was completed so close to war's end that the items were never used operationally. They represent an advance over Leaflet Bomb T-1. Air Force ordnance is now developing time-fused leaflet bombs which are specifically designed for this work,

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

which will be produced in quantity, and will certainly give more efficient performance than the "emergency" creations of World War II,—adaptations in the preparation of which the basic consideration had to be the kind and stocks of manufactured equipment already on hand.

68. LOW ALTITUDE OPERATIONS. There will always be some instances where local conditions make it possible for aircraft to deliver their loads of paper from a low altitude over the target (i. e., areas not defended by anti-aircraft fire or fighter planes). In such cases, it is obviously wasteful in time and cost to make use of leaflet bombs; packages are cheaper to prepare and easier to handle and hand-dropping can be approximately as satisfactory if it is done from an altitude of not over 2000 feet. When free-flying leaflets are dropped from low altitudes, they should be dropped well upwind of intended target. A free-flying leaflet of standard size (5" x 8") falls 1000 feet in 5 minutes. A double sheet (i. e., 4-page leaflet of same dimensions) falls 1000 feet in 3½ minutes. Modification of the table in Figure 31 will give an approximation of how far upwind of target the drop should be made, depending on the altitude of drop and the ground wind velocity of the moment.

69. LEAFLET SHELL. There are rare occasions when need exists to deliver strategic psychological warfare leaflets to enemy forward troops. In such instances, artillery-fired leaflet shells offer the best means of accurate delivery. The item used in World War II was a modification of the 105 mm base-ejection smoke shell. The smoke-powder charge was removed and small rolls of leaflets inserted in the empty space. A small explosive charge in the nose is set off at the right instant by the time-fuse and drives the leaflets out of the rear of the shell. The principle is the same as in Leaflet Bomb T-1. Very small quantities of leaflets can be delivered in this way but they can be placed "on the doorstep". Because of the small quantities of material which can be distributed by leaflet shells and because of the nature of the audience which can be reached by them, this mode of distribution is usually employed only by the tactical teams. In such rare instances as this method of distribution is employed by the strategic team, channels set up by the tactical team should be utilized. Proper packing, efficient delivery, and completely clear instructions are just as important in dealing with the artillery units as they are in dealing with the Air Force units.

70. RESOURCEFULNESS IN MEETING UNEXPECTED SITUATIONS. *a.* In dissemination, as in other operations, only general rules and indications can be given. In wartime, local situations arise which have to be solved by the imagination and ingenuity of the local personnel. Much depends on the talents of the liaison officers who are the people in the best position to make a comparative study of the problems of one branch as related to those of another and to enlist the resources of other branches to

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

assist psychological warfare. By way of illustration of resourcefulness in solving a unique problem, the following case is offered:

b. At a certain point in the Burma Campaign, the only aircraft available for leaflet dissemination were several P-40 fighters. Gasoline was scarce and the number of leaflets which could be carried in the cockpit of a fighter was small. Further, the pilots objected to having to open the cockpit and throw out leaflets with one hand while controlling the plane with the other. Villages were scattered, the number of inhabitants in each one was small. It was desired to have each plane "tour" a large number of villages every trip, dropping small quantities of leaflets over each one. An engineer unit came to the rescue by adapting a 75-gal. gasoline overload tank into a "leaflet belly tank" which could be shackled under the fuselage of a fighter. The tail of the tank was severed and the opening closed by two flaps which were held shut by two strong springs fastened to the inside of the tank. A track was laid through the length of the tank and on the track loosely-bound packages could be placed end to end. In the nose of the tank there was installed a small electric motor connected with a button on the control panel in the cockpit. This motor operated a piston which forced the line of leaflet packages to the rear and through the spring-controlled flaps. When the loosely-bound package hit the slipstream, it disintegrated. By the length of time he held his finger on the button, the pilot could control the number of leaflet packages to be ejected over any given village in accordance with the reported population. With this device, it became possible to "circularize" ten to fifteen villages in a single flight, with a minimum of risk and inconvenience to the pilot.

Chapter 6

RADIO PROPAGANDA

71. THE RADIO AS A MEDIUM OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE. The radio is now accepted as the most effective medium of long-range, strategic psychological warfare, both during the preliminary "cold war" period and during the war itself. This is true not only because the radio can reach a much larger audience and reach it more regularly than can printed matter, but because a skillful appeal to the ear makes a deeper impression on the mind than an equally skillful appeal to the eye. Students of psychology of advertising have long accepted the conclusion that the ear is the most sensitive of all the human organs in terms of its effect on the mind. Investigations by "listening research" departments of the various broadcasting services reveal that the public reacts in a much more personal way to radio programs than it does to articles in newspapers. Under wartime conditions, people in the occupied countries clung to their radio sets with a sort of desperate ingenuity as their only spiritual release from bondage. Prior to the invasion of Normandy, we had figured that most of

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

the radio sets there would have been confiscated by the Germans and prepared large stocks for distribution immediately after the arrival of allied troops; this proved an unnecessary measure, as most of the people had access to radio reception. The human voice is an instrument of almost magical power to influence thinking; when it is carefully modulated to fit the emotional level desired and when its appeal is carefully blended with appropriate musical selections, only the "toughest" individualists will not fall under its spell sooner or later.

72. HOW TO INITIATE A SERIES OF PROGRAMS. Psychological warfare by radio is governed by the same basic principles which hold true in other media of propaganda. In the initial stages of a campaign a pleasant, mild and confidential tone is the best way to catch the attention of the listener and develop the habit of listening regularly to the program. If, at this point, the attitude of the radiocaster is too prejudiced or biased, unnecessary irritation and resistance will be developed in the mind of the listening audience. In the beginning, such suggestions as the propagandist wishes to convey must be carefully concealed in a mass of material designed to captivate the listening audience and take it into the speaker's confidence. The famous catch-phrase of the late President Roosevelt's early "Fireside Chats" ("My friends, and I know you are my friends") is a classic example of how to get the sympathetic attention of the audience. Once the audience has consented to listen, the initiative lies in the speaker's hands and he can apply all the principles of suggestion and persuasion, with all the complex modifications made possible by the sensitiveness of the human ear and the magic possibilities of the human voice.

73. RADIO APPEAL IS TO THE EMOTIONS. In radio activity, the emotional tone is more important than logical argument. The reader of printed matter is much more critical of faulty reasoning than is the radio listener. As a rule, people listen badly and many of the impressions received are unconscious rather than conscious. An excellent example of impressions received unconsciously is given by a story which came out of German-occupied Holland. There was a boy in the Hague who was in the habit of listening regularly to broadcasts from London and was so deeply impressed by what he heard that he whistled English dance tunes in the street without realizing he was doing so. He was unconscious of what he was doing, but the German police identified him at once as a listener to foreign broadcasts.

74. UNREASONING NATURE OF RADIO PUBLIC IN TIMES OF STRESS. In times of great public tension, people at large are even more unreasoning than normally about accepting as fact what is presented to them over the radio. The material must be presented skillfully, of course, and have at least a surface appearance of authenticity. As an example, we recall the famous Orson Welles broadcast of an invasion of the earth by the men from Mars in the fall of 1938. This came soon after the Munich

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

crisis, when the international political situation was strained and people were hyper-sensitive to any suggestion of an invasion. This very realistic presentation of an impossible event, stage-managed by a master-craftsman in the field of sound effects, produced a panic in some elements of the population in certain parts of the country. Moving vans were piled with furniture and people jammed the highways in a frantic effort to escape from the reported points of invasion. Even less hysterical citizens were shaken by the broadcast and newspaper offices were flooded with telegrams and telephone calls demanding confirmation or denial of the broadcast.

75. **THREE CARDINAL PRINCIPLES.** In psychological warfare by radio, then, it is vital to bear in mind that the:

a. Audience must be won by a warm friendly approach which will disarm the listener's suspicions and make him feel that the broadcaster is his friend and ally.

b. Emotional tone is just as important—if not more important—as the logic of the arguments presented. Voice effects and sonic accompaniments must be selected and molded with this consideration in mind.

c. Unconscious impressions received by the listener are as numerous and important as those received consciously. This is much more true of appeals to the ear alone than it is of printed matter and constitutes the chief difference between the radio approach and the leaflet-newspaper approach.

76. **TECHNIQUE OF RADIO PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE.** With the above three considerations in mind, the principles governing the conduct of psychological warfare by radio are the same as those used in other media. Repetition is of the essence; it eventually produces a kind of hypnotic effect. Actually, the formula does not have to be changed as often as it does in printed matter; the same slogan can be used over a much longer time with advantageous results. Witness the successful use in our commercial advertising of slogans which become "signatures" in certain programs, i. e., "ABC—Always Buy Chesterfields." The notion of authenticity and consistency is also important, although the clever propagandist can take more liberties with this factor on the radio than he can in printed matter. The effect of a radio statement is impermanent, can be colored by voice tone and context, and cannot be "thrown back" at the user with the same effectiveness as can a printed statement. Choice of words and phrases is highly important and more vivid emotional coloring can be given to them on the radio than can be done in print.

77. **USE OF RADIO IN WORLD WAR I.** It was in World War I that we find the first systematic use of the radio as a medium to influence mass opinion. That war was the first "total war"—not only in its mobilization of manpower and industrial resources—but also in the organized use of

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

the psychological weapon of propaganda. The fact that the efforts were halting and awkward, that radio technology was in its infancy, that the role played was a relatively minor one should not deceive us as to its historical importance. Because, from these puny beginnings there was built a structure which has placed a new and murderous weapon in the hands of the wielders of "total war."

78. GERMAN USE OF THE RADIO IN WORLD WAR I. The Germans turned to the radio in World War I for the simple reason that the Allies controlled the trans-Atlantic cables and the radio was their only means of transmitting their version of the news to the outside world. They offered free news services to papers in neutral countries when British and American concerns were charging stiff fees for these same services. Thus they secured an outlet for the German interpretation of the news of the world.

79. DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE 1920's. During the 1920's all of the European nations became more and more acutely aware of the coming role of the radio in the field of international politics. The Russians made extensive use of it in consolidating the results of the Bolshevik revolution. While most of the Russian effort was concentrated in the Soviet Union itself, we find them making the first tentative steps in the international field: i. e., during the Bela Kun uprising in Hungary in 1919, during the Polish "incident" in 1920, during the dispute with Rumania over Bessarabia in 1926, and during the British general strike in 1930. During the late 1920's and the early 1930's, the various European countries with overseas colonies set up short-wave broadcasting services: Holland, France, England, Belgium, and Portugal. Even little Switzerland and Czechoslovakia set up "cultural" short-wave services for their former nationals residing in other countries. At this stage, the intent of these overseas services was not aggressive, but simply to bind the colonies and former nationals more closely to the mother countries. Nor was there at this stage any intent to extend these services to interested parties in other countries, although this would follow inevitably as a matter of course. The League of Nations established its outlet (*Radio-Nations*) in 1932 to expound the doctrine of internationalism and it actually helped organize world opinion for the sanctions against Italy during the Ethiopian war. But, in general, its programs were dull and poorly constructed, all fundamental rules of applied psychology were neglected, and the institution was not a success.

80. SYSTEMATIZED USE OF RADIO BY JAPANESE AND GERMANS. The first large-scale use of the radio as a psychological weapon in support of actual warfare was made by the Japanese in the years following the outbreak of the China "incident". Stations were established in Manchukuo to broadcast programs manufactured partly or wholly in Japan and large numbers of free receiving sets were distributed among the people. The fact that many of the proud owners of the free Japanese sets preferred to tune in on the strong Chinese station at Nanking was not

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

part of the plan. But, it was the coming to power of the Nazis in Germany in 1933—and the installation of Josef Goebbels as propaganda chief—that the full use of radio as a potent weapon of aggressive foreign policy entered its present-day phase. The German radio became closely geared to the Reich's political intentions; it was used cynically to persuade and delude, to terrorize and mesmerize the particular public to which its programs were beamed. Like Mrs. Grundy, it became "all things to all men." It twisted and turned to preserve some semblance of consistency in the various stories it told, but held it more important that the particular programs have the desired effect on the people for whom they were prepared. Herr Goebbels and Co. hoped that perhaps the inconsistencies wouldn't be noticed and compared by enough people to make any difference; that was a gamble which had to be taken. The Nazi planners had a very low opinion of the reasoning power of the mass of the people and it was in influencing the masses that they were especially interested.

81. THE GERMAN RADIO "SYSTEM" UNDER JOSEF GOEBBELS.

Every trick in the bag was brought into play in the course of this diabolically clever campaign. Dignified "straight" news programs were mixed with the rankest sort of rumor-mongering and outright lies until the unsuspecting listener was left in a state of complete confusion. In the first category (and this constituted the bulk of the material) were the official communiques of the Army and the government, pronouncements by recognized commentators like General Dietrich and a large volume of non-controversial news, much of which was repeated from BBC and American stations. In the second category were tricky feature items, "traitor" broadcasts like those of the British William Joyce and the American Douglas Chandler, "planted" programs which seemed to emanate from neutral countries but were really concoctions of German-controlled news sources in those countries, "ghost" programs which were broadcast on the same wave-lengths as well known British and American stations, open falsifications of news items which they claimed to have taken from BBC, etc. Overseas listeners were reassured as to Germany's peaceful intentions once her "legitimate" claims had been satisfied,—while her home public was told frankly that the goal was world domination. Each movement of aggression was prepared carefully by a preliminary radio campaign; a steadily "stepped up" radio barrage reached hysterical proportions just before the actual movement of the armed forces took place; once the event had transpired a grave, calm and unruffled campaign explained logically why the move had been necessary and inevitable.

82. THE BRITISH LEARN SLOWLY. This intricate and powerful German campaign drove the British radio to successful competition more rapidly than it might have developed otherwise. Even so, and despite the advantage given them by having used the radio for political purposes during World War I, British radio efforts lagged far behind the elaborate German campaign. It was not until after the catastrophe of Dunkirk that the Brit-

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

ish began to make "all out" use of the radio as a weapon of political warfare. As early as 1932 BBC had established an Overseas Service for the Empire and the United States; this was merely an expansion of the Home Service of BBC. The programs were dull and the tempo leisurely. Very little attention was paid to making the material appealing to English-speaking audiences whose tastes were different from those of the British themselves. Compared to the sprightly tone of the competitive American radio, the British offerings were colorless and Americans did not care for these warmed-over scraps of an original British meal. BBC programs in languages other than English had the same defects. They were simple translations (often poorly done and delivered with a strong British accent) of what had been given the British audience. Scant attention was paid to the special tastes of the country or countries for which a given program had been prepared.

83. BRITISH WEAKNESSES IN THE PRE-DUNKIRK ERA. In the pre-Dunkirk phase, the intellectual tone of the British radio made its appeal to a necessarily limited audience. Indeed, while BBC made some progress in the field of popularization later on, we must confess that the restrained traditionalism characteristic of the British "upper classes" distinguishes their radio offerings of that day from those of other nations. Where the German radio made its appeal to the masses (as the American radio still does, but for a different reason), the British seem to have, consciously or unconsciously, arrived at the conclusion that it is more important to strengthen old ties and win new friends among "the people who count"—among those who guide the destinies of nations. But, the greatest weakness of British radio technique in the period before Dunkirk was that it let the Germans define the issues and accepted the enemy formulation of the problem. The Nazis presented the struggle as a clash between the decadent "old system" and the vital "new order," as a battle between plutocrats and proletariat. Having let the enemy assign the roles in the cast, BBC attempted to defend the benefits and political freedom of the democratic system. They made the mistake of not attacking the position which the Nazis had assigned to themselves. To military men, the following two points are axioms:

a. When you elect to go on the defensive, you select your own defensive position; you avoid at all costs letting the enemy choose it for you.

b. Very frequently a strong counter-attack is more effective (and in the long run less costly) than a prolonged and purely static defense. In the early days of their radio war with the Nazis, the British committed both of these errors. As a result, many open-minded listeners in all countries, influenced by the hypnotic repetition of the German radio, came to feel that the "new order" might contain some good points. It was only much later that the British radio, belatedly aware of its error, began to expose the fallacies of the German argument.

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

84. **THE NEW BRITISH RADIO CAMPAIGN.** In mid-1940 British political warfare by radio entered a new phase. We might say that this development parallels a general regeneration of British attitude which took place under Winston Churchill's vigorous leadership. The old defensive attitude disappeared. J. B. Priestly and others tore to pieces the myth of the "Nordic superman" and attacked the Nazis as bullies, gangsters, and neurotics. German claims of a bright new world were contrasted with concentration camps and crematoria. BBC began to flood Europe with foreign-language broadcasts designed to give heart to partisans in all countries under German control and to stiffen neutrals in their resistance to nazi-fascist intimidation. Overseas programs to all countries took on a more attractive form and were tailored for the particular audiences which they were intended to influence. In short, BBC got down to serious business in the use of the radio as an instrument of political warfare and its campaign was closely geared to the fighting war effort of an aroused British nation. The Political Warfare Executive (PWE) and the Ministry of Information (MOI) meshed their activities and BBC became their official organ of expression. Political warfare was organized and channelized and the result was a streamlined weapon of high caliber. BBC programs continued to be marked by an air of restrained dignity and there was never any of the hysterical caterwauling so frequent in the outpourings of the German radio. Any loss in emotional appeal was compensated by a reputation for steadiness and dependability. Thinking people the world over (including many Americans) formed the habit of tuning in on BBC for the calmest and most authentic presentation of the world situation. And it was to this type of audience that the major effort of BBC was always directed.

85. **THE UNITED STATES ENTERS THE FIELD.** At the time this country entered World War II, our experience in the use of radio political warfare was negligible. We had been foremost in the general and technical evolution of radio and we had developed radio advertising into a fine art, but we had never made use of the radio as an instrument of international politics. This seems strange when we realize that we had been one of the main targets of the political warfare of other nations throughout the decade of the 1930's. The explanation lies in part in the isolationism which characterized our foreign policy during this era. The disillusionment which followed World War I led this nation to want to separate itself as far as possible from "international entanglements." The second factor was that our radio industry was organized on the basis of private ownership and individual enterprise. The competing chains understood and executed brilliantly their separate campaigns of commercial advertising, but the concept of national political warfare involved the idea of centralized control which they feared and would have resisted with every resource at their disposal; in this resistance they would have been supported by the overwhelming sentiment of the American public. Further, the very idea of propaganda is distasteful to our people as a whole and its use as an instrument of national policy would have been interpreted as official interfer-

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

ence in the affairs of other nations; all of this was in conflict with the "hands off" policy which prevailed at that time. Proof of this basic dislike for "propaganda" and for centralized control is given by the opposition which the Office of War Information (OWI) encountered throughout its existence, an opposition which resulted eventually in the liquidation of the agency in the latter part of 1945.

86. ORGANIZATION FOR WARTIME PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BY RADIO. With the need for psychological warfare facilities apparent and pressing, various agencies were established and authorized to carry out specified functions. The Office of War Information, in close cooperation with the Departments of State, Army and Navy, came to be the clearing house of policy directives governing the conduct of our part of the Allied radio campaign. Short-wave stations were operated by the OWI in New York and San Francisco. However, as the British and Germans had already discovered, under present conditions of technology and reception facilities short-wave radio can only be considered as an important supplementary activity. In most of the countries to be reached, too few people own short-wave receiving sets to make it possible to talk to a large audience. BBC and the German radio were able to "blanket" the desired areas on standard wave lengths; it was necessary for us to find means of doing the same thing. This meant that actual broadcasting operations of strategic radio activity had to be transferred to the theaters of operations. A certain amount of the more elaborate script and program production could be done in this country by teams of experts, but the actual transmission had to be handled by the Theater Psychological Warfare Division from standard wave-length stations. Post-war investigation revealed that very few Japanese had heard our short-wave programs from San Francisco; it was only after we started transmitting from a standard wave length station on Saipan that our programs began to reach large numbers of Japanese. Further, the bulk of the programs can be produced better in the theaters (in conformity with policy directives, of course) because they are so much closer to the latest developments.

87. BRITISH-AMERICAN COOPERATION IN THE RADIO FIELD. In the European and Mediterranean Theaters, radio sections (like all other sections of psychological warfare divisions) were composed of mixed American-British military-civilian personnel. It is only fair to say that in the early days the British were far ahead of us in the field of radio political warfare and we learned a lot from them. This was true to such an extent that American officials and propagandists often complained that the British were running the joint activity in their own national interest. The charge was unjust. The British had a long start on us and their policy-intelligence-operation integration was more highly developed than our own. When the Americans seemed without clear policies or propaganda purposes, it was natural that the British should take the lead and let the Americans follow if they wished. In fact, we benefited immensely from

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

the association, and toward the end of the war our contribution to the collaborative effort was of quite as high a quality as that of the British.

88. AMERICAN OVERSEAS STATIONS. In northern Europe BBC was our chief outlet in the years preceding the Normandy invasion. A great many programs were prepared in collaboration with the British, but time was also allotted for exclusively American broadcasts. During the war a chain of new stations (ABSIE: American Broadcasting Stations in Europe) went into operation under American control. Captured stations (the very important Radio Luxembourg) were repaired and activated. In North Africa, Radio Algiers was for a long time the outlet for "Voice of America" programs in the Mediterranean area. The French colonial authorities also gave us all the time we requested on lesser stations like Rabat and Tunis. Additional stations were constructed "from scratch." With the invasion of southern Italy, Radio Bari was captured intact and from there it was possible to cover adequately southeastern Europe and the Middle East as well as to give additional coverage of North Africa. At a later date the very powerful Radio Rome gave us an outlet in southern Europe almost as important as BBC was in the north. In the Asiatic theaters, various stations were constructed to broadcast to local populations. For instance, OWI had its own transmitting equipment from which it broadcast to the population of inner China. Here, as in other areas of Asia, there is considerable doubt as to whether the influence exerted justified the effort and expense. The scarcity of receiving sets in the areas in question eliminated one of the two essential factors of successful strategic psychological warfare (i. e., audience-volume plus insistent repetition). Japan was the one country where conditions were favorable for strategic radio activity, but, until Saipan was captured and a station erected there, we had at our disposal no standard wave station from which Japan could be reached. The short-wave programs from San Francisco were heard by a limited number of influential Japanese intellectuals, but there was no means of getting at the masses.

89. OUR WARTIME RADIO THEMES. Programs treated a set of standard themes: the rising power of the western democracies and hopelessness of the Axis cause: the absence of expansionist ambitions from our plans for the world of the future: our desire to see self-governing peoples live prosperously at peace with one another, etc. The periodic statements of plans and policy by responsible Allied leaders were read in all languages. Decisions of conferences of Allied leaders (Yalta, Teheran, etc.) were announced and explained. Musical shows and other features "dressed up" the programs, but the backbone was news, news, news. As the war progressed and the Allied successes followed on one another's heels, the programming became easier and less ingenuity was required to explain the progress of the war to neutrals and to enemy populations. Events spoke for themselves and the handwriting was on the wall for all to see. We had

Declassified and Approved For Release 2012/06/28 : CIA-RDP78-03362A000400050001-9

~~RESTRICTED~~

only to emphasize and underscore what the developments meant and to repeat our statements about our intentions for the post-war world.

90. **CENTRALIZED POLICY CONTROL IS A "MUST."** In radio work, as in other forms of psychological warfare, there must be established a source of highest level policy control under a single authority. When this control is lacking, various energetic separate agencies are likely to indulge in conflicting statements; this makes for a confused and vacillating policy which can even produce dangerous situations. If too much freedom of low-level policy formulation is permitted, there arise duplications, contradictions and lack of integration of the work of the different agencies. To achieve the fullest effectiveness of psychological warfare, it is imperative that there be close coordination between policy, intelligence and operations. This can be obtained only when the policy is clear and consistent.

91. **PERSONNEL SHOULD BE MILITARY.** Insofar as possible, the personnel of psychological warfare at the theater level (as well as at lower levels) should be military. Some civilian-technicians and civilian-political advisers will probably always be necessary, but experience has shown that a civilian-dominated agency does not (and cannot) work well in an area under military control where all other activities are operated by the Army. For this reason, the Army must train in peacetime a personnel qualified to fill most of the jobs of psychological warfare divisions in the overseas theaters. The larger the percentage of jobs in psychological warfare divisions which can be staffed immediately with army personnel, the greater are the chances of immediate and continuing successful functioning of these divisions. When qualified technical personnel is not available in army circles and it is necessary to bring them in from civilian life, they should be incorporated in the Army insofar as possible. The civilian element in a unit operating in an area under military control should be held to the lowest possible minimum.

Reproduced at Ft Riley, Kansas H-883-1-11

Ft. Riley, Kans., 3-1-49-977-1.500

— 82 —

~~RESTRICTED~~

Appeal Community Guidelines actions

This content covers how to appeal Community Guidelines strikes and removals. If your video was removed for copyright reasons, learn about your options for copyright strikes.

We remove content that violates our Community Guidelines. However we understand that we sometimes make mistakes. If you think that your content doesn't violate the Community Guidelines and either received a strike or was removed in error, you can appeal following the steps below.

Appeal a Community Guidelines strike

When we remove your content for a Community Guidelines violation, you may be issued a strike. Strikes are issued when content on YouTube is flagged for review, either by members of the YouTube community or our smart detection technology, and our review teams decide that it does not follow our Community Guidelines. If your channel gets a strike, you'll get an email, notifications on mobile and desktop, and an alert in your channel settings the next time you sign in to YouTube.

Before you start, review the policy related to the strike. We also list examples of content that result in a Community Guidelines strike. You can only appeal for 30 days after the warning or strike was issued.

Appeal a strike

1. Go to your Dashboard in YouTube Studio.
2. Select the Channel violations card.
3. Select **APPEAL**.

Note: Deleting the video will not resolve the strike. If you delete your video, the strike will remain on your channel and you won't be able to appeal again.

If you've received a Community Guidelines strike for links in your content, make sure you're familiar with our policy and appeals process for links in your content.

Appeal a Community Guidelines video removal

Sometimes, we remove content without issuing a strike or penalty on your channel. Here's how you can appeal when this happens:

If it's a video:

1. Sign in to YouTube Studio .
2. From the left menu, select **Content**.
3. Go to the video you want to appeal.
4. Under the "Restrictions" column, hover your cursor over the restriction type and click **Appeal**.
5. Enter your reason for appealing and click **Submit**.

If it's a playlist or thumbnail:

You'll receive an email if your playlist or thumbnail was removed for violating our Community Guidelines. If you think that your content doesn't violate the Community Guidelines and was removed in error, use the form provided in the email to appeal.

Note: Videos can be taken down for many reasons. If you're having trouble appealing a video removal, it may have been removed for reasons other than a Community Guidelines violation. You can troubleshoot video takedowns in this Help Center article.

After you submit an appeal

You'll get an email from YouTube letting you know the result of your appeal request. One of the following will happen:

- If we find that your content followed our Community Guidelines, we'll reinstate it and remove the strike from your channel. If you appeal a warning and the appeal is granted, the next offense will be a warning.
- If we find your content followed our Community Guidelines, but isn't appropriate for all audiences, we'll apply an age-restriction. If it's a video, it won't be visible to users who are signed out, are under 18 years of age, or have Restricted Mode turned on. If it's a custom thumbnail, it will be removed.
- If we find that your content was in violation of our Community Guidelines, the strike will stay and the video will remain down from the site. There's no additional penalty for appeals that are rejected.

You may appeal each strike only once.

Need more help?

Try these next steps:

Ask the Help Community

Get answers from community experts

“The Doctrine of Fascism” (1932) by Benito Mussolini

Like all sound political conceptions, Fascism is action and it is thought; action in which doctrine is immanent, and doctrine arising from a given system of historical forces in which it is inserted, and working on them from within. It has therefore a form correlated to contingencies of time and space; but it has also an ideal content which makes it an expression of truth in the higher region of the history of thought. There is no way of exercising a spiritual influence in the world as a human will dominating the will of others, unless one has a conception both of the transient and the specific reality on which that action is to be exercised, and of the permanent and universal reality in which the transient dwells and has its being. To know men one must know man; and to know man one must be acquainted with reality and its laws. There can be no conception of the State which is not fundamentally a conception of life: philosophy or intuition, system of ideas evolving within the framework of logic or concentrated in a vision or a faith, but always, at least potentially, an organic conception of the world.

Thus many of the practical expressions of Fascism such as party organization, system of education, and discipline can only be understood when considered in relation to its general attitude toward life. A spiritual attitude. Fascism sees in the world not only those superficial, material aspects in which man appears as an individual, standing by himself, self-centered, subject to natural law, which instinctively urges him toward a life of selfish momentary pleasure; it sees not only the individual but the nation and the country; individuals and generations bound together by a moral law, with common traditions and a mission which suppressing the instinct for life closed in a brief circle of pleasure, builds up a higher life, founded on duty, a life free from the limitations of time and space, in which the individual, by self-sacrifice, the renunciation of self-interest, by death itself, can achieve that purely spiritual existence in which his value as a man consists.

The conception is therefore a spiritual one, arising from the general reaction of the century against the materialistic positivism of the 19th century. Anti-positivistic but positive; neither skeptical nor agnostic; neither pessimistic nor supinely optimistic as are, generally speaking, the doctrines (all negative) which place the center of life outside man;

whereas, by the exercise of his free will, man can and must create his own world.

Fascism wants man to be active and to engage in action with all his energies; it wants him to be manfully aware of the difficulties besetting him and ready to face them. It conceives of life as a struggle in which it behooves a man to win for himself a really worthy place, first of all by fitting himself (physically, morally, intellectually) to become the implement required for winning it. As for the individual, so for the nation, and so for mankind. Hence the high value of culture in all its forms (artistic, religious, scientific) and the outstanding importance of education. Hence also the essential value of work, by which man subjugates nature and creates the human world (economic, political, ethical, and intellectual).

This positive conception of life is obviously an ethical one. It invests the whole field of reality as well as the human activities which master it. No action is exempt from moral judgment; no activity can be despoiled of the value which a moral purpose confers on all things. Therefore life, as conceived of by the Fascist, is serious, austere, and religious; all its manifestations are poised in a world sustained by moral forces and subject to spiritual responsibilities. The Fascist disdains an “easy” life.

The Fascist conception of life is a religious one, in which man is viewed in his immanent relation to a higher law, endowed with an objective will transcending the individual and raising him to conscious membership of a spiritual society. “Those who perceive nothing beyond opportunistic considerations in the religious policy of the Fascist regime fail to realize that Fascism is not only a system of government but also and above all a system of thought.

In the Fascist conception of history, man is man only by virtue of the spiritual process to which he contributes as a member of the family, the social group, the nation, and in function of history to which all nations bring their contribution. Hence the great

value of tradition in records, in language, in customs, in the rules of social life. Outside history man is a nonentity. Fascism is therefore opposed to all individualistic abstractions based on eighteenth century materialism; and it is opposed to all Jacobinistic utopias and innovations. It does not believe in the possibility of "happiness" on earth as conceived by the economic literature of the 18th century, and it therefore rejects the theological notion that at some future time the human family will secure a final settlement of all its difficulties. This notion runs counter to experience which teaches that life is in continual flux and in process of evolution. In politics Fascism aims at realism; in practice it desires to deal only with those problems which are the spontaneous product of historic conditions and which find or suggest their own solutions. Only by entering in to the process of reality and taking possession of the forces at work within it, can man act on man and on nature.

Anti-individualistic, the Fascist conception of life stresses the importance of the State and accepts the individual only in so far as his interests coincide with those of the State, which stands for the conscience and the universal, will of man as a historic entity. It is opposed to classical liberalism which arose as a reaction to absolutism and exhausted its historical function when the State became the expression of the conscience and will of the people. Liberalism denied the State in the name of the individual; Fascism reasserts

The rights of the State as expressing the real essence of the individual. And if liberty is to be the attribute of living men and not of abstract dummies invented by individualistic liberalism, then Fascism stands for liberty, and for the only liberty worth having, the liberty of the State and of the individual within the State. The Fascist conception of the State is all embracing; outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have value. Thus understood, Fascism, is totalitarian, and the Fascist State — a synthesis and a unit inclusive of all values — interprets, develops, and potentates the whole life of a people.

No individuals or groups (political parties, cultural associations, economic unions, social classes) outside the State. Fascism is therefore opposed to Socialism to which unity within the State (which amalgamates classes into a single economic and ethical reality) is unknown, and which sees in history nothing but the class struggle. Fascism is likewise opposed to trade unionism as a class weapon. But when brought

within the orbit of the State, Fascism recognizes the real needs which gave rise to socialism and trade unionism, giving them due weight in the guild or corporative system in which divergent interests are coordinated and harmonized in the unity of the State.

Grouped according to their several interests, individuals form classes; they form trade-unions when organized according to their several economic activities; but first and foremost they form the State, which is no mere matter of numbers, the sum of the individuals forming the majority. Fascism is therefore opposed to that form of democracy which equates a nation to the majority, lowering it to the level of the largest number; but it is the purest form of democracy if the nation be considered as it should be from the point of view of quality rather than quantity, as an idea, the mightiest because the most ethical, the most coherent, the truest, expressing itself in a people as the conscience and will of the few, if not, indeed, of one, and ending to express itself in the conscience and the will of the mass, of the whole group ethnically molded by natural and historical conditions into a nation, advancing, as one conscience and one will, along the self same line of development and spiritual formation. Not a race, nor a geographically defined region, but a people, historically perpetuating itself; a multitude unified by an idea and imbued with the will to live, the will to power, self-consciousness, personality.

In so far as it is embodied in a State, this higher personality becomes a nation. It is not the nation which generates the State; that is an antiquated naturalistic concept which afforded a basis for 19th century publicity in favor of national governments. Rather is it the State which creates the nation, conferring volition and therefore real life on a people made aware of their moral unity.

The right to national independence does not arise from any merely literary and idealistic form of self-consciousness; still less from a more or less passive and unconscious *de facto* situation, but from an active, self-conscious, political will expressing itself in action and ready to prove its rights. It arises, in short, from the existence, at least *in fieri*, of a State. Indeed, it is the State which, as the expression of a universal ethical will, creates the right to national independence.

A nation, as expressed in the State, is a living, ethical entity only in so far as it is progressive.

Inactivity is death. Therefore the State is not only Authority which governs and confers legal form and spiritual value on individual wills, but it is also Power which makes its will felt and respected beyond its own frontiers, thus affording practical proof of the universal character of the decisions necessary to ensure its development. This implies organization and expansion, potential if not actual. Thus the State equates itself to the will of man, whose development cannot be checked by obstacles and which, by achieving self-expression, demonstrates its infinity.

The Fascist State, as a higher and more powerful expression of personality, is a force, but a spiritual one. It sums up all the manifestations of the moral and intellectual life of man. Its functions cannot therefore be limited to those of enforcing order and keeping the peace, as the liberal doctrine had it. It is no mere mechanical device for defining the sphere within which the individual may duly exercise his supposed rights. The Fascist State is an inwardly accepted standard and rule of conduct, a discipline of the whole person; it permeates the will no less than the intellect. It stands for a principle which becomes the central motive of man as a member of civilized society, sinking deep down into his personality; it dwells in the heart of the man of action and of the thinker, of the artist and of the man of science: soul of the soul.

Fascism, in short, is not only a law-giver and a founder of institutions, but an educator and a promoter of spiritual life. It aims at refashioning not only the forms of life but their content — man, his character, and his faith. To achieve this propose it enforces discipline and uses authority, entering into the soul and ruling with undisputed sway. Therefore it has chosen as its emblem the Lictor's rods, the symbol of unity, strength, and justice.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DOCTRINE

When in the now distant March of 1919, speaking through the columns of the *Popolo d'Italia* I summoned to Milan the surviving interventionists who had intervened, and who had followed me ever since the foundation of the Fascist of revolutionary action in January 1915, I had in mind no specific doctrinal program. The only doctrine of which I had practical experience was that of socialism, from until the winter of 1914 — nearly a decade. My experience was that both of a follower and a leader but it was not

doctrinal experience. My doctrine during that period had been the doctrine of action. A uniform, universally accepted doctrine of Socialism had not existed since 1905, when the revisionist movement, headed by Bernstein, arose in Germany, countered by the formation, in the see-saw of tendencies, of a left revolutionary movement which in Italy never quitted the field of phrases, whereas, in the case of Russian socialism, it became the prelude to Bolshevism.

Reformism, revolutionism, centrism, the very echo of that terminology is dead, while in the great river of Fascism one can trace currents which had their source in Sorel, Peguy, Lagardelle of the *Movement Socialists*, and in the cohort of Italian syndicalist who from 1904 to 1914 brought a new note into the Italian socialist environment — previously emasculated and chloroformed by fornicating with Giolitti's party — a note sounded in Olivetti's *Pagine Libere*, Orano's *Lupa*, Enrico Leone's *Divenirs Socials*.

When the war ended in 1919 Socialism, as a doctrine, was already dead; it continued to exist only as a grudge, especially in Italy where its only chance lay in inciting to reprisals against the men who had willed the war and who were to be made to pay for it.

The *Popolo d'Italia* described itself in its subtitle as the daily organ of fighters and producers. The word producer was already the expression of a mental trend. Fascism was not the nursling of a doctrine previously drafted at a desk; it was born of the need of action, and was action; it was not a party but, in the first two years, an anti-party and a movement. The name I gave the organization fixed its character.

Yet if anyone cares to reread the now crumpled sheets of those days giving an account of the meeting at which the Italian *Fasci di combattimento* were founded, he will find not a doctrine but a series of pointers, forecasts, hints which, when freed from the inevitable matrix of contingencies, were to develop in a few years time into a series of doctrinal positions entitling Fascism to rank as a political doctrine differing from all others, past or present.

If the bourgeoisie — I then said — believe that they have found in us their lightning-conductors, they are mistaken. We must go towards the people.... We

wish the working classes to accustom themselves to the responsibilities of management so that they may realize that it is no easy matter to run a business... We will fight both technical and spiritual rear-guardism.... Now that the succession of the regime is open we must not be fainthearted. We must rush forward; if the present regime is to be superseded we must take its place. The right of succession is ours, for we urged the country to enter the war and we led it to victory... The existing forms of political representation cannot satisfy us; we want direct representation of the several interests.... It may be objected that this program implies a return to the guilds (*corporazioni*). No matter! I therefore hope this assembly will accept the economic claims advanced by national syndicalism

Is it not strange that from the very first day, at Piazza San Sepolcro, the word “guild” (*corporazione*) was pronounced, a word which, as the Revolution developed, was to express one of the basic legislative and social creations of the regime?

The years preceding the March on Rome cover a period during which the need of action forbade delay and careful doctrinal elaborations. Fighting was going on in the towns and villages. There were discussions but ... there was something more sacred and more important.... death.... Fascists knew how to die. A doctrine — fully elaborated, divided up into chapters and paragraphs with annotations, may have been lacking, but it was replaced by something far more decisive, — by a faith. All the same, if with the help of books, articles, resolutions passed at congresses, major and minor speeches, anyone should care to revive the memory of those days, he will find, provided he knows how to seek and select, that the doctrinal foundations were laid while the battle was still raging. Indeed, it was during those years that Fascist thought armed, refined itself, and proceeded ahead with its organization. The problems of the individual and the State; the problems of authority and liberty; political, social, and more especially national problems were discussed; the conflict with liberal, democratic, socialistic, Masonic doctrines and with those of the *Partito Popolare*, was carried on at the same time as the punitive expeditions. Nevertheless, the lack of a formal system was used by disingenuous adversaries as an argument for proclaiming Fascism incapable of elaborating a

doctrine at the very time when that doctrine was being formulated — no matter how tumultuously, — first, as is the case with all new ideas, in the guise of violent dogmatic negations; then in the more positive guise of constructive theories, subsequently incorporated, in 1926, 1927, and 1928, in the laws and institutions of the regime.

Fascism is now clearly defined not only as a regime but as a doctrine. This means that Fascism, exercising its critical faculties on itself and on others, has studied from its own special standpoint and judged by its own standards all the problems affecting the material and intellectual interests now causing such grave anxiety to the nations of the world, and is ready to deal with them by its own policies.

First of all, as regards the future development of mankind, and quite apart from all present political considerations. Fascism does not, generally speaking, believe in the possibility or utility of perpetual peace. It therefore discards pacifism as a cloak for cowardly supine renunciation in contradistinction to self-sacrifice. War alone keys up all human energies to their maximum tension and sets the seal of nobility on those peoples who have the courage to face it. All other tests are substitutes which never place a man face to face with himself before the alternative of life or death. Therefore all doctrines which postulate peace at all costs are incompatible with Fascism. Equally foreign to the spirit of Fascism, even if accepted as useful in meeting special political situations — are all internationalistic or League superstructures which, as history shows, crumble to the ground whenever the heart of nations is deeply stirred by sentimental, idealistic or practical considerations. Fascism carries this anti-pacifistic attitude into the life of the individual. “I don’t care a damn” (*me ne frego*) — the proud motto of the fighting squads scrawled by a wounded man on his bandages, is not only an act of philosophic stoicism, it sums up a doctrine which is not merely political: it is evidence of a fighting spirit which accepts all risks. It signifies new style of Italian life. The Fascist accepts and loves life; he rejects and despises suicide as cowardly. Life as he understands it means duty, elevation, conquest; life must be lofty and full, it must be lived for oneself but above all for others, both near by and far off, present and future.

The population policy of the regime is the consequence of these premises. The Fascist loves

his neighbor, but the word neighbor “does not stand for some vague and unseizable conception. Love of one’s neighbor does not exclude necessary educational severity; still less does it exclude differentiation and rank. Fascism will have nothing to do with universal embraces; as a member of the community of nations it looks other peoples straight in the eyes; it is vigilant and on its guard; it follows others in all their manifestations and notes any changes in their interests; and it does not allow itself to be deceived by mutable and fallacious appearances.

Such a conception of life makes Fascism the resolute negation of the doctrine underlying so-called scientific and Marxian socialism, the doctrine of historic materialism which would explain the history of mankind in terms of the class struggle and by changes in the processes and instruments of production, to the exclusion of all else.

That the vicissitudes of economic life — discoveries of raw materials, new technical processes, and scientific inventions — have their importance, no one denies; but that they suffice to explain human history to the exclusion of other factors is absurd. Fascism believes now and always in sanctity and heroism, that is to say in acts in which no economic motive — remote or immediate — is at work. Having denied historic materialism, which sees in men mere puppets on the surface of history, appearing and disappearing on the crest of the waves while in the depths the real directing forces move and work, Fascism also denies the immutable and irreparable character of the class struggle which is the natural outcome of this economic conception of history; above all it denies that the class struggle is the preponderating agent in social transformations. Having thus struck a blow at socialism in the two main points of its doctrine, all that remains of it is the sentimental aspiration-old as humanity itself-toward social relations in which the sufferings and sorrows of the humbler folk will be alleviated. But here again Fascism rejects the economic interpretation of felicity as something to be secured socialistically, almost automatically, at a given stage of economic evolution when all will be assured a maximum of material comfort. Fascism denies the materialistic conception of happiness as a possibility, and abandons it to the economists of the mid-eighteenth century. This means that Fascism denies the equation: well-being = happiness, which sees in men mere animals,

content when they can feed and fatten, thus reducing them to a vegetative existence pure and simple.

After socialism, Fascism trains its guns on the whole block of democratic ideologies, and rejects both their premises and their practical applications and implements. Fascism denies that numbers, as such, can be the determining factor in human society; it denies the right of numbers to govern by means of periodical consultations; it asserts the irremediable and fertile and beneficent inequality of men who cannot be leveled by any such mechanical and extrinsic device as universal suffrage. Democratic regimes may be described as those under which the people are, from time to time, deluded into the belief that they exercise sovereignty, while all the time real sovereignty resides in and is exercised by other and sometimes irresponsible and secret forces. Democracy is a kingless regime infested by many kings who are sometimes more exclusive, tyrannical, and destructive than one, even if he be a tyrant.

This explains why Fascism — although, for contingent reasons, it was republican in tendency prior to 1922 — abandoned that stand before the March on Rome, convinced that the form of government is no longer a matter of preeminent importance, and because the study of past and present monarchies and past and present republics shows that neither monarchy nor republic can be judged *sub specie aeternitatis*, but that each stands for a form of government expressing the political evolution, the history, the traditions, and the psychology of a given country.

Fascism has outgrown the dilemma: monarchy v. republic, over which democratic regimes too long dallied, attributing all insufficiencies to the former and proning the latter as a regime of perfection, whereas experience teaches that some republics are inherently reactionary and absolutist while some monarchies accept the most daring political and social experiments.

In one of his philosophic Meditations Renan — who had prefascist intuitions, remarks, “Reason and science are the products of mankind, but it is chimerical to seek reason directly for the people and through the people. It is not essential to the existence of reason that all should be familiar with it; and even if all had to be initiated, this could not be achieved through democracy which seems fated to lead to the extinction of all arduous forms of culture and all highest forms of

learning. The maxim that society exists only for the well-being and freedom of the individuals composing it does not seem to be in conformity with nature's plans, which care only for the species and seem ready to sacrifice the individual. It is much to be feared that the last word of democracy thus understood (and let me hasten to add that it is susceptible of a different interpretation) would be a form of society in which a degenerate mass would have no thought beyond that of enjoying the ignoble pleasures of the vulgar “.

In rejecting democracy Fascism rejects the absurd conventional lie of political equalitarianism, the habit of collective irresponsibility, the myth of felicity and indefinite progress. But if democracy be understood as meaning a regime in which the masses are not driven back to the margin of the State, and then the writer of these pages has already defined Fascism as an organized, centralized, authoritarian democracy.

Fascism is definitely and absolutely opposed to the doctrines of liberalism, both in the political and the economic sphere. The importance of liberalism in the 19th century should not be exaggerated for present day polemical purposes, nor should we make of one of the many doctrines which flourished in that century a religion for mankind for the present and for all time to come. Liberalism really flourished for fifteen years only. It arose in 1830 as a reaction to the Holy Alliance which tried to force Europe to recede further back than 1789; it touched its zenith in 1848 when even Pius IXth was a liberal. Its decline began immediately after that year. If 1848 was a year of light and poetry, 1849 was a year of darkness and tragedy. The Roman Republic was killed by a sister republic, that of France. In that same year Marx, in his famous Communist Manifesto, launched the gospel of socialism.

In 1851 Napoleon III made his illiberal *coup d'etat* and ruled France until 1870 when he was turned out by a popular rising following one of the severest military defeats known to history. The victor was Bismarck who never even knew the whereabouts of liberalism and its prophets. It is symptomatic that throughout the 19th century the religion of liberalism was completely unknown to so highly civilized a people as the Germans but for one parenthesis which has been described as the “ridiculous parliament of Frankfort “ which lasted just one season. Germany attained her national unity outside liberalism and in opposition to liberalism, a doctrine which seems foreign to the German temperament, essentially monarchical, whereas liberalism is the historic and logical anteroom to anarchy. The three stages in the making of German unity were the three wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870, led by such “liberals” as Moltke and Bismarck. And in the upbuilding of Italian unity liberalism played a very minor part when compared to the contribution made by Mazzini and Garibaldi who were not liberals. But for the intervention of the illiberal Napoleon III we should not have had Lombardy, and without that of the illiberal Bismarck at Sadowa and at Sedan very probably we should not have had Venetia in 1866 and in 1870 we should not have entered Rome. The years going from 1870 to 1915 cover a period which marked, even in the opinion of the high priests of the new creed, the twilight of their religion, attacked by decadentism in literature and by activism in practice. Activism: that is to say nationalism, futurism, fascism.

The liberal century, after piling up innumerable Gordian Knots, tried to cut them with the sword of the world war. Never

has any religion claimed so cruel a sacrifice. Were the Gods of liberalism thirsting for blood?

Now liberalism is preparing to close the doors of its temples, deserted by the peoples who feel that the agnosticism it professed in the sphere of economics and the indifferentism of which it has given proof in the sphere of politics and morals, would lead the world to ruin in the future as they have done in the past.

This explains why all the political experiments of our day are anti-liberal, and it is supremely ridiculous to endeavor on this account to put them outside the pale of history, as though history were a preserve set aside for liberalism and its adepts; as though liberalism were the last word in civilization beyond which no one can go.

The Fascist negation of socialism, democracy, liberalism, should not, however, be interpreted as implying a desire to drive the world backwards to positions occupied prior to 1789, a year commonly referred to as that which opened the demo-liberal century. History does not travel backwards. The Fascist doctrine has not taken De Maistre as its prophet. Monarchical absolutism is of the past, and so is ecclesiolatry. Dead and done for are feudal privileges and the division of society into closed, uncommunicating castes. Neither has the Fascist conception of authority anything in common with that of a police ridden State.

A party governing a nation "totalitarianly" is a new departure in history. There are no points of reference nor of comparison. From beneath the ruins of liberal, socialist, and democratic doctrines, Fascism extracts those elements which are still vital. It preserves what may be described as "the acquired facts" of history; it rejects all else. That is to say, it rejects the idea of a doctrine suited to all times and to all people. Granted that the 19th century was the century of socialism, liberalism, democracy, this does not mean that the 20th century must also be the century of socialism, liberalism, democracy. Political doctrines pass; nations remain. We are free to believe that this is the century of authority, a century tending to the "right," a Fascist century. If the 19th century was the century of the individual (liberalism implies individualism) we are free to believe that this is the

"collective" century, and therefore the century of the State. It is quite logical for a new doctrine to make use of the still vital elements of other doctrines. No doctrine was ever born quite new and bright and unheard of. No doctrine can boast absolute originality. It is always connected, it only historically, with those which preceded it and those which will follow it. Thus the scientific socialism of Marx links up to the utopian socialism of the Fouriers, the Owens, the Saint-Simons; thus the liberalism of the 19th century traces its origin back to the illuministic movement of the 18th, and the doctrines of democracy to those of the Encyclopaedists. All doctrines aim at directing the activities of men towards a given objective; but these activities in their turn react on the doctrine, modifying and adjusting it to new needs, or outstripping it. A doctrine must therefore be a vital act and not a verbal display. Hence the pragmatic strain in Fascism, its will to power, its will to live, its attitude toward violence, and its value.

The keystone of the Fascist doctrine is its conception of the State, of its essence, its functions, and its aims. For Fascism the State is absolute, individuals and groups relative. Individuals and groups are admissible in so far as they come within the State. Instead of directing the game and guiding the material and moral progress of the community, the liberal State restricts its activities to recording results. The Fascist State is wide awake and has a will of its own. For this reason it can be described as "ethica."

At the first quinquennial assembly of the regime, in 1929, I said, "The Fascist State is not a night watchman, solicitous only of the personal safety of the citizens; not is it organized exclusively for the purpose of guarantying a certain degree of material prosperity and relatively peaceful conditions of life, a board of directors would do as much. Neither is it exclusively political, divorced from practical realities and holding itself aloof from the multifarious activities of the citizens and the nation. The State, as conceived and realized by Fascism, is a spiritual and ethical entity for securing the political, juridical, and economic organization of the nation, an

organization which in its origin and growth is a manifestation of the spirit. The State guarantees the internal and external safety of the country, but it also safeguards and transmits the spirit of the people, elaborated down the ages in its language, its customs, its faith. The State is not only the present; it is also the past and above all the future. Transcending the individual's brief spell of life, the State stands for the immanent conscience of the nation. The forms in which it finds expression change, but the need for it remains. The State educates the citizens to civism, makes them aware of their mission, urges them to unity; its justice harmonizes their divergent interests; it transmits to future generations the conquests of the mind in the fields of science, art, law, human solidarity; it leads men up from primitive tribal life to that highest manifestation of human power, imperial rule. The State hands down to future generations the memory of those who laid down their lives to ensure its safety or to obey its laws; it sets up as examples and records for future ages the names of the captains who enlarged its territory and of the men of genius who have made it famous. Whenever respect for the State declines and the disintegrating and centrifugal tendencies of individuals and groups prevail, nations are headed for decay."

Since 1929 economic and political developments have everywhere emphasized these truths. The importance of the State is rapidly growing. The so-called crisis can only be settled by State action and within the orbit of the State. Where are the shades of the Jules Simons who, in the early days of liberalism proclaimed that the "State should endeavor to render itself useless and prepare to hand in its resignation"? Or of the MacCullochs who, in the second half of last century, urged that the State should desist from governing too much? And what of the English Bentham who considered that all industry asked of government was to be left alone, and of the

German Humbolt who expressed the opinion that the best government was a lazy one? What would they say now to the unceasing, inevitable, and urgently requested interventions of government in business? It is true that the second generation of economists was less uncompromising in this respect than the first, and that even Adam Smith left the door ajar — however cautiously — for government intervention in business.

If liberalism spells individualism, Fascism spells government. The Fascist State is, however, a unique and original creation. It is not reactionary but revolutionary, for it anticipates the solution of certain universal problems which have been raised elsewhere, in the political field by the splitting up of parties, the usurpation of power by parliaments, the irresponsibility of assemblies; in the economic field by the increasingly numerous and important functions discharged by trade unions and trade associations with their disputes and ententes, affecting both capital and labor; in the ethical field by the need felt for order, discipline, obedience to the moral dictates of patriotism.

Fascism desires the State to be strong and organic, based on broad foundations of popular support. The Fascist State lays claim to rule in the economic field no less than in others; it makes its action felt throughout the length and breadth of the country by means of its corporative, social, and educational institutions, and all the political, economic, and spiritual forces of the nation, organized in their respective associations, circulate within the State. A State based on millions of individuals who recognize its authority, feel its action, and are ready to serve its ends is not the tyrannical state of a mediaeval lordling. It has nothing in common with the despotic States existing prior to or subsequent to 1789. Far from crushing the individual, the Fascist State multiplies his energies, just as in a regiment a soldier is not diminished but multiplied by the number of his fellow soldiers.

The Fascist State organizes the nation, but it leaves the individual adequate elbow room. It has curtailed useless or harmful liberties while preserving those which are essential. In such matters the individual cannot be the judge, but the State only.

The Fascist State is not indifferent to religious phenomena in general nor does it maintain an attitude of indifference to Roman Catholicism, the special, positive religion of Italians. The State has not got a theology but it has a moral code. The Fascist State sees in religion one of the deepest of spiritual manifestations and for this reason it not only respects religion but defends and protects it. The Fascist State does not attempt, as did Robespierre at the height of the revolutionary delirium of the Convention, to set up a “god” of its own; nor does it vainly seek, as does Bolshevism, to efface God from the soul of man. Fascism respects the God of ascetics, saints, and heroes, and it also respects God as conceived by the ingenuous and primitive heart of the people, the God to whom their prayers are raised.

The Fascist State expresses the will to exercise power and to command. Here the Roman tradition is embodied in a conception of strength. Imperial power, as understood by the Fascist doctrine, is not only territorial, or military, or commercial; it is also spiritual and ethical. An imperial nation, that is to say a nation which directly or indirectly is a leader of others, can exist without the need of conquering a single square mile of territory. Fascism sees in the imperialistic spirit — i.e., in the tendency of nations to expand — a manifestation of their vitality. In the opposite tendency, which would limit their interests to the home country, it sees a symptom of decadence. Peoples who rise or re-arise are imperialistic; renunciation is characteristic of dying peoples. The Fascist doctrine is that best suited to the tendencies and feelings of a people which, like the Italian, after lying fallow during centuries of foreign servitude, are now reasserting itself in the world.

But imperialism implies discipline, the coordination of efforts, a deep sense of duty and a spirit of self-sacrifice. This explains many aspects of the practical activity of the regime, and the direction taken by many of the forces of the State, as also the severity which has to be exercised towards those who would oppose this spontaneous and inevitable movement of 20th century Italy by agitating outgrown ideologies of the 19th century, ideologies rejected wherever great experiments in political and social transformations are being dared.

Never before have the peoples thirsted for authority, direction, order, as they do now. If each age has its doctrine, then innumerable symptoms indicate that the doctrine of our age is the Fascist. That it is vital is shown by the fact that it has aroused a faith; that this faith has conquered souls is shown by the fact that Fascism can point to its fallen heroes and its martyrs.

Fascism has now acquired throughout the world that universally which belongs to all doctrines which by achieving self-expression represent a moment in the history of human thought.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights | United Nations

United Nations

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is a milestone document in the history of human rights. Drafted by representatives with different legal and cultural backgrounds from all regions of the world, the Declaration was proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on 10 December 1948 (General Assembly resolution 217 A) as a common standard of achievements for all peoples and all nations. It sets out, for the first time, fundamental human rights to be universally protected and it has been translated into over 500 languages. The UDHR is widely recognized as having inspired, and paved the way for, the adoption of more than seventy human rights treaties, applied today on a permanent basis at global and regional levels (all containing references to it in their preambles).

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore,

The General Assembly,

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this

Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.
2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage,

during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.
2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as

are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

Entry into force: 23 March 1976, in accordance with Article 49

Preamble

The States Parties to the present Covenant,

Considering that, in accordance with the principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Recognizing that these rights derive from the inherent dignity of the human person,

Recognizing that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free human beings enjoying civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his civil and political rights, as well as his economic, social and cultural rights,

Considering the obligation of States under the Charter of the United Nations to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and freedoms,

Realizing that the individual, having duties to other individuals and to the community to which he belongs, is under a responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of the rights recognized in the present Covenant,

Agree upon the following articles:

PART I

Article 1

1. All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
2. All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.
3. The States Parties to the present Covenant, including those having responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the realization of the right of self-determination, and shall respect that right, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

PART II

Article 2

1. Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.
2. Where not already provided for by existing legislative or other measures, each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to take the necessary steps, in accordance with its constitutional processes and with the provisions of the present Covenant, to adopt such laws or other measures as may be necessary to give effect to the rights recognized in the present Covenant.
3. Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes:
 - (a) To ensure that any person whose rights or freedoms as herein recognized are violated shall have an effective remedy, notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity;
 - (b) To ensure that any person claiming such a remedy shall have his right thereto determined by competent judicial, administrative or legislative authorities, or by any other competent authority provided for by the legal system of the State, and to develop the possibilities of judicial remedy;
 - (c) To ensure that the competent authorities shall enforce such remedies when granted.

Article 3

The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to ensure the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all civil and political rights set forth in the present Covenant.

Article 4

1. In time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation and the existence of which is officially proclaimed, the States Parties to the present Covenant may take measures derogating from their obligations under the present Covenant to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with their other obligations under international law and do not involve discrimination solely on the ground of race, colour, sex, language, religion or social origin.
2. No derogation from articles 6, 7, 8 (paragraphs I and 2), 11, 15, 16 and 18 may be made under this provision.
3. Any State Party to the present Covenant availing itself of the right of derogation shall immediately inform the other States Parties to the present Covenant, through the intermediary of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, of the provisions from which it has derogated and of the reasons by which it was actuated. A further communication shall be made, through the same intermediary, on the date on which it terminates such derogation.

Article 5

1. Nothing in the present Covenant may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms recognized herein or at their limitation to a greater extent than is provided for in the present Covenant.
2. There shall be no restriction upon or derogation from any of the fundamental human rights

recognized or existing in any State Party to the present Covenant pursuant to law, conventions, regulations or custom on the pretext that the present Covenant does not recognize such rights or that it recognizes them to a lesser extent.

PART III

Article 6

1. Every human being has the inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life.
2. In countries which have not abolished the death penalty, sentence of death may be imposed only for the most serious crimes in accordance with the law in force at the time of the commission of the crime and not contrary to the provisions of the present Covenant and to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This penalty can only be carried out pursuant to a final judgement rendered by a competent court.
3. When deprivation of life constitutes the crime of genocide, it is understood that nothing in this article shall authorize any State Party to the present Covenant to derogate in any way from any obligation assumed under the provisions of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.
4. Anyone sentenced to death shall have the right to seek pardon or commutation of the sentence. Amnesty, pardon or commutation of the sentence of death may be granted in all cases.
5. Sentence of death shall not be imposed for crimes committed by persons below eighteen years of age and shall not be carried out on pregnant women.
6. Nothing in this article shall be invoked to delay or to prevent the abolition of capital punishment by any State Party to the present Covenant.

Article 7

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In particular, no one shall be subjected without his free consent to medical or scientific experimentation.

Article 8

1. No one shall be held in slavery; slavery and the slave-trade in all their forms shall be prohibited.
2. No one shall be held in servitude.
3.
 - (a) No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour;
 - (b) Paragraph 3 (a) shall not be held to preclude, in countries where imprisonment with hard labour may be imposed as a punishment for a crime, the performance of hard labour in pursuance of a sentence to such punishment by a competent court;
 - (c) For the purpose of this paragraph the term "forced or compulsory labour" shall not include:

(i) Any work or service, not referred to in subparagraph (b), normally required of a person who is under detention in consequence of a lawful order of a court, or of a person during conditional release from such detention;

(ii) Any service of a military character and, in countries where conscientious objection is recognized, any national service required by law of conscientious objectors;

(iii) Any service exacted in cases of emergency or calamity threatening the life or well-being of the community;

(iv) Any work or service which forms part of normal civil obligations.

Article 9

1. Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention. No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedure as are established by law.

2. Anyone who is arrested shall be informed, at the time of arrest, of the reasons for his arrest and shall be promptly informed of any charges against him.

3. Anyone arrested or detained on a criminal charge shall be brought promptly before a judge or other officer authorized by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release. It shall not be the general rule that persons awaiting trial shall be detained in custody, but release may be subject to guarantees to appear for trial, at any other stage of the judicial proceedings, and, should occasion arise, for execution of the judgement.

4. Anyone who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall be entitled to take proceedings before a court, in order that that court may decide without delay on the lawfulness of his detention and order his release if the detention is not lawful.

5. Anyone who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or detention shall have an enforceable right to compensation.

Article 10

1. All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person.

2.

(a) Accused persons shall, save in exceptional circumstances, be segregated from convicted persons and shall be subject to separate treatment appropriate to their status as unconvicted persons;

(b) Accused juvenile persons shall be separated from adults and brought as speedily as possible for adjudication.

3. The penitentiary system shall comprise treatment of prisoners the essential aim of which shall be their reformation and social rehabilitation. Juvenile offenders shall be segregated from adults and be accorded treatment appropriate to their age and legal status.

Article 11

No one shall be imprisoned merely on the ground of inability to fulfil a contractual obligation.

Article 12

1. Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence.
2. Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own.
3. The above-mentioned rights shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order (ordre public), public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others, and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the present Covenant.
4. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country.

Article 13

An alien lawfully in the territory of a State Party to the present Covenant may be expelled therefrom only in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with law and shall, except where compelling reasons of national security otherwise require, be allowed to submit the reasons against his expulsion and to have his case reviewed by, and be represented for the purpose before, the competent authority or a person or persons especially designated by the competent authority.

Article 14

1. All persons shall be equal before the courts and tribunals. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, or of his rights and obligations in a suit at law, everyone shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law. The press and the public may be excluded from all or part of a trial for reasons of morals, public order (ordre public) or national security in a democratic society, or when the interest of the private lives of the parties so requires, or to the extent strictly necessary in the opinion of the court in special circumstances where publicity would prejudice the interests of justice; but any judgement rendered in a criminal case or in a suit at law shall be made public except where the interest of juvenile persons otherwise requires or the proceedings concern matrimonial disputes or the guardianship of children.
2. Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall have the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law.
3. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, everyone shall be entitled to the following minimum guarantees, in full equality: (a) To be informed promptly and in detail in a language which he understands of the nature and cause of the charge against him;
(b) To have adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defence and to communicate with counsel of his own choosing;
(c) To be tried without undue delay;
(d) To be tried in his presence, and to defend himself in person or through legal assistance of his own choosing; to be informed, if he does not have legal assistance, of this right; and to have legal assistance assigned to him, in any case where the interests of justice so require, and without payment by him in any such case if he does not have sufficient means to pay for it;

(e) To examine, or have examined, the witnesses against him and to obtain the attendance and examination of witnesses on his behalf under the same conditions as witnesses against him;

(f) To have the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court;

(g) Not to be compelled to testify against himself or to confess guilt.

4. In the case of juvenile persons, the procedure shall be such as will take account of their age and the desirability of promoting their rehabilitation.

5. Everyone convicted of a crime shall have the right to his conviction and sentence being reviewed by a higher tribunal according to law.

6. When a person has by a final decision been convicted of a criminal offence and when subsequently his conviction has been reversed or he has been pardoned on the ground that a new or newly discovered fact shows conclusively that there has been a miscarriage of justice, the person who has suffered punishment as a result of such conviction shall be compensated according to law, unless it is proved that the non-disclosure of the unknown fact in time is wholly or partly attributable to him.

7. No one shall be liable to be tried or punished again for an offence for which he has already been finally convicted or acquitted in accordance with the law and penal procedure of each country.

Article 15

1. No one shall be held guilty of any criminal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a criminal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time when the criminal offence was committed. If, subsequent to the commission of the offence, provision is made by law for the imposition of the lighter penalty, the offender shall benefit thereby.

2. Nothing in this article shall prejudice the trial and punishment of any person for any act or omission which, at the time when it was committed, was criminal according to the general principles of law recognized by the community of nations.

Article 16

Everyone shall have the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 17

1. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honour and reputation.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 18

1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief

in worship, observance, practice and teaching.

2. No one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice.

3. Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

4. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

Article 19

1. Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.

2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.

3. The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph 2 of this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:

(a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others;

(b) For the protection of national security or of public order (ordre public), or of public health or morals.

Article 20

1. Any propaganda for war shall be prohibited by law.

2. Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law.

Article 21

The right of peaceful assembly shall be recognized. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those imposed in conformity with the law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (ordre public), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

Article 22

1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

2. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those which are prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (ordre public), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the

rights and freedoms of others. This article shall not prevent the imposition of lawful restrictions on members of the armed forces and of the police in their exercise of this right.

3. Nothing in this article shall authorize States Parties to the International Labour Organisation Convention of 1948 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize to take legislative measures which would prejudice, or to apply the law in such a manner as to prejudice, the guarantees provided for in that Convention.

Article 23

1. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.
2. The right of men and women of marriageable age to marry and to found a family shall be recognized.
3. No marriage shall be entered into without the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
4. States Parties to the present Covenant shall take appropriate steps to ensure equality of rights and responsibilities of spouses as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. In the case of dissolution, provision shall be made for the necessary protection of any children.

Article 24

1. Every child shall have, without any discrimination as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, national or social origin, property or birth, the right to such measures of protection as are required by his status as a minor, on the part of his family, society and the State.
2. Every child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have a name.
3. Every child has the right to acquire a nationality.

Article 25

Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:

- (a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;
- (b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors;
- (c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country.

Article 26

All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Article 27

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language.

PART IV

Article 28

1. There shall be established a Human Rights Committee (hereafter referred to in the present Covenant as the Committee). It shall consist of eighteen members and shall carry out the functions hereinafter provided.
2. The Committee shall be composed of nationals of the States Parties to the present Covenant who shall be persons of high moral character and recognized competence in the field of human rights, consideration being given to the usefulness of the participation of some persons having legal experience.
3. The members of the Committee shall be elected and shall serve in their personal capacity.

Article 29

1. The members of the Committee shall be elected by secret ballot from a list of persons possessing the qualifications prescribed in article 28 and nominated for the purpose by the States Parties to the present Covenant.
2. Each State Party to the present Covenant may nominate not more than two persons. These persons shall be nationals of the nominating State.
3. A person shall be eligible for renomination.

Article 30

1. The initial election shall be held no later than six months after the date of the entry into force of the present Covenant.
2. At least four months before the date of each election to the Committee, other than an election to fill a vacancy declared in accordance with article 34, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall address a written invitation to the States Parties to the present Covenant to submit their nominations for membership of the Committee within three months.
3. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all the persons thus nominated, with an indication of the States Parties which have nominated them, and shall submit it to the States Parties to the present Covenant no later than one month before the date of each election.
4. Elections of the members of the Committee shall be held at a meeting of the States Parties to the present Covenant convened by the Secretary General of the United Nations at the Headquarters of the United Nations. At that meeting, for which two thirds of the States Parties to the present Covenant shall constitute a quorum, the persons elected to the Committee shall be those nominees who obtain the largest number of votes and an absolute majority of the votes of the representatives

of States Parties present and voting.

Article 31

1. The Committee may not include more than one national of the same State.
2. In the election of the Committee, consideration shall be given to equitable geographical distribution of membership and to the representation of the different forms of civilization and of the principal legal systems.

Article 32

1. The members of the Committee shall be elected for a term of four years. They shall be eligible for re-election if renominated. However, the terms of nine of the members elected at the first election shall expire at the end of two years; immediately after the first election, the names of these nine members shall be chosen by lot by the Chairman of the meeting referred to in article 30, paragraph 4.
2. Elections at the expiry of office shall be held in accordance with the preceding articles of this part of the present Covenant.

Article 33

1. If, in the unanimous opinion of the other members, a member of the Committee has ceased to carry out his functions for any cause other than absence of a temporary character, the Chairman of the Committee shall notify the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall then declare the seat of that member to be vacant.
2. In the event of the death or the resignation of a member of the Committee, the Chairman shall immediately notify the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall declare the seat vacant from the date of death or the date on which the resignation takes effect.

Article 34

1. When a vacancy is declared in accordance with article 33 and if the term of office of the member to be replaced does not expire within six months of the declaration of the vacancy, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify each of the States Parties to the present Covenant, which may within two months submit nominations in accordance with article 29 for the purpose of filling the vacancy.
2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of the persons thus nominated and shall submit it to the States Parties to the present Covenant. The election to fill the vacancy shall then take place in accordance with the relevant provisions of this part of the present Covenant.
3. A member of the Committee elected to fill a vacancy declared in accordance with article 33 shall hold office for the remainder of the term of the member who vacated the seat on the Committee under the provisions of that article.

Article 35

The members of the Committee shall, with the approval of the General Assembly of the United

Nations, receive emoluments from United Nations resources on such terms and conditions as the General Assembly may decide, having regard to the importance of the Committee's responsibilities.

Article 36

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall provide the necessary staff and facilities for the effective performance of the functions of the Committee under the present Covenant.

Article 37

1. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall convene the initial meeting of the Committee at the Headquarters of the United Nations.
2. After its initial meeting, the Committee shall meet at such times as shall be provided in its rules of procedure.
3. The Committee shall normally meet at the Headquarters of the United Nations or at the United Nations Office at Geneva.

Article 38

Every member of the Committee shall, before taking up his duties, make a solemn declaration in open committee that he will perform his functions impartially and conscientiously.

Article 39

1. The Committee shall elect its officers for a term of two years. They may be re-elected.
2. The Committee shall establish its own rules of procedure, but these rules shall provide, inter alia, that:
 - (a) Twelve members shall constitute a quorum;
 - (b) Decisions of the Committee shall be made by a majority vote of the members present.

Article 40

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to submit reports on the measures they have adopted which give effect to the rights recognized herein and on the progress made in the enjoyment of those rights: (a) Within one year of the entry into force of the present Covenant for the States Parties concerned;
 - (b) Thereafter whenever the Committee so requests.
2. All reports shall be submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall transmit them to the Committee for consideration. Reports shall indicate the factors and difficulties, if any, affecting the implementation of the present Covenant.
3. The Secretary-General of the United Nations may, after consultation with the Committee, transmit to the specialized agencies concerned copies of such parts of the reports as may fall within their field of competence.

4. The Committee shall study the reports submitted by the States Parties to the present Covenant. It shall transmit its reports, and such general comments as it may consider appropriate, to the States Parties. The Committee may also transmit to the Economic and Social Council these comments along with the copies of the reports it has received from States Parties to the present Covenant.

5. The States Parties to the present Covenant may submit to the Committee observations on any comments that may be made in accordance with paragraph 4 of this article.

Article 41

1. A State Party to the present Covenant may at any time declare under this article that it recognizes the competence of the Committee to receive and consider communications to the effect that a State Party claims that another State Party is not fulfilling its obligations under the present Covenant. Communications under this article may be received and considered only if submitted by a State Party which has made a declaration recognizing in regard to itself the competence of the Committee. No communication shall be received by the Committee if it concerns a State Party which has not made such a declaration. Communications received under this article shall be dealt with in accordance with the following procedure:

(a) If a State Party to the present Covenant considers that another State Party is not giving effect to the provisions of the present Covenant, it may, by written communication, bring the matter to the attention of that State Party. Within three months after the receipt of the communication the receiving State shall afford the State which sent the communication an explanation, or any other statement in writing clarifying the matter which should include, to the extent possible and pertinent, reference to domestic procedures and remedies taken, pending, or available in the matter;

(b) If the matter is not adjusted to the satisfaction of both States Parties concerned within six months after the receipt by the receiving State of the initial communication, either State shall have the right to refer the matter to the Committee, by notice given to the Committee and to the other State;

(c) The Committee shall deal with a matter referred to it only after it has ascertained that all available domestic remedies have been invoked and exhausted in the matter, in conformity with the generally recognized principles of international law. This shall not be the rule where the application of the remedies is unreasonably prolonged;

(d) The Committee shall hold closed meetings when examining communications under this article;

(e) Subject to the provisions of subparagraph (c), the Committee shall make available its good offices to the States Parties concerned with a view to a friendly solution of the matter on the basis of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the present Covenant;

(f) In any matter referred to it, the Committee may call upon the States Parties concerned, referred to in subparagraph (b), to supply any relevant information;

(g) The States Parties concerned, referred to in subparagraph (b), shall have the right to be represented when the matter is being considered in the Committee and to make submissions orally and/or in writing;

(h) The Committee shall, within twelve months after the date of receipt of notice under subparagraph (b), submit a report:

(i) If a solution within the terms of subparagraph (e) is reached, the Committee shall confine its

report to a brief statement of the facts and of the solution reached;

(ii) If a solution within the terms of subparagraph (e) is not reached, the Committee shall confine its report to a brief statement of the facts; the written submissions and record of the oral submissions made by the States Parties concerned shall be attached to the report. In every matter, the report shall be communicated to the States Parties concerned.

2. The provisions of this article shall come into force when ten States Parties to the present Covenant have made declarations under paragraph I of this article. Such declarations shall be deposited by the States Parties with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall transmit copies thereof to the other States Parties. A declaration may be withdrawn at any time by notification to the Secretary-General. Such a withdrawal shall not prejudice the consideration of any matter which is the subject of a communication already transmitted under this article; no further communication by any State Party shall be received after the notification of withdrawal of the declaration has been received by the Secretary-General, unless the State Party concerned has made a new declaration.

Article 42

1.

(a) If a matter referred to the Committee in accordance with article 41 is not resolved to the satisfaction of the States Parties concerned, the Committee may, with the prior consent of the States Parties concerned, appoint an ad hoc Conciliation Commission (hereinafter referred to as the Commission). The good offices of the Commission shall be made available to the States Parties concerned with a view to an amicable solution of the matter on the basis of respect for the present Covenant;

(b) The Commission shall consist of five persons acceptable to the States Parties concerned. If the States Parties concerned fail to reach agreement within three months on all or part of the composition of the Commission, the members of the Commission concerning whom no agreement has been reached shall be elected by secret ballot by a two-thirds majority vote of the Committee from among its members.

2. The members of the Commission shall serve in their personal capacity. They shall not be nationals of the States Parties concerned, or of a State not Party to the present Covenant, or of a State Party which has not made a declaration under article 41.

3. The Commission shall elect its own Chairman and adopt its own rules of procedure.

4. The meetings of the Commission shall normally be held at the Headquarters of the United Nations or at the United Nations Office at Geneva. However, they may be held at such other convenient places as the Commission may determine in consultation with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the States Parties concerned.

5. The secretariat provided in accordance with article 36 shall also service the commissions appointed under this article.

6. The information received and collated by the Committee shall be made available to the Commission and the Commission may call upon the States Parties concerned to supply any other relevant information.

7. When the Commission has fully considered the matter, but in any event not later than twelve months after having been seized of the matter, it shall submit to the Chairman of the Committee a

report for communication to the States Parties concerned:

(a) If the Commission is unable to complete its consideration of the matter within twelve months, it shall confine its report to a brief statement of the status of its consideration of the matter;

(b) If an amicable solution to the matter on the basis of respect for human rights as recognized in the present Covenant is reached, the Commission shall confine its report to a brief statement of the facts and of the solution reached;

(c) If a solution within the terms of subparagraph (b) is not reached, the Commission's report shall embody its findings on all questions of fact relevant to the issues between the States Parties concerned, and its views on the possibilities of an amicable solution of the matter. This report shall also contain the written submissions and a record of the oral submissions made by the States Parties concerned;

(d) If the Commission's report is submitted under subparagraph (c), the States Parties concerned shall, within three months of the receipt of the report, notify the Chairman of the Committee whether or not they accept the contents of the report of the Commission.

8. The provisions of this article are without prejudice to the responsibilities of the Committee under article 41.

9. The States Parties concerned shall share equally all the expenses of the members of the Commission in accordance with estimates to be provided by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

10. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall be empowered to pay the expenses of the members of the Commission, if necessary, before reimbursement by the States Parties concerned, in accordance with paragraph 9 of this article.

Article 43

The members of the Committee, and of the ad hoc conciliation commissions which may be appointed under article 42, shall be entitled to the facilities, privileges and immunities of experts on mission for the United Nations as laid down in the relevant sections of the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations.

Article 44

The provisions for the implementation of the present Covenant shall apply without prejudice to the procedures prescribed in the field of human rights by or under the constituent instruments and the conventions of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies and shall not prevent the States Parties to the present Covenant from having recourse to other procedures for settling a dispute in accordance with general or special international agreements in force between them.

Article 45

The Committee shall submit to the General Assembly of the United Nations, through the Economic and Social Council, an annual report on its activities.

PART V

Article 46

Nothing in the present Covenant shall be interpreted as impairing the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the constitutions of the specialized agencies which define the respective responsibilities of the various organs of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies in regard to the matters dealt with in the present Covenant.

Article 47

Nothing in the present Covenant shall be interpreted as impairing the inherent right of all peoples to enjoy and utilize fully and freely their natural wealth and resources.

PART VI

Article 48

1. The present Covenant is open for signature by any State Member of the United Nations or member of any of its specialized agencies, by any State Party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice, and by any other State which has been invited by the General Assembly of the United Nations to become a Party to the present Covenant.
2. The present Covenant is subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
3. The present Covenant shall be open to accession by any State referred to in paragraph 1 of this article.
4. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
5. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall inform all States which have signed this Covenant or acceded to it of the deposit of each instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 49

1. The present Covenant shall enter into force three months after the date of the deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the thirty-fifth instrument of ratification or instrument of accession.
2. For each State ratifying the present Covenant or acceding to it after the deposit of the thirty-fifth instrument of ratification or instrument of accession, the present Covenant shall enter into force three months after the date of the deposit of its own instrument of ratification or instrument of accession.

Article 50

The provisions of the present Covenant shall extend to all parts of federal States without any limitations or exceptions.

Article 51

1. Any State Party to the present Covenant may propose an amendment and file it with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall thereupon communicate any proposed amendments to the States Parties to the present Covenant with a request that they notify him whether they favour a conference of States Parties for the purpose of considering and voting upon the proposals. In the event that at least one third of the States Parties favours such a conference, the Secretary-General shall convene the conference under the auspices of the United Nations. Any amendment adopted by a majority of the States Parties present and voting at the conference shall be submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations for approval.

2. Amendments shall come into force when they have been approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations and accepted by a two-thirds majority of the States Parties to the present Covenant in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. 3. When amendments come into force, they shall be binding on those States Parties which have accepted them, other States Parties still being bound by the provisions of the present Covenant and any earlier amendment which they have accepted.

Article 52

1. Irrespective of the notifications made under article 48, paragraph 5, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall inform all States referred to in paragraph I of the same article of the following particulars:

(a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions under article 48;

(b) The date of the entry into force of the present Covenant under article 49 and the date of the entry into force of any amendments under article 51.

Article 53

1. The present Covenant, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall transmit certified copies of the present Covenant to all States referred to in article 48.

A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace

by John Perry Barlow

Governments of the Industrial World, you weary giants of flesh and steel, I come from Cyberspace, the new home of Mind. On behalf of the future, I ask you of the past to leave us alone. You are not welcome among us. You have no sovereignty where we gather.

We have no elected government, nor are we likely to have one, so I address you with no greater authority than that with which liberty itself always speaks. I declare the global social space we are building to be naturally independent of the tyrannies you seek to impose on us. You have no moral right to rule us nor do you possess any methods of enforcement we have true reason to fear.

Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. You have neither solicited nor received ours. We did not invite you. You do not know us, nor do you know our world. Cyberspace does not lie within your borders. Do not think that you can build it, as though it were a public construction project. You cannot. It is an act of nature and it grows itself through our collective actions.

You have not engaged in our great and gathering conversation, nor did you create the wealth of our marketplaces. You do not know our culture, our ethics, or the unwritten codes that already provide our society more order than could be obtained by any of your impositions.

You claim there are problems among us that you need to solve. You use this claim as an excuse to invade our precincts. Many of these problems don't exist. Where there are real conflicts, where there are wrongs, we will identify them and address them by our means. We are forming our own Social Contract. This governance will arise according to the conditions of our world, not yours. Our world is different.

Cyberspace consists of transactions, relationships, and thought itself, arrayed like a standing wave in the web of our communications. Ours is a world that is both everywhere and nowhere, but it is not where bodies live.

We are creating a world that all may enter without privilege or prejudice accorded by race, economic power, military force, or station of birth.

We are creating a world where anyone, anywhere may express his or her beliefs, no matter how singular, without fear of being coerced into silence or conformity.

Your legal concepts of property, expression, identity, movement, and context do not apply to us. They are all based on matter, and there is no matter here.

Our identities have no bodies, so, unlike you, we cannot obtain order by physical coercion. We believe that from ethics, enlightened self-interest, and the commonweal, our governance will emerge. Our identities may be distributed across

many of your jurisdictions. The only law that all our constituent cultures would generally recognize is the Golden Rule. We hope we will be able to build our particular solutions on that basis. But we cannot accept the solutions you are attempting to impose.

In the United States, you have today created a law, the Telecommunications Reform Act, which repudiates your own Constitution and insults the dreams of Jefferson, Washington, Mill, Madison, DeToqueville, and Brandeis. These dreams must now be born anew in us.

You are terrified of your own children, since they are natives in a world where you will always be immigrants. Because you fear them, you entrust your bureaucracies with the parental responsibilities you are too cowardly to confront yourselves. In our world, all the sentiments and expressions of humanity, from the debasing to the angelic, are parts of a seamless whole, the global conversation of bits. We cannot separate the air that chokes from the air upon which wings beat.

In China, Germany, France, Russia, Singapore, Italy and the United States, you are trying to ward off the virus of liberty by erecting guard posts at the frontiers of Cyberspace. These may keep out the contagion for a small time, but they will not work in a world that will soon be blanketed in bit-bearing media.

Your increasingly obsolete information industries would perpetuate themselves by proposing laws, in America and elsewhere, that claim to own speech itself throughout the world. These laws would declare ideas to be another industrial product, no more noble than pig iron. In our world, whatever the human mind may create can be reproduced and distributed infinitely at no cost. The global conveyance of thought no longer requires your factories to accomplish.

These increasingly hostile and colonial measures place us in the same position as those previous lovers of freedom and self-determination who had to reject the authorities of distant, uninformed powers. We must declare our virtual selves immune to your sovereignty, even as we continue to consent to your rule over our bodies. We will spread ourselves across the Planet so that no one can arrest our thoughts.

We will create a civilization of the Mind in Cyberspace. May it be more humane and fair than the world your governments have made before.

Davos, Switzerland
February 8, 1996

GARY C. PETERS, MICHIGAN, CHAIRMAN
THOMAS R. CARPER, DELAWARE
MAGGIE HASSAN, NEW HAMPSHIRE
KYRSTEN SINEMA, ARIZONA
JACKY ROSEN, NEVADA
ALEX PADILLA, CALIFORNIA
JON OSSOFF, GEORGIA
ROB PORTMAN, OHIO
RON JOHNSON, WISCONSIN
RAND PAUL, KENTUCKY
JAMES LANKFORD, OKLAHOMA
MITT ROMNEY, UTAH
RICK SCOTT, FLORIDA
JOSH HAWLEY, MISSOURI

DAVID M. WEINBERG, STAFF DIRECTOR
PAMELA THIESSEN, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR
LAURA W. KILBRIDE, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6250

September 21, 2022

Ms. Susan Wojcicki
Chief Executive Officer
YouTube
901 Cherry Ave.
San Bruno, CA 94066

Dear Ms. Wojcicki:

On September 14, 2022, Neal Mohan, YouTube's Chief Product Officer testified before the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee (HSGAC) about social media's impact on homeland security. In the hearing, Mr. Mohan testified that YouTube "worked with third party health authorities, in this country that did include the CDC [Centers for Disease Control and Prevention] and FDA [Food and Drug Administration]" to create the company's policies surrounding COVID-19 misinformation.¹ These policies appear to have led to the repeated censorship of me, proceedings before the United States Senate, and news media. I write to request information and material concerning the development and implementation of YouTube's content moderation policies.

As mentioned, YouTube has censored me on multiple occasions. Your company has suspended me twice for advocating for the early treatment of COVID-19, opposing vaccine mandates for children and workers, and advocating for the vaccine injured. The following timeline highlights YouTube's censorship of me and journalists that have interviewed me.

Timeline of YouTube's Actions Against Sen. Johnson

January 2021: YouTube removes two videos of a December 8, 2020 HSGAC hearing that focused on early treatments of COVID-19.²

- YouTube removed a 30-minute summary of the hearing from my page. YouTube also removed the opening statement of Dr. Pierre Kory. Dr. Kory is from Milwaukee, WI and is a part of a group of world-renowned doctors who developed groundbreaking use of corticosteroids to treat hospitalized COVID-19 patients. YouTube gave my staff five

¹ *Social Media's Impact on Homeland Security: Hearing Before S. Comm. on Homeland Sec. and Governmental Affairs Comm*, 117th Cong. (2022) (statement of Neal Mohan, Chief Product Officer, YouTube) video available at <https://www.hsgac.senate.gov/hearings/social-medias-impact-on-homeland-security>.

² My account dashboard currently has a warning associated with the two videos from this hearing that the videos violate YouTube's "community guidelines" against "medical misinformation" (screenshot on file with Subcomm.).

Ms. Susan Wojcicki
September 21, 2022
Page 2

hours warning before deleting Dr. Kory's Senate testimony from my YouTube channel.³ A few days later, YouTube removed the same video from Fox News Now's YouTube channel, where the video had nearly 8 million views.⁴

June 2021: YouTube removes an interview of me at the Milwaukee Press Club newsmaker luncheon and suspends my account for seven days.⁵

- In an email to my staff, YouTube cited two statements that led to my account's suspension.⁶ Both statements that garnered the suspension are objectively true: ivermectin and hydroxychloroquine are both safe and effective drugs; and in June 2021, the National Institutes of Health guidelines for patients with COVID-19 were to isolate at home. Despite your censorship, the Milwaukee Press club ended up reposting the video on their own website, saying they "believe it is extremely important to provide information on topics of interest regardless of their political perspective."⁷

October 7, 2021: YouTube censors another HSGAC hearing.⁸

- On October 7, 2021, YouTube removed a video from my channel that included a series of questions asked by Sen. Rand Paul to witnesses at a December 16, 2020 HSGAC hearing examining irregularities with the 2020 election.⁹ YouTube censored Sen. Paul's questioning of retired federal judge Ken Starr regarding the results of nationwide litigation concerning alleged voter fraud in the 2020 election.¹⁰ Sen. Paul noted that the courts dismissed a number of cases on procedural grounds, never actually reached the merits of the cases, and that the results of the litigation should not be interpreted to mean that there was zero fraud in the 2020 election.¹¹ Judge Starr agreed that the courts dismissed the cases on procedural grounds.¹² Sen. Paul also raised concerns about non-legislators (e.g. State Secretaries of State) effectively changing election laws without

³ Ron Johnson, *Youtube Censored Me* (Jan. 29, 2021) <https://www.ronjohnson.senate.gov/2021/1/youtube-censored-me>.

⁴ *Id.*

⁵ Email from YouTube Staff to staff for Sen. Ron Johnson, June 10, 2021 (on file with Subcomm.).

⁶ The first statement was "It's an incredibly safe drug - both hydroxychloroquine and ivermectin." The second statement was, "currently still the NIH guidelines in terms of early treatment of COVID is to do nothing, go home, afraid, scared, isolate yourself until you're so sick you come into the hospital where it just may be too late. That's not compassionate care, that is a nonsensical guideline, particularly when you have studies more and more of them worldwide showing the efficacy and the safety the long-term multi-decade safety of both ivermectin and hydroxychloroquine." Email from YouTube staff to staff for Sen. Ron Johnson, June 10, 2021 (on file with Subcomm.).

⁷ Milwaukee Press Club, *Milwaukee Press Club Re-Posts Johnson Video After YouTube Removed it From Club's Page*, <https://milwaukeepressclub.org/milwaukee-press-club-re-posts-johnson-video-after-youtube-removed-it-from-clubs-page/> (last visited Sept. 21, 2022).

⁸ Email from YouTube Staff to staff for Sen. Ron Johnson, Oct. 7, 2021 (on file with Subcomm.).

⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰ *Examining Irregularities in the 2020 Election: Hearing Before the S. Homeland Sec. and Governmental Affairs Comm.*, 117th Cong. 25-27 (2020) <https://www.congress.gov/116/chrq/CHRG-116shrg43071/CHRG-116shrg43071.pdf>.

¹¹ *Id.*

¹² *Id.*

Ms. Susan Wojcicki
 September 21, 2022
 Page 3

input from state legislators.¹³ YouTube told my staff that they removed the clip because it “alleges widespread fraud or errors that changed the outcome of the 2020 US Presidential Election.”¹⁴ The video was uploaded on December 20, 2020, meaning YouTube waited nearly a year to remove the video.

October 22, 2021: YouTube censors and suspends a Wisconsin journalist for interviewing me.

- On October 22, 2021, YouTube suspended the account of Dan O’Donnell, a Wisconsin talk show host for one week after he posted an interview with me.¹⁵ In that interview, I discussed a number of issues including my opposition of vaccine mandates, my concern for the FDA’s rushed approval of the vaccination for children, and other newsworthy topics of interest to my constituents.¹⁶ In its communications to Mr. O’Donnell informing him of the suspension, YouTube reportedly wrote, “we know that this might be disappointing, but it’s important to us that YouTube is a safe place for all.”¹⁷ YouTube explained further that it “doesn’t allow claims about COVID-19 vaccinations that contradict expert consensus from local health authorities or the World Health Organization.”¹⁸

November 12, 2021: YouTube suspends me again.

- On November 12, 2021, YouTube suspended my channel again for one week and removed a video of a November 2, 2021 roundtable I convened.¹⁹ The roundtable brought together medical experts from across disciplines that advocated for early treatment of COVID-19, discussed the importance of natural immunity, heard stories on the disastrous consequences of vaccine mandates, highlighted the lack of transparency from the federal health agencies, and gave a voice to the vaccine injured.²⁰ During the panel discussion, I cited government data from the Vaccine Adverse Event Reporting System (VAERS), had a conversation with doctors and other frontline medical professionals that have actually treated COVID-19 patients, and heard about the experiences of the vaccine injured.²¹ YouTube pulled down the full three-plus hour roundtable, but left online a 34-minute highlight clip of the round table.

¹³ *Id.*

¹⁴ Email from YouTube leg affairs to staff for Sen. Ron Johnson, Oct. 7, 2021 (on file with Subcomm.).

¹⁵ Dan O’Donnell, Maclver Institute, *The Censors Come for Ron Johnson (Again)* (Oct. 22, 2021) <https://www.maciverinstitute.com/2021/10/the-censors-come-for-ron-johnson-again/>.

¹⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷ *Id.*

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ Ron Johnson (@SenRonJohnson), TWITTER (Nov. 12, 2021, 9:23 AM), <https://twitter.com/SenRonJohnson/status/1459346100691873795>.

²⁰ Toria Barnhart, Newsweek, *YouTube Suspends Senator Ron Johnson for a Week Over COVID Misinformation* (Sept. 21, 2022) <https://www.newsweek.com/youtube-suspends-senator-ron-johnson-week-over-covid-misinformation-1648942>; Ron Johnson (@SenRonJohnson), TWITTER (Nov. 12, 2021, 9:23 AM), <https://twitter.com/SenRonJohnson/status/1459346100691873795>.

²¹ Toria Barnhart, Newsweek, *YouTube Suspends Senator Ron Johnson for a Week Over COVID Misinformation* (Sept. 21, 2022) <https://www.newsweek.com/youtube-suspends-senator-ron-johnson-week-over-covid-misinformation-1648942>.

Ms. Susan Wojcicki
 September 21, 2022
 Page 4

During the September 14, 2022 HSGAC hearing I read the following two quotes that President Biden said on July 21, 2021.²² The first was, “You’re not going to get COVID if you have these vaccinations.”²³ The second was, “If you’re vaccinated, you’re not going to be hospitalized, you’re not going to be in an ICU unit, and you’re not going to die.”²⁴ There is no doubt that these two statements are false. I asked Mr. Mohan and the witnesses from the other social media companies whether your companies ever flagged President Biden as a spreader of misinformation.²⁵ No one even attempted to answer my question.²⁶

YouTube has displayed a troubling track record of censoring a sitting United States Senator, the proceedings of the United States Senate, journalists that interview me, and the display of data that is entirely generated from U.S. government health agencies. In the September 14, 2022 HSGAC hearing, Mr. Mohan committed to “shar[ing] how YouTube developed” its COVID-19 misinformation policy.²⁷ In light of Mr. Mohan’s commitment to me, I request the following information and material:

1. Mr. Mohan testified that YouTube worked with U.S. health authorities, including the CDC and FDA to develop its COVID-19 misinformation policies.²⁸ Please provide:
 - a. The complete list of U.S. health agencies YouTube worked with on the development of its COVID-19 misinformation policies;
 - b. The names of officials at each of the federal health agencies that YouTube worked with on the development of its COVID-19 misinformation policies; and
 - c. All communications with employees of federal health agencies referring or relating to the development, implementation, or application, of YouTube’s COVID-19 misinformation policies from January 2020 to the present.

2. All documents and communications, internal and external of YouTube, referring or relating to YouTube’s removal of videos associated with HSGAC’s December 8, 2020 hearing in January 2021. Please provide the relevant documents for the removal of videos associated with this hearing from:
 - a. My account; and
 - b. Any account associated with Fox News.

²² *Social Media’s Impact on Homeland Security: Hearing Before S. Comm. on Homeland Sec. and Governmental Affairs*, 117th Cong. (2022) video available at <https://www.hsgac.senate.gov/hearings/social-medias-impact-on-homeland-security>.

²³ The White House, *Remarks by President Biden in a CNN Town Hall with Don Lemon* (July 22, 2021) <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/22/remarks-by-president-biden-in-a-cnn-town-hall-with-don-lemon/>.

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ *Social Media’s Impact on Homeland Security: Hearing Before S. Comm. on Homeland Sec. and Governmental Affairs*, 117th Cong. (2022) (question by Sen. Ron Johnson, Ranking Member, *Permanent Subcomm. on Investigations*) video available at <https://www.hsgac.senate.gov/hearings/social-medias-impact-on-homeland-security>.

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ *Id.* (statement of Neal Mohan, Chief Product Officer, YouTube) video available at <https://www.hsgac.senate.gov/hearings/social-medias-impact-on-homeland-security>.

²⁸ *Id.*

Ms. Susan Wojcicki
September 21, 2022
Page 5

3. All documents and communications, internal and external of YouTube, referring or relating to YouTube's June 2021 suspension of my page or removal of videos associated with my interview with the Milwaukee Press Club.
4. All documents and communications, internal and external of YouTube, referring or relating to YouTube's October 2021 removal of videos from my page associated with the HSGAC hearing held on December 16, 2020.
5. All documents and communications, internal and external of YouTube, referring or relating to YouTube's October 2021 suspension of Dan O'Donnell or removal of his interview with me.
6. All documents and communications, internal and external of YouTube, referring or relating to YouTube's November 2021 suspension of my page or removal of videos associated with a roundtable I held on November 2, 2021.
7. Provide all instances in which YouTube labeled content posted by President Biden or any White House affiliated account operated by the Biden administration as misinformation.

Thank you for your attention to this important request. Please produce all responsive material by October 5, 2022. I look forward to receive a prompt and complete response.

Sincerely,



Ron Johnson
Ranking Member
Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations

cc: The Honorable Jon Ossoff
Chairman
Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations