

**Neglected History, Forgotten Lessons:**  
The struggle for minds and wills relies on leadership first,  
organization second

Matt Armstrong

[www.mountainrunner.us](http://www.mountainrunner.us)

14 January 2021

# Neglected History, Forgotten Lessons

- Leadership leads to purpose, structure, and accountability
- Strategy is not an alternative spelling for tactics
- An organization chart reflects strategy, it is not strategy
  
- Three case “studies”
  - Secretary of the Navy, Douglas MacArthur, the National Committee of Patriotic and Defense Societies
  - Getting an elephant pregnant and OCCCRBAR
  - “...not imaginative enough to see its opportunity or administratively competent enough to seize it.”

## Case 1

Secretary of the Navy, Douglas MacArthur, the  
National Committee of Patriotic and Defense Societies

# Operations Security (OPSEC)

During the Crimean War the Russians gained very reliable information regarding the works in the trenches of the allied armies and the progress of the siege of Sebastopol from the English newspapers.

In the American Civil War the northern generals obtained exact and valuable information through the Confederate papers. After the fall of Atlanta, Jefferson Davis, speaking at Macon and Palmetto, stated that measures had been taken in Tennessee and Kentucky to cut off Sherman's supplies from the North, and that having an army in his front and rear, in a hostile land, he must be annihilated. These speeches, published in the southern and reproduced in the northern press, soon reached Sherman. Acting on this information, and in order to keep his communication free, the Federal general began his famous march through Georgia to the sea. The reports of his successful progress, which appeared in the southern press, enabled Grant to send supplies to meet him at the coast.

In July, 1870, Maj. Krause, of the German staff, was able by means of French newspapers to ascertain the composition and strategical disposition of all the French corps.

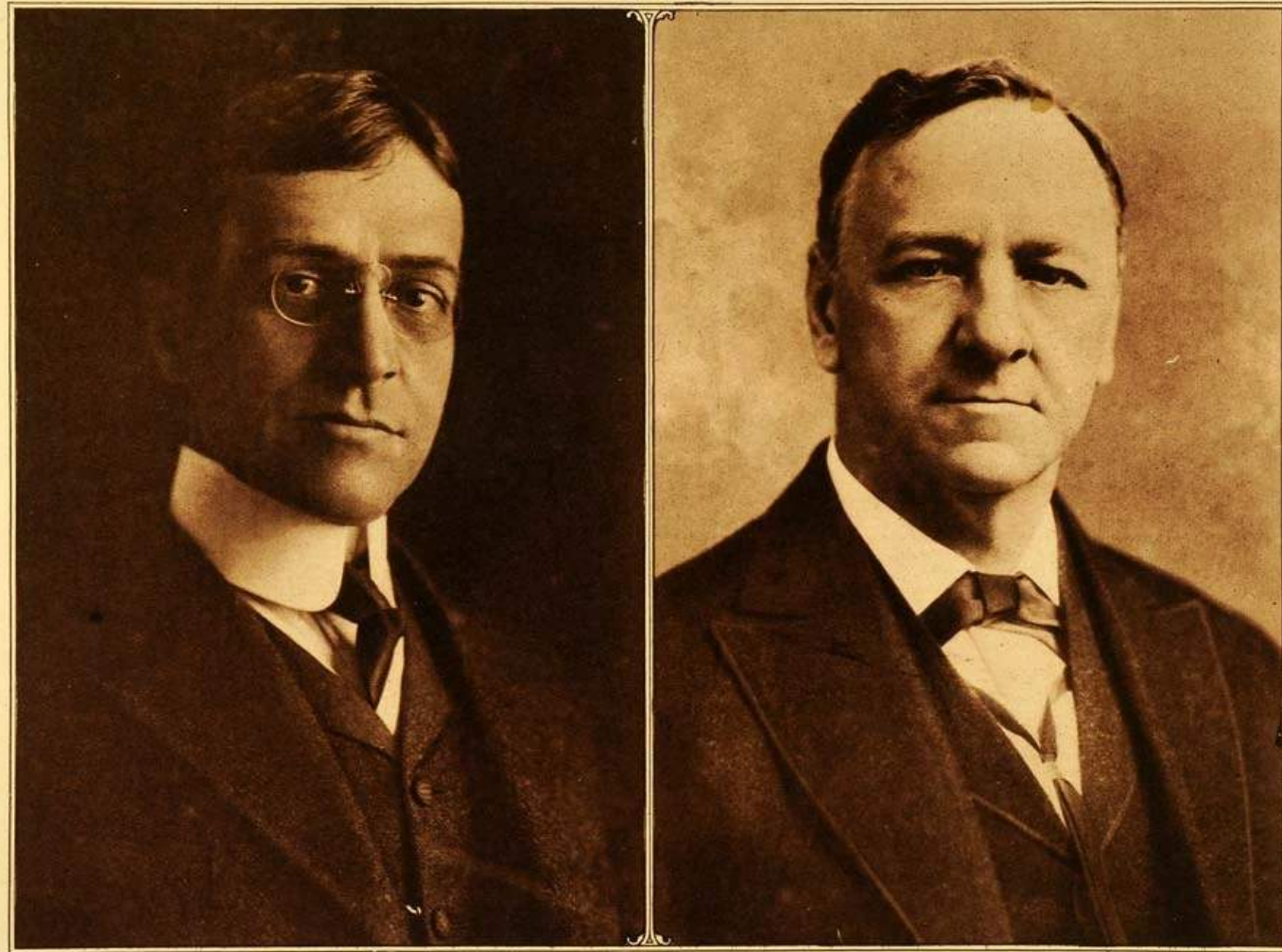
November 1915

# Psychological Defense

The press, powerful in peace, may become more so in war. By its editorials and presentation of news it may sway the people for or against the war and thus stimulate recruiting and hearten and encourage the fighting forces in their work or, by adverse criticism, may tend to destroy the efficiency of these agencies.

November 1915

# Necessity of Publicity



Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War  
Underwood & Underwood

Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy  
G. V. Black

# Necessity of Publicity

- Council of National Defense
- National Committee of Patriotic and Defense Societies
- State & Local Organizations
  - Women's committees
- Bureau of Publicity
- Department of Publicity
- Committee on Public Information
  - United States Information Service

## PATRIOTIC EDUCATION—SPEAKERS.

Shortly after America's entry in the war, at the request of leading educators in Ohio, Governor James M. Cox appointed a Committee on Patriotic Education, independent of the State Council of Defense.

This committee, however, made its headquarters with the State Council, and, although nominally independent, it has functioned really as an integral part of the State Council. This committee included:

D. J. Ryan.....	Columbus
C. W. Chamberlain.....	Granville
T. J. Duffy.....	Columbus
John W. Hoffman.....	Delaware
Father Francis W. Howard.....	Columbus
S. Gale Lowrie (resigned).....	Cincinnati
Frank B. Pearson.....	Columbus
Dr. W. O. Thompson.....	Columbus
Carl E. Parry, Executive Secretary.....	Columbus

Carl E. Parry, as executive of the committee, listed names of several hundred patriotic speakers, classified them by localities and interests, and supplied to them information to be used in public addresses, to aid in building war morale and in assisting the government in war enterprises.

The handling of professional speakers, most of whom were sent from Washington, however, absorbed most of the committee's time and effort. Among prominent speakers handled through the Speaking Division of the Committee on Patriotic Education, which was financed by the Ohio Branch, Council of National Defense, were:

# Not Four-Minute Men, Three-Minute Women

TRUTH SERIES NO. 1.  
AUG. 15, 1918.

WOMAN'S COMMITTEE, COUNCIL OF  
NATIONAL DEFENSE, DEPARTMENT  
OF EDUCATIONAL PROPAGANDA.

570  
15  
R4  
no. 1  
copy 1

BE A TRUTH-TELLER.  
HELP FIGHT THE BATTLE OVER HERE.  
FIRE THESE FACTS FOR UNCLE SAM.

1. We have now over 1,000,000 men in France.  
---
2. During the first 10 days of May, 1918, we sent 90,000 soldiers to Europe.  
---
3. Within 10 weeks after we entered the war our first contingent landed safely in France and was soon followed by other units.  
---
4. Do you know that American destroyers arrived at a British port to assist in patrolling European waters, 28 days after the declaration of war?  
---
5. Last December this Government was officially informed by France and Great Britain that their production of field, medium, and heavy artillery, had been established on so vast a scale that all American divisions which would arrive in France during 1918 could readily be equipped with the best type of British and French guns and howitzers.  
---



# Political, Psychologic, Combat, Economic (PPCE)

It is necessary to remember, in the first place, that this war is not one that is being fought by the military forces alone. There are economic, psychologic, social, political and even literary forces engaged, and it is necessary for us in order to defeat the enemy, to understand fully the strength of each. Nor can the investigation stop with the forces of the enemy: it must extend to each country in the world and to every people. The question of winning the war is far too complicated and far too delicate to be answered by a study of only the powers and resources of the nations in arms.

October 1918

# Political, Psychologic, Combat, Economic (PPCE)

In the “strategic equation” of war there are “four factors — combat, economic, political, and psychologic — and that the last of these is coequal with the others.”

U.S. Army General Staff, April 1918

A well-organized intelligence service...publishes estimates of the military, economic, political, and psychological status of [active and potential enemies, allies, and neutrals].

Alexander E. Powell  
*The Army Behind the Army, 1919*

## Case 2

The Elephant and the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics (OCCCRBAR)

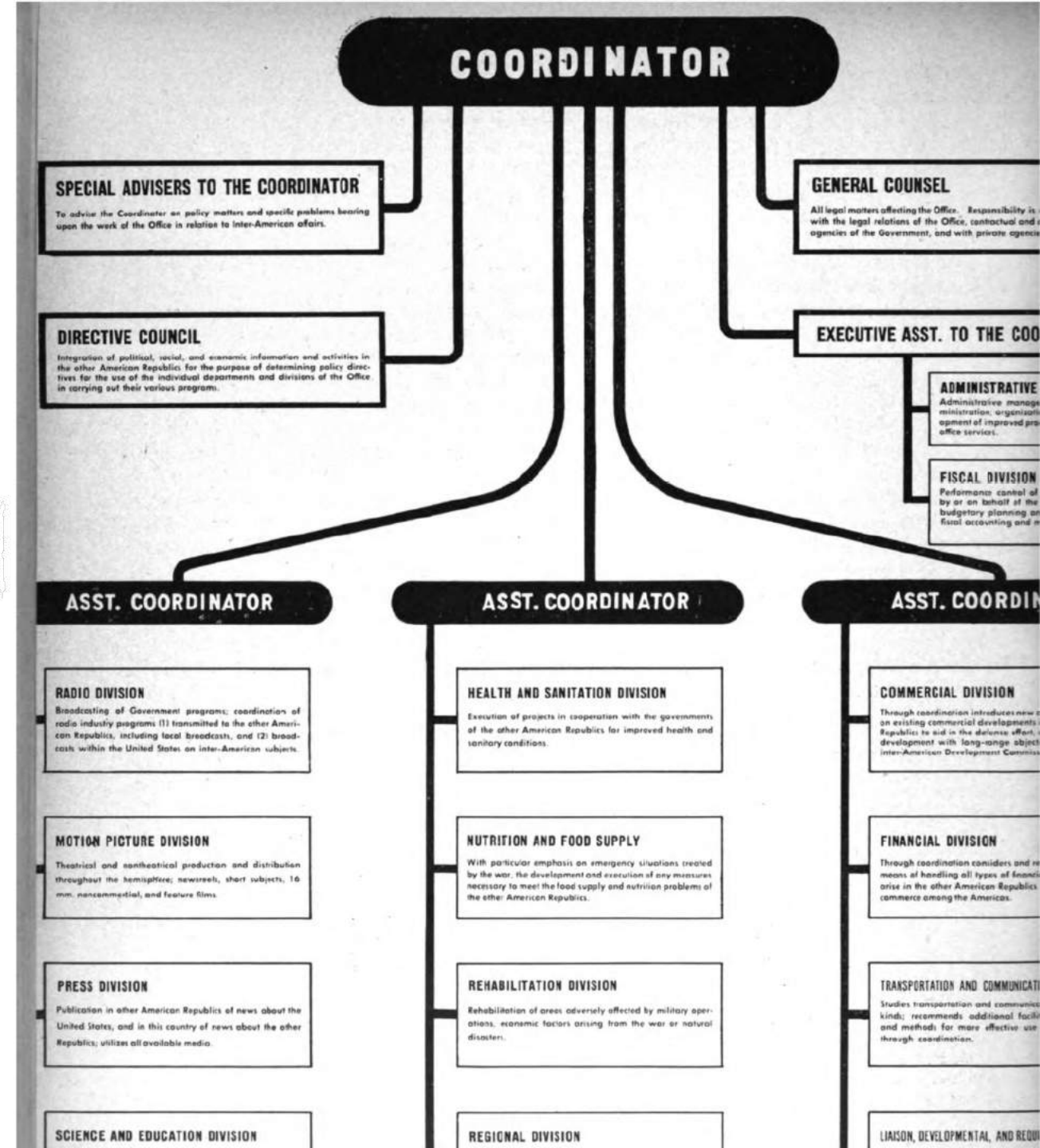
# Creating the Office for the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs

Dealing with the State Department is like watching an elephant become pregnant. Everything's done on a very high level, there's a lot of commotion, and it takes twenty-two months for anything to happen.

*President Franklin D. Roosevelt*

# Coordinating the Whole of Government

- Hemisphere defense
- Economic defense
- Psychological defense
- Food, transportation, education, information sectors
- Multiple agencies
- Established six (five operational) corporations



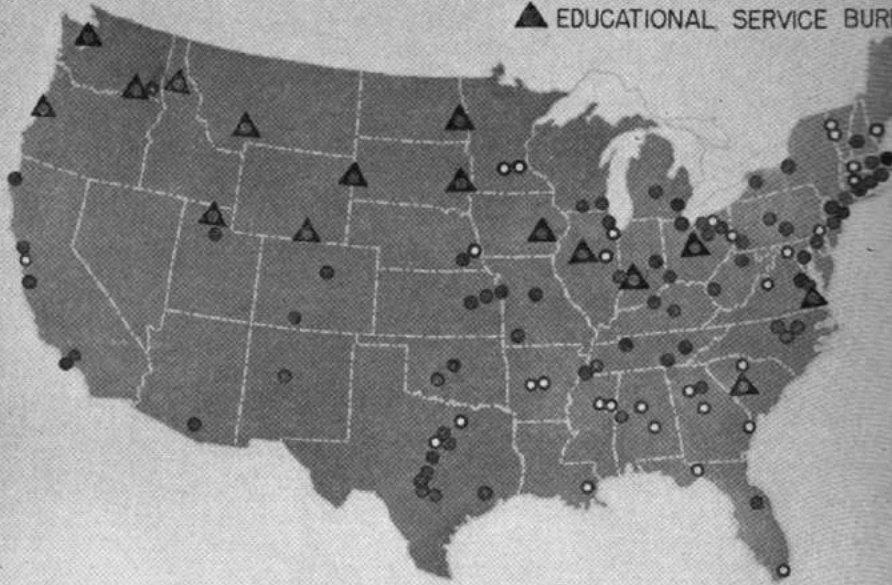
# EDUCATION

COORDINATOR OF INTER-AMERICAN  
MAY 10, 1944  
OFFICE OF SPECIAL SERVICES  
R. E. DAVIS  
500 JOHNSON LECTURE BLDG

## INTER-AMERICAN LECTURES & INSTITUTE 1943-44

PROGRAMS HELD AT COLLEGES  
& UNIVERSITIES (OPEN TO  
GENERAL PUBLIC)

- PROPOSED PROGRAM
- COMPLETED PROGRAM
- ▲ EDUCATIONAL SERVICE BUREAU



# INTER-AMERICAN COOPERATIVE HEALTH PROGRAM



### BORN DURING THE WAR

To protect:  
the health of U.S. armed forces at defense bases  
the health of the forces of the other Americas  
the health of workers on strategic products

This program,  
for **PREVENTION** and **CONTROL** of  
**DISEASE**, has resulted in long range countryside  
activities which will endure - their benefits multiply  
Millions will be safer from disease in Latin America

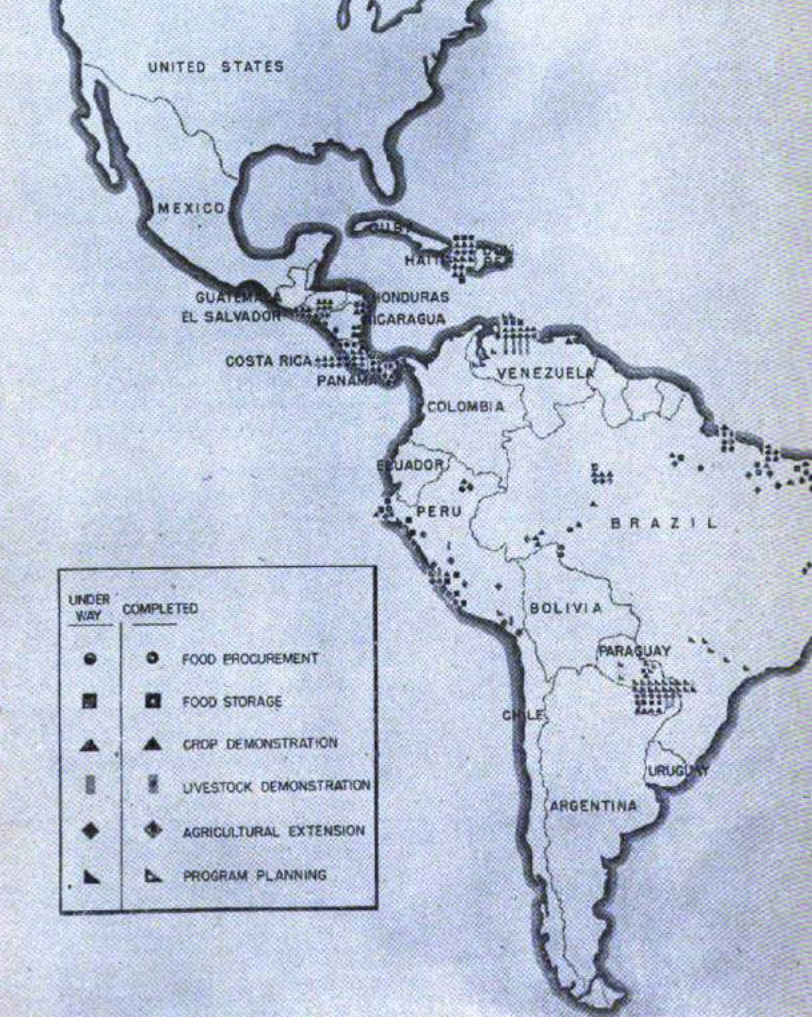
### ITS ACTIVITIES ARE

- HEALTH CENTERS
- SANITATION
- ▲ HOSPITALS, MEDICAL POSTS  
& OTHER HEALTH FACILITIES
- ⌋ TRAINING
- HEALTH EDUCATION PROGRAMS

# OIAA FOOD SUPPLY

## FOOD SUPPLY ACTIVITIES

DIVISION OF INTER-AMERICAN  
MAY 10, 1944  
OFFICE OF SPECIAL SERVICES  
R. E. DAVIS  
500 JOHNSON LECTURE BLDG



UNDER WAY	COMPLETED
●	○ FOOD PROCUREMENT
■	□ FOOD STORAGE
▲	△ CROP DEMONSTRATION
⌋	⌋ LIVESTOCK DEMONSTRATION
◆	◆ AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION
➤	➤ PROGRAM PLANNING

# Case 3

“...not imaginative enough to see its opportunity or administratively competent enough to seize it.”

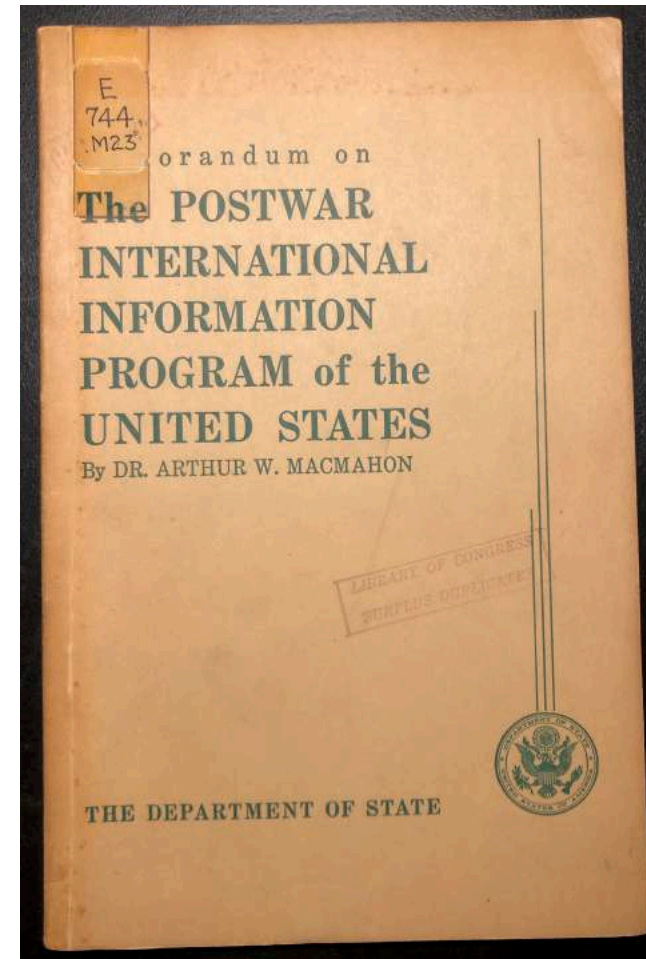
# Global Public Affairs

As I understand the Secretary's wishes, the duties of the assistant Secretary in charge of public and cultural relations are to be of two kinds:

First, to direct the information policies and activities of the department at home and abroad.

Second, to direct the department's activities in connection with what has been called "cultural cooperation"—which means, in plain English, the department's activities in connection with the exchange with other countries of scientific, technical, artistic, literary and professional knowledge.

Archibald MacLeish during his confirmation hearing as the State Department inaugural Assistant Secretary for Public and Cultural Relations  
December 12, 1944





# Office of War Information Recommendation

Function: General information service by the government to the rest of the world.

Recommendation: We emphatically believe that there should be such a service and that it should be under State Department jurisdiction.

Discussion: We believe the results already achieved in this field justify the vigor with which we urge this. We assert this well knowing that the results have not been perfect and that in the ordinary leisure of peacetime planning and execution they could be improved upon.

The spread of ideas hostile to us and the blackout of real understanding of America that preceded World War II prove that never again should America as a nation let the telling of its official story be left to chance. Neither should it be left to the information activities of other nations more interested in telling their own stories. And never again should the nation as a nation be satisfied with an unbalanced picture of America which must result if private telling in many media is left wholly unsupplemented. In advocating this permanent service, we are only asking that America should not deprive itself of one of the most potent weapons for peace.

# Congress Approves

One part of the effort to tell the United States' story in Europe—The American Information Service library in Prague.

## We Are Losing the War of Words in Europe

EUROPE today has become a vast battlefield in which adjectives have replaced armaments as the active elements of attack and defense. So clearly are the lines being drawn, however, in this battle of words and ideologies that shooting may once again supplant the shouting unless positive American leadership is promptly and prudently exerted to help restore good sense and sound government in Europe.

Moscow and its controlled Communist parties in every European capital have taken the initiative in this word war. They have devised and are directing a campaign

**A Congressman wants to strengthen America's voice and outlines a plan to make it more effective.**

By KARL E. MUNDT

answer the challenges and criticisms being hurled at us or reconcile ourselves to the fact that our silence in Europe is certain to harvest for us a crop of ill-will and resentment entirely unjustified by our policies abroad.

How should American leadership be employed to put oil upon the troubled political and economic waters now boiling so

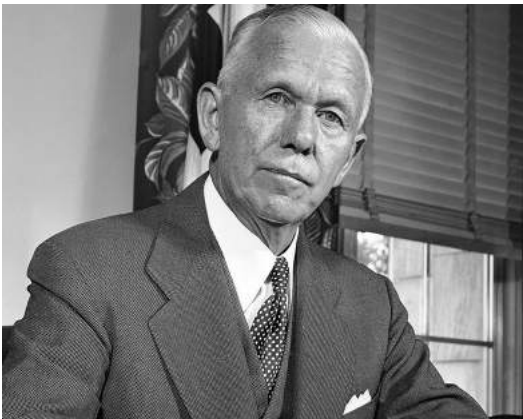
information programs not only of our own country but of England, of France, and of Russia. In no country did we find our American effort in the field of public relations abroad as extensive or as well staffed as that of England and Russia; in some countries we are actually trailing the French as well in the use of information services in the all-important task of

In the Balkan countries the men of Moscow have made even greater progress with their program of abuse and misrepresentation. In Prague we have an able and alert young American, Frank J. Lewand, in charge of our American information activities. He has one American assistant and three helpers recruited from Czechoslovakia. This pitifully inadequate information team is supposed to keep the people of Czechoslovakia advised about the true intent and purposes of American policies.

**T**HEY are expected to maintain and

The United States Information Service is truly the voice of America and the means of clarifying the opinion of the world concerning us. Its objective is fivefold. To be effective it must (1) explain United States motives; (2) bolster morale and extend hope; (3) give a true picture of American life, methods, and ideals; (4) combat misrepresentation and distortion, and (5) be a ready instrument of psychological warfare when required.

# Leadership



# Creating USIA

“In 1947, the Central Intelligence Agency was proposed as part of the armed services unification bill, the State Department had abdicated not only leadership in this field but any serious position. Information and public affairs had a better chance and were well served by several devoted assistant secretaries. Eventually they succumbed to the fate of so many operating agencies with which the State Department has had a go, including economic warfare, lend-lease, foreign aid, and technical assistance.

In all these cases, either the Department was not imaginative enough to see its opportunity or administratively competent enough to seize it, or the effort became entangled in red tape and stifled by bureaucratic elephantiasis, or conflict with enemies in Congress absorbed all the Department’s energies.”

# Forgetting USIA's History

*Recommendation No. 1.—That IIA be lifted out of the Department of State and placed in a new agency of Cabinet level in which there is vested authority to formulate psychological strategy and to coordinate information policies of all Government agencies and consolidate all overseas information programs*

In order to be able to accomplish more effectively the results expected of it by the Congress and the people of the United States, IIA must have greater independence of action and more authority to

1957: Time to reintegrate information into State, "slumping moral, administrative laxness, and a dearth of first-class information experts"

1959: Dept of Foreign Affairs: Diplomacy, Foreign Economic, Operations, and Information and Cultural Affairs.

1961: (several): end continuous reorganization, create Committee on Information and Exchange Policy under the National Security Council with "a few public members, the Directors of USIA, CIA, and ICA, the Under Secretary of State, and the Assistant Secretary of Defense."

Mid-/Late-1960s: Public Diplomacy!

1973: Maybe it's time to abolish USIA



“Would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?”

“That depends a good deal on where you want to get to.”

“I don’t much care where—”

“Then it doesn’t matter which way you go.”

# Thank you

Matt Armstrong

[matt@mountainrunner.us](mailto:matt@mountainrunner.us)

[www.mountainrunner.us](http://www.mountainrunner.us)

[@mountainrunner](#)

Additional Slides



# Vacant Two of Every Five Days Since 1999

<b>Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy</b>	<b>Sworn In</b>	<b>Resigned</b>	<b>Days in Office</b>	<b>Days without confirmed incumbent</b>	<b># of Days</b>	<b>% Vacant since creation</b>	<b>Rank by Tenure</b>
Evelyn Lieberman (Clinton)	1 Oct 1999	20 Jan 2001	477				5
	21 Jan 2001	2 Oct 2001		254			
Charlotte Beers (Bush)	2 Oct 2001	28 Mar 2003	542				4
	29 Mar 2003	16 Dec 2003		262			
Margaret Tutwiler (Bush)	16 Dec 2003	30 Jun 2004	197				8
	1 Jul 2004	29 Jul 2005		393			
Karen P. Hughes (Bush)	29 Jul 2005	14 Dec 2007	868				2
	15 Dec 2007	4 Jun 2008		172			
James K. Glassman (Bush)	5 Jun 2008	16 Jan 2009	225				7
	17 Jan 2009	20 Jan 2009		3		32%	
	21 Jan 2009	25 May 2009		124			
Judith McHale (Obama)	26 May 2009	30 Jun 2011	765				3
	1 Jul 2011	4 Apr 2012		278		33%	
Tara Sonenshine (Obama)	5 Apr 2012	1 Jul 2013	452				6
	2 Jul 2013	11 Feb 2014		224		33%	
Richard Stengel (Obama)	12 Feb 2014	7 Dec 2016	1'029				1
	8 Dec 2016	20 Jan 2017		43		28%	
	21 Jan 2017	3 Dec 2017		316			
Steve Goldstein (Trump)	3 Dec 2017	13 Mar 2018	100				9
	13 Mar 2018			1038		40%	
<b>Since USIA-State Merger</b>			<b>4555</b>	<b>3107</b>	<b>7776</b>	<b>40.0%</b>	
<b>Bush Administration</b>			<b>1832</b>	<b>1084</b>	<b>2916</b>	<b>37.2%</b>	
<b>Obama Administration</b>			<b>2246</b>	<b>626</b>	<b>2872</b>	<b>21.8%</b>	
<b>1 Oct 1999 Thru 20 Jan 2017</b>			<b>4555</b>	<b>1753</b>	<b>6308</b>	<b>27.8%</b>	
<b>Trump Administration</b>			<b>100</b>	<b>1354</b>	<b>1454</b>	<b>93.1%</b>	

Data through 13 January 2021, source: [https://mountainrunner.us/2020/12/whither\\_r/](https://mountainrunner.us/2020/12/whither_r/)

## Links

For discussion on President Eisenhower's 1957 consideration of reintegrating USIA into State, see <https://mountainrunner.us/2018/09/1957-eisenhower-dulles-and-merging-usia-back-into-state-or-not/>

On how USIA was not viewed as a political warfare tool, <https://warontherocks.com/2017/01/the-past-present-and-future-of-the-war-for-public-opinion/>, for a longer, footnoted version, see my chapter in <https://amzn.to/39uzOYe>

For more on State's rejection of the public information mission and the appropriation of "public diplomacy" to defend a bureaucracy, see my chapter "Operationalizing Public Diplomacy" in <https://amzn.to/3iagMdB>

# Smith-Mundt

To better understand what the Smith-Mundt Act, and was not, including how it was one of the nation's first responses to Russian political warfare, here are some reads:

No, We Do Not Need to Revive the U.S. Information Agency – endnote edition

<https://mountainrunner.us/2015/11/no-we-do-not-need-to-revive-the-us-information-agency/>

Managing the problem: VOA, Smith-Mundt, and oversight

<https://mountainrunner.us/2020/04/oversight/>

No, the US Agency for Global Media does not compete with US commercial media

<https://mountainrunner.us/2020/11/does-voa-compete-with-fox/>

Senator Edward Zorinsky and Banning Domestic Access to USIA in 1985

<https://mountainrunner.us/2009/05/zorinsky/>