Contents

Preface ix
Acknowledgements xi

Section One: The Experience of the Great War, 1914–18 1

1. Opening Pandora's Box: The Battle for Control of British Propaganda, 1914–18 5
   - 1.1 Propaganda and Diplomacy 6
   - 1.2 The Bureaucratic Battle for Power 11
   - 1.3 Enter the Politicians 17
   - 1.4 Enter the Press Barons 21
   - 1.5 Intelligence, Propaganda and Foreign Policy 24
   - 1.6 Elite versus Mass Opinion 27

2. Targeting Elite Opinion: The War Propaganda Bureau at Wellington House, 1914–17 35
   - 2.1 Targeting the American Elite 35
   - 2.2 The Cult of Secrecy 38
   - 2.3 The Task Completed 41
   - 2.4 The Legacy of Wellington House 43

3. Targeting Mass Opinion: Crewe House, Psywar and British Propaganda against the Central Powers in 1918 49
   - 3.1 The Politics of Propaganda 49
   - 3.2 Psywar Origins: The Snake 53
   - 3.3 One Rabbit: Germany 54
   - 3.4 Another Rabbit: Austria-Hungary 56
   - 3.5 Damned with Faint Praise 58

Section Two: The Dawning of 'Public Diplomacy' in the age of Mass Communications, 1919–39 63

4. The Projection of Britain Between the Wars 66
   - 4.1 Forfeiting the Initiative 67
   - 4.2 Re-entering the Field 73
   - 4.3 The British Council 76
   - 4.4 Moral Rearmament 78

5. A Call to Arms: Psychological Rearmament 88
5.1 The Politics of British Rearmament 88
5.2 Propaganda and Democracy, 1918–35 90
5.3 Public Opinion, Rearmament and the Media 93
5.4 The Newsreels 95
5.5 The BBC 97
5.6 The Preliminary Phase, 1934–35 100
5.7 The Second Phase, 1936–38 101
5.8 The Third Phase, 1938–39 107
5.9 The Illusions Exposed 109

6. Handling the Unavowable: Propaganda and Psychological Warfare, 1935–40 114
6.1 Fears and Constraints 115
6.2 Propaganda by Committee 116
6.3 The Munich Dress Rehearsal 121
6.4 'An Improper Use of Broadcasting'? 123
6.5 Black Propaganda 126
6.6 International Broadcasting 128
6.7 The Shadow World of Black Propaganda 131
6.8 Gearing Up for War 136
6.9 Déjà Vu 139

Section Three: Total War and Total Propaganda, 1939–45 151

7. Blue-Pencil Warriors: The British Wartime Censorship System, 1939–45 153
7.1 The Other Side of the Coin 153
7.2 The Mechanics of British Censorship 160
7.3 The MoI and Fleet Street: Press Censorship 161
7.4 The MoI and Wardour Street: Film Censorship 164
7.5 The MoI and Broadcasting House: Radio Censorship 168
7.6 Unnatural Allies 171

8: Film as a Weapon during the Second World War 176
8.1 Film Propaganda 177
8.2 'Gone with the Wind Up'? 180
8.3 Military Resistance 182
8.4 Film Projection 185
8.5 The Golden Age of British Cinema 187

9. 'Breaking the German Will to Resist': Allied Efforts to End the Second World War in Europe by Non-Military Means, 1944–45 192
9.1 Eisenhower's Request 193
9.2 Allied Psywar Organisation and Capabilities in 1944 195

9.3 The German Target 200
9.4 Ongoing Allied Psywar Activities 202
9.5 New Initiatives: Periwig and Matchbox 204
9.6 Other Initiatives: Casement and Capricorn 208
9.7 The Capitulation of Germany 211
9.8 Conclusions 213

Section Four: Propaganda and Decline in the Post-war World, 1945–91 225

10. Power, Public Opinion and the Propaganda of Decline: The British Information Services and the Cold War, 1945–57 227
10.1 Challenges for Democracy 228
10.2 A Permanent Information Policy 229
10.3 Post-war Retrenchment 233
10.4 Covert Propaganda 236

11. The Enduring Tensions of Democratic Propaganda in the Information Age 243
11.1 The Advertising Age and Popular Culture 243
11.2 Northern Ireland 249
11.3 The Falklands War of 1982 251
11.4 The Gulf War of 1991 253

Conclusion: The New Propaganda: Psychological and Information Operations 258

Bibliography 261

Index 270