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FROM : AMEMBASSY, BAGHDAD 269

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON. October 7, 1952

REF : Embdespatch 199 of Sept. 9, 1952; Depcirairgram Sept. 19, 1952; 4:45 P.M.

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SUBJECT: ARABIC ANTI-COMMUNIST PAMPHLET PROGRAM

The despatch cited above indicated that this Embassy intended to concentrate on a program of anti-communist pamphlets to be issued monthly in Arabic. It is the purpose of this despatch to outline the details of the first six months of this program; to request funds for local translation and production; and to indicate those pamphlets which will be ordered by separate communication from the Regional Production Centers. A program of Kurdish pamphlets will be the subject of a separate despatch.

OBJECTIVE:

It is the objective of this program to increase the awareness of the nature of Communist imperialism in Iraq. Because of the limited and unsympathetic press, the lack of access to radio facilities, the backward state of the book publishing business, and the relatively few available anti-Communist films, it has been decided that the most effective overt medium available to USIS is the pamphlet.

TARGET GROUPS:

The pamphlets will be designed to appeal primarily to the educated and semi-educated, politically interested groups who belong to the urban middle class. These groups include Government officials and employees; teachers; professors; lawyers; Army officers; religious leaders; other professional people; and urban business men.

DISTRIBUTION:

The pamphlets are to be distributed in three ways:

1. Through a mailing list now being expanded to an expected total of 18,000 names. (See Embassy's OM of September 26, 1952.)
2. Through the mobile film units.
3. Through certain prominent anti-Communist religious leaders.

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The Embassy has been informed privately and informally that the Government has no objection to the widespread distribution of anti-Communist material.

ATTRIBUTION:

The pamphlets will be issued without attribution, but no attempt will be made to hide the fact that they are produced by USIS. In this connection, the Department may wish to comment on whether the pamphlet, "Where Are They Now?" issued as a pilot model can be distributed directly by USIS, although no attribution appears on it. As will be noted below, this pamphlet is one chosen for reproduction in Arabic.

CURRENT ATTITUDES TOWARD COMMUNISM:

1. Positive. The pamphlets have been selected for reproduction on the basis of the present attitudes toward Communism in Iraq. Few of these are positive attitudes, from the Western point of view:

- a. A limited number of leaders at the top recognize the threat of Communist imperialism, but feel it politically unwise for them to pursue the theme publicly.
- b. A greater number of people recognize the internal threat of Communism, but fail to link this activity with the broader international conspiracy.
- c. Religious leaders condemn Communism for its anti-religious basis, but this theme is not effective among the politically-minded intellectuals.

2. Negative. Far more common are, from the Western point of view, negative attitudes toward Communism:

- a. Communism may be a danger and a poor system of society, but it cannot be worse than what Iraq and the Arab world now suffer under corrupt leadership and the continuing influence of British and French imperialism.
- b. Communist imperialism may be a threat to Iraq's independence, but it is not nearly so immediate a threat as an expanding Israel or as are the British and French.
- c. The "cold war" is merely a struggle for control between two greedy powers; Iraq can do best to stay neutral or become a part of a "third force."
- d. The Soviet Union, while not as advanced as the West, points a more possible way for underdeveloped nations to achieve a higher standard of living.

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- e. We do not need to fear Communism because, if we oppose the West, we can always make a deal with a Communist regime that will preserve our position.

THEMES:

To counteract these negative attitudes, the Embassy believes the following themes, if properly presented and reiterated, can be effective:

1. Communism is an international conspiracy led by the Soviet Union and working through Communist parties and front organizations in every country with the sole purpose of making each country a subservient province in a Russian empire.
2. Conditions are so bad in Soviet territory that hundreds and thousands of people prefer the uncertainty of flight and life in prisoner of war and refugee camps to remaining in Soviet territory.
3. Those opposed to the State in the Soviet Union, even in minor matters are doomed to a life of slave labor from which few ever return. (In pursuing this theme, it must be remembered that a police state exists, in an inefficient degree, in Iraq where political activity, particularly among the intelligensia, is frequently discouraged by police action. This theme must emphasize how much worse is the situation in the Soviet Union.)
4. Those who have sold out their countries to the Communists have been among the first to be purged once the Communists obtained real control.
5. Communist expansion represents an imperialism unparalleled in ruthlessness in its suppression of individual freedom, national aspirations, and indigenous economies; liberation from a Communist regime is a far different matter than liberation from domination, however strong, of a Western power.
6. Communist expansion represents a direct and immediate threat to every free nation on or near the Soviet borders--including Iraq.

THE PAMPHLETS:

With these themes in mind, the Embassy plans the following pamphlet program. One pamphlet a month is the most that the present USIS staff can produce on a regular basis. Supplemental leaflets, however, will be produced as soon as the Embassy's multilith machine is in operation--plates and ink have not yet arrived. It is intended that the pamphlets will be issued in the month given.

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1. October. - The Embassy's election pamphlet (see Despatch No. 134 of August 11, 1952), now in production, emphasizes the threat of Soviet expansion as the prime concern of the American voter in the current election.
2. November. - The Embassy plans to produce a locally-written, sixteen-page pamphlet entitled, "Why Won't They Go Home?" emphasizing the reluctance of the prisoners of war in Korea to return to Communist territory. This is an effective theme here which has not been fully exploited. A separate OM will request servicing for this pamphlet. The Embassy requests \$750 to cover the cost of producing locally 15,000 pamphlets at a cost of \$.05 each.
3. December. - The Embassy plans the reproduction of a pamphlet entitled, "When the Communists Came," produced several months ago by the Embassy in Cairo. The cost of reproducing this locally is estimated at \$.07 each. The Embassy, therefore, requests \$1050.00 for the production of 15,000 copies of this.
4. January. - The Embassy will order shortly, in a separate communication, 20,000 copies of an Arabic adaptation of the pilot model pamphlet, "Where Are They Now?" for production by the Regional Production Center. This will be chargeable against the "drawing account" for Iraq.
5. February. - The Embassy will order, for distribution in this month, 20,000 copies of an Arabic translation of "Voyage to Freedom" from the Regional Production Center.
6. March. - The Embassy will order, for production by the Regional Production Center, 20,000 copies of an Arabic adaptation of the recently produced English report, "Forced Labor in the Soviet Union." Because of the size of this pamphlet, translation will have to be done by outside contract. The Embassy, therefore, requests an additional \$100 for the contract translation of this pamphlet.

RECAPITULATION:

The Embassy will, within the next few weeks, request:

1. Special servicing for a locally-produced pamphlet, "Why Won't They Go Home."
2. Production of 20,000 copies of an Arabic version of "Where Are They Now" by the Regional Production Center, for delivery to Baghdad in January.

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3. Production of 20,000 copies of an Arabic version of "Voyage to Freedom" by the Regional Production Center for delivery in February.
4. Production of 20,000 copies of an Arabic version of "Forced Labor in the USSR" by the Regional Production Center for delivery in March.

The Embassy further requests, with this despatch, an allotment of \$1900 for the local production of two pamphlets and for the contract translation of "Forced Labor in the USSR."

The Embassy understands the Regional Production Center in London has no Arabic type-setting facilities and that it will be necessary, therefore, to set type here and supply the Regional Production Center, London, with reproduction proofs. Consequently, an additional allotment will be requested in a separate communication to cover type-setting costs for all Arabic pamphlets to be produced for the Embassy at the Regional Production Center, London.

For the Ambassador:

Harry L. Smith
Harry L. Smith
First Secretary of the Embassy

Department please pass to:

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Cairo
Amman

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