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Serge Chakhotin's *The Rape of the Masses* (1939): the development of European propaganda c.1914-1960 and the Algerian War of Independence.*

In Paris on the eve of the Second World War the Russian émigré scientist Serge Chakhotin[1] published *Le viol des foules par la propagande politique*, a book that was rapidly to gain status as a classic work on the theory of propaganda.[2] Today Chakhotin's work appears frequently on university reading lists for courses in media studies, communication theory and crowd psychology, as a standard reference for the study of Pavlovian theories of conditioned reflexes, brainwashing and totalitarian forms of mass indoctrination. From the early 1960s the book was better known for its impact on the counter-insurgency or psychological warfare doctrine adopted by the French army during the long and bloody war of decolonization in Algeria (1954 -1962).[3] However, despite widespread agreement among historians that the book was highly significant, little was known about the life and background of its author, or about how his theory of propaganda influenced army practice in Algeria. In more recent years historians have explored quite discrete phases of Chakhotin's earlier political career, from his role as a propagandist during the Russian Revolution and as a contributor to the famous *Smenah Vekh* compilation by Russian émigrés in 1921, to his important part in the anti-Nazi struggle of the German Socialist Party (SPD) in 1932-33 and as propaganda adviser to the French Popular Front during 1934-36.[4] This has contributed to a highly fragmented treatment of Chakhotin's life in which specialists have tended to focus on one national context, but remained uncertain as to the trans-European context of an exile who constantly migrated between scientific laboratories and research centres across the continent, while also playing an militant political role in the application of a science of propaganda to revolutionary and anti-fascist movements. Chakhotin, a gifted linguist and Esperanto activist, was a truly European figure and his intellectual itinerary provides a unique insight into the turbulent political context of the "age of the masses" and totalitarianism in which modern propaganda theory and practice developed.

This article falls into two parts: the aim of the first part is to restore, if rather briefly, a sense of the development of Chakhotin's work as a major theorist and activist during the "first age" of modern propaganda between 1914 and 1952, an era dominated by behaviourist theories of mass society. With this background in place, the second part turns to the question of how and why the French army adopted *Le Viol des foules* as a standard text, despite the fact that Chakhotin as a pacifist and social democrat was profoundly opposed to colonial repression and militarism. The cataloguing and opening since 1992 of the extensive civilian and military archives of the Algerian War now enable a detailed investigation of the diffusion, application and impact of *Le Viol* in a way that earlier historians were prevented from achieving.[5] The French military and colonial archives on Algeria provide the most detailed available evidence of how Chakhotin's propaganda theory was adapted on a significant scale to the purposes of counter-insurgency.[6]

Chakhotin as propaganda theoretician and activist c.1914-1940

Historians have recognized the extent to which the First World War and the Russian Revolution, the era of "total" war that sought the global mobilization of both the military and civilian populations, marked a key watershed in the emergence of modern propaganda techniques that harnessed new media, from print and radio to film and agit prop, in order to gauge and alter public opinion.[7] Peter Holquist has argued that after 1914 the European "national security state" ushured in a new kind of political order in which vast bureaucracies engaged in the surveillance and quantification of public mood and attitudes so as to better measure, assess and transform opinion.[8] Serge Chakhotin had an unprecedented and direct experience of these transformations as head of propaganda under Kerensky and later with the anti-Soviet Don government, and during the turbulent 1930s as a specialist adviser on anti-Nazi propaganda in social democratic movements in Germany, Denmark, Belgium, Britain and France, and it was this experience that provided the basis for writing *The Rape of the Masses* during 1938. Chakhotin was a true polymath, conversant in twelve languages, who migrated constantly between research laboratories across Europe and it is not possible to investigate here all aspects of his rich intellectual career as a pioneer in scientific methods of organisation (Taylorism), in microscopy, cytology and cancer research, as well as the application of behavourism to social psychology.[9] The main focus here is on the two aspects of his work that most influenced the French military during the 1950s, first his theory of conditioned reflexes and primary instincts, and second its application to the organisation and dynamics of mass demonstrations, the public rallies and elaborate *mises en scène*, that were Chakhotin's terrain of choice for working on crowd psychology through slogans, symbols and images.[10]

Serge Chakhotin showed an interest in radical politics from an early age and, after his arrest and imprisonment for participation in an anti-Tsarist occupation of Moscow University in 1902, he was imprisoned and then exiled to Germany where he studied medicine and completed a doctorate in zoology at Heidelberg in 1907.[11] By 1912 Chakhotin had invented a remarkable "micropuncture" miscroscope for the ultraviolet examination of cells and he was able to return to Russia where he worked in St. Petersburg under his mentor the famous behaviourist Ivan Petrovich Pavlov (1849-1936).[12] In 1915 Chakhotin helped to organize the Committee for Military-Technical Assistance (*Komitet Voenno-Technicheskoi Pomoschi*) which mobilized Russia's technical, industrial and scientific expertise for the war effort, and acted as general secretary to the section dedicated to propaganda, the *Bureau for Organizing Morale*.[13] During 1916 Chakhotin extended his network by establishing local Committees for Military-Technical Assistance across Russia for the accelerated training of army technicians, "a vast propaganda campaign based on our ideas and a knowledge of the crucial techniques involved".[14]

Chakhotin went on to become a key propagandist under the Provisional Kerensky Government of 1917, in particular through the *Soviet of Intellectual Workers*, but tensions emerged with the Bolsheviks over a strike of civil servant employees. Chakhotin was forced to escape imminent arrest in December 1917 by fleeing to the south where he continued his propaganda activities within a changing kaleidoscope of "White" government military alliances. As director of the Information and Agitation Organization or OSVAG (*Osvedomitel'no-Agitatsionnoe Otdelenie*) with the Volunteer Army of Denikin, Chakhotin claimed to be,"the first minister of propaganda in Europe".[15] While Chakhotin was

impressed by Bolshevik propaganda methods, the anti-Soviet Don army was equally innovative, and the scientist elaborated new techniques for the collection of mass data on public opinion that was chartered onto daily "political weather maps" that provided a topography of the interrelationship between political and socio-economic factors on the ground.[16] The primary function of such maps, in the words of OSVAG, was the charting of the political "mood" among the population, and in particular the "psychological condition of the peasant masses".[17] Under OSVAG, which employed nearly 8,500 people, "the most modern methods were employed in the struggle: from millions of leaflets, illustrated newspapers, posters, picture displays, and teams of agitators, that flooded the markets, trains and public spaces, through to cinema and mobile teams of propagandists".[18]

At this stage the most innovative and essential feature of Chakhotin's overall theory, the role of conditioned reflexes and four basic instincts, had not yet been fully developed. But the scientist was already interested in crowd psychology, as illustrated by his account of events in St.Petersburg on 5 March 1917 when he was able to seize control of a dangerous and volatile crowd by sending a column of one hundred unarmed soldiers in gas masks that electrified the masses and restored calm, "without spilling any blood by a simple psychological coup".[19] During the early 1920s Chakhotin began to feel his way towards his behavioural theory of propaganda, a development that was partly rooted in his intense interest in Taylorism, the application of scientific techniques to the efficient management of complex bureaucracies or organisations, and in the "psychotechniques" required to train humans to follow set tasks.[20] In 1923 Chakhotin sketched out a basic theory of "objective psychology", in which the psyche never reflected inner states (the soul, the "conscience"), but only external stimuli acting on basic instincts and forming conditioned reflexes, a psycho-technique that political propagandists had developed during the Great War and that acted on both the reason and senses of the masses through repetition.[21]

Between 1930 and 1933 Chakhotin held a three year research scholarship at the Kaiser-Wilhem Institute for Medical Research in Heidelberg,[22] and it was during this period that he developed his definitive theory of psychological action and was able to put it to the test in systematic political campaigns against the Nazis. Chakhotin's stay in Heidelberg coincided with the terminal crisis of the Weimar parliamentary system as, against a background of economic depression and mass unemployment, the National Socialists (NSDAP) chalked up dramatic electoral advances and destabilized the Republican order and legality by the use of violence and aggressive propaganda.[23] After Hitler became chancellor on 30 January 1933 the leadership of the Socialist Party (SPD), the largest and best organised in Germany, came under attack for its conservative, bureaucratic torpor and failure to understand, or to take necessary action to counter, the peculiar threat offered by fascism.[24] Such a criticism had already emerged during the early 1930s when a group of Young Turks or so-called "revisionists", represented by the deputy Carlo Mierendorff, warned against the *Verkalkung* (ossification) of the party bosses, and the tendency for SPD propaganda to be dull, factual and addressed to reason, rather than feelings and emotion which were proving to be such a powerful weapon in the hands of the Nazis.[25] Mierendorff, deputy for Hesse, built up a dynamic campaigning organisation that included the Heidelberg area and by early 1932 Chakhotin offered his services to the anti-Nazi struggle.

On 16 December 1931 Otto Wels, the SPD chairman, finally gave in to pressure from the revisionists and the *Reichsbanner*, a republican defence league, to establish the Iron Front

(*Eiserne Front*), a paramilitary-style movement that would take on the NSDAP and the Communists (KPD) in extra-parliamentary street actions. In March 1932 Chakhotin, a specialist in crowd psychology and the organisation of mass demonstrations, was appointed director of Reichbanner propaganda and he largely abandoned his scientific research to become a full-time adviser to the SPD.[26] Although the SPD leaders on the national executive committee, especially Wels, continued to impede Chakhotin's plans to the very end, the scientist was able to test his ideas in a "model" campaign for the diet elections in Hesse (16 June 1932), and later on a grander scale for the national parliamentary election of 31 July 1932. For Chakhotin Hesse, in particular, proved to be the crucial test-bed for his scientific theory of propaganda and in all his subsequent writings this was always held up as a model for action and a scientific test of the effectiveness of his methods.

Chakhotin's approach to the organisation of mass demonstrations, involving huge red banners, marching bands, floats and a "war of symbols", especially the Three Arrows, appeared to some observers to be a weak and ineffectual copy of Nazi methods. Chakhotin was quite prepared to admit learning lessons from the enemy,[27] but the Russian laid claim to a vital strategic advantage over the Nazis that would guarantee a Socialist victory. The NSDAP, just like the American advertisers from whom they borrowed, were skilful at manipulating the masses using modern technology (film, radio, loudspeakers....), but these techniques had, he argued, been arrived at through pragmatic "intuition", rather than the exact science of "objective psychology". The atomisation of contemporary society meant that collectivities, "become more and more docile instruments in the hands of dictators and usurpers who in making use, on the one hand, of a more or less intuitive knowledge of psychological laws, and on the other, having to hand the formidable technical methods made available to them by the modern State, and not restrained by any moral scrupules, exercise an effective control over the mass of individuals that go to make up a people, and which we have designated here as a kind of *psychic rape* [*viol psychique*]".[28] However, since, as Chakhotin claimed, his theory of propaganda was based on an irrefutable scientific knowledge of the physical laws governing human psychology, "a science that can calculate, predict and act according to verifiable rules",[29] he could refine techniques that would ultimately outsmart and check-mate the fascists. It was Chakhotin's strong belief in this science, to which he alone held the key, that endowed him until the outbreak of the Second World War with a sense of his personal mission and a desperate race against time to spread his message throughout the global anti-fascist movement.[30]

Chakhotin derived his core theory from the work of Pavlov on conditioned reflexes, as illustrated by the famous experiment that induced salivation in dogs by creating an association between food and ringing a bell.[31] But he took his master's work in a new direction by his claim to have discovered that all life forms struggled to survive through four universal instincts that were numbered in a declining order of biological potency, from No.1) the combative or defensive impulse, No.2) to seek food or nutrition, and No.3) the sexual drive, to No.4) the protective parental or maternal instinct.[32] Scientific propaganda was to be designed by appealing to these fundamental drives, and the hierarchy from instinct No. 1 to instinct No.4 was crucial since a higher impulse would usually prove more powerful in forming a reflex than a lower one. This explained why fascist propaganda that was directed towards aggression and fear (instinct No. 1) would usually prove more powerful in controlling mass behaviour than social democratic propaganda that played on the more civilised and humane themes of peace and harmony (instinct No. 4).

Chakhotin argued, and confirmed during the electoral campaign in Hesse during May and June 1932, that modern propaganda techniques had a much more powerful impact in forming the conditioned reflexes of the less educated masses (about 90% of the population) by using symbols that appealed to the emotions and the universal instincts, than by rational or intellectual arguments that reached only 10%. Through a socio-political study of Heidelberg, Chakhotin estimated that in a total electorate of 60,000, there were only 5,000 citizens who actively participated in any form of party politics, a group that "is recruited mainly from the intellectual classes or the more conscious, cultivated and dynamic workers and peasants". The other 55,000, by contrast, "is composed of the politically indifferent and hesitant, also the lazy, tired and exhausted, depressed by the problems of everyday life....beings who have a fragile nervous system, who allow themselves to be easily manipulated by imperative orders, who are readily seized by fear, and who often are quite happy to be dominated and directed".[33] Since the majority, the 55,000, held the key to any election, it was the NSDAP that was proving most successful in shaping its propaganda to the ignorant masses, with an increasing possibility of seizing power through the ballot box and a constitutional or "democratic" coup. In this vision Chakhotin placed himself among the growing body of intellectuals who from the 1920s onwards became profoundly concerned by the power of the modern state or big business to so mould public opinion by mass media and advertising as to destroy the liberal democratic order and to open the way to totalitarianism.[34] Chakhotin shared in the widespread pessimism of European intellectuals, their fear of a "crisis of civilisation" and of an imminent catastrophe, that extended well beyond fascism and war to include deeper techical and cultural changes that made totalitarianism possible.[35]

The real test for Chakhotin, in alliance with Mierendorff, was to translate his theory into a programme of action and to demonstrate that it worked. The key to gaining influence over the masses, the ninety per cent, was through *repetition* of symbols that could act instantaneously on emotions and shape conditioned reflexes. Chakhotin claimed that modern urban life was marked by a rhythm of constant speed such that people had little time or wish to study a long sequence of printed characters, a rational statement, but preferred, "the telegraphic style, shorthand, various systems of signs".[36] The advantage of the symbol, which could consist of a sign (swastika, cross, hammer and sickle...), a word, or even a musical statement or colour, had the advantage of transmitting a powerful and emotive message in a condensed and instantaneous way, without any recourse to a conceptual or rational argument.[37] The elaborate Chakhotin demonstration, like the Nazi rally, was designed to create a psychic assault or "shock" on the senses of the masses, who were thus "warmed up" and made psychologically receptive to subliminal messages. "The incessant and massive repetition of the same forms, slogans, etc., and especially by accompanying this with the luminous stimulation of garish colours and obsessive rythmic tones, creates a state of mental fatigue that favours subjugation to the will of those manipulating this obtrusive publicity".[38] Some of Chakhotin's most ambitious demonstrations had a cinematic quality as he tried to manipulate the four instincts of bystanders through a sequence of four passing tableaux, floats and actors that played first on fear and depression, then emerging hope, and ended up with an ecstatic release of joy and triumphal elation.[39]

Chakhotin's most famous innovation in the field of symbols was the Three Arrows, an image that could be used by militants armed with chalks or paint, to rapidly scour over the

millions of swastikas that appeared on posters, walls and asphalt.[40] The Three Arrows, along with the clenched fist salute "Freedom" (*Freiheit!*), was officially accepted by the SPD executive on 14 June 1932, and subsequently spread throughout European social democratic parties as the key motif of anti-fascist struggle.[41] Since, for Chakhotin, propaganda was an exact science, anti-fascist and electoral campaigns needed to be organised centrally by experts who first studied the socio-economic and psychological characteristics of the target group or population. Slogans, for example, had to be elaborated with great care so as to appeal to the appropriate instincts, and were to be tested out in the same way as market researchers would carry out a trial run of a new brand.

Did Chakhotin's scientific propaganda have the success that he claimed for it? The extra-parliamentary forms of street action promoted by the Iron Front undoubtedly aroused the energy and enthusiasm of socialist youth and of left-wing SPD militants who were keen to take on both the NSDAP and the Communists (KPD) in paramilitary battles for control of the streets. For example, the large-scale implementation of Chakhotin's methods in the *Gau* of Hanover-South Brunswick during the July 1932 election put the Nazis on the defensive and they admitted that the Three Arrows symbol had been effective.[42] In the towns of Hesse where the Iron Front had greater freedom to agitate during the lead in to the regional elections of 16 June, modest electoral gains by the SPD were viewed as a triumph since they bucked the national trend of a remorseless Nazi advance.[43] For Chakhotin the most important feature of this campaign was a controlled experiment that showed outstanding electoral results in Offenbach, Darmstadt, Mayence and Worms where his propaganda techniques were applied compared to a disastrous performance in the "guinea pig" town of Giessen that was "abandoned to the old social-democratic methods".[44] The parliamentary elections of 31 July 1932 were disastrous for the SPD which lost 10 seats, while the NSDAP gained 123, but Chakhotin could claim, with some justification, that this was because the party leaders had sabotaged his work and, wedded to the old methods of "rational" propaganda, had remained supine in the face of the dynamic Nazi advance.[45]

Hitler's coming to power as Chancellor on 30 January 1933, which was quickly followed by a ban on the Communist and Socialist Parties and the mass arrest, incarceration and murder of left-wing politicians, trade unionists and intellectuals, sent a shock-wave through the European social democratic movement. The dual crisis of fascism and mass unemployment precipitated a crucial debate and political mobilisation of the left at national and international levels to find an urgent solution to both economic recession and the Nazi advance, in particular through a united front strategy.[46] The police and an SA /SS group searched Chakhotin's laboratory and home on two occasions between 6th and 10th March 1933 and the directors of the Institute, concerned about his political activities, terminated his employment on 22 April.[47] Chakhotin, clearly in danger despite the protection of his Soviet citizenship, fled to Denmark on 2 May 1933 from where he continued his anti-fascist activities by writing *Trepil mod Hagekors* (Three Arrows against the Swastika) and offering his services to the Danish Social Democrats (DsU).[48] In a letter to Albert Einstein in December 1933 Chakhotin gave an apocalyptic picture of the global threat of fascism that, without the correct antidote, "must inevitably result in war and total destruction". There was a danger, he noted, that the collapse of the SPD might discredit the new forms of propaganda, but "the psychological weapon is indeed the only one with which we can fight successfully in Western Europe", and he had a duty to promote this "for the benefit of

mankind".[49] Chakhotin sketched out his grandiose plan for the containment and eventual reversal of fascism by throwing a cordon sanitaire around Nazi Germany.[50]

Inspired and driven by a sense of the crucial importance of his personal mission, Chakhotin, over the next five years, attempted to spread his message by trying to ensure the translation and distribution of *Three Arrows against the Swastika* in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, England, France, Switzerland, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and by making direct contact with Social Democratic leaders in England, Belgium and France.[51] While Chakhotin made a big impact on Danish youth,[52] as he did elsewhere in Europe, the leaders of the Danish Socialist Party remained loyal to the SPD Executive Committee that had found refuge in Prague and which stood in opposition to a growing movement among exiled socialists to remove the old guard, including Otto Wels, who were held responsible for the catastrophic German collapse.[53] Faced with the opposition of the Danish leaders, and in particular of Richard Hansen who kept Otto Wels informed of his activities, Chakhotin decided in early 1934 to move to Paris where he found a far more sympathetic reception, particularly in the context of an emerging Popular Front.

The quasi-insurrectionary fascist street-fighting in Paris on 6 February 1934, during which fifteen demonstrators died, was followed within days by the crushing of the Austrial Social Democrats by the Dolfuss dictatorship. These events galvanized the French left that suddenly came to see itself as faced with an ultimate crisis in which fascism had now moved into the heart of French society itself. The period from 1934 to 1936, which opened with a pact of unity between the SFIO and the French Communist Party on 27 July 1934, represented a golden age of Socialist militancy and the flourishing of increasingly elaborate forms of avant-garde art, political symbolism and mass demonstrations.[54] The key role in the reconstruction of French socialist action and propaganda was played by the left-wing leaders Jean Zyromski and Marceau Pivert who led the anti-fascist *Bataille socialist* tendency and the militant youth movement that was particularly strong in the Paris region, the *Fédération de la Seine.*[55] Chakhotin, from his base in Copenhagen, made contact with Zyromski as secretary of the national SFIO commission on propaganda, and following a first exploratory trip to Paris, he prepared under the pseudonyme "Dr. Flamme", a detailed plan for the radical overhaul of socialist propaganda according to the scientific theory tried and tested by him in Heidelberg.[56] Socialists, he claimed, would never be able to counter fascist propaganda, "if we remain bound to our old out-moded methods, if we do not have recourse to the same methods as the fascists". Chakhotin's call for modernisation represented a profound shock to the political culture of the mainstream Socialist Party that was based on the nineteenth century Guesdist tradition of proletarian education and enlightenment and a rational discourse that was diffused through closely argued texts, newspapers, books, and pamphlets. The plan went on to argue that French Socialist policy was wrong to see economic self-interest, based on the instinct of nutrition, as "the most effective stimulus in political propaganda". Mussolini and Hitler had demonstratred the irresistible power of aggression and struggle, "a kind of spiritual dictatorship that culminated in the 'Gleichschaltung' ", a forcible-coordination that imposed a particular way of thinking on the masses.

The "Flamme Plan" sketched in a programme of reform of Socialist propaganda. This would be achieved through a highly centralised apparatus constructed on Taylorist lines, "functioning according to the modern methods for the scientific organisation of rational

labour, employing every modern technique, and economising on effort, time and money". The central body would ensure the scientific design of effective symbols and slogans, such as the Three Arrows, that would have an instantaneous impact, and be able "in the twinkling of an eye or a split second to stimulate an association in the nervous system of any onlooker". Propaganda would also be designed to match the socio-cultural and political characteristics of particular classes or regions, and the effectiveness of campaigns measured, through a "météorologie politique" [political weather charts], the mapping and analysis of public opinion, a technique that Chakhotin pioneered during the Russian Revolution.

The dramatic collapse and repression of the great German and Austrian Socialist parties led tens of thousands of émigrés to seek refuge in France where they were warmly received by the left as heroes of the anti-fascist struggle and as battle-hardened militants from whom important lessons could be learned.[57] The political symbols and new forms of propaganda developed in Germany and Austria, such as the Three Arrows, the clenched fist salute, and uniformed youth leagues like the Red Falcons, were already known in France through newspaper photographs and cinema newsreels of the Iron Front and the Schutzbund, powerful images of the laboratory of anti-Nazi resistance.[58] Chakhotin, as a pioneer of propaganda in Germany, shared in this halo of glory, and was readily adopted by the Socialist Party. The centre and right leadership of the SFIO, including Léon Blum, were sufficiently shocked by the dramatic collapse of the mighty SPD and by the fascist riots of 6 February 1934, to be galvanized into acceptance of new propaganda methods and a united front strategy.[59] However, it was mainly Pivert and the far-left Socialist bastion in Paris that took the initiative in cultivating Chakhotin and at the annual Congress of the Federation of the Seine on 24 June 1934 the secretary of the *Jeunesses Socialistes* reported, "we have invited Dr. Flamme to give us a lecture on the new methods of rational and scientifically grounded propaganda", and had already introduced an action plan that included the universal dissemination of the Three Arrows on flyers, posters, badges and banners, and the "battle of symbols applied to every wall".[60] The secretary hoped that the methods would spread nation-wide which, in some regions, proved to be the case as the militant Raymond Abellio witnessed in the Drôme in 1935.[61]

As in Russia, Germany and Denmark, Chakhotin did not stand on the sidelines as a theorist of propaganda but was directly involved in the detailed planning of several huge Popular Front demonstrations. On 15 May 1936 Chakhotin, on behalf of the Fédération de la Seine, organised a mass rally to impress the lukewarm SFIO leadership, what he termed, "a model meeting...based on the rules of the art of the 'new' propaganda".[62] A high point was an elaborate, illuminated panel, that showed Colonel de la Roque, leader of the fascist Croix de Feu, being chased by Three Arrows.[63] But the high point of Chakhotin's method was the victory celebration of the newly elected Popular Front government in the Vel d'Hiver arena on 7 June 1936. Columns of uniformed *Jeune garde socialiste* marched into the stadium carrying red flags with the Three Arrow emblem, and formed up on either side of a central corridor, lowering their banners as Blum advanced towards the podium to the sound of choirs and martial fanfares.[64] The militaristic style of the rally, which bore an unmistakable similarity with fascist propaganda, appears to have been in contradiction with the self-proclaimed "pacifist" principles of Chakhotin and the left-Socialists led by Pivert. However, the Pivertists made a distinction between "integral pacifism" that would accept no form of violence, and "revolutionary pacifism" that legitimated defensive armed struggle against

aggressive fascism and war-mongering capitalist interests.[65] Chakhotin's "Plan Flamme" of 1934 had promoted a campaign based on "aggression" and the fighting instinct and led by "propaganda assault troops", and Pivert in late 1934 established armed auto-defense units, the *Toujours prêt pour servir* (TPPS) brigades.[66]

By the autumn of 1936 Chakhotin, as in Germany and Denmark, was again bitterly disillusioned by a French Socialist leadership sunk in lethargy that failed to provide full backing for his propaganda methods. The Blum government moved rapidly towards a more conservative position that was symbolised dramatically by non-interventionism and a refusal to support vigorous action against General Franco's rebellion. The Pivertist left, with whom Chakhotin was associated, became isolated and, after the SFIO dissolved the Paris Federation in April 1938, formed the breakaway *Parti socialiste ouvrier et paysan*. Chakhotin, disillusioned with party politics, retreated to a more elitist technocratic position, one in which he believed that scientists, who understood the biological laws of human nature, could better provide the solutions to mankind's problems.[67] Latent within Chakhotin's theory of propaganda was the idea that since 90% of the ignorant electorate was exposed to "psychological rape", it was up to a vanguard of scientists to control and direct public opinion, a theory that carried obvious anti-democratic dangers of dictatorship by an educated elite. Chakhotin, like many inter-war intellectuals, was deeply distrustful of the irrationality of the "masses", and believed that in the transitional phase before future socialism could educate and enlighten all mankind, political power should be placed in their hands.[68] But the urgency of the virulent spread of nazism meant that time was not on the side of enlightenment and progress, and a scientific elite, among which he included himself, needed to seize the helm.

Between 1936 and 1939 Chakhotin became closely associated with the industrialist and polymath engineer Jean Coutrot who established an interdisciplinary think tank, the *Centre d'étude des problèmes humains* (CEPH) that gathered a galaxy of intellectuals and scientists in regular conferences at the Abbay de Pontigny.[69] Coutrot, in a foundation statement inviting scientists to joing the CEPH project, shared Chakhotin's ideas on the insidious power of mass media to shape modern society: "The development of the human being is today no longer autonomous: from the first waking hour until the moment of sleep, - if it should come – man, even within his home, is under seige from the unleashed techniques of suggestion; books, the press, records, radio, cinema, and soon television, by working in the service of education, advertising and propaganda. In capitalist countries this anarchic onslaught aims to make us prefer one brand of cigarettes or pasta over another; under dictatorships it is systematic and aims to fabricate children, to deform men, so as to conform with government objectives".[70] Coutrot, like Chakhotin, believed that human sciences lagged far behind and needed to catch up with advanced natural science by developing irrefutable laws that would unlock understanding of psychology, biology and human behaviour.[71] Chakhotin found a sympathetic audience in CEPH circles for his ideas on conditioned reflexes, "la violation psychique", and propaganda, and was encouraged by them to write the *Viol des Foules* during 1938.[72] Publication was delayed into 1939 by the opposition of the Foreign Minister, Georges Bonnet, and eventually the book was seized by the Paris police. After the German occupation Chakhotin escaped arrest since, as a Soviet citizen, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact offered him some protection, but on the morning of Operation Barbarossa (22 June 1941), he was arrested by the Gestapo and interned in a camp at Compiègne. However, the Russian escaped an almost certain death and was

released from the camp on 23 January 1943 after German scientists interceded on his behalf and the Gestapo, through an administrative muddle, failed to link him to *Le Viol* or to his anti-fascist past in Germany.[73] Between 1944 and his return to the Soviet Union in 1958, Chakhotin was to devote his energies mainly to the world peace movement,[74] but his considerable revision of *Le Viol* for a 1952 edition, that integrated a mass of contemporary research on propaganda, made the book widely available after its proscription and seizure during the Second World War and initiated a new interest in its theory.

The influence of *Le Viol des Foules* on psychological warfare in Algeria, c.1948-1960

The 1952 edition of *Le Viol des Foules* fell on fertile soil since French military specialists, who were developing new thinking on psychological warfare, were able to turn to the text as an encyclopaedic compendium on the history, theory and science of propaganda. The appeal of Chakhotin to the French army requires some background knowledge of the theory of revolutionary warfare and the harsh and humiliating conditions under which thousands of officers were subjected to behavioral conditioning in Vietnamese prison camps.

French strategic thinking after 1945 was drawn towards propaganda and control of public opinion by a number of factors: a direct experience of guerrilla warfare and special operations during the Resistance; an awareness of the psychological warfare techniques and disinformation practised by both Allied and Axis powers between 1939 and 1945; anxiety, in a deepening Cold War era, of the ability of the Soviets and the French Communist Party to subvert the morale of the nation from within; and an awareness of the threat offered by the doctrine of "revolutionary warfare" (*guerre révolutionnaire*) to imperial security.[75] The French army, faced after 1945 with a string of nationalist revolts in the colonies, from Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco to Madagascar, and the Ivory Coast,[76] and in particular by the formidable guerrilla techniques of the Vietminh in Indochina, engaged in a major rethink of strategy.[77] Conventional warfare involving massed infantry, tank, and artillery, had proved disastrous in jungle and mountain conditions in which guerrilla bands refused to engage in fixed position conflict, but after each hit-and-run attack melted away into their support base among the local rural population. Mao Tse-Tung, constantly referred to as the master theoretician of *guerre révolutionnaire*, maintained that guerrilla forces could only survive through popular support that provided them with food, housing, medicine, lookouts, transport, intelligence and recruits: hence his famous dictum that insurgents flourished among the people like fish in water, unless the opponent succeeded in draining the lake. Modern "total" wars of this kind were primarily political, and the contending forces were locked in battle that had less to do with military defeat of the opponent, than with what Colonel Argoud called "the conquest of the population" through psychological methods, a conquest that showed an evident symmetry with Chakhotin's analysis of totalitarian regimes.[78]

French military exponents of revolutionary warfare argued, as had Chakhotin in relation to the Nazi threat during 1932, that the only way to defeat the enemy was by studying and learning from his methods: as General Chassin remarked in October 1954, "The time has come for the free world, if it does not wish to die a violent death, to apply certain methods

of its adversary".[79] It might seem anomalous that the armed forces were to show such deep interest in *Le Viol des foules*, a work that expressed an anti-military pacifism, and a vision of a future democratic and harmonious world order that was in total opposition to the right-wing extremism of the colonels.[80] However, Chakhotin's theory of conditioned reflexes and four basic instincts based on a scientific understanding of what he considered to be the laws of biology could, logically, be harnessed by any type of regime regardless of its moral or political colour. The military proponents of revolutionary warfare maintained that the ends justified the means, and that in an era when the very survival of Western civilisation was placed in jeopardy by an enemy prepared to use every method, including terrorism, the gravity of that threat legitimated the suspension of the normal liberal democratic or humanitarian rule of law. As Antoine Argoud noted, "The war is total. From now on no moral considerations will limit the use of force".[81] One of the dilemmas of Chakhotin's elaboration of a scientific theory of propaganda, as opposed to the inferior "intuitive" methods of Hitler, was that the laws governing human behaviour might become known to political adversaries who could use them to achieve destructive ends that were totally opposed to his own.

How and why did the military adapt Chakhotin's ideas and techniques to shape their own counter-insurgency agenda? The leading proponents of psychological warfare, who were eventually to dominate official thinking between late 1956 and early 1960, constituted a small, activist élite of senior officers who were motivated by a profoundly reactionary and right-wing Catholic (*intégriste*) vision of a final Cold-War battle for Christian civilization. For them the colonial rebellions in Indochina, the Maghreb and elsewhere had little to do with genuine nationalism or a legitimate demand for self-determination, but were rather secretly inspired and armed by the Soviets or Communist China. These were proxy wars that had the objective of rolling back empire and defeating the West, not by the advance of Soviet tanks across central Europe, but via the arrival of barbarians at the gates.[82] Antoine Argoud, who was later to deploy exceptional levels of violence against the civilian Algerian population, was probably the first officer to study Chakhotin and to disseminate his idea of "viol psychique" in the French army in 1948. [83] Argoud tended, as did many later army studies, to attribute Chakhotin's ideas to Pavlov, whereas they were unmistakably drawn from *Le Viol*, and he was particularly impressed by the "war of symbols" during the Hesse campaign of 1932.[84] Argoud was soon followed by a phalanx of specialists, including Colonel Lacheroy, the most influential theorist of *guerre révolutionnaire*, who reflected on *Le Viol des Foules* as the "best-known book" in the field.[85] The key exponents of a radical counter-insurgency agenda, who during 1957-8 went on to organize the powerful Psychological or Fifth Bureau, secretly grouped in discussion cells within the integrist *Cité catholique* movement established after 1946 by Jean Ousset and Georges Sauge.[86] This virulently anti-Communist network, which was inspired by a crusading spirit to halt the advance of secular materialism and to save Christianity and the West from subversion by barbarism and moral decadence, was later to provide numerous OAS members and to inspire the neo-fascist Front National.

Such an ideological grouping had little, if anything, in common with the Soviet scientist and socialist who held a deeply materialist view of the universe. However, the theory of conditioned reflexes was of considerable interest to soldiers who felt they had been the victims of similar behavioural techniques. Almost all the advocates of psychological warfare had served in Indochina, and the most doctrinaire of them were deeply scarred, and at the same time impressed, by their experience of the "re-education" camps of the Vietminh.

Thousands of soldiers, held under harsh conditions in the camps between 1949 and 1954, were subjected to relentless indoctrination through complex programmes that involved psychological preparation through physical exhaustion (hunger, forced marches), and stress and anxiety, followed by "re-education" that worked on conditioned reflexes (rewards and punishments), compulsory study of Marxist texts, and self-criticism.[87] During this period American POWs in Korea were going through an identical experience of "brainwashing" and US and French opinion was impressed by the apparent ability of such techniques to convert hardened officers to support the Communist cause.[88] The early 1950s, during the height of the Cold War, saw a moral panic in the USA and Western Europe, a fear that the Communists had perfected brainwashing techniques that presented a frightening and insidious threat. This gave rise to extensive research by US intelligence agencies into techniques of mind-control, including the use of drugs, an experimentation that was grounded in behavioural science that was then at the peak of its academic influence.[89]

There is no evidence of a direct link between Chakhotin and the French military,[90] but it can be seen why the strategists interested in psychological warfare should have taken an interest in *Le Viol des Foules*, a book that Jean-Marie Domenach popularised in the '*Que sais-je'* series in 1950 as "the only fundamental work dedicated to our subject [propaganda]".[91] Firstly, the Russian scientist was viewed, rather mistakenly, as somebody who had a deep inside knowledge of Soviet propaganda research and who could thus provide valuable information as to how the French army could study, learn from, and apply Communist techniques, just as they had learned counter-guerrilla strategy from Mao-Tse-Tung.[92] Secondly, Chakhotin, as an internationally renowned Pavlovian behaviourist, carried with him all the legitimating authority of a scientist whose theories were based on, and verified by, empirical laboratory experimentation. Thirdly, the techniques of manipulating conditioned reflexes could, it was thought, be readily applied by army officers who possessed little, if any, expertise in psychology and with a minimum of training, so that the propaganda methods could be applied on a large scale across colonial space to a diverse subject population. Finally, and most attractive of all, was that *Le Viol* appeared to provide a ready solution to the most crucial and difficult problem facing the military propaganda offensive in Algeria. The Psychological Warfare Fifth Bureau mounted a huge campaign to win over the Algerian population to the French side, while isolating the FLN: however, over 90% of the people were without education and illiterate in both French and Arabic, and any attempt to appeal to them through a rational discourse seemed doomed to failure.

Through his 1932 campaign in Hesse, Chakhotin had demonstrated that only 10% of the German electorate were swayed by rational argument, while 90% were far more exposed to psychological manipulation of their feelings and basic instincts through the repetition of symbols and the formation of conditioned reflexes. Chakhotin was aware that the adoption of such techniques, even by socialist parties, was potentially anti-democratic and replicated aspects of the totalitarian political systems to which he was deeply opposed, and in the long term he looked to a future society of universal education that would "immunize" the vulnerable 90% against such propaganda. In the meanwhile the urgency of the Nazi global threat was so great that socialists were perfectly justified in using totalitarian propaganda tools in order to save humanity.[93] The Algerian colonial government and army assumed a similar position of political necessity. It did undertake a significant programme of school building and educational reform, but this would take years to make any real impact and, faced with the huge costs in money and lives of the ongoing war, it could not afford to wait

for Algerians to become rational (or educated) beings before attempting to shape their attitudes. But whereas Chakhotin clung to the idea of an enlighted, socialist propaganda, the French advocates of psychological warfare were prepared to use the argument of necessary "emergency powers" to legitimate the widespread abuse of human rights and the systematic deployment of violence and torture.[94]

The advocates of psychological warfare set out to spread Chakhotin's ideas throughout the armed forces through inviting academics, psychologists and other propaganda specialists such as Jules Monnerot, Maurice Mégret, and Commander Antoine Bonnemaison to provide lectures or courses to officers in the École Supérieure de Guerre in Paris.[95] This process accelerated after General Raoul Salan, appointed commander in Algeria on 1 December 1956, immediately promoted a number of propaganda specialists, notably Colonel Goussault, who had worked with him in Vietnam. Salan believed that officers who had experienced the Viet Minh camps were particularly suited to undertake propaganda work and early in 1957 he promoted a new type of political commissar, the *Officiers itinérantes*, fiercely doctrinaire anti-Communists whose task it was to spread the new techniques throughout the army and to advise local commanders on psychological warfare operations.[96] This militant group was, in part through it's own experience of brainwashing, strongly drawn to behavourist ideas of conditioning.

The most important centre for the diffusion of the new orthodoxy was a special army school, the Counter-Guerrilla Training Centre (CIPCG), established at Arzew in June 1956. It was Salan's intention that every officer posted to Algeria should undergo the course and throughout its existence over 10,000 senior and junior officers passed through its gates.[97] In July 1957 Salan appointed Lt. Colonel Bruges as director, an ex- POW who had survived the Viet-Minh camps from 1949 to 1954, who was particularly keen to restructure training programmes to include a major component on psychological warfare.[98] The texts of the courses taught at Arzew show that an eclectic range of sources was used, from psychoanalysis (Carl Jung) and Communist theory (Marx, Lenin, Mao-Tse-Tung) to conservative political philosophy (Paul Valery, Ernst Junger) and contemporary French works in social psychology and propaganda (Jacques Ellul, Jean-Marie Domenach, Maurice Mégret), but the core theory was drawn from Chakhotin and the four instincts.[99] The basic lecture course on Psychological warfare provided a detailed survey of Chakhotin's theory, including how Soviet linguistic specialists studied which words or symbols (the "signal"), could best incite particular conditioned reflexes. For example, the Coldwar slogan, "Battle to defend Peace", superimposed on an image of a dove and a mother, could be broken down into the constituent instincts which were being manipulated:-

Image of the mother..... instinct No.4

The word "battle" ..... instinct No. 1

" " "defence"..... instinct No.2

" " "peace" .....instinct No.4.[100]

However, the programme on psychological warfare that was developed on the basis of these sources was rather amateurish. This can be explained by the fact that, with the exception of a few lecturers like Commander Bonnemaison who held a diploma from the

Institut Français de Psychologie,[101] the directors Bruges and Colonel de Maison Rouge, had no training in psychology and were self-taught "on the job" through reading up the classic theorists, including Chakhotin.[102] Perhaps this goes some way to explain why so many of the officers who completed questionnaires at the end of their course noted that the lectures were ill-adapted to the needs of soldiers, were far too "abstract", and lacking in practical applications.[103]

During the course of 1957 and early 1958 Chakhotin's methods were put to the test by the Fifth Bureau, particularly during the secret "Operation Pilote" in the region of Orleansville.[104] Chakhotin placed considerable emphasis on the need for skilled specialists operating within a centralised propaganda organisation to carefully construct slogans and symbols based on the science of conditioned reflexes and the four basic instincts. The uniformity of the propaganda message was also essential to ensure a sense of power and authority. The Fifth Bureau centralised such operations and transmitted to commanders in the field a continuous flow of carefully designed posters, tracts, slogans, and standardised speeches. Colonel Feaugas, for example, during "Operation Paintbrush", used army teams to flood the town of Orleansville with posters and slogans that were glued or painted on buildings, roads, tarmac surfaces and rock walls so that the repetition of a message, as in commercial advertising, would imprint itself on the psyche of Muslims.[105] Isolated villages (*douars*) were visited on a weekly basis by special mobile propaganda units that consisted of an *Officier itinérant*, a Loud-Speaker and Publicity Team (*compagnie des hautes-parleurs et de tracts*) which showed films and set up PA systems, and medical teams of doctors and nurses. Typical of such actions was that in the Douar Drablia in July 1957 when the inhabitants were forced to attend an open air meeting and were subjected, for an entire day, to repetition of a single slogan, "do not let yourself be eaten by the jackals [FLN], help us to protect your lives and property".[106]

Did such "scientific" forms of propaganda have the desired effect? Chakhotin had warned that his theory of instincts should not be applied in a mechanistic way and that psychological experts needed to closely study and shape propaganda to match the socio-cultural, ethnic and political features of a particular target audience.[107] The Arzew programme, in its third lecture course on *La Mentalité Musulmane Algérienne*, recognised that Algerians expressed their instincts in culture-specific ways, but despite this recognition the programme directors still entered into a crude catalogue of Orientalist stereotyping. The Algerian was viewed as highly impulsive, improvident and inconsistent and, despite extraordinary powers of factual memory, had lower powers of reasoning, lacked imagination and a critical spirit: "His intelligence is immobile...He has, unlike us, no understanding of the relation of cause to effect".[108] André Bruges, in his parting review of Arzew in September 1959, admitted that the entire psychological offensive was flawed by a failure to understand the historic impact of Islam on "the collective subconscience of the Muslim....we still lack an in depth analysis of the conscious and subconscious psychology of this particular universe".[109] The orientalism of the Fifth Bureau reflected a wider failure of the French army to gain an anthropological knowledge of the inner workings and dynamics of Algerian society that could inform techniques of control and manipulation.

Few Fifth Bureau leaders or *Officiers itinérantes* had any knowledge of Arab or Berber dialect, and much of the Chakhotin-inspired propaganda that was produced centrally reveals superficial stereotyping of the Algerian "mind" and the most crude and mechanistic

attempt at psychological manipulation. For example, the Fifth Bureau investigated the symbolic meaning of different colours in Islamic culture and the "No" ballot papers for the important Referendum of 28 September 1958 were printed on purple paper because of the supposed negative reflexes this produced in Muslim society. Some local commanders were not at all impressed by the centrally produced propaganda and preferred to design their own leaflets.[110] Worse, many commanders during "Operation Pilot" were deeply hostile to the methods of the Fifth Bureau which, with good reason, they suspected of using the *Officiers itinérantes* as doctrinaire radicals who constituted a network of spies and a dangerous, politicized "parallel hierarchy" within the army.[111] Many officers, as well as the civil authorities in the Prefecture, showed resistance or inertia towards psychological warfare, and it was estimated that only 20% of soldiers understood or actively supported the methods.[112]

It is more difficult to gauge Algerian responses to the propaganda that was directed at them, but overall the attempts to mould conditioned reflexes or to manipulate crowd psychology had little, if any, success. If villagers turned out en masse to be addressed by mobile propaganda teams, this was usually because the terrified peasantry was coerced by the army, or because, reduced to extreme poverty, they were attracted by handouts of food, clothing or medicines. Algerians might go through the motions of welcoming propaganda teams or repeating the required slogans, but for most this was a prudent survival strategy, and behind the facade of conformity, silence (*attentisme*) or pretended ignorance, lay concealed layers of mental resistance. The texts of FLN newspapers, radio broadcasts, and documents captured by the French, show that the nationalists were fully aware of the nature and purpose of French propaganda and constantly warned Algerians not to fall prey to indoctrination. French commanders were often perceptive about the limited impacts of their methods: as Colonel Rieutard noted, "the use of loud speakers for the psychological working of big meetings, gathered more or less 'spontaneously', may appear to be effective, but does not necessarily guarantee any lasting effects".[113]

Despite such strictures, the Fifth Bureau, as well as some historians, have laid claim to one brilliant success of considerable political importance, and in which Chakhotin's methods of crowd psychology and manipulation were utilized on a large scale. On the 13 May 1958 Gaullist plotters, working with extreme-right wing colonial interests, engineered a military coup in Algiers that brought down the hated Fourth Republic and, within weeks, installed de Gaulle in power. The plotters needed to be able to persuade public opinion and de Gaulle that the "revolutionary" movement was not an anti-democratic coup, but a genuine and spontaneous expression of the popular will, of both European and Algerian Muslim support for *Algérie française*. The leading figures from the Fifth Bureau, including Goussault and Lacheroy, secretly organised elaborate demonstrations of "fraternisation", mise en scène during which veiled women burned their veils or tore them off to embrace their European "sisters".[114] The archives reveal the behind the scenes orchestration of these events according to Chakhotin's principles: the preparation of slogans, of banners, the instruction of demonstrators and their transport by military lorries to central Algiers. But it was crucial to the goals of the Fifth Bureau that this be carefully concealed, and overall the operation was a huge success because many participants, the international media and public opinion, was convinced of the "spontaneity" of the crowds, what General Salan in a telex to Paris referred to as, "a total spiritual fusion of the two communities".[115]

General de Gaulle had his private doubts about the genuine nature of the crowd euphoria, but a willing suspension of disbelief eased his conscience so that he could accept power through popular demand, rather than as was the reality, on the back of a military coup. The May 1958 events were of major political importance: not only did they precipitate the birth of the Fifth Republic and a new Constitutional order, but they also persuaded the Algerian government and military leaders of the enormous efficacy of psychological warfare techniques.[116] From May 1958 onwards the army massively expanded and generalised its use of the methods that had been tested during 1957 in "Operation Pilote", until early 1960 when de Gaulle, keen to cut back the political power base of the colonels, closed down the Fifth Bureau and began to dismantle its ideological apparatus. However, a heavy irony of the events of "13 May" was that the experts in psychological warfare had used their arts more to deceive the European public and French leaders than the Algerian masses, and ultimately this served to drag out the cruel war of decolonization for another four years rather than to bring it to a more rapid conclusion.[117]

Conclusion.

In 1958 Chakhotin finally returned to the Soviet Union, at the moment that the French psychological warfare officers claimed their greatest triumph using his techniques. But this success was short-lived since in early 1960 de Gaulle brought an abrupt end to the Fifth Bureau and began to contain or remove the ideologically driven colonels and generals who had politicized the armed forces and who now moved towards clandestine opposition and the extremist OAS. It was also around this time that the theories of behavourism and modern propaganda that were developed and became dominant between the First World War, the Russian Revolution and the end of the 1950s began to lose their influence.[118] By 1960 the academic theory of propaganda was moving in a different direction, away from the simplistic notion that the passive masses could somehow be "inocculated" by messages or disinformation that would automatically have the intended effect.[119] The manufacture of consent was now seen as a far more complex process in which citizens, and the social or familial groups to which they belonged, played a far more dynamic role in how information was assessed, filtered or interpreted.[120] Chakhotin's life story, as a pioneer of behaviourial science, as well as a high level theorist and practician of propaganda during the first "total" war, the Russian Revolution, and in anti-fascist movements in Germany, Denmark and France, sheds a strong light on the early age of modern propaganda. The military archives of the Algerian War are also invaluable to the extent that they provide a detailed insight into the largest experiment in the adaptation of Chakhotian techniques to a particular field. In general that experiment proved to be a failure, in part because of the army's lack of expertise in adapting such a programme to the socio-cultural context of Algerian society, but most crucially because the population proved deeply resistant to any form of superficial "brainwashing" or indoctrination. However, despite de Gaulle's dismantling of the political movement by doctrinaire advocates of *guerre révolutionnaire*, this did not prevent the flawed, and outdated methods of Pavlovian behaviourism, from flowing secretly into post-colonial counter-insurgency manuals and interrogation techniques in the Americas, only to resurface again during the Twenty-First Century in Iraq and Afghanistan.[121]

*I wish to thank Eugène Tchakhotine for providing access to the archives of his father (hereafter the 'Chakhotin Archive') and Drs Margot Paterson, Barbara Marshall and Gordon Turner for assistance with the translation of German language sources.

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[1] There exists a confusion of variant spellings of the family name: the form "Serge Chakhotin" is used throughout, but where sources or references provide a different spelling this has been retained in order to assist with bibliographic or electronic searches.

[2] The first French edition, Serge Tchakhotine, *Le Viol des Foules par la Propagande Politique* (Paris, 1939), went through numerous 1939 reprints before it was seized by the French police and, after the German occupation, placed on the "Otto list" of banned works: see Pascal Fouché, vol. 1, *L'édition française sous l'occupation 1940-1944* (Paris, 1987), 300, 315, 338. An English edition, dedicated to H.G. Wells, appeared soon after, Serge Chakotin, *The Rape of the Masses. The Psychology of Totalitarian Political Propaganda* (London: Georges Routledge, 1940) and in further 1940 editions in London (Labour Book Service) and the USA (New York: Fortean Society). A much revised and updated version of *Le Viol*, over twice the length of the 1939 edition, was published by Gallimard in 1952 . Many historians, relying on the 1939 edition or its translations, have failed to recognise, and thus missed, the extensive body of new material contained in the 1952 book.

[3] Peter Paret, *French Revolutionary Warfare from Indochina to Algeria. The Analysis of a Political and Military Doctrine* (London, 1964), 58, notes, for example, that the psychological warfare section, the Fifth Bureau, "derived their ideas from a narrow body of psychological and sociological thought...most important, a Marxist follower of Pavlov, Serge Chakhotin"; John Steward Ambler, *The French Army in Politics 1945-1962* (Ohio, 1966), 318, "military specialists in 'psychological action' owed their faith in mass manipulation through propaganda partly to careful study of Serge Chakotin's *The Rape of the Masse'"*; George Armstrong Kelly, *Lost Soldiers. The French Army and Empire in Crisis, 1947-1962* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 135, notes the impact of this "amazing study".

[4] See in particular the research by Peter Holquist, Peter Kenez, Hilde Hardeman, Donna Harsch, Philippe Burrin, and Éric Nadaud listed in subsequent endnotes.

[5] G.A. Kelly, *Lost Soldiers*, 135, writing in 1965 long before the archives were open, qualified his assessment of *Le Viol* in the following terms: "<u>On the evidence available</u> no one can doubt that it had a telling influence.." (underlined, my emphasis). The military archives of the *Service historique de la Défense* (SHD) are at Vincennes, the civilian *Archives nationales d'outre-mer* (ANOM) at Aix-en-Provence. Christopher Cradock and M.L.R. Smith, " 'No Fixed Values'. A Reinterpretation of the Influence of the Theory of *Guerre Révolutionnaire* and the Battle of Algiers, 1956-1957", *Journal of Cold War Studies* 9:4 (Fall 2007): 68-105, have argued more recently that the theorists who utilized Chakhotin, among others, had little impact on army practice, but they have ignored the key archives which have been open since 1992 (and not 2002 as they state) as well as the large volume of research by Paul and Marie-Catherine Villatoux and others that have utilized these sources.

[6] To date, the only historian to examine Chakhotin in the light of the Algerian archives is Marnia Lazreg, *Torture and the Twilight of Empire. From Algiers to Baghdad* (Princeton, 2008), 61-66. Lazreg incorrectly links Chakhotin to the psychology of interrogation and torture, of which there is no evidence in *Le Viol* or in the military archives, rather than, as was the case, to methods for propagandising the Algerian population.

[7] See the pioneering work of Harold. D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (London, 1927).

[8] Peter Holquist, " 'Information Is the Alpha and Omega of Our Work': Bolshevik Surveillance in Its Pan-European Context", *The Journal of Modern History* 69:3 (Sep., 1997), 415-50; see also Corey Ross, "Mass Politics and the Techniques of Leadership. The Promise and Perils of Propaganda in Weimar Germany", *German History* 24:2 (2006), 184-211. Martin Thomas, *Empires of Intelligence. Security Services and Colonial Disorder after 1914* (Berkeley, 2008), examines the same processes at work in the colonial "intelligence state".

[9] The best source on Chakhotin's life is his unpublished autobiography, *Un Phare Me Guidait. Un savant et penseur Russe avant, pendant, après la Révolution. Quatre-vingts ans d'hisoire vécue*, 299.pp. typescript, Chakhotin archive. A useful overview is also provided by Richard Albrecht in a 1986-7 article that has been reissued in electronic form, '*"Dreipfeil gegen Hakenkreuz" – Symbolkrieg in Deutschland 1932'* (Wissenschaftlicher Aufsatz, 2007). Some aspects of his early life, along with numerous family photographs, can be found in Sergei Tchakhotine, *Sotto le Macerie di Messina. Racconto di un Sopravvissuto al terremoto del 1908* (Messina, 2008). Boris Hars-Tschachotin has made an interesting film, *Sergej in the Urn* (Germany, 2009), about his great grandfather's life.

[10] *Un Phare*, 91, "our propaganda achieved its most effective impact in the form of demonstrations or parades...".

[11] *Un Phare*, 25-35. Chakhotin was born near Constantinople on 13 September 1883. His father, Stepan Ivanovich Chakhotin, was for a while private secretary to the writer Turgenev, then a consular interpreter (*dragoman*) in Constantinople before becoming vice-consul in Jerusalem and consul at Nich (Niš) in Serbia until 1904. Serge moved to Odessa with his mother, Alexandra Motzo, who was of Greek origin, in 1893 where he received a Gymnasium education before going to Moscow University in 1901. He was closer to the Mensheviks than the Bolcheviks, and for his entire political career as a socialist after 1919 was consistently drawn to European social democratic parties, rather than to Communism or main-stream Marxism.

[12] An assessment and tribute to Chakhotin's pioneering work by contemporary scientific specialists is Michael W. Burns and Karl Otto Greulich (eds.), *Laser Manipulation of Cells and Tissues* (Amsterdam, 2007), volume 82, *Methods in Cell Biology*.

[13] *Un Phare*, 50-2.

[14] *Un Phare*, 53.

[15] Serge Tchakhotine, *Le viol des foules* (1952 edition), 331.

[16] *Ibid*., 330-31. Chakhotin notes that such maps, already pioneered during the Kerensky government, constituted, "to my knowledge the first and unique case in which scientific methods were pragmatically applied in order to shape a political struggle". On Chakhotin's role with the Don army and government see Peter Kenez, *Civil War in South Russia, 1918* (Berkeley, 1971); Christopher Lazarinski, "White Propaganda Efforts in the South during the Russian Civil War, 1918-1919", *Slavonic and East European Review* 70:4 (Oct., 1992), 668-707; Konstantine Nikolaevich Sokolov, *Pravlenie generala Denikina: iz vospominanii* [The Government of General Denikin. From my memoirs], (Sofiya, 1921); and Peter Holquist, *Making War, Forging Revolution. Russia's Continuum of Crisis, 1914-1921* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002).

[17] P. Holquist, *Making War*, 227;

[18] *Le Viol* (1952), 329.

[19] *Ibid*., 156-7.

[20] Chakhotin was already using "American" methods in his organisation of OSVAG, see P. Holquist, *Making War*, 225-6; K.N. Sokolov, *Pravleni generala Denikina*, 95-99. During the inter-war period he published numerous Taylorist works, including (in Russian), *Organisation. Principles and methods in production, trade, administration and politics* (Berlin, 1923); *Organisation rationelle de la recherche scientifique* (Paris, 1938). On Taylorism in Europe during this period see Charles Meier, "Between Taylorism and Technocracy: European ideologies and the vision of industrial productivity in the 1920s", *Journal of Contemporary History* 5 (1970), 27-61.

[21] *Organisation* (1923). Chakhotin noted "the First World War had been to an unprecedented degree a 'psychological war'"and he predicted that techniques "for undermining the nervous system of the enemy" and psychological factors, "will become the principal preoccupation of war leaders".

[22] As an émigré scientist and a Soviet citizen from 1922, Chakhotin found it difficult to find a stable, academic post, and often lived in penury, moving constantly between laboratories across Europe (France, Italy, Germany, Denmark, Serbia), but, assisted by references from Albert Einstein, he was able to obtain funding in 1930 from the Research Corporation of New York: see Chakhotin-Einstein correspondance, Albert Einstein Archives, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem: our thanks to archivist Barbara Wolff for making nineteen letters available.

[23] For an overview of this period see Richard J. Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich* (London, 2003), 289-308.

[24] Donna Harsch, *German Social Democracy and the Rise of Nazism* (Chapel Hill, 1993); Peter Fritzche, "Did Weimar Fail?", *Journal of Modern History*, 68 (Sept. 1996), 629-56.

[25] D. Harsch, *German Social Democracy*, 77-8; Corey Ross, "Mass Politics"; Dan S. White, *Lost Comrades. Socialists of the Front Generation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 89-99; Richard N. Hunt, *German Social Democracy 1918-1933* (Chicago, 1970 edition), 238-40.

[26] *Le Viol* (1952), 387; D. Harsch, *German Social Democracy*, 178; R. Albrecht, *Dreipfeil*, 5, 9-10, 12-15.

[27] *Le Viol* (1952), 359, Chakhotin noted that as abominable as it might seem, once Hitler had resorted to ruthless propaganda, "his adversary has no other choice, he must resign himself to using the same weapons....or die".

[28] *Le Viol* (1952), 140

[29] *Ibid.*, 54.

[30] Chakhotin remained exercised by the problem of how socialist propaganda, based on the same "value-free" scientific laws as were available to fascist movements, could gain dominance and ensure the triumph of a better society. He was ultimately reduced to an appeal to humanism and a higher morality that sat ill with his behavourial materialism: see *Le Viol* (1952), 561-67, for his unsatisfactory attempt to find a biological basis for morality.

[31] *Le Viol*, especially the 1952 edition, also provided an encyclopaedic survey of the history of propaganda from the Ancient World to Hitler, as well as of classic theories of crowd psychology from Gustave Le Bon's *Psychologie des foules* to Jung and Freud. Space does not allow a discussion of Chakhotin's position on, or critique, of these earlier authorities, but he frequently selected from these sources episodes or psychological events that helped illustrate the function of conditioned reflexes and mass behaviour.

[32] *Ibid*., 50-55. Chakhotin had arrived at his mature theory of instincts by 1932, see his article, "Die Technik der politischen Propaganda", *Sozialistische Monatshefte* 38 (1932), 425-

431, and Donna Harsch, "The Iron Front. Weimar Social Democracy between Tradition and Modernity", in David E. Barclay and Eric D. Weitz (eds.), *Between Reform and Revolution. German Socialism and Communism from 1840 to 1990* (New York, 1998), 263.

[33] *Le Viol* (1952), 345-47.

[34] See, for example, the pioneering work of Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion* (New York, 1922), who developed the idea of the "stereotype" and the "manufacture of consent". The concept of mass political brain-washing lay at the centre of numerous philosophical or dystopian works, from Ortega y Gasset's *The Revolt of the Masses* (1930), to Aldous Huxley's, *Brave New World* (1932).

[35] Chakhotin dedicated *Le Viol des Foules* to H.G. Wells and his futuristic novel *The Shape of Things to Come* (1933), which provided an influential expression of such pessimism: Richard Overy, *The Morbid Age. Britain and the Crisis of Civilization, 1919-1939* (London, 2010), 20. Chakhotin sent a copy of the 1940 translation to Wells who positively endorsed it in *Babes in the Darkling Wood* (London, 1940), 336; and *The Common Sense of War and Peace. World Revolution or War Unending* (Harmondsworth, 1940), 48, that refers to the "very great Russian psychologist".

[36] *Le Viol* (1952), 256.

[37] *Ibid*., 43, 90-1, 262-3. On the centrality of symbols in Weimar political culture see George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the masses. Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich* (New York, 1975), and the Introduction to Seymour Dresher, David Sabean, and Allan Sharlin (eds.), *Political Symbolism in Modern Europe. Essays in Honor of George L. Mosse* (New Brunswick, 1982), 1-15; Gottfried Korff, "History of symbols as social history? Ten preliminary notes on the image and sign systems of social movements in Germany", *International Review of Social History* 38 (1993), Supplement, 105-25.

[38] *Le Viol* (1952), 131, and 365-7. Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine* (London, 2008), has chartered the contemporary resonances of such theory and practice, including the "shock and awe" strategy in Iraq.

[39] *Le Viol* (1952), 393-98; Chakhotin was strongly influenced by Georg Wilhelm Pabst's film based on Berthold Brecht's *Threepenny Opera* (1931), see *Un Phare*, 78, 92, 278. Chakhotin's sequential manipulations of instincts was technically more suited to cinematic presentation than to representation by complex *tableaux vivantes*, a format that had endured since classic times, see Isa Ostenberg, *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession* (Oxford, 2009). Chakhotin was also interested in what he termed "cinematic thought", the way in which ideas could be synthesised from the high speed sequential penetration of separate facts or data into the brain, similar to the way in which the illusion of movement in cinema was generated from the projection speed of over seven frames per second: *Le Viol* (1952), 133.

[40] On the history of the Three Arrows, and illustrations, see *Le Viol* (1952), 265-74, 376, and Figure 17; Michèle Dupoux, "La SFIO à l'affiche dans les années 30. Serge Tchakhotine et les Trois flèches", (Masters thesis, Sciences politiques IEP Grenoble 2, 1988); the site of the *Office Universitaire de Recherche Socialiste* (OURS), Paris, at www.lours.org/default.asp?pid-212 (accessed 5 April 2010).

[41] The Three Arrows has survived to the present in various anti-fascist and Socialist movements: see, for example, the interesting community, still functioning today, built in

1936 by trade union and Socialist militants of the Three Arrows Cooperative Society in the Hudson Valley, New York: www.threearrowsco-op.net (accessed 25 October 2010).
[42] Jeremy Noakes, *The Nazi Party in Lower Saxony 1921-1933* (Oxford, 1971), 216-17.
[43] Mierendorff attributed the success to "intensive systematic work with the new propaganda methods", D. Harsch, "Iron Front", 264.
[44] *Le Viol* (1952), 294-5, 398-400.
[45] The bitter personal opposition of the SPD chairman, Otto Wels, is confirmed in a letter of 6 October 1933 to Richard Hansen in Copenhagen in which he denounced Chakhotin as a "charlatan" and alien who had demanded money, office space and staff to take over leadership of party propaganda. Heine, head of the Berlin publicity department, was instructed to carry out a secret investigation of the Russian, who may have been suspected of acting as a Comintern agent: thanks to Jesper Jørgensen of the Arbejdermusset & Arbejderbevaegelsens Bibliotek og Archiv (ABA), Copenhagen, for forwarding this letter. On 4 December 1933 the Danish socialist Knud Lauritsen wrote to Wels, "Our political Bureau and our leaders have been attacked by Chakhotin.....the youth has been seized by a Chakhotin-Plague", Friedrich-Ebert Archives, Bonn, quoted by M. Dupoux, "La SFIO", 69.
[46] Gerd-Rainer Horn, *European Socialists Respond to Fascism. Ideology, Activism and Contingency in the 1930s* (New York, 1996).
[47] A detailed correspondence on the removal of Chakhotin from the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute is located in the Hoover Institute Archives, Stamford, Richard Albrecht papers, 1904-1987 (1 ms. Box).
[48] Chakhotin requested that Trotsky write a forward to the German edition, *Drei pfeil gegen Hakenkreuz*, but in a reply of 22 November 1933 the latter refused on the grounds that Social Democracy and official Communism were condemned to "disintegrate". The future would lie with a new International (the Fourth) and it was inadmissible that this "should be burdened with symbols that have already been a failure – not because there is anything wrong with the symbols as such, but because they are associated with an opportunistic party and therefore share in its bankruptcy": The Archive of Leon Trotsky, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Call No. bMS Russ 13.1 (10632).
[49] Chakhotin to Einstein, 28 December 1933, Albert Einstein Archives, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.doc. 52-88.0.
[50] In "La Contre-Révolution fasciste en Europe", *Etudes socialistes*, no.17-18 (August 1947), 268, Chakhotin later noted, "my idea was to surround Germany with a ring of propaganda based on scientific methods".
[51] Chakhotin was in touch with the left-Labour MPs, Ellen Wilkinson and Stafford Cripps, but was unable to lecture in England during the spring of 1934 as planned, see *Un Phare*, 113; the text of the "Lecture on Modern Propaganda for the Circle of S. Cripps in London", 21. pp. typescript, is in the Chakhotin Archive. Chakhotin also lectured to the Belgian Young Socialists (USAF) and consulted with Hendrik de Man, the master-mind behind anti-fascist "planism", who shared a similar view on the mobilisation of population through a heroic activism that appealed to the emotions, rather than rational persuasion. On de Man see G.-R. Horn, *European Socialists*, 74-95; on de Man and Chakhotin's influence in the Netherlands, see Bernard Rulof, "Selling Social Democracy in the Netherlands: Activism and its Sources of Inspiration during the 1930s", *Contemporary European History* 18:4 (2009), 475-97.

[52] See Åge Kjelsø's memory of Chakhotin's influence on him as a 15 year old militant in the DsU youth: www.whatnextjournal.co.uk/pgaes/Back/Wnext29/Spanciv.html (accessed 25 October 2010).
[53] Gerd-Rainer Horn, "Radicalism and Moderation within German Social Democracy in Underground and Exile, 1933-1936", *German History* 15:2 (1997), 200-220.
[54] Philippe Burrin, "Poings levés et bras tendus, la contagion des symboles au temps du front populaire", *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'Histoire* 11:1 (1986), 5-20; Éric Nadaud, "Le renouvellement des pratiques militantes de la SFIO au début du Front populaire (1934-1936)", *Le Mouvement Social* 153 (Oct.-Dec. 1990), 9-32; Gilles Vergnon, "Le 'poing levé', du rite soldatique au rite de masse. Jalons pour l'histoire d'un rite politique", *Le Mouvement Social* 212 (2005), 77-91; Simon Dell, *The Image of the Popular Front. The Masses and the Media in Interwar France* (Basingstoke, 2007).
[55] Jacques Kergoat, *Marceau Pivert, "socialiste de gauche"* (Paris, 1994); Jean-Paul Joubert, *Marceau Pivert et le Pivertisme. Révolutionnaires de la SFIO* (Paris, 1977).
[56] Centre d'Histoire Sociales, Paris, Zyromski Papers, file 35: "Plan Flamme. Activation Socialiste Par la Propagande Antifasciste", 13.pp. typescript, undated.
[57] On the German émigrés, who numbered 30,000 in France, see Jean-Michel Palmier, *Weimar in Exile. The Antifascist Emigration in Europe and America* (London, 2006), 184-218. *Le Populaire*, 25 May 1936, reported a huge Socialist demonstration at the Mur des Fédérés at which crowds were moved by giant portraits of Mierendorff, Ossietzky, Rudolf Clauss and Thaelmann, under the rubric, "Hommage to the oppressed German people".
[58] G. Vergnon, "Le 'poing levé' ", 9.
[59] The minutes of a meeting of the SFIO Sécretaires Féderaux, 15 April 1934, Centre d'Histoire Sociale, file 35, indicates a consensus among party leaders to adopt, "a methodically organised and developed propaganda", a position confirmed at the party Congress in Toulouse, 20-23 May 1934.
[60] Archives of the Office Universitaire de Recherche Socialiste (Paris), *SFIO Congrès Fédéral, Fédération de la Seine, 55e Congrès Administratif*, 24 June 1934; E. Nadaud, "Le renouvellement", 15, note 14; in *Le Phare*, 121, Chakhotin notes his close links with the youth leader Jean Nocher, later a key figure in the French Resistance.
[61] Raymond Abellio, *Ma Dernière Mémoire. Les Militants* (Paris, 1975), vol. 2, 253-4, comments on, "the influence of a certain Serge Tchakhotine that Marceau Pivert had presented to the *Gauche Révolutionnaire*". The Socialist Youth staged a performance, "in the Valence community hall and when thirty youths in blue shirts embossed with the red insignia of the three arrows sang on stage the hymn *La Jeune Garde*, this stirred feelings in the audience that inspired a sudden wave of enthusiasm. At the end of the first verse the fifteen hundred audience spontaneously rose and raised the clenched fist salute:
Nous ne voulons plus de famine
A qui travaille il faut du pain
Demain nous prendrons les usines
Nous sommes des hommes et non des chiens!"
[We want no more hunger/Bread for those who labour/Tomorrow we'll take the factories/We are men and not dogs!].
[62] *Le Phare*, 122; see also the report of this event in *Le Populaire*, 16 May 1936.
[63] This tableau seems to copy Iron Front posters that ridiculed Hitler in a similar way: see *Le Viol* (52), 337, Fig. 17 and 376, Fig. 15.

[64] *Un Phare*, 123; P. Burrin, "Poings levés", 18; *Le Populaire*, 8 June 1936. Photographs of the event are reproduced in Daniel Guérin, *Front Populaire, révolution manquée* (Paris, 1963). The militant Daniel Guérin opposed Chakhotin's methods for promoting a personality cult centred on Léon Blum through huge images, ceremonials and propaganda films: see D. Guérin, *Front Populaire*, 106-7.

[65] J. Kergoat, *Marceau Pivert*, 140; on integral pacifism see Nicolas Offenstadt, "Le pacifisme extrême à la conquête des masses: la Ligue internationale des Combattants de la Paix (1931-1939) et la propagande", *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps* 30:1 (1993), 35-39.

[66] J. Kergoat, *Marceau Pivert*, 78-81, which includes a photograph of a TPPS unit holding a Three Arrows banner.

[67] *Un Phare*, 150, 179, 185, 208-9, where Chakhotin speaks of "the transference of the destiny of humanity from the hands [of politicians] into those of the scientists", who acted rationally through their understanding of the roots of human behaviour: he invented the term "noocratie" to refer to a world order run by savants.

[68] Harold D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique*, 5, is typical of this current: the despondent democrat, he claimed, should find the good and then "find out how to make up the public mind to accept it....Preseve the majority convention, but dictate to the majority!". Chakhotin's early political formation was grounded in the Russian intelligentsia's belief in its mission to the benighted people during the anti-Tsarist struggle,: see Hilde Hardeman, *Coming to Terms with the Soviet Regime. The 'Changing Signposts' Movement among Russian Émigrés in the early 1920s* (Dekalb, 1994) on Chakhotin's role in the famous *Smenah vekh* collection of 1921.

[69] Among its members were the demographer Alfred Sauvy, the Catholic philosopher Teilhard de Chardin, the anthropologist André Varagnac, the art historian Henri Focillon, Raymond Aron and Aldous Huxley. On Coutrot and his circle see Jackie Clarke, "Engineering a New Order in the 1930s: The Case of Jean Coutrot", *French Historical Studies* 24:1 (Winter 2001), 63-86; Michel Margairaz, "Jean Coutrot 1936-1937: l'État et l'Organisation scientifique du travail", *Genèses* 4:1 (1991), 95-114; Olivier Dard, *Jean Coutrot de l'ingénieur au prophète* (Paris, 1999).

[70] Jean Coutrot, "Lettre d'invitation à une recherche collective", *Entretiens sur les Sciences de l'Homme. Un Essai Collectif de Coordination* (Paris, 1937), 1-2.

[71] *Le Viol* (1952), 19.

[72] Robert Aron, a CEPH member and a leading Non-Conformist and Gallimard editor, helped Chakhotin to edit the manuscript and to choose the title of *Le Viol*: see *Un Phare*, 153-4. It seems likely that Aron, author of the sensationalist *Le Cancer Américain* (1931), chose the highly emotive term "viol" (rape) for commercial rather than scientific reasons. By *viol psychique* Chakhotin meant the ability of anti-democratic propagandists to shape the basic feelings and attitudes of an uneducated and vulnerable mass audience and to direct them towards dangerous and destructive ends, particularly violence and war. The mass mind was lacking in autonomy and unable to exercise a critical, informed and rational choice.

[73] *Un Phare*, 166-73.

[74] Chakhotin played a major role after 1944 in establishing *Science-Action-Libération* (SAL) and the *Confédération française des forces culturelles, économiques et sociales* (COFORCE), that promoted the role of science in the construction of the post-war world, and plans for global government and peace: Dr. John Biggart is currently researching this topic.

[75] For the most detailed investigation see Paul and Marie-Catherine Villatoux, *La République et son armée face au "péril subversif". Guerre et action psychologiques, 1945-1960* (Paris, 2005).
[76] Yves Benot, *Massacres coloniaux, 1944-50: la 1Ve république et la mise au pas des colonies françaises* (Paris, 1994).
[77] On this process of reflection and reform, exemplified by General Ely's vast 1955 study, *Enseignement de la guerre d'Indochine*, based on the synthesis of 1,400 officers reports, see P. and M.-C. Villatoux, *La République*, 207-329.
[78] Antoine Argoud, *La décadence, l'imposture et la tragédie* (Paris, 1974), 121; G.A. Kelly, *Lost Soldiers*, 138. The current US/NATO strategy in Afghanistan for the control of "hearts and minds" is similar and derives in part from analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of French military practice during the Algerian War of Independence.
[79] P. and M.-C. Villatoux, *La République*, 326.
[80] Although Chakhotin after 1945 had less to say about colonialism than the danger of the atomic bomb, he was clearly against capitalist subversion and military occupation of the "Third World". By a cruel irony his son André, who had a difficult relationship with his father, joined a parachute regiment and later fought in Algeria: see the interview with André in B. Hars-Tschachotin, *Sergej in the Urn*, and *Un Phare*, Chapter 13, 4.
[81] A. Argoud, *La décadence*, 122.
[82] General Allard, a leading exponent of revolutionary warfare, in a lecture at NATO headquarters in 1957, projected a global map in which a thick black arrow of communist advance was shown sweeping in an arc out of China, through Africa and up via Algeria, into the soft underbelly of southern Europe.: see SHD 1H2409/1, General Allard, "Les Missions de l'Armée Françaises dans la guerre révolutionnaire d'Algérie", 15 November 1957.
[83] Antoine Argoud, "La guerre psychologique", *Revue de Défense nationale*, (March and April 1948), 291-300, 460-71: see P. and M.-C. Villatoux, *La République*, 73, 81-2, 591; on Argoud see also, M. Lazreg, *Torture and the Twilight of Empire*, 88-93.
[84] P. and M.-C. Villatoux, *La République*, 82; Nikolas Kayanakis, *Algérie 1960: la victoire trahie. Guerre psychologique en Algérie* (Friedberg, 2000), 52-3.
[85] G.A. Kelly, *Lost Soldiers*, 135; Paul Villatoux, "Le Colonel Lacheroy, théoricien de l'action psychologique", in Jean-Charles Jauffret (ed.), *Des hommmes et des femmes en guerre d'Algérie* (Paris, 2003), 494-508.
[86] Jacques Maître, "Catholicisme d'extrême droite et croisade anti-subversive", *Revue française de sociologie* 2:2 (1961), 106-117; William Bosworth, *Catholicism and Crisis in Modern France. French Catholic Groups at the Threshold of the Fifth Republic* (Princeton, 1962), 199-200, 223, 226; Marie-Monique Robin, *Escadrons de la Mort, L'École Française* (Paris, 2004), Chapter 11, "Le lobby national-catholique"; Madeleine Garrigou-Lagrange, "Intégrisme et national-catholicisme", *Esprit* (Nov. 1959), 515-43. The key members of the Fifth Bureau and advocates of Chakhotin's theories, Colonels Goussault, Feaugas, Gardes, Château-Jobert, and the commander Cogniet, belonged to the same *Cité Catholique* cell in Paris.
[87] On the camps see Sylvie Thénault, "D'Indochine en Algérie: la ré-éducation des prisonniers dans les camps de détention", in Daniel Rivet et.al (eds.), *La guerre d'Algérie au miroir des décolonisations françaises* (Paris, 2000), 235-49; G.M. Kelly, *Lost Soldiers*, 87-89; P. and M.-C. Villatoux, *La République*, 225-35.

[88] A report by the psychologist Joost Meerlo estimated that of 7,190 US POWs held in China, 70% were induced to make confessions or to sign petitions calling for an end to the war: see Denise Winn, *The Manipulated Mind. Brainwashing, Conditioning and Indoctrination* (London, 1983), 1; a 1951 investigation into 450 French POWs found that 30% had become "suspect" or "questionable"; see S. Thénault, "Indochine", 237.

[89] See especially Susan L. Carruthers, *Cold War Captives. Imprisonment, Escape, and Brainwashing* (Berkeley, Calif., 2009), Chapter 5, "Prisoners of Pavlov". On research by psychologists see D. Winn, *Manipulated Mind*, 6-35; Edgar H. Schein, *Coercive Persuasion. A socio-psychological analysis of the 'brainwashing' of American civilian prisoners by the Chinese Communists* (New York, 1971). On the impact on popular culture see Susan L. Carruther, '"Not Just Washed, But Dry-Cleaned': Korea and the 'Brainwashing' Scare of the 1950s", in Gary D. Rawnsley (ed.), *Cold-War Propaganda in the 1950s* (Basingstoke, 1997), 47-66, and the novel by Richard Condon, *The Manchurian Candidate*, later made into a film (1962).

[90] However, American intelligence appears to have made direct contact with Chakhotin between c.1942 and 1946: the latter was in close touch with Dr. Morris B. Sanders, who was involved in US intelligence, and was also visited in 1944 by Drs May and Rees of the "the psychological section of the American army": *Un Phare*, 194; Yann Moncomble, *Du Viol des Foules à la Synarchie ou le Complot Permanent* (Paris, 1983), 34-6. Nathan Leites, later a leading US academic in Communist propaganda and psychological intelligence, visited Chakhotin in Berlin during 1932 and assisted in the SPD campaign, and again in Paris c.1939: *Un Phare*, 156. American psychological warfare between 1945 and 1960 developed along lines that shared many features of Chakhotin's work: see Christopher Simpson, *Science of Coercion. Communication Research and Psychological Warfare 1945-1960* (Oxford, 1994),3-30.

[91] Jean-Marie Domenach, *La Propagande Politique* (Paris, 1950), 37. This book, that made numerous references to Chakhotin, appeared later on Fifth Bureau reading lists for officers at Arzew.

[92] In reality Chakhotin, who lived in exile from Russia between 1919 and 1958, had few if any links to Soviet military or propaganda experts.

[93] Chakhotin, in his draft "Lecture on Modern Propaganda" (1934), (Chakhotin Archive), typescript, p.18, for the British Labour Party, noted that his opponents accused him of hypnosis of the masses and "mind dictatorship". He agreed, but it was in the urgent context "dangerously utopian" to depend on democratic methods. He supported democracy, but in order to save it, "we must now in our struggle keep off democratic methods" until victory was assured.

[94] On the dangers presented to democracies by states of emergency, the extension of state power and the suspension of normal legal and constitutional protections, see the analysis by the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception* (Chicago, 2005).

[95] P. and C.-M. Villatoux, *La République*, 180-81, 359, 399, 541-44. Jules Monnerot's *Sociologie du Communisme* (Paris, 1949), which referred to Chakhotin, was so admired by General de La Chapelle and his successor General Lecompte that they invited Monnerot to give lectures at the École Supérieure de Guerre from 1952 to 1958: see the later (1960) text of Monnerot's ideas on psychological warfare, http://julesmonnerot.com/GUERRE_SUBVERSIVE_ALGERIE.html (accessed 19 January 2010).

[96] SHD 1H2536/2*, note of Salan c. February 1957 on the recruitment of Officiers itinérants from ex-POWs in Vietnam, "who through their personal experience have a deep understanding of the application of techniques of Psychological Action to individuals and the masses".
[97] On Arzew see Lt. Colonel Frédéric Guelton, "The French Army 'Centre for Training and Preparation in Counter-Guerrilla Warfare' (CIPCG) at Arzew", Martin S. Alexander and J.F.V. Keiger (eds.), *Journal of Strategic Studies* 25:2 (June 2002), 35-53; P. and M.-C. Villatoux, *La République*, 442-47; Alf Andrew Heggoy, *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Algeria* (Bloomington, 1972), 176-182; SHD 1H2523, report of A. Bruges, 1 September 1959, on the history of Arzew.
[98] André Bruges, in *Le Poison Rouge: la Guerre Psychologique....Guerre sans Frontières* (Nice, 1969), provides a detailed account of his harrowing experience in the Vietminh camps, of the Arzew centre, and the the role of Chakhotin's theory of four "fundamental instincts" in the training programme.
[99] SHD 1H115. has the complete texts of the courses in psychological warfare.
[100] SHD 1H1115, Arzew Conférence No. 1, Guerre Psychologique. Some of the illustrative diagrammes are taken unchanged from Chakhotin, see for example the figure in *Le Viol* (1952), 262.
[101] SHD 1H2533.
[102] As Bruges remarked in his report of 1 September 1959, "before instructing others, we had to teach ourselves", SHD 1H2523; see also P. and M.-C. Villatoux, *La République*, 445-6.
[103] SHD 1H2525, Bulletins de sondage (21 October to 2 November, 1957).
[104] On this operation see Fabien Sacriste, "Jean Servier et l'Opération 'Pilote' dans l'Orléansvillois (1957-1958): Tentative d'Application d'Un Savoir Ethnologique", *Cahiers d'Histoire Immédiate* 34 (Autumn 2008), 267-83.
[105] SHD 1H2536, reports on "Opération pinceau".
[106] SHD 1H2536, Étude sur la pacification dans le Dahra; the Arzew course, SHD 1H1115, included a section on "the law of repetition".
[107] Serge Tchakhotine, *Le Viol Psychique des Masses obstacles a une vraie démocratie* (Paris, 1946), 12. During the 1932 electoral campaigns of the Iron Front, under Chakhotin's direction, propaganda was designed to fit the socio-political culture of three German zones, the West, dominated by Republicans; the North-East with its embedded Prussian conservatism; and the South-East with its strong Communist presence: see Chakhotin, "Die Technik der politicshen Propaganda", *Socialistische Monatshefte* 38 (9 May 1932), 425-431, and *Le Viol* (1952), 292-3.
[108] SHD 1H2409/2, Arzew, 3e Conférence. On the background to racial stereotyping of Algerians in North African psychiatry and its links to psychological warfare see Richard C. Keller, *Colonial Madness. Psychiatry in French North Africa* (Chicago, 2007), 150-60.
[109] SHD 1H2523, A. Bruges report, 1 September 1959. Bruges, however, praised Pierre Bourdieu's *Sociologie de l'Algérie* (1958) as helping to fill this gap and recommended its widespread diffusion. Bourdieu appears to have been linked to the Fifth Bureau, probably through his powerful protector Colonel Ducourneau, and had, for example, attended along with Colonel Goussault, Ducourneau and other top military a meeting of the *Comité Restreinte d'Action Psychologique* on 13 March 1957: see ANOM 12CAB107, minutes; see also Jane E. Goodman and Paul A. Silverstein (eds.), *Bourdieu in Algeria. Colonial Politics, Ethnographic Practices, Theoretical Developments* (Lincoln, 2009), 8-9.

[110] SHD 1H2536, the Commander of Teniet El Haad in a report of 7 July 1957 noted that leaflets, "are often badly suited to the situation in the region".
[111] SHD 1H2533, letter from Goussault to Officiers itinérantes, 20 September 1957.
[112] SHD 1H2536, Captain Guyomar, "Bilan Opération 'Pilote' " (1957); SHD 1H2533, at a meeting of Officiers itinérantes, 8 January 1958, minuted that the principles of revolutionary warfare were understood by only 2.5% of junior officers; propaganda directives and materials were not read or believed; while soldiers in charge of materials were, "incompetent, lacking in qualifications and conviction. In certain [military] sectors the Material remains unused". In Jean Lartéguy's novel *Les Prétorians* (Paris, 1961), 213-14,the central character, Captain Esclavier, refers to, "the ill-digested extracts of Mao-Tse-Tung or Chakhotin....*Le viol des foules*, six hundred pages. Which captain in the field could find the time to read it? So one officer who has skimmed through the extracts then tells another, who passes it on to a third, so that everyone seems to have a perfect knowledge of the book".
[113] SHD 1H2536, Report of Rieutard, 24 January 1957.
[114] Neil MacMaster, *Burning the Veil. The Algerian war and the 'emancipation' of Muslim women, 1954-62* (Manchester, 2009), Chapter 3, 114-51; one right-wing plotter, Dr. Bernard Lefèvre, claimed that the coup was organised by the *Cité catholique* movement that, as we have seen above, promoted Chakhotin's ideas, see J. Maître, "Catholicisme d'extrême droite", 112.
[115] Raoul Salan, *Mémoires, Fin d'un empire* (Paris, 1972), vol. 3, 321.
[116] P. and M.-C. Villatoux, *La République*, 421, note that psychological warfare seemed to offer an effective and low-cost "miracle solution", to a long and bloody war; P. Paret, *French Revolutionary Warfare*, 59, noted that some had argued that the May demonstrations "were the greatest achievement of the 5es Bureaux".
[117] The FLN was fully aware of the orchestration of "fraternisation" by the Fifth Bureau and broadcast this message through its Tunisian and Moroccan stations, messages that were widely picked up by Algerians: see ANOM81F367 and 81F888, transcripts of radio intercepts, 6 June and 11 July 1958.
[118] This is one reason why the study of Paul and Marie-Catherine Villatoux, *La République*, terminates in 1960, rather than in 1962 with the end of the Algerian War.
[119] See Dennis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory* (London, 2010, 6th edition), 65-66. Chakhotin tended to use biological metaphors, including his description of the minority ten percent being "immunized" to resistant propaganda through education.
[120] Yves Laberge, in a review of the 1992 reprint of "Le Viol", *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 26:3 (Sept., 1993), 629-30, remarks however that if Chakhotin might be criticized by some for his "reductionist tendencies", this should not detract from a recognition of "his humanism, a certain idealism, and fervent faith in a better world", and his "extremely dense and rich work, so fundamental to better understanding of the history of political propaganda".
[121] See M.-M. Robin, *Escadrons de la Mort*, on the transmission of French psychological warfare methods to Latin America, most notably Argentina, and the USA. Contemporary American experiments in the psychological "preparation" of detained suspects, from sensory deprivation to various forms of psychological "shock" treatment, has its origins in the behavioural sciences of the 1950s Cold War.