

“Volunteering” for Combat: Loudspeaker Psywar in Korea



by Charles H. Briscoe

As an early psychological operations unit, the 1st Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company (1st L&L) fulfilled a unique role in the Korean War. Gerald “Jerry” Allen Rose played a part in this interesting mission as he participated in tactical loudspeaker operations from the fall of 1951 through the summer of 1952. In the course of his ten-month tour with the 1st L&L, Rose rotated from line division to line division across the front every thirty to forty-five days, participated in 253 combat loudspeaker missions, and was awarded the

Bronze Star and two Purple Hearts. While Rose was only one member of the 1st L&L, his story allows us to gain insight into the unit’s activities and its place in history.¹

Jerry Rose, an Oakland High School graduate with a Bachelor of Arts from the California College of Arts & Crafts, had been drafted in 1951 and sent to Fort Ord, California, for basic infantry training. A college degree and Expert marksmanship ratings with the M1 rifle, the M2 carbine, the .45 pistol, and Browning Automatic Rifle opened Officer Candidate School to the amateur lightweight boxer. However, marching a squad of fellow candidates into the side of a building ended that venture. Rose was quickly back at Fort Ord chasing stockade

work detail escapees, before being shipped off to Japan.

Bored with company clerking at a replacement center in Japan, Private (PVT) Rose, infantryman, volunteered for Korea. Arriving at the embarkation point in early fall, Rose found that the ferry docks in southern Japan were piled high with stocks of winter clothing from wounded and dead Americans. Not having been issued cold weather gear, Rose outfitted himself before getting aboard the ferry to Pusan, Korea.

The crossing to Pusan was uneventful, but “ten miles off-

shore, I got the first whiff of burning feces and trash. It was unforgettable,” remembered Rose, “because that smell was a constant in Korea.”³ At Pusan, Rose found himself in a holding company with other replacements awaiting transportation at the railroad terminus. Several nights later, PVT Rose was aboard a train traveling north when it stopped “in the middle of nowhere at 3 AM.” The stop proved to be the start of a tactical Psychological Warfare (Psywar) assignment for Jerry Rose.

While the train was at a halt, a soldier entered the darkened railroad car and asked if anyone had training in psychology. Rose, who had taken a basic psychology course in college, said, “I have,” violating for a second time (officer candidate school being the first) the old Army adage, “Never volunteer for anything.” After spending a night at “Fort Apache,” a training and logistics site south of Taegu, the shanghaied Rose was put on a train to Seoul.

Arriving in Seoul, Rose was met by another soldier in a quarter-ton four-by-four truck (jeep), and taken to the 1st L&L headquarters in an old high school on the north side of Seoul. The company clerk of the 1st L&L had his replacement—Rose.⁴ Later, Rose discovered that this technique was used by the 1st L&L to get choice replacements, and was why more than half of the enlisted men were drafted college graduates in spite of the company not having priority fill for school-trained Psywar soldiers.⁵

Private Rose was soon introduced to the company commander, Major (MAJ) Donald W. Osgood; the executive officer (XO), Captain (CPT) Jay V. Russell; and the First Sergeant, Master Sergeant Frank L. Reppen. Reppen was a Finn captured in the Russo-Finnish War (1937–38) who had been repatriated by the Germans for service in an ethnic SS (*Schutzstaffel*) battalion. After surrendering to American forces, Reppen elected to join the U.S. Army as a way to get U.S. citizenship.⁶ Major Osgood was a WWII veteran of the European theater. Russell, the unit XO and former loudspeaker platoon leader, had commanded ammunition and labor, infantry, and cavalry reconnaissance platoons in the 25th Infantry Division from Guadalcanal to the Philippines, and had graduated from the Alamo Scout school. First Lieutenant (1LT) Richard L.



“The 1st Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company was the first unit of its kind to serve in combat. For almost three years, the 1st L&L provided psychological warfare support to the U.S. Army, Marines, and United Nations forces in Korea.”²



The 1st L&L used an old high school on the north side of Seoul for its headquarters.

Keator, the 1st L&L's Loudspeaker Platoon leader, commanded a rifle platoon in Europe toward the end of WWII.⁷ Such disparate military backgrounds for personnel assigned to Psywar was typical in the post-WWII period. Few officers and enlisted men had experience or schooling in psychological operations.

The 1st L&L evolved from a Technical Information Detachment (TID) of four officers and twenty enlisted men stationed at Fort Riley, Kansas. The TID was the Psywar detachment of Aggressor Force for Army maneuvers countrywide.⁸ Shortly after the North Koreans invaded the South, the detachment was alerted for Korea and notified that it would become an Army Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company under Table of Organization and Equipment (TO&E) 20-77 dated 1 September 1950. The TID packed its equipment and left Fort Riley on 9 September. They shipped from Seattle on 15 September aboard a U.S. Navy troopship carrying military families to Japan. Told that their equipment would meet them in Korea, the 1st L&L cadre of twenty boarded the Pusan ferry in Yokohama, Japan, on 15 October, bound for Eighth U.S. Army in Taegu, Korea (EUSAK).⁹

On 4 November 1950, the 1st L&L was activated with an authorized complement of eight officers, ninety-nine enlisted men, three printing presses, twelve loudspeakers, and twenty-seven vehicles. The unit was placed under the administrative control of Eighth Army Special Troops Command and the operational control of the G-2 EUSAK. No special arrangements were made by EUSAK, nor priorities given, for language-qualified personnel or other Psywar specialties and unique equipment.

First L&L cadre spent the next several months locating TID equipment and getting it shipped from Japan to Korea, requisitioning—legally and illegally—TO&E equipment: printing presses, jeeps, trailers, generators, loudspeakers, and tents. They also spent their time recruiting personnel, writing tactical Psywar operating procedures, hiring interpreters from Korean universities, and selling tactical Psywar concepts to the corps and divisions of EUSAK. It was April 1951 before the company was combat effective, and nine loudspeaker teams were dispatched to the divisions on

line. By the end of June 1951, the company had eleven loudspeaker teams in action.¹⁰

The 1st L&L's general TO&E mission was to conduct tactical propaganda operations for a field army, and to provide qualified psychological warfare specialists as advisors to the army and subordinate staffs. The company's primary tools for tactical propaganda dissemination against the enemy were leaflets, news sheets, and loudspeakers. The 1st L&L was also capable of using propaganda to influence friendly elements (civilians) in enemy-held territory contiguous to the army front.¹¹

Psywar operations and requirements during the initial months of 1951 far exceeded the capabilities of the original 1950 TO&E. Change 1 to the TO&E, dated 24 April 1951, authorized a 25 percent enlisted over-strength. By the time Rose joined 1st L&L,

the company headquarters supported three operational platoons: Propaganda, Publications, and Loudspeaker.¹²

The Loudspeaker (L/S) Platoon consisted of four officers and twenty-nine enlisted personnel, although the usual officer complement was three. The platoon officers spent most of their time getting support—administrative, logistics, and maintenance—for the eleven L/S teams spread across the East-West front. Each of the L/S platoon's three sections had three to four L/S teams assigned based on tactical employment in the corps sectors. L/S teams were supposed to be "tightly knit three-man units" consisting of a Team Chief, Assistant Team Chief, and a local civilian employee (Korean or Chinese, depending on the audience) who served as the translator-announcer-linguist. The L/S team mission was to:

1. Persuade isolated groups of enemy personnel in tactically untenable positions to surrender by means of live or recorded, semi-fixed ground, patrol and/or mobile tank-mounted loudspeaker broadcasts;
2. Beam broadcasts, musical, and feature programs by means of platoon's primary psychological warfare medium to enemy front line troops in static tactical situations;
3. Beam warnings and make loudspeaker announcements to civilians in enemy-held territory, in coordination with friendly elements;

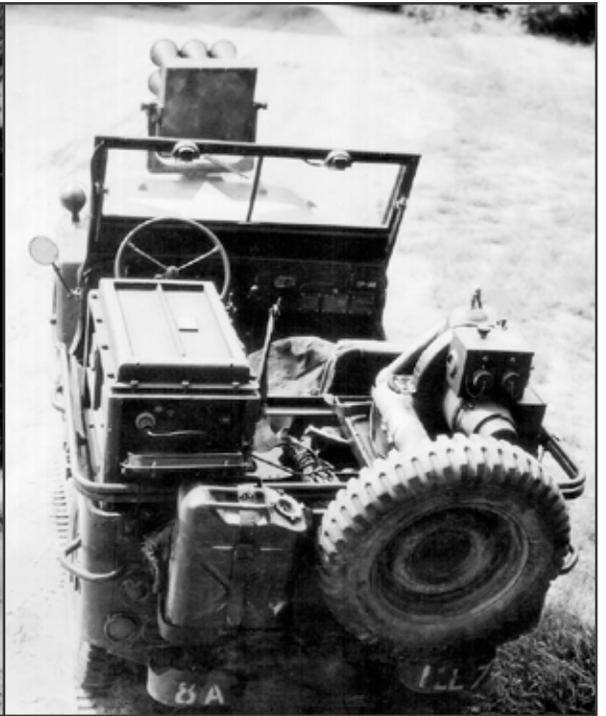


Far East Command



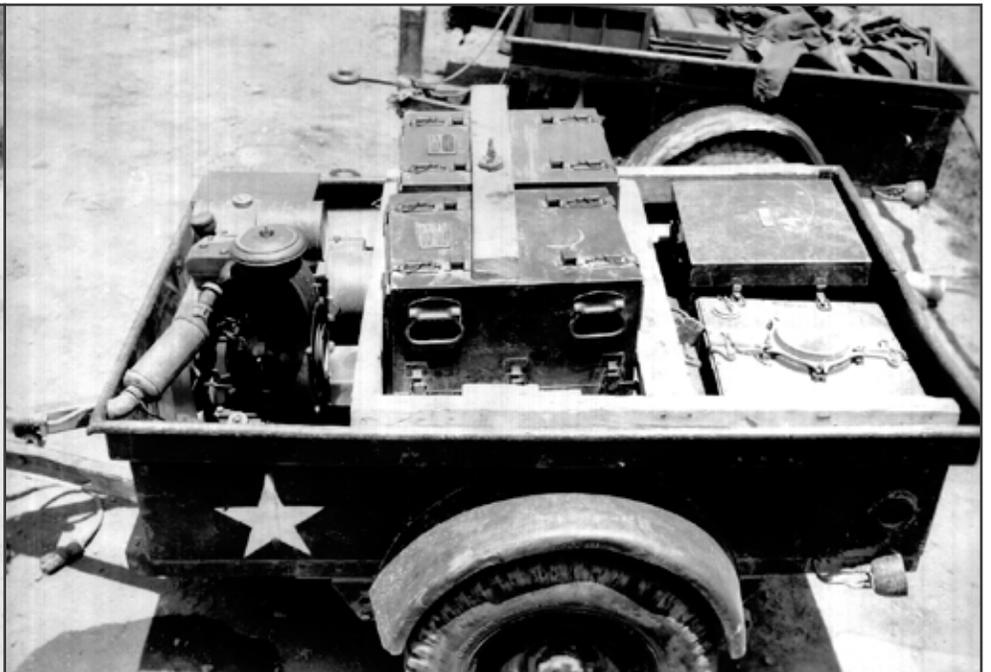
Eighth U.S. Army

Under oversight of the Far East Command, Eighth U.S. Army was responsible for U.S. forces in Korea during the Korean War



Loudspeaker teams were equipped with a Public Address Set AN/UIQ-1 or a Beachmaster loudspeaker, a Recorder-Reproducer RD74/U (in lieu of a RD 31C/U), a Multimeter TS-352/U, a spool dispenser for a reel of WD-1 wire, a quarter-ton four-by-four truck (jeep), a quarter-ton trailer, a Generator PE-75, a small wall or Arctic "hex" tent and stove (tent or Coleman), and whatever else they could scrounge. Air mattresses were commonly used to cushion the fragile broadcasting equipment.

Photos courtesy of Jay V. Russell



4. Broadcast news, make announcements, and participate in other consolidation psychological warfare operations under the direction of Psychological Warfare and/or Civil Affairs/Military Government agencies, as directed.¹³

Clerking at the 1st L&L headquarters, supplemented by occasional Korean culture classes, soon bored Rose the infantryman. The only threat was an occasional small harassment bomb or leaflets dropped after midnight by “Bed Check Charlie” (see page 61), also known as “Piss Call Pete,” a slow (70–90 knots) propeller-driven aircraft that flew low-level missions out of Sariwon Airfield. Rose quickly realized that the L/S teams were the only teams seeing combat.¹⁴ With the knowledge that L/S team members needed no special training, PVT Rose once again formulated a plan to escape clerking.

After being repeatedly badgered by Rose for a field assignment, CPT Russell finally sent now-Private Second Class (PV2) Rose to join Corporal (CPL) William E. Johnson’s L/S team in early December 1951. Johnson’s team was supporting the 24th Infantry Division (24th ID) dug in along the East–West railroad line. PV2 Rose quickly advanced in the three-man unit and became the jeep driver, generator operator/mechanic, and assistant team leader in a matter of days.¹⁵

The civilian interpreter on each L/S team read the typewritten English scripts and broadcast in Korean and/or Chinese.¹⁶ A 1953 story in *The Stars and Stripes* provided an excellent account of how one Korean interpreter performed his mission:

The strenuous nightly climb to work was made a little easier for Mr. Kim on this rainy night as three searchlights on the next ridge cast an eerie light. Mr. Kim could barely distinguish the last few steps, but as he gained the top of the mountain, he could see more clearly. He started to set up for the night’s work. First, the generator. Good, he thought, as it started without difficulty. He checked the dial to insure that there was enough power, then connected the “mike,” placed a harmonica to his lips and began the first broadcast of the evening. From a loudspeaker unit, some 300 yards in front of the

MLR (main line of resistance), came the strains of a soulful harmonica solo, followed with a resume of the current news in flawless Chinese for the news starved Communists. Thus, an obscure bunker on an isolated mountain once again became the final link in the Psywar chain.¹⁷

Security during the broadcasts was provided by the L/S team leader and assistant. They were usually armed with an M2 carbine or M3A1 submachine gun, because access to pistols—.45 caliber automatics—was limited.¹⁸ In his security role, expert sharpshooter PV2 Rose proved himself in combat on his first mission with the 24th ID.

After watching WWII hero Audie Murphy in *The Red Badge of Courage* at an open air theater, CPL Johnson, PV2 Rose, and their interpreter moved to the Combat Outpost Line on Hill 1062 to broadcast into the Chorwon Valley. The combat outpost position had already been overrun several times, and they were to broadcast well in front of it. Wires ran back to the generator in the jeep trailer near the outpost bunker. To enhance their security, CPL Johnson and Rose set up “early warning devices” (wire-suspended C-Ration cans containing small rocks) well in front of their foxhole. With such precautions in place, the interpreter began the broadcast.

The Chinese attack came early in the morning. Alerted by the noise of a rattling can, Rose fired his M3A1 “Grease Gun” at a looming figure charging toward him. As the enemy soldier fell backward, the hand grenade he was carrying exploded. This episode marked the beginning of a major firefight. Artillery and mortar illumination enabled the defenders to drive off the determined Communist attackers. While serving as a Psywar soldier, PV2 Rose had finally attained the status of a “blooded” combat infantryman.¹⁹

Unbeknownst to the novice Rose, special efforts were being made by the Chinese and North Koreans to capture broadcasting loudspeaker teams. “When they do that [send Hunter Teams to stop the Psywar broadcasting],” one EUSAK official in Seoul observed, “we know we are hurting them.”²⁰ That rear area assessment provided

A Chinese or Korean interpreter was part of every loudspeaker team and was responsible for reading prepared scripts addressed to enemy troops or nearby civilians. The American (or two) on each team acted as Team Chief, and was responsible for everything from security to generator repair. In this photo, PFC Wilson, SGT Lawrence O’Brien, and Yang Yunn (left to right) broadcast to the Chinese near Munye-ri.





Photo courtesy of Jay V. Russell

As the Main Line of Resistance stabilized, the frontline divisions dug in and established prepared positions. This relative permanency allowed loudspeaker teams to broadcast from one location for several days at a time, a heretofore unknown luxury.

little consolation to the L/S teams on the front lines.

Loudspeaker broadcasts increased significantly in January and February 1952, “largely due to the more widespread use of prepared positions” by the Main Line of Resistance (MLR) divisions. As the MLR stabilized across the Korean front, L/S equipment could be used for several days at one location.²¹ Because only nine to ten of the eleven loudspeaker teams in the 1st L&L were available, L/S teams shifted every three to four weeks from division to division as the infantry moved forward to the MLR. To support this practice, L/S personnel served on thirty-day temporary duty orders with each division.²²

When CPL William Johnson rotated home to the States, PV2 Jerry Rose was reassigned to CPL John “Jack” H. Dudley’s L/S Team Nine supporting 25th Infantry Division (25th ID). Promoting Psywar and tactical loudspeaker employment were constants for all L/S personnel because few staff officers and commanders in Korea had used loudspeakers in combat.²³ Dudley was a top salesman and sold the 25th ID on an interesting way to utilize the L/S team’s unique capabilities.²⁴ The G-2’s top priority was capturing enemy soldiers from the 223rd and 224th Chinese Infantry Regi-



Loudspeaker Team Nine consisted of Jack Dudley, Jerry Rose, and their interpreter. Jack Dudley was known for his enthusiastic and creative ideas for loudspeaker missions, including one that scared both sides into retreating.

ments, and the L/S broadcast team was to be the bait.²⁵

“Dudley was a real crazy guy, but very ingenious. He had gone to the rail yard in Seoul and recorded tanks being unloaded from the flatcars and all kinds of locomotive noise,” remembered Rose. “With infantry patrols lying in ambush to ‘snatch’ prisoners, Jack wanted realistic sounds that would prompt enemy scouts to investigate. That Jack Dudley idea—‘The Phantom Army’—worked out real well for a couple of weeks. A good number of enemy soldiers were taken.”²⁶ Even CPT Russell had supported using L/S teams to draw enemy fire when he served as the L/S platoon leader.²⁷

Prisoner of war interviews provided “grist” for the L/S teams on line. Broadcasting names of those recently captured was helpful, but better still was the recorded plea of a prisoner entreating his former comrades to surrender. When it was discovered that a newly captured Chinese artillery officer spoke Japanese, Sergeant Nagano, a Hawaiian Nisei, was brought to interrogate him. Nagano learned that the Chinese artilleryman had served with General Chiang Kai-shek during WWII. After being captured by the Red Army during the civil war, he “volunteered” to join the Communists.²⁸ Many of the Chinese prisoners who agreed to broadcast for the United Nations (UN) were former Nationalist Army soldiers that had been pressed into service by the Communists.

In their broadcasts, the prisoners of war emphasized the good treatment provided by UN troops, reinforcing the promise that had been printed on the airdropped and artillery-delivered surrender leaflets and safe conduct passes.²⁹ The safe conduct passes were effective, and most enemy deserters carried these paper tickets to freedom. Desertions multiplied when L/S broadcasts preceded artillery fire and air strikes, and several L/S teams even had groups of enemy soldiers surrender to them.³⁰

In an effort to further increase the L/S teams’ effective-



Chinese prisoners of war were recruited to broadcast propaganda messages and surrender appeals to their comrades still at arms. The broadcasts reinforced the promises printed on leaflets and safe conduct passes, and increased the enemy desertion rate.



Photo courtesy of Jay V. Russell

Safe conduct passes, airdropped and delivered inside artillery shells, promised good treatment by UN troops. As a sign of their effectiveness, safe conduct passes were found in the possession of most enemy deserters.

The North Koreans were known to use safe conduct passes against UN troops, as well. In this pairing, one side has altered and copied the other side's pass to distribute as counterpropaganda. The question is, which came first?

ness, the division G-2 suggested that the loudspeaker be mounted on an M24 Chaffee light tank. This idea had several advantages: the engine could power the loudspeaker; the tank could travel farther into no-man's-land forward of the combat outpost line because its three machine guns provided more protection; and the noise made by the M24 tank moving into position would considerably heighten enemy curiosity. Corporal Dudley, PV2 Rose, and the interpreter Lee conducted five of these very dangerous missions before the tank crew of the M24 finally balked at being such a vulnerable target of enemy fire.³¹

In reality, the negatives outweighed the positive points used by the division staff to sell the idea. The M24 engine had to be constantly running to power the mounted loudspeakers. As a result, the highest broadcast volume had to be used to drown out the tank engine noise. Because the tank crew could not hear approaching danger, they "buttoned up" inside their tank for self-protection, which meant that the L/S team was forced to communicate with the crew using the outside telephone. "But, really that didn't matter anyway, because we couldn't hear a thing over the running tank engine and broadcast noise. Pinpointed by the

noise, instead of being bait we became magnets—just sitting ducks, to tell the truth," said Rose. "But, I got promoted to PFC [Private First Class] and was awarded a Bronze Star."³²

These tactical risks did not preclude a Far East Command observer team from emphasizing the success of M4 and M24 tank-mounted loudspeakers, nor 3rd Infantry Division from using a loudspeaker on an M39 armored utility vehicle (AUV). The AUV enabled the team to stay up with 15th Infantry commander leading Task Force Burress in a tank. Along the same lines, Sergeant (SGT) Lawrence O'Brien's L/S team with the 7th ID was given an M20 light reconnaissance vehicle. Fortunately for Major General Claude B. Ferenbaugh, 7th ID commander, SGT O'Brien came upon his ambushed command vehicles, treated the wounded, and effected a rescue of the general, his aide-de-camp, and driver.³³

As a first lieutenant, Jay V. Russell had researched the mounting of loudspeakers on a variety of armored vehicles,

Loudspeaker teams experimented with mounting public address systems on a variety of armored and unarmored vehicles—including the personnel carrier shown here—with mixed results. While mounted loudspeakers could generally approach closer to enemy lines, the proximity to enemy artillery was not always worth the risk to personnel and equipment.

This M4A3 Sherman tank was modified for loudspeaker use.



Photo courtesy of Jay V. Russell



24th Infantry Division provided the first U.S. Army ground forces in the Korean War. The division's first mission was to slow the North Korean advance southward.



The 25th Infantry Division entered the Korean War in July 1950. The division built on its WWII reputation as "Tropic Lightning" and successfully executed a number of important offensive actions in Korea.



The 45th Infantry Division, Oklahoma Army National Guard, deployed to Korea in December 1951. During its 429 days in combat, the division fought in and around such infamous locations as Pork Chop Hill, Old Baldy, and Heartbreak Ridge.



The famed 1st Marine Division entered the Korean War on 15 September 1950, when it made a surprise amphibious assault on Inch'on and went on to recapture Seoul.

after the 1st Marine Division on the Wonju-Hongch'on axis had attached an M4A3E2 "Super" Sherman tank to an L/S team in March 1951. Russell, like 1LT Fred Wilmot from EUSAK G-3 Psywar Division, also evaluated the M39, the M29C Weasel Cargo Carrier, and the British Universal (Bren Gun) Carrier.³⁴ One of Russell's recommendations regarding mounted loudspeakers was that close coordination was needed to keep UN troops from being "shocked" by innovative Psywar techniques.³⁵

Despite the risks associated with innovative loudspeaker employment, the enthusiasm of the resourceful CPL Jack Dudley was not dampened. Noting the effects achieved by the Chinese in using bugles, drums, and war calls during attacks, and remembering the chills he got watching WWII films of screaming Nazi Stuka divebombers, CPL Dudley went back to Seoul.³⁶ This time he went to the zoo, where

he recorded hungry, growling lions and tigers just before feeding time. "Especially proud of himself, Jack kept this recorded broadcast 'close hold.' Youn Myong Chong's broadcast was totally forgotten the night when Dudley turned on the growling lions and tigers. Everybody—the troops in the outpost behind us and the Communist scouts in front of us—started running away. It caused one hell of a commotion. Attacking wild animals were the excuse for abandoning positions. Knowing that the next thing coming our way would be artillery, we got out of there as fast as we could, too," recalled Rose, laughing. "Fortunately, we were rotating to the 45th Infantry Division [Oklahoma Army National Guard], because Dudley's dramatic production of 'Lions on the Loose' didn't go over too well with the 25th ID."³⁷

Broadcast scripts and recorded messages provided by the Propaganda Platoon in Seoul were not much better. When L/S teams supporting the Republic of Korea Army units broadcast nostalgic themes in Korean to the enemy, the intended effects sometimes backfired. South Korean troops began weeping, and their officers were visibly affected. Thereafter, the substance and purpose of the latest campaign was passed down through the chains of command before broadcasting.³⁸ Scripts and tapes were approved by Projects Branch Chief of the G-3 Psywar Division, EUSAK before distribution to L/S teams by the Publications Platoon.

Scripts followed an indirect path to the L/S teams. Normally translated into Chinese and Korean, mimeographed copies in English with Chinese and Korean characters alongside, were distributed to the teams. Produced by college-educated writers in the comfort of Seoul, most scripts were too sophisticated for the vast majority of the target audience—illiterate conscripted Chinese and North Korean peasants. Practical solutions to the communication problems were needed.³⁹

After visiting several prisoner of war compounds before assuming command in April 1952, CPT Herbert Avedon instructed that each sentence in the broadcast be spoken slowly and repeated several times in order to improve understanding among illiterate soldiers. To correct printed products, he directed the use of ideographs or pictographs instead of advanced characters, because many Chinese children were taught to read and write (through second grade) using phonetic symbols or ideographs. Avedon managed to convince EUSAK G-3 Psywar to use Chinese phonetics on all leaflets aimed at Communist Chinese Forces. This practice was eventually adopted by Far East Command Psywar in Tokyo.⁴⁰ Still, interpreter Youn thought Psywar products produced in Seoul were "Numba 10."⁴¹

According to Rose, "most of the time we wrote our own broadcasts based on what we found on the bodies and got from regimental S-2s. These were very basic messages identifying enemy KIA [killed in action], using Chinese and Korean vulgarities. After all, we weren't talking to white collar people."⁴² This direct approach met 1st L&L guidance to focus on the lowest possible unit personalities by name, physical characteristics and appearance, and habits. The "contingency" broadcast scripts prepared by "insufficiently trained and untalented" L/S team chiefs were criticized by CPT Avedon, but seemed to be effective nonetheless.⁴³

The written job description of an L/S team chief was nowhere close to the realities of his responsibilities. CPT Avedon's ideal candidate would fit the following description:

Writes loudspeaker scripts and programs and broadcasts to tactical audiences [in accordance with] the principles of Psywar. Has some knowledge of history, politics, sociology, psychology, customs, traditions or culture of enemy against whom he operates, and knows something of the language and dialects of principal enemy population groups and of the media of mass communications. Has knowledge of enemy leaders, military and civilian.

To this was later added a requirement for previous combat experience.⁴⁴ Though L/S team chiefs—usually corporals or PFCs—rarely possessed the above skills and knowledge, they functioned well in the circumstances they actually found themselves in. By the time an L/S team chief completed his combat tour, he knew combustion engines well enough to repair a motor generator, and could to fix an amplifier or tape recorder-reproducer in the field. He had also earned a CIB (Combat Infantryman Badge), for the enemy regularly shot back during his broadcasts.⁴⁵ It was practical knowledge, common sense, and combat savvy that kept L/S teams operational, rather than the academic qualifications Avedon desired.

During Rose's attachment to the 45th ID, where tank-mounted loudspeakers were used again, the "dirtiest" aspect of Psywar—searching the enemy dead for any items of intelligence value—inspired a lucrative, money-making enterprise for L/S Team 10. Since they routinely worked in no-man's-land, the newly-arrived Oklahoma National Guard soldiers who watched them at work constantly badgered the team for war souvenirs. This inspired interpreter Youn. "We be rich selling war trophies," said the enterprising North Korean refugee. After making some arrangements with a nearby orphanage, Youn established a cottage industry creating enemy "battle flags." Bed sheet remnants were spattered with chicken blood, shot full of holes, and emblazoned in paint with Chinese characters. Because few Americans read Chinese, "Mao Tse-Tung is a Fat Faggot" was Youn's favorite battle flag slogan.⁴⁶ The enterprise was flourishing when L/S Team 10 moved to the 1st Marine Division, after broadcasting from the notorious Old Baldy (Hill 266), Porkchop (Hill 255), and White Horse hills (Hill 395).⁴⁷

L/S Team 10's souvenir business prospered until the sandbagged team bunker received several mortar hits. Fortunately, the 60mm rounds did not penetrate the mounded earth, sandbags, and timber that covered the dugout, but the concussions collapsed the bunker. No one was killed, but the "battle flag" stocks were buried. PFC Rose crawled from the debris with blood coming out of his ears, nose, and eyes, and was evacuated—earning the first of two Purple Hearts.⁴⁸ The 14 April 1952 edition of *Weekly Loudspeaker Team Talk* provided this account of the incident:

Sergeant Lawrence O'Brien



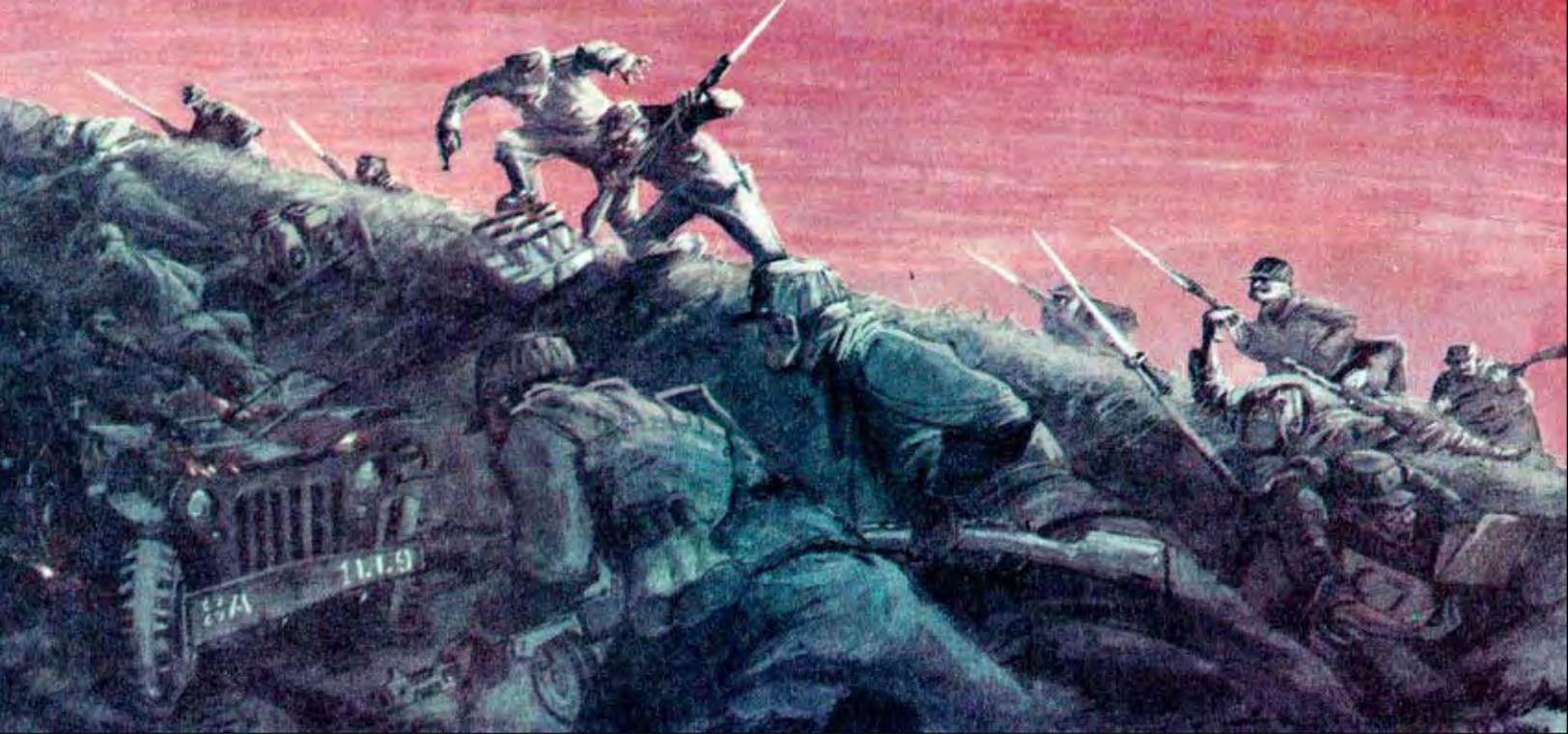
SERGEANT Lawrence O'Brien's story is prime evidence that the heroes of Psywar in Korea were found on the ground and in the air, executing psychological operations missions in the face of enemy fire.

Sergeant O'Brien, the loudspeaker team chief with the 7th ID, received the Silver Star for gallantry in action near Ch'unch'on, Korea, in May 1950. Moving forward in his M20 reconnaissance vehicle (restored example shown below) to join a tank task force, he came under heavy enemy fire but continued forward nonetheless. Coming upon the overturned guard jeep of the 7th ID commander, Major General Claude Ferenbaugh, he found beneath it the bodies of two military policemen who had been killed by enemy fire, and a third who was seriously wounded. Sergeant O'Brien sent his driver back with the vehicle for assistance and remained to aid and protect the wounded man against the concentrated fire of the enemy. When a rescuing tank force arrived two hours later, they were taken aboard, and Sergeant O'Brien guided the tanks in a further search for Major General Ferenbaugh, his aide and his driver, whom they found and rescued from enemy ambush.¹

Notes

- 1 Colonel Kenneth K. Hansen, *Psywar in Korea* (Washington, DC: Joint Subsidiary Activities Group, OJCS, 1960), 194–95.





As depicted in this painting by 1st L&L artist Dick Zayac, loudspeaker teams often worked forward of the front lines, risking harm or capture by the enemy. True to life, this painting shows Communist troops demolishing loudspeaker equipment abandoned by a loudspeaker team fleeing to safety.

A bunker enclosing PFC Gerald Rose was partially destroyed by four rounds of enemy 60mm mortar fire. Rose was broadcasting when the enemy began firing. He ducked into the bunker just before it was hit. The subject of his broadcast was "The Futility of War."⁴⁹

The broadcaster was actually Youn, and Rose, providing security, was far enough away from the generator and public address system set to hear the telltale "plump" sound made by mortar rounds leaving the tube. After spending Easter 1952 in the hospital, Rose returned to the 1st L&L in Seoul to receive his next assignment, and there encountered a completely new chain of command.

Normal overseas rotations had brought in a whole new group of officers and senior noncommissioned officers. In April 1952, MAJ Osgood was reassigned to the Psychological Warfare Center, Fort Bragg, North Carolina. CPT Herbert Avedon, Signal Corps, replaced Osgood as the commander of 1st L&L. He had been a WWII Ranger signal officer from Sicily to Anzio, as well as an Office of Strategic Services Psywar veteran of Burma. 1LT Joe Roberts, the former Propaganda Platoon Leader, had succeeded CPT Russell as XO. Only CPT Avedon had attended the officers Psychological Warfare course at Fort Riley, Kansas, where military occupational specialties (MOSs) 9305, Psywar Officer, and 9306, Psywar Staff Officer, were awarded to graduates. The 1st L&L did not receive enlisted Psywar school graduates from the States either.⁵⁰

To correct Psywar training shortfalls, CPT Avedon intended to start formal training for the L/S teams, and to change the L/S team MOS 0320, Interrogator/Linguist—an intelligence specialty that the Army had difficulty filling—to one more satisfactory based on 1st L&L experience in Korea. Avedon submitted a TO&E change to reduce the L/S team from three to two personnel, and to change the

Team Chief MOS to 1636, Intelligence Analyst, and the Assistant Team Chief to MOS to 3174, Public Address System Mechanic. The changes were finally affected in 1954.⁵¹

In an effort to overcome the dearth of school-trained L/S personnel, Avedon instituted a seven-day course on Psywar principles and training on loudspeaker equipment. However, increased field requirements for L/S teams across Korea, personnel rotations, combat casualties, and inexperienced enlisted instructors minimized the effectiveness of this solution.⁵²

Operational training detractors prompted the Propaganda Platoon to print (mimeograph) a ten to twelve page handout entitled *Weekly Loudspeaker Team Talk*. According to CPT Avedon, "a lack of adequate specialized training by L/S personnel" made a continuing instruction program mandatory for the teams in combat. *Team Talk* contained "instructional material, tactical information (such as lists of enemy vulnerabilities), leaflet drop schedules (coded K for North Korean and C for Chinese units) and programming lessons, as well as a sprinkling of entertainment features."⁵³ Intramural sports stories and a "Horning-In" section explained what L/S teams were doing in the field and who they were supporting—with names and team numbers provided.⁵⁴

The *Team Talks*, though labeled "Restricted Security Information," were not classified. Operational security, as it is known today, for Psywar activities was not taken seriously. Because the Propaganda Platoon prepared the EUSAK Psywar leaflets, as well as air and ground loudspeaker broadcasts in order to exploit enemy psychological vulnerabilities, *Team Talk* quickly became the primary means to get broadcast scripts to L/S teams in the field.⁵⁵ With hardly any security measures protecting 1st L&L products, the Communists knew exactly where the major UN tactical Psywar was emanating from, and did not hesitate to demonstrate their intelligence. When a six-by-six truckload of leaflets was captured by the enemy,

a “Bed Check Charlie” pilot returned them a few nights later—showering them over the 1st L&L compound in Seoul.⁵⁶

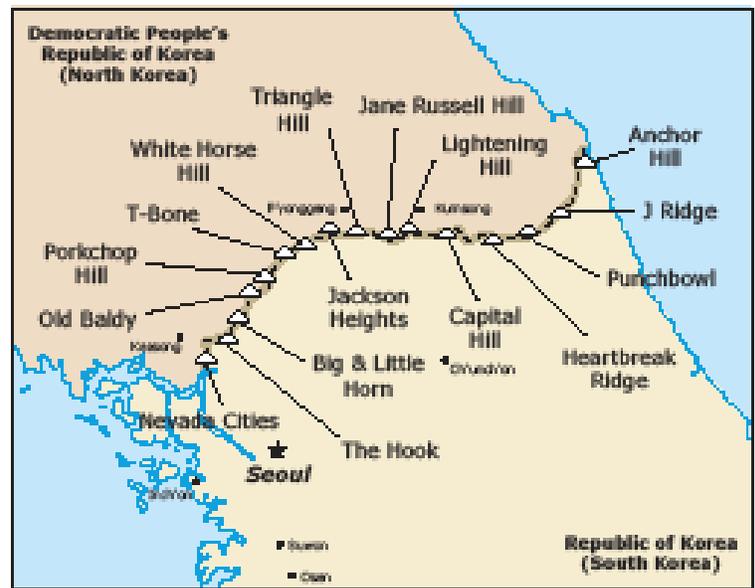
In spite of Avedon’s detailed standard operating procedures, among the men of the 1st L&L, the unspoken rules were: log as many missions as possible (front line time accrued the most points for overseas rotation), don’t report contacts with the enemy—especially with the Hunter Squads, don’t get captured, and don’t report friendly fires.⁵⁷

Friendly fire was a constant threat because the L/S broadcasts routinely drew enemy fire. The nervous infantrymen behind them also wanted “combat points” to shorten their overseas tours, but did not want to get killed in the process. Sandbagged log bunkers and deep trenches provided protection against small arms and machine gun fire, but enemy artillery and mortar attacks were risky.⁵⁸ The last thing the infantry wanted was to have the enemy direct fire against the L/S teams, because that would obligate the infantry to respond and lead to an escalating fire fight. “Friendly” fire from the rear, loudspeakers stuffed with snow, and cut wires were strong warnings from the American troops on line that the L/S teams were being too effective.⁵⁹ When caught in crossfire Rose’s team played its “Ace in the Hole”—Doris Day:

For some reason, the Americans and Chinese loved listening to Doris Day. So, when our efforts had really stirred them up, resulting in artillery and mortar barrages and machine gun fire being directed at us, and in turn from the American lines, we quickly switched to Doris to quiet things down. We once tried the chaplain’s church music, but “Onward Christian Soldiers” didn’t have much impact on the Chinese nor the American GIs. Only Doris Day worked.⁶⁰

The situation was different for L/S teams supporting artillery forward observers trying to pinpoint enemy firing positions. The forward observers wanted the L/S teams to draw fire to direct counterbattery fire against the enemy artillery and mortars. Since 1st L&L officers rarely accompanied the L/S teams on night combat missions, the enlisted Psywar soldiers developed practical mission parameters of their own: get as close as possible; talk as long as possible; when you receive fire, get yourselves and the equipment out as quickly as possible.⁶¹ Getting as close as possible was important because the range of the AN/UIQ-1 public address (PA) set was “a mile, if the wind was blowing right.” Psywar doctrine said, “Statements read over a PA set sound more ‘authoritative’ than those coming from a radio or printed in a newspaper or leaflet. The announcer’s voice has a superhuman volume; it commands attention as no radio broadcast can ever do.”⁶² Ignored was the reality that broadcasts from the front line “drew fire like a magnet” and served as homing beacons for enemy Hunter Squads and searchlights,⁶³ as shown by this *Weekly Loudspeaker Team Talk* story:

Team #12, consisting of Team Chief Preslesnik and interpreters, visited the Company this past week. Preslesnik played the part of “Bring ‘em Back (but not Alive) Buck” when he toted in a badly damaged generator that the Chinese used



In a line stretching across the peninsula, UN troops battled fiercely for a series of hills and ridges whose nicknames still resonate with the tragedies that played out in their midst.⁶⁵

as a target for their guns. He also brought back three small pieces of what originally was a speaker that once belonged to PVT Joseph (Combat Story) McSheffrey. If the Chinese keep hitting our equipment the way they have been, we’ll have to start indoctrinating them about supply economy.⁶⁴

Once under enemy fire, recovering equipment was not that easy—especially the communications wire connecting the generator in the jeep trailer to the forward location of the loudspeaker site in the steep mountainous terrain of Korea.

Popular singer and actress Doris Day was a favorite among frontline troops—on both sides.



ARMY GENERAL SCHOOL
FORT RILEY, KANSAS



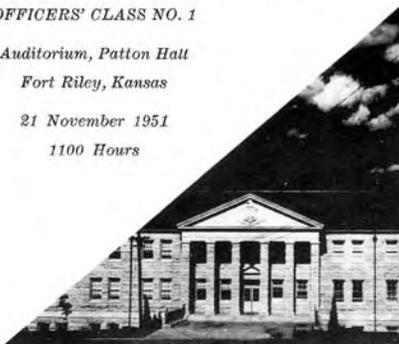
Graduation Exercises

for

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE NONCOMMISSIONED
OFFICERS' CLASS NO. 1

Auditorium, Patton Hall
Fort Riley, Kansas

21 November 1951
1100 Hours



The U.S. Army General School at Fort Riley, Kansas, offered the Army's Psychological Warfare course, which produced Psywar Officers and Psywar Staff Officers (MOSS 9305 and 9306). Of the personnel assigned to the 1st L&L in Korea, only Captain Herbert L. Avedon had completed the course.

Rose had to devise a simple "deadman" winching system to get the jeep and trailer in place on a steep ridgeline. To further add to the difficulty, infantry units commonly laid minefields beyond the outpost line. As a result of geography and war, abandoning equipment was not uncommon for the L/S teams. SGT Nick Soter from Team 9 lost his jeep after driving up Hill 854 for a night broadcast. Before the L/S team could start broadcasting, Hill 854 was attacked from three sides. The team barely got away, and had to leave its jeep, trailer, generator, and public address system set behind.⁶⁶ A common sense refusal to retrieve their WD-1 wire at night led to the rapid transfer of CPL Dudley, PFC Rose, and Youn from the 40th ID (California Army National Guard) to the British 1st Commonwealth Division.⁶⁷

By May 1952, the Chinese were conducting effective counterpropaganda against UN forces. It was quite easy to accomplish, since operational security was nonexistent; Koreans were everywhere doing everything. Few Americans questioned where the locals went or what they did. The majority of classified destruction was done by Koreans using fifty-five-gallon burn barrels. Even loudspeaker teams had Korean houseboys who arranged laundry, cooked meals, scrounged rare commodities on the black market, and worked on the jeeps. In Seoul, it was not uncommon for members of the 1st L&L and the Psywar Division of EUSAK to keep female consorts, many of whom were North Korean intelligence agents. The majority of the secretaries at EUSAK headquarters were also Korean, and EUSAK security checks were cursory at best. "These people were our allies, after all," was the common response.⁶⁸ There was little wonder that the Communists were well informed.

Nevertheless, enemy knowledge about the 1st L&L and L/S team identities and assignments was disconcerting. Chinese counter-Psywar broadcasts "welcomed" L/S teams by number and the members by name when they arrived at their frontline divisions. "The Chinese portable loudspeakers were as good as ours," said Rose. "We had those used by the U.S. Navy beach masters in WWII."⁶⁹ Chinese patrols left personally addressed "skull and crossbones" notes tied to bushes in no-man's-land for the L/S teams. The leaflets threatened to hang L/S team members if captured, and advertised the \$10,000 gold bounty to Hunter Squads for capturing any of them.⁷⁰ "For this reason, we had contact with Hunter Squads about every three missions by mid-summer," remembered Rose.⁷¹

During his second assignment with the 1st Marine Division, the division's Psywar staff officer concocted a scheme much riskier than being captured in no-man's-land. As a result of this misguided plan, PFC Rose's second tour with the 1st Marine Division in June 1952 proved to be short-lived. Hav-

Weekly Loudspeaker Team Talk provided 1st L&L personnel in the field with training materials and news from the rest of the company. Team Talk also quickly became the primary means of distributing tactical information to the loudspeaker teams, including broadcast scripts and leaflet drop schedules.

**WEEKLY
LOUDSPEAKER
TEAM TALK**

14 JULY 1952



1st Loudspeaker & Leaflet Co.

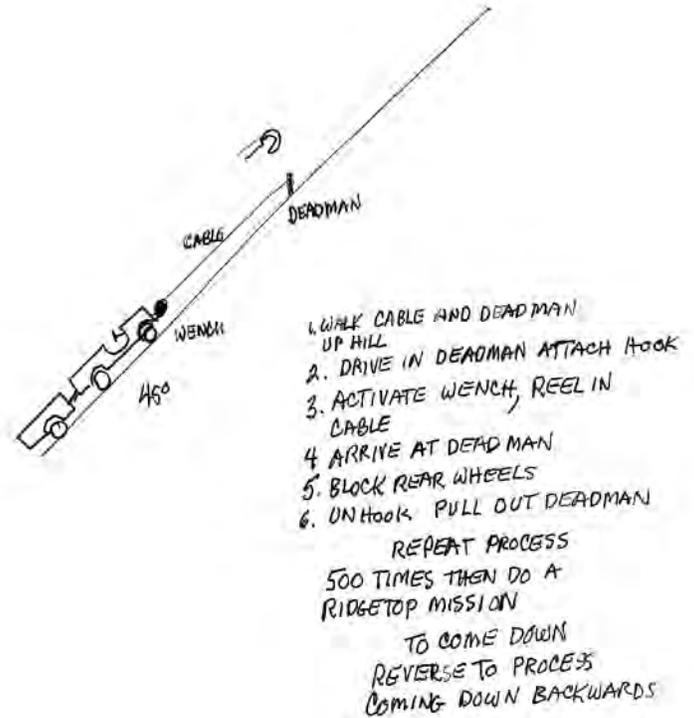
ing done tank reconnaissance probes into the Chinese lines around the Punch Bowl, the Marines were anxious to repeat the practice at Panmunjon. To enhance these probes, the 1st Marine Division Psywar officer “promised to make the broadcast team famous.” He proposed the construction of a simple raft that would hold the 10th L/S team jeep and trailer. PFC Rose, the team chief, and Youn would simply broadcast to the Chinese Soldiers as they floated down the Injim River. This was notwithstanding enemy fire being concentrated on them.⁷²

Some very accurate artillery fire eliminated that ‘hare-brained Huckleberry Finn’ scheme. My team consisted of Youn and me. I didn’t have another American. We were in a foxhole setting up to broadcast when a Marine full colonel in starched utilities brought a Red Cross volunteer up to the COPL for a battlefield ‘tour.’ The two ‘tourists’ silhouetted themselves on the ridgeline, taking turns with the colonel’s binoculars. You could see the sun glinting off his silver eagles. When we tried to warn them away because they would attract artillery fire, they waved back, ignoring our shouts to go away. Less than a minute after they drove off in their jeep, we were hit by artillery. The impact was so close that Youn and I were blown out of the foxhole by concussive impact. The first thing that I saw was my mangled bloody hand. A large piece of shrapnel had ripped it apart. Our jeep sitting behind the COPL was our only means of escape. Just as I drove away, a second round hit the COPL. It was just like a war movie—a series of artillery rounds exploding in orchestrated sequence behind us as we raced down the road. Luck was with us. I made it to the MASH at X-Ray Bridge. A helicopter carried me to the USHS Hope,” said Rose. “That second Purple Heart was a real doozy. I never saw Youn again.”⁷³

It was several surgeries and considerable physical therapy later before lately-promoted CPL Jerry Rose was shipped to the United States and discharged in the summer of 1953. Thus, in less than a year, Rose completed 253 tactical loudspeaker missions, the majority at night, while supporting 24th ID, 25th ID, 45th ID, 40th ID, 1st Marine Division, the Commonwealth Division, Turkish Brigade, and the Republic of Korea 9th Division (White Horse). In the course of his tour, he was awarded the Bronze Star, two Purple Hearts, and the Combat Infantryman Badge.⁷⁴ “No other sergeant in the Eighth Army shoulders greater responsibility than the chief of a loudspeaker team,” was the fitting tribute accorded the tactical field arm of the 1st L&L by Lieutenant Dale Story in a 1952 *Combat Forces Journal* article on Psywar in Korea.⁷⁵

During CPL Rose’s tour with the company, no 1st L&L personnel were killed in action, but numerous L/S soldiers were wounded.⁷⁶ In May 1952, CPT Avedon accepted the Republic of Korea Presidential Unit Citation for the 1st L&L at a ceremony in Taegu. The unit was also awarded two U.S. Army Meritorious Unit Citations for Korean service. The citation awarded by EUSAK General Order #245 dated 28 February 1953 read:

... The 1st Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company, the only unit of its kind in the combat zone, performed their duties



Korea’s steep ridgelines presented the loudspeaker teams with some logistical challenges. Rose’s winching system, as illustrated by his own hand, was simple, but got the job done—repeatedly.



The British 1st Commonwealth Division comprised troops from Australia, Canada, Great Britain, India, and New Zealand.



The 40th Infantry Division, California Army National Guard, arrived in Korea in February 1952 to replace the 24th ID on the battle line. The division participated in the fighting on and around Heartbreak Ridge, and at one point in 1953, had an artillery battery almost seventy miles north of the 38th parallel.

with determination and aggressiveness. Equipped with bulky public address systems best adapted to vehicular use, the loudspeaker teams hand carried their equipment to isolated peaks on the front in order to render close psychological warfare support to infantry lines units.⁷⁷

Psychological warfare was still a fairly untested tool when Rose joined the 1st L&L in Korea. Though frontline combat is not in the Psywar soldier's job description, life on a loudspeaker team was everything Rose the infantryman could have hoped for in terms of excitement. In spite of the trials and dangers of L/S duty, Rose reflected that:

Life in Korea wasn't all bad. We hunted golden pheasant in the Chorwon Valley. And I acquired a nice collection of Chinese and North Korean weapons. I got to see a Bob Hope USO show with Jerry Colona, some pretty girls, and listened to the Marine Band. Tins of Fosters ale were the highlight of supporting the Aussies in the Commonwealth Division. We got to see the latest movies—albeit in pretty cold and austere theaters. I managed to get copies of the Oakland Tribune occasionally. Selling enemy “battle flags” was a real hoot. And then . . . there was R&R in Tokyo.⁷⁸ ♠

Special notes of appreciation are due to retired LTC Jay Russell, former Loudspeaker Platoon Leader and Executive Officer, and to former CPL Gerald Rose, Loudspeaker Team Leader, 1st Loudspeaker & Leaflet Company, Korea, for sharing memories, old photographs and memorabilia, documents, and providing the words to explain tactical Psywar loudspeaker operations during the Korean War

Charles H. Briscoe has been the USASOC Command Historian since 2000. He earned his PhD from the University of South Carolina, and is a retired Army special operations officer. Current research interests include Army special operations during the Korean War, in El Salvador, and Colombia.

Endnotes

- 1 Gerald A. Rose, interview by Dr. Charles H. Briscoe, 13 October 2003, Oakland, CA, tape recording, USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited as Rose Interview 1.
- 2 “PSYWAR Hits Korean Enemy Right Where It Hurts the Most,” *The Stars and Stripes*, 20 May 1953; Herbert A. Friedman, “American PSYOP Organizations During the Korean War,” <http://www.Psywarrior.com/KoreaPSYOPHist.html>, copy in USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 3 Rose Interview 1.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Gerald A. Rose, telephone interview by Dr. Charles H. Briscoe, 29 October 2004, digital recording, USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited as Rose Interview 2. Getting school-trained Psywar soldiers to the 1st L&L in Korea was not an Army priority judging by the Psywar NCO Class No. 1 (24 October 1951–21 November 1951) graduation roster. All forty-five graduates were assigned to either the 2nd L&L Company or Psy War Det 5021 ASU stationed at Fort Riley, KS, site of the Army General School. The Psywar Division was in the department of Resident Instruction. Psywar NCO Class No. 1 Graduation Roster, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 6 In 1950, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., the Republican senator from Massachusetts, authored Public Law 597 as a means of incorporating select members of Europe's displaced persons population into the U.S. Army. Popularly called the “Lodge Act,” PL 597 offered the opportunity to apply for U.S. citizenship in return for five years of enlisted service in the U.S. Army. Passed by the 81st Congress in June 1950, the “alien enlistment program” received its first recruits at the 7720th Replacement Depot, Sonthofen, Germany, in 1951. Kenneth Finlayson, “The Lodge Act and the Early Days of Special Forces,” *Special Forces: The First Fifty Years* (Tampa, FL: Faircount LLC, 2002), 92–93.
- 7 1st L&L Company Thanksgiving Dinner Menu, Korea, 1951, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC; Rose Interview 1; Jay V. Russell, telephone interview by Dr. Charles H. Briscoe, 16 November 2004, digital recording, USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited as Russell Interview.
- 8 Colonel Kenneth K. Hansen, *Psywar in Korea* (Washington, DC: Joint Subsidiary Activities Group, OJCS, 1960), 26. Major Homer Caskey took the Technical Information Detachment overseas. After the TID was expanded to become the 1st L&L Company, it was subsequently commanded by Majors John T. Dabinett and Donald W. Osgood, and Captains Herbert Avedon and Oliver W. Rodman.
- 9 Department of the Army, Operational Research Office, Technical Memorandum ORO-T-3 (FEC); George S. Pettee, *US Psywar Operations in the Korean War* (n.p.: 23 January 1951), 29; “PSYWAR Hits Korean Enemy Right Where It Hurts the Most”; 1st Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company, EUSAK, APO 301, Seoul, Korea, *Standing Operating Procedure (SOP)* dated 10 August 1952, hereafter cited as 1st L&L SOP.
- 10 Pettee, 29; Russell Interview. When war broke out in Korea, Major (MAJ) Alfred L. DiBella from the G-2 Psywar Branch (“Special Projects Division”) of the Supreme Command Allied Powers (General Douglas MacArthur's headquarters) in Tokyo was dispatched to Seoul. In January 1951, General Mathew Ridgway transferred responsibility for Psywar from G-2 to G-3 in EUSAK, where it became a division of the G-3 Operations section rather than a special staff section. He increased the manning to eight officers and nine enlisted men, and named MAJ DiBella acting chief. MAJ DiBella, MAJ Edwin Rios, First Lieutenant Fred W. Wilmot, and a master sergeant conducted the tactical Psywar campaign for EUSAK until the 1st L&L Company was combat effective in April 1951. Airborne and ground loudspeaker efforts were experimental. Only two trailer-mounted loudspeakers and two airborne loudspeakers had been in service. The 1st Cavalry Division occasionally lent its loudspeaker trailer to the 25th Infantry Division in the summer and fall of 1950. The Marines used loudspeakers throughout the fall. Attempts to use them at the Chosin Reservoir in winter were unsuccessful. With the temperatures from -10° to -20° F, the generator would not start. Fred W. Wilmot, telephone interviews by Dr. Charles H. Briscoe, 10 November 2004 and 29 November 2004, digital recordings, USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited as Wilmot Interview 1 and 2 respectively; Pettee, 2, 7, 23–24; Hansen, 26, 194, 196.
- 11 TO&E 20-77, Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company, Army, 1 September 1950, copy in USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter TO&E 20-77.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Russell Interview; 1st L&L SOP. First Lieutenant Russell escorted five Chinese interpreters from Pusan to Seoul. They were former professors from the Pusan University. HQ, 2D Logistical Command, APO 59, AG 300.4, “SUBJECT: Letter Order No. 2-40,” dated 7 February 1951, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC. The L/S Platoon was definitely combat effective by 1 May 1951. When an L/S team with the 27th Infantry Regiment, northeast of Seoul, encountered three Chinese prisoners of war being escorted to the rear, the team sergeant and interpreter obtained their names, units, and names of officers and friends. The interpreter then made surrender appeals with this current information. Twenty-four Chinese soldiers surrendered that day. The next day another fifteen surrendered. “Some Psywar Operations Highlights,” RG 319, Section 338, Box 4, 1951–52, National Archives, Washington, DC.
- 14 Stephen E. Pease, *Psychological Warfare in Korea 1950–1953* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1992), 131–32; Rose Interview 1; Hansen, 313–14, 316.
- 15 Rose Interview 1. Private First Class John Squicciarini's Loudspeaker team supported a Republic of Korea Army division in Operation RATKILLER from December 1951 through January 1952. Large bands of guerrillas and bandits had taken refuge in the mountains northwest of Chinju after the Communist retreat from the south. General James A. Van Fleet assigned Lieutenant General Paik Sun Yup two Republic of Korea Army divisions to eliminate this potentially dangerous threat. 1st L&L loudspeaker teams broadcast surrender appeals to surrounded groups. By the end of January 1952, nearly twenty thousand bandits and guerrillas had been killed or captured. John A. Squicciarini, telephone interview by Dr. Charles H. Briscoe, 30 November 2004, digital recording, USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited as Squicciarini Interview; Matthew D. Ridgway, *The Korean War* (New York: Doubleday, 1967), 191.
- 16 “PSYWAR Hits Korean Enemy Right Where It Hurts the Most.”

- 17 Ibid.
- 18 TO&E 20-77; Rose Interview 1.
- 19 Rose Interview 1.
- 20 "War Without Weapons," *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, 17 March 1951, 3.
- 21 Major Donald W. Osgood, Commander, 1st L&L Company, Korea, letter to Captain Jay V. Russell, Fort Benning, GA, dated 14 March 1952, Russell Collection, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 22 TO&E 20-77; 1st L&L SOP; Captain Herbert L. Avedon, "Command Report No. 18," June 1952, Avedon Collection, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC; Hansen, 300; Rose Interview 1; EUSAK, Office of the Commanding General (CG), APO 301, AG 300.4 KAGM, Letter Order No. 11-221 dated 30 November 1951 had Captain Jay V. Russell; First Lieutenant Hillard J. Trubitt, 062034, Armor; Second Lieutenant Quillian D. Clements, 02263454, Artillery; and twenty-four enlisted men (including Corporal William E. Johnson, RA16249927; Corporal John H. Dudley, US56050526; and Private-2 Gerald A. Rose, US56141578) temporary duty from 1 Dec 51 to 31 Dec 51 in connection with Psywar activities. They were authorized travel by train, but no per diem. Loudspeaker platoon officers and team members had thirty-day temporary duty orders issued monthly. EUSAK, Office of the CG, APO 301, AG 300.4 KAGM, Letter Order No. 12-197 dated 28 December 1951, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC; EUSAK, AG 300.4 KAGM, Letter Order No. 11-221 dated 30 November 1951, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 23 Captain Jay V. Russell, "Psychological Warfare Operations During the Attack," U.S. Army Advanced Infantry Officers Course, Class #2, 1952-53, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC; Russell Interview.
- 24 "Corporal Jack Dudley was a 'legendary character' among the loudspeaker men in the 1st L&L. But, he got things done. Dudley was an eccentric who wore an Australian Army bush hat, a heavy Chinese padded cotton overcoat with his British battle jacket, and Korean overboots. His team jeep sported a UN flag and UN markings, so no one hassled him," related a bemused John Squicciarini, another original loudspeaker team leader in the 1st L&L. Squicciarini Interview.
- 25 Rose Interview 1; Gerald A. Rose, letter to Dr. Stanley Sandler, 25 May 1994, copy in USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC; Gerald A. Rose, undated letter to parents, copy in USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC. The 1st L&L Company Propaganda Platoon had little access to the enemy Order of Battle in Seoul. This severely handicapped the scope and focus of the loudspeaker broadcast scripts and leaflets. Avedon Collection, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 26 Rose Interview 1; Rose letter to Sandler, 25 May 1994; Rose letter to parents, undated.
- 27 First Lieutenant Jay V. Russell, 1st L&L Company Report, "SUBJECT: Psychological Warfare Report Resulting from Personal Visit to I Corps," dated 16 January 1951, Russell Collection, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 28 Gerald A. Rose, letter to parents, May 1952, Korea, copy in USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 29 "War Without Weapons;" Hansen, 59.
- 30 Far East Command AFF Observer Team 5 Report dated July 1951, Entry 1, Box 91, RG 337, National Archives, Washington, DC.
- 31 Gerald A. Rose, letter to Dr. Stanley Sandler, 12 July 1994, copy in USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC; Rose Interview 1.
- 32 Rose Interview 1.
- 33 Hansen, 194-95.
- 34 Wilmot Interview 1; Far East Command AFF Observer Team 5 Report; Russell, "Psychological Warfare Operations During the Attack," 10-11, 13; First Lieutenant Jay V. Russell, "SUBJECT: Operation of Loudspeaker Teams with Attached Tank," n.d., USASOC History Office files, Fort Bragg, NC; Hansen, 194. On 15 February 1951, Task Force Burgess flanked the 150th North Korean Division on Hill 191 and raked its positions with the combined firepower of numerous twin 40mm anti-aircraft guns, quad .50 caliber anti-aircraft machine guns, and 76mm tank guns. Then, the Loudspeaker (L/S) team broadcast a surrender appeal three times with positive results. However, the best use of the L/S team was against a village south of the Han River. The L/S team sergeant convinced the task force commander that the L/S could reduce the risk of assaulting the village and minimize collateral damage to the civilians. When the villagers began running toward the L/S, they were halted until the headman came forward. The villagers were told to come out of their homes to help move wounded North Koreans out to the road. The task force commander held his fire to give the enemy an opportunity to respond to the surrender appeals. "As a result of the broadcasts, thirty North Korean soldiers surrendered and no villagers were injured. Thus, a North Korean division was effectively destroyed by combining all direct action weapons available to the 15th Infantry."
- 35 Russell, "SUBJECT: Psychological Warfare Report Resulting from Personal Visit to I Corps."



Loudspeaker teams were responsible for carrying and positioning their equipment in the most strategic location possible—often on top of a steep, craggy hill that could only be accessed by foot.

- 36 "War Without Weapons," 3.
- 37 Rose Interview 1.
- 38 Hansen, 205. In June 1952, seven of the eleven loudspeaker teams were supporting Republic of Korea Divisions. Avedon, "Command Report No. 18."
- 39 1st L&L SOP.
- 40 Herbert Avedon, interview by Dr. Stanley Sandler, 14 September 1994, Rockville, Maryland, transcript in Avedon Collection, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited as Avedon Interview.
- 41 Rose letter to Sandler, 25 May 1994.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 1st L&L Co. SOP; Captain Herbert Avedon, O&T Branch, Propaganda Division, Office of the Chief of Psychological Warfare, "Memorandum For Record, SUBJECT: Psywar Operational Deficiencies Noted in Korea—A Study," 28 August 1953, 23, Avedon Collection, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 44 Hansen, 187–88. This was a considerably summarized job description based on the one prepared by Captain Avedon during his four-month period of 1st L&L Company command. Though his was only a single sheet of paper, it was single-spaced. His inflated description of duties and idealistic requirements far exceeded the qualifications of a corporal or sergeant. It is doubtful that any serving Psywar officer, including Avedon, possessed the requisite leadership, tactical skills, and capabilities. He wanted Assistant Loudspeaker Team Chiefs (corporals and privates first class by TO&E) to be highly intelligent, have platoon sergeant experience, academic education in psychology, sociology, anthropology and/or oriental history or culture, and possess the ability to write. Ironically, the majority of enlisted personnel in 1st L&L were drafted college graduates, though not with the specializations Avedon sought. Avedon, "Command Report No. 18;" Rose Interview 2.
- 45 Hansen, 187–88.
- 46 Rose Interview 1; Gerald A. Rose letter to Dr. Stanley Sandler, 8 October 1994, USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC; Avedon Interview. The 40th and 45th were National Guard divisions that were sent to relieve the 24th Infantry Division and 1st Cavalry Division in the winter of 1951–1952. The two active divisions returned to their prewar occupation duties in Japan. D.M. Giangreco, *War in Korea 1950–1953* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1990), 205.
- 47 Rose Interview 1; Rose letter to Sandler, 8 October 1994.
- 48 Ibid.; Avedon Interview.
- 49 Eighth U.S. Army, G-3, Psywar Division, Seoul, Korea, *Weekly Loudspeaker Team Talk*, 14 April 1952, Major Alan J. Dover Collection, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC;
- 50 1st L&L SOP; 226th Signal Service Company photo, Seoul, Korea, 1-3126-3/FEC-52-11116, dated 18 April 1952; Avedon Interview; U.S. Army General School, Psywar NCO Class No. 1 (24 October 1951–21 November 1951) Roster, USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC. All 45 graduates were assigned to either the 2nd L&L Company or Psy War Det 5021 ASU stationed at Fort Riley, KS.
- 51 TO&E No. 33-77, Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company, Army, dated 13 September 1954. This TO&E superseded TO&E 20-77A, 30 October 1952, including Change 1, 30 December 1952. ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 52 1st L&L SOP; Captain Avedon's seven-day Psywar and loudspeaker operation course in reality was "four days crammed into seven days." Ten personnel completed the course in June 1952. The number assigned to operational loudspeaker teams was not specified. Avedon, "Command Report No. 18."
- 53 1st L&L SOP.
- 54 *Weekly Loudspeaker Team Talk*, 14 April 1952; Eighth U.S. Army, G-3, Psywar Division, Seoul, Korea, *Weekly Loudspeaker Team Talk*, 24 November 1952, Avedon Collection, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 55 At least 143 copies of the *Loudspeaker Team Talk* were distributed weekly: two per loudspeaker (L/S) Team for twenty; two per L/S Section Leader for six; four to L/S Platoon headquarters; four to 1st L&L Company headquarters; two to the Republic of Korea Army (ROKA) L&L Company; three to the 1st Radio Broadcast & Leaflet Company; two to Psywar Projects, G-3 EUSAK; one copy to Psywar Operations, G-3 EUSAK; one copy to Psywar School; eight copies to the eight Division Psywar officers (one each); four copies to the Corps Psywar officers (one each); seven copies to the ROKA Division Psywar officers (one each); one copy to the airfield; fifteen file copies; and sixty-five copies minus the news items and translations to 1st L&L Company personnel. 1st L&L SOP dated 10 August 1952.
- 56 Paul A. Wolfgeher, "Psychological Warfare: The 1st Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company in the Korean War," <http://www.psyop.com/library/korea/wolfgeher.htm>, copy in USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 57 Gerald A. Rose letters to Dr. Stanley Sandler, 10 April 1994 and 7 June 1994, USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 58 Hansen, 205; Squicciarini Interview; Lieutenant Beverly Scott, "One Man's War," in Rudy Tomedi, *No Bugles, No Drums* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1993), 188; 1st L&L loudspeaker team personnel were granted Class "A" time for rotation, four points per month, which meant nine months on the line or a total of thirty-six points made them eligible for rotation to Japan or the U.S.
- 59 Squicciarini Interview.
- 60 Rose Interview 1; Rose letter to Sandler, 8 October 1994.
- 61 Rose letters to Sandler, 10 April 1994, 25 May 1994, and 7 June 1994; Rose Interview 1.
- 62 *Weekly Loudspeaker Team Talk*, 14 April 1952.
- 63 "War Without Weapons"; Hansen, 206.
- 64 *Weekly Loudspeaker Team Talk*, 24 November 1952.
- 65 Dvorchak, 237.
- 66 *Weekly Loudspeaker Team Talk*, 24 November 1952; Squicciarini Interview; Hansen, 205. Full equipment of three U.S. and three Republic of Korea Army teams had been overrun by the enemy, and in November 1952, another team reported the loss of all its equipment to an allied unit that felt its need was greater.
- 67 Rose Interview 1; Rose letter to parents, 11 April 1952, Chorwon, Korea, copy in USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 68 Colonel John Sadler (attached to the Central Intelligence Agency during the Korean War), interview by Dr. Charles H. Briscoe, 15 October 2003, Federal Way, WA, tape recording, USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC; Rose letter to parents, 30 May 1952, Panmunjon, Korea, copy in USASOC History Office Files, Fort Bragg, NC; Rose letter to Sandler, 12 July 1994. Captain Avedon took command of the 1st L&L in April 1952. Avedon Interview.
- 69 Rose letter to Sandler, 12 July 1994; Avedon, "Command Report No. 18."
- 70 Rose letter to parents, 30 May 1952; Rose letter to Sandler, 12 July 1994; Hansen, 313–14, 316.
- 71 Rose letter to Sandler, 12 July 1994.
- 72 Rose Interview 1. Bearing out Rose's criticism of the 1st Marine Division Psywar officer's ideas, the next loudspeaker team assigned to 1st Marine Division suffered one man killed in action, and one wounded. Captain Herbert L. Avedon, "Command Report No. 19," July 1952, Avedon Collection, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 73 Rose Interview 1; Avedon, "Command Report No. 18."
- 74 Rose Interview 2.
- 75 Lieutenant Dale Story, "Psychological Warfare in Korea," *Combat Forces Journal*, July 1952, 15.
- 76 Rose Interview 2.
- 77 226th Signal Service Company, photo of Captain Herbert Avedon accepting Republic of Korea Presidential Unit Citation for the 1st L&L Company on 18 May 1952 in Taegu, Korea, U.S. Army Photo 11/869-4/FEC-52, Avedon Collection, ARSOF Archives, Fort Bragg, NC; Wolfgeher; Friedman.
- 78 Rose letter to parents, 30 May 1952; Rose letter to Sandler, 12 July 1994; Rose Interview 2.