

EVOLUTION OF THE US PSYOP PRODUCTS' EFFECTIVENESS DURING VIETNAM WAR 1965-1969

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Abstract

The article presents an analysis of a few selected PSYOP products. However, for this work I checked all the products available during the Vietnam War, the National Catalogue of PSYOP Materials Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office, BACM Research. I have also analyzed the source texts as well as the opinions of professionals involved in psychological operations conducted during the Vietnam War. I estimated the impact of these products on the subconscious and conscious levels. In this way I could evaluate the effectiveness of these products and their adaptation to the cultural values of the Vietnamese. This allowed me to analyze the effectiveness of a methodology for creating these products. In my opinion, U.S. PSYOP product development and methodology were imperfect, and the cost of the war in Vietnam would be much lower if this methodology could have been adapted to cultural values of Vietnamese.

Key words: PSYOP products; psychological operation, psychological warfare,

A human being is the most advanced intellectual creature that lives on the earth. According to research by J. Still, on day 43 of pregnancy the developing foetal brain constantly emits its very first brain waves. From now on, we can talk about the existence of primordial consciousness¹. Japanese scientists Y. Okamoto and T. Kirikae confirmed during their research that as early

1 J.W. Still, *Journal of Washington Academy of Science*, 1969, vol. 59, pp. 46.

as the fourth month of pregnancy, the fetus can react to different states of consciousness. This means that it acquires the ability to control the different states of consciousness from the early stage of foetal development². According to Dominic Purple³ foetal consciousness arises between the 28th and 32nd weeks of gestation. Then the information is collected and transmitted to the brain along the neural connections. However, the cerebral cortex is developed enough to maintain awareness and provide a basis for thought, memory and emotion⁴; developing the following senses in the coming months: touch, taste, smell, sight and hearing. The foetus's memory begins to work during the 7-8 months of pregnancy. Mainly storing memories associated with strong emotional experiences⁵.

The foetal body is a series of transformations which is a product of evolution. During prenatal development progresses begin at the tail. Later, the tail disappears, before the first spine is formed: the notochord. Man is the result of a long process of evolution. As a result, the connection between the highly developed mind, and our body is the most complex and unresolved of the creatures that inhabit the earth. A human being is still a mystery. It's worth asking how the most effective methodology influences the mental process in such a way as to control human behaviour. The American doctrine of psychological operations has been properly developed since the late nineteenth century, but rapidly began to develop only during the First World War. Despite over one hundred years of experience, the Americans have failed to develop the question - why? From a scientific point of view, the operations in Vietnam in the majority were not well planned, prepared and implemented. American methods of psychological operations are often repeated the same errors during subsequent wars. During the First and Second World War, the U.S. unit responsible for carrying out psychological operations duplicated errors without using the lessons learned from previous wars.

2 Y. Okamoto, T. Kirikae, *Electroencephalographic studies on brain of fetus, of children of premature birth and new-born, together with a note on reactions of foetus brain upon drugs*, "Folia Psychiatrica et Neurologica Japonica", 1951, vol.v5, no. 2, pp. 135-146.

3 Dominik Purpura – editor of the journal "Brain Research", a professor at Einstein Medical College and director of the section of brain research at the National Institutes of Health.

4 T. Verny, J. Kelly, *The Secret Life of the Unborn Child*, New York 1981.

5 W. Fijałkowski, *Dar rodzenia*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 72, 106.

Paul. M. A. Linebarger⁶ indicated that if he used methods elaborated during World War I, he won't repeat the same mistakes. If employers of US Army PSYOP units during World War II had learned from mistakes of the past, operations could have been more effective⁷. The situation repeated itself during the Korean War. Then in Vietnam, US Army PSYOP specialists didn't realize that a man brought up in a different culture will profess different values and thought using other categories resulting from other mental programming⁸.

Before getting into the analysis of American propaganda during the war in Vietnam, it is worth paying attention to the outstanding series directed

6 Paul Myron Anthony Linebarger - was born 11 July 1913 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He was only twenty- three when he earned his Ph.D. in political science at Johns Hopkins University, where he was later Professor of Asiatic politics for many years. Shortly thereafter, he graduated from editing his father's books to publishing his own highly regarded works on Far Eastern affairs. After graduating from Johns Hopkins, Linebarger taught at Duke University from 1937 to 1946, but he also served actively in the Army during World War II as a second lieutenant. Pierce writes that "As a Far East specialist he was involved in the formation of the Office of War Information and of the Operation Planning and Intelligence Board. He also helped organize the Army's first psychological warfare section." He was sent to China and put in charge of psychological warfare and of coordinating Anglo- American and Chinese military activities. By the end of the war, he had risen to the rank of major. In 1947, he became professor of Asiatic Politics at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies in Washington. Pierce writes, Dr. Linebarger turned his wartime experiences into *Psychological Warfare*, still regarded as the most authoritative text in the field. As a colonel, he was advisor to the British forces in Malaya, and to the U. S. Eighth Army in Korea. But this self- styled "visitor to small wars" passed up Vietnam, feeling American involvement there was a mistake. Travels around the world took him to Australia, Greece, Egypt, and many other countries; and his expertise was sufficiently valued that he became a leading member of the Foreign Policy Association and an advisor to President Kennedy. Died 06 August 1966. – Paul Myron Anthony Linebarger, Arlington Cemetery, <http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/linebarg.htm>, 31.07.2013.

7 Paul M.A. Linebarger, *Walka Psychologiczna*, Biuletyn Informacyjny, Seria Psychologii i Pedagogiki Wojskowej nr 11, printed by Zarząd Propagandy i Agitacji GZR, Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 1959, pp. 128-130.

8 Software of the mind according G. Hofstede is *patterns of thinking, feeling and acting (which were learned throughout a lifetime)*. Hofstede's definition of culture is "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another." It is important to note that he believes that culture is learned and not inherited. He continues with a brief discussion on the 3 levels in human mental programming: 1. Human nature (universal; inherited); 2. Culture (specific to group/category; learned); and 3. Personality (specific to individual; learned and inherited). – Gerard Kroese, Monumental piece of work on differences in cultures, <http://www.amazon.co.uk/Cultures-Organisations-Software-Successful-Stategist/dp/1861975430>, 31.07.2013.

by Steven Spielberg's "Falling Skies"⁹. The series is about an alien invasion of earth. Aliens not only have very different biological organisms, but are mainly characterized by their different patterns of thought, behaviour and perception. The point is that if we want to influence the behaviour of aliens we need to understand their way of thinking, acting and emotional filings. To control their behaviour it's necessary to have a complete model of their cultural patterns. Only then it's possible to try plain operations. From a psychological point of view it's quite simple, because without this kind of knowledge it's impossible to conduct highly successful psychological operations. If PSYOP unit members want to control someone's behaviour, they need to try and look at this person as a alien. They can't put any hypotheses or assumptions until they begin using the scientific research methods to determine the cultural values of the interaction object.

During all the wars there was perpetrated one fundamental mistake that always resulted a failure to significantly to streamline the operation. Involuntarily assumed that the object if it is a human being, thinks, acts and feels emotionally like the U.S. PSYOP specialists. But the truth is that these patterns for each person brought up in a different cultural environment - even within the same society, but in a smaller social group - could be radically different. Similarly, in the case of the Vietnamese. In my opinion at all can be influenced. However, in the first instance it's necessary to understand the cultural patterns of object interaction better than the object does. Only then it's reasonable to plan any psychological operation. According to the Chinese art of war - know your enemy better than he knows himself¹⁰.

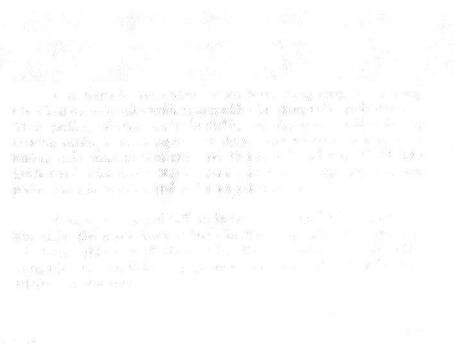
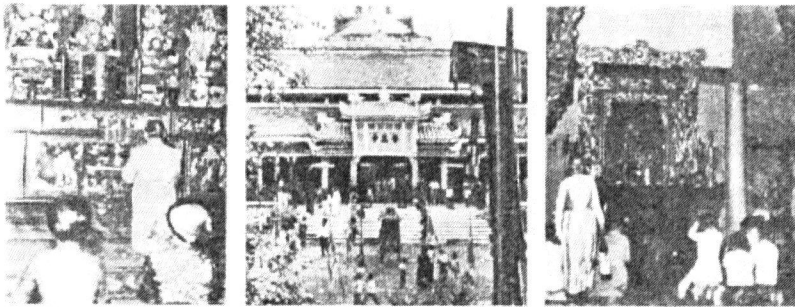
It would seem that this time, based on experience in conducting psychological operations against a many culturally diverse nation, the

⁹ Falling Skies - is an American science fiction television series about Alien Invasion on the Earth created by Robert Rodat and executive produced by Steven Spielberg. The aliens in the series are mighty, mysterious and merciless. They are highly intelligent and use military-like tactics which make them an overwhelming force against the human forces. There are few types of aliens that are very different – also on the mind, emotional and biological body levels. To defeated or cooperate with each kind of them It's necessary to understand them better then they understand themselves.

¹⁰ S. Tzu, *Sztuka wojny czyli trzynaście rozdziałów*, pp.7, <http://comma.dt.pl/e-books/BingFa/Screen/SCREEN.pdf>, 31.07.2013.

American art of psychological operations will reach the desired level. The Vietnam War showed, however, that the military PSYOP specialists learned understandably slowly. It is fair to say however that these operations were better thought out and executed than during the two World Wars and the Korean War. Alas they still contained a lot of unnecessary mistakes should not be present at all. The following presents a selection of U.S. PSYOP products together with an analysis of strengths and weaknesses.

One of the leaflets from Jul 1968 entitled "Freedom of Religion". At the front and rear is presented the following content¹¹:



SOUTH VIETNAM ENJOYS PROSPERITY AND FREEDOM

FRONT

Do you know that South Vietnam is enjoying prosperity and freedom while the war is still going on? There is plenty of food, money and clothes on the South's markets and citizens are free to

¹¹ Vietnam War, National Catalog of PSYOP Materials Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office, BACM Research, pp. 16

buy what they want to. That is the result of the free and democratic regime of the South. If you have the chance to get in touch with people, you will realize this fact.

Why continue to waste your youth in hardship while people in South Vietnam do not need your struggle? Return to the people, rebuild a prosperous life for yourself and contribute to the making of peace for your country.

BACK

The South Vietnamese enjoy freedom of religion. All religions are developed beautifully.

According to G. Hofstede's study, the Vietnamese has an extremely collectivist orientation, long-term and low uncertainty avoidance¹². This means that slogans offering to satisfy the selfish needs of the individual will not reap the expected result. The content should include the good of the family or clan. For example, a Chinese piece of propaganda had used this knowledge to construct their messages during the war with the Japanese. They treated well prisoners of war, knowing that they will talk with their colleagues about Chinese "captivity"¹³. Incidentally, the same manoeuvre was used by the Russians during the battles with the Germans on Stalingrad¹⁴.

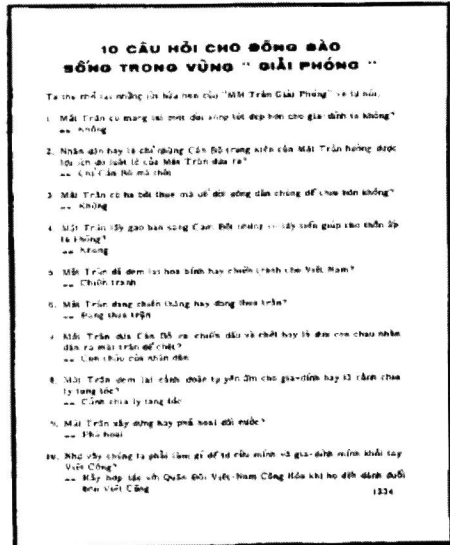
Returning to the present leaflet, the presence of U.S. troops in Vietnam was treated as temporary. This meant that any negotiations with the US Army in the long term does not make sense. The enemy would have to offer something that would be of real value for the Vietnamese - for example, welfare and safety of the family, a successful future for the country, a long-term vision with almost certain advantages. Specific Vietnamese cultural values shaping their way of thinking, acting and feeling and affecting their ability to take risks, but in a broader sense initiating thoughts. In other words, the Vietnamese were ready for any risk and sacrifice, because sooner or later they realized their goal which was "paradise on earth". In summary the leaflet was getting the wrong value system for the Vietnamese.

12 G. Hofstede, G.J. Hofstede, *Kultury I organizacje*, printed by Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, Poznań 2007, pp. 15-47.

13 Paul M.A. Linebarger, op. cit., pp. 137.

14 A. Nowak, *Działania psychologiczne w konfliktach zbrojnych*, printed by Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2007, pp. 69.

Another “masterpiece” of American propaganda art is the leaflet entitled “Questions For The People In The Liberated Areas” in Jun 1966 years¹⁵:



TEN QUESTIONS FOR PEOPLE IN THE LIBERATED AREAS

Remember the promises of the National Liberation Front?

Ask yourself:

1. Has the Front brought a better life to your family?
- No
2. Do the people or the Front cadre get the benefits of Front rules?
- Cadre
3. Has the Front lowered taxes to make living easier?
- No
4. Does the Front help your hamlet with money from the rice it sells in Cambodia?
- No
5. Has the Front brought peace or war to Vietnam?
- War
6. Is the Front winning or losing the war it started in Vietnam?
- Losing
7. Are the Front's cadres sent away to fight and die, or does the Front send the sons of the people away to fight and die?
- Sons of the people

15 Vietnam War, National Catalog of PSYOP Materials Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office, BACM Research, pp. 17.

8. Does the Front bring families together or separate families?

- Separates families

9. Does the Front build or destroy in Vietnam?

- Destroy

10. What shall we do to save ourselves and our families from the VC?

Cooperate with the Armed Forces of the GVN when they come to drive out the VC

The Vietnamese did not expect that during the war their standard of living will improve. In addition, because of the long-term education in culture Vietnamese were prepared for a long wait for any positive results. This attitude stemmed from the belief in victory. Cultural values, appropriate for Vietnamese, dictated absolute loyalty to the government, which in the eyes of most of the population was the Communist Party¹⁶. The same value is responsible for the understanding of the privileges reserved for people holding high positions in society. For questions regarding winning or losing the war, even if the public targets of this survey agreed that the front is losing, it also was aware that he had not lost or still has the right to rule. The call for cooperation with the Armed Forces of the GVN would make sense if people would be located under the effective authority of South Vietnam.

To sum up, the population of the area until recently controlled by the Vietcong was so brought up to obey the current government, accepting and understanding that any betrayal will be met with severe punishment. The mechanism of obedience was not based on fear of the punishment, only an inner conviction of the rightness of loyalty towards the state authorities which have legitimacy in the eyes of society. The same applied to the understanding of self-sacrifice in the defence of the country. This was also the understanding of sending the younger generation to the army. In fact, as long as the war lasted, for most of the Vietnamese society - communists had the legitimacy to rule. On the other hand, these factors also explain why the majority of the population of South Vietnam was loyal to the pro-American authorities. Unfortunately, as a result, the same factors were responsible for the massacre of civilians made in Hue during the Tet Offensive. In this situation, the propaganda efforts could focus on reducing the authority of the Communist

16 G. Hofstede, G. J. Hofstede, op. cit., s. 57.

regime by encouraging a government strong enough to promote alternative - preferably based on Vietnamese history, tradition and culture. In the case of the Vietnamese society this policy could be more effective than a naive attempt by American propaganda at hitting the Vietnamese cultural values.

Another leaflet entitled "Chieu Hoi Appel to NVA: Death vs Family" from Oct 1965 clearly indicates a lack of understanding of the Vietnamese way of thinking¹⁷.



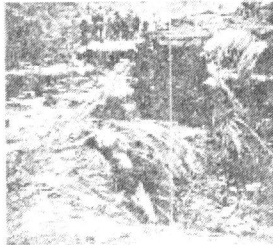
Bạn muốn chịu chết chôn vùi tất ~~HAY~~ trở về với gia đình và hưởng
tuổi trong một năm mồ vô chủ ~~HAY~~ sự bảo vệ của Chính Phủ ?

BẠN HÃY LỰA CHỌN ..

HOẶC ĐƯỜNG NÀY

HAY

LỐI KIA



FRONT

Do you want to die and be buried in an unmarked grave or come back to your family and enjoy the government's protection?

BACK

It is your choice, either this or that.

17 Vietnam War, National Catalog of PSYOP Materials Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office, BACM Research, pp. 18.

This kind of propaganda was like attempting to bribe or intimidate a child, not trying to understand what is important for this kid. On the one hand you can offer your child candy in exchange for cooperation or a slap in the case of reluctance, but the other person didn't know that the child does not like sweets and the slap does not impress him. He loves toy cars and is afraid of a monster living in the wardrobe. Not knowing the value system of object interaction is like being really blind, and success is in fact a work of serendipity.

Another leaflet entitled “Chieu Hoi Appeal to NVA Troops in SVN” from Nov 1966 is unfortunately further evidence of such an unprofessional approach to influencing the behaviour of the enemy and the civilian population¹⁸.



FRONT

“Are these your enemies”

Before you came South you were told that you would fight Americans, to save the nation, that you would liberate the rest of the land that is occupied by the American invaders. But what did you see here? -- Everywhere people are determined to fight the Communists, and you yourselves are forced to kill innocent Vietnamese, including women and children. Your

¹⁸ Vietnam War, National Catalog of PSYOP Materials Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office, BACM Research, pp. 20.

enemies are the VN people in hamlets, villages, districts. etc. They don't need your "liberation" because they are living peacefully and happily without you. That is why they do not "welcome" you, but are determined to fight against all Northern troops to the end. With the strong support from powerful Allied Nations, not only American, but Australians, New Zealanders, Koreans, Thais, and Filipinos, they will certainly defeat you.

BACK

Your cause has been lost, and the Northern troops don't have enough strength to resist the people's forces assisted by the inexhaustible resources of their powerful allies. Your cause is hopeless!

The only way for you to survive and have peace for your conscience is to return to the GVN, and together with the people in South Vietnam rebuild your life in freedom and happiness.

The last sentence of the flyer's second part is proof of the total incompetence of those responsible for the preparation of the presented content. Aside from the cultural context described above, it should be noted that the vast majority of combatants in the ranks of the Vietcong wholly or partly believed in the rightness of their cause. Offering "life in freedom and happiness" to people who consciously opted to fight seems to be the peak in naivety. The first paragraph contains a basic error which was avoided even by the ancient Greeks. Saying to the opponent's face, "You are hopeless! Surrender!" rather motivate them to fight than surrender. The intended effect can be achieved by presenting the military power of South Vietnam and its allies and legitimacy to rule over the whole Vietnam. Then it's possible to highlight the desire for peace and common security. The content of the leaflets discussed not only does not coincide with Vietnamese cultural values, but it contains unacceptable errors of basic knowledge about the psychology of persuasion.

I would like to point out that among the numerous PSYOP products during the war in Vietnam, there was also some really valuable items. Here is one of them, entitled "Letter From A female captain" of May 1967¹⁹:



Các Bạn thân mến.
 Tôi Huỳnh Thị Bân B3.
 Ban Ba Chanh, nguyên
 đại đội phó địa phương, quân 558
 hoạt động tại Tân Châu an phủ.
 Tình an gần tôi đã từng chiến
 đấu ở trong Hàng, ngũ các Bạn
 nay tôi phải rời Bộ hàng ngũ
 đó vì lý do tại sao các Bạn
 đã rõ
 Các Bạn cũng như tôi.
 chúng ta đã chiến đấu trong Bao
 nhiêu năm. nhưng trong cuộc chiến đấu
 đó đã B3 Lợi dụng Cộng Sản đã
 Tuyên truyền mê hoặc chúng ta. coi
 chúng ta như những dụng cụ để
 phục vụ cho tư tưởng xích hoá
 và đế quốc của chúng

Chúng ta đã cực khổ, các Bạn
 chúng ta đã chết thật oan uổng và
 vô nghĩa, Bão táp. Nơi này về phụ
 nữ, chúng ta đã hi sinh nhiều,
 nào tình yêu gia đình, nào tương
 lai của con cái, tình cảm của chúng
 ta bị Bội chột, chúng ta đã hy
 sinh đau khổ nhiều.

Tôi đã dứt khoát rời Bộ hàng
 ngũ Việt cộng trở về sống với tư
 do. Với sự giúp đỡ và khoan
 dung của thành phố, tôi đã
 tìm lại dưới Hạnh phúc và
 niềm tin. Tôi mong mọi các
 Bạn như là chị em phụ nữ
 sớm tìm cơ hội trở về. Tôi
 Biết chắc chắn thành phố
 và nhân dân sẵn sàng đón
 chờ các Bạn.

Thân ái chào các
 Bạn và Hen ngay
 tại ngõ.

Thao

Dear Friends,

I am Huỳnh Thị Tan, alias "Ea Thanh", former Assistant Commander of the 558th Regional Company, operating in Tan Chau and An Phu, An Giang Provillece. I fought in the ranks with you before, but I have left for reasons which all of you must know. You, as well as I, have been fighting for many years, but our struggle has been exploited. We have been caught in the Communist propaganda net. They regard us as mere instruments, serving the Party's red ideology and imperialist ambitions.

¹⁹ Vietnam War, National Catalog of PSYOP Materials Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office, BACM Research, pp. 23-24.

We have suffered all kinds of hardships and many of our friends have died shamefully for a meaningless cause. For us women, we have sacrificed the love of our families and children in order to serve the Party. We have suffered tremendously without any consolation.

I made up my mind to leave the Viet Cong and rebellion and return to the land of freedom with the assistance and leniency of the Government. I have found my happiness and confidence in the future again. I Sincerely hope that you, especially my fellow female cadre, will find an opportunity to rally to the National Cause. I know the Government and the people are always waiting for you.
Hope to meet you again soon!

Signed

It is worth noting that such a letter had to make an impact for several reasons. First, it was written by a person mentally closer to Vietnamese. Secondly, the Russians and the Chinese were indicated indirectly as the source of evil, not members of the Viet Cong or the Vietnamese communists. Thirdly, it points to the shared experience of military actions, common pain from the loss of loved ones. Thus, it created a good emotional basis to provide further content. Unfortunately, it was worse then. In my view, however, the content would be much better if it pointed to the legitimacy of the communist regime, praised the right ideas and aspirations, but also pointed to the devastating submission to the elites in Moscow and Beijing. In this way it could be possible to lead an internal split in the Communist Party and Vietcong.

In the overall assessment there is a very good beginning to the described flyer. Unfortunately, the second part of the letter contains a call to join the South Vietnamese. This call reduces the credibility, and therefore the value of the entire message because it could trigger a negative emotional response in recipients. It is as if the communist government in Poland wanted to recruit members of Solidarity by proposing the acquisition of Russian citizenship. If you want someone to win you must create an offer that will be attractive to the specific person or group of people. Americans which were responsible for PSYOPs in Vietnam couldn't understand this obvious truth . Therefore, even when they created a pretty good product, they were

at some point guilty of culpable errors. It should also be remembered that the captain speaks from the position of a traitor, and should therefore give morally justified reasons for leaving the party, and above all to emphasize their continued loyalty to the ideals of communism. Then the credibility of the media would be much higher.

Included in the high level of collectivism and power distances it could be worth indicating mutual friends, who also understand “what is the true communism” and who stopped fighting too in the name of the private interests of elites in Moscow and Beijing. On one hand, referring to family and clan ties, on the other hand indicating the recognized authorities who “understand their mistakes and chose its own true path to communism.” The Vietcong used the aspect of family ties and ancestry. For example, in the evenings at the stations of South Vietnam soldiers, girls sung rural songs. Girls told through loudspeakers about what has happened in the home villages of soldiers. This relied on mutual friends and family, encouraging them to leave Americans and return to the village, where there is waiting for them a plot of a rice field ready for planting. The repetition of such actions gave an electrifying effect. Forty-five thousand soldiers of the South Vietnamese fled to the north of the country²⁰. Simply, Vietnamese know best how to manipulate the Vietnamese, unlike the Japanese during World War II who didn't have the slightest idea how to manipulate Americans, evidenced by the content of Japanese propaganda leaflets²¹.

As in the previous wars in Vietnam's case, PSYOP units miss the cultural context in the operation planning process. It seems that U.S. experts stubbornly avoided carrying out, prior to these operations, a reconnaissance of culture. This would have allowed them to understand the cultural patterns and mechanisms that govern them. Understanding the cultural patterns responsible for thinking, acting and feeling emotional allows them to understand the perceptual and mental systems of the interaction object. In combination with the knowledge of the impact on the people at the conscious and unconscious level, this allows for planning highly

20 A. Nowak, op. cit., pp. 82.

21 Paul M.A. Linebarger, op. cit., pp. 26, 165.

effective psychological operations. In the case of Vietnam, the operations carried out could not be effective because the PSYOP staff did not have the basic knowledge of how to influence the cognitive and mental process of the Vietnamese. The proof of that is the content of the “Psychological Operations U.S. Army Doctrine” FM 33-1 from June 1968 printed by Department of the Army Field Manual. In section III of this document the authors wrote²²:

PSYOPs include the planned use of propaganda and other measures to influence people so that they will behave in a desired manner.

- a) Propaganda is any form of communication designed to influence the opinions, emotions, attitudes, or behaviour of any group in order to benefit the sponsor, either directly or indirectly.*
- b) Other measures are actions – military, political, economic, social, or other – which assist in accomplishing, the PSYOP objectives. They may be employed alone or in conjunction with other PSYOPs and may be implemented by any element of the command.*

Propaganda

- a) General. Propaganda is used to communicate persuasive messages to selected target audiences and is most effective when used to exploit existing attitudes and opinions which may cause the target audience to respond immediately.*
- b) Classification. Propaganda is classified according to source as white, grey and black. White propaganda is overtly disseminated and acknowledged by its true source. The source of grey propaganda is not identified but is left to the imagination of the audience. Black propaganda purports to emanate from a source other than its true source. Classification as white, grey or black has no relationship to the validity of the content.*
- c) Propaganda Task. Propaganda tasks have several objectives*

²² *Psychological Operations U.S. Army Doctrine, FM 33-1, printed by Department of the Army Field Manual, June 1968, pp. 4-5.*

- (1) *To gain and maintain the attention of the target audience. (...)*
 - (2) *To establish credibility with the target audience. This is accomplished by the presentation of factual or believable information.*
 - (3) *To influence the emotions, attitudes, or opinions of a target audience to achieve the desired behaviour at an appropriate time. To do this, the audience must know what actions to take and when, where and how to take them.*
- d) *Propaganda Development. The end product of propaganda development is the final propaganda text ready for production. Propaganda development is based on:*
- (1) *Requirements stated in PSYOP objectives.*
 - (2) *Detailed research and analysis of target audiences.*
 - (3) *Availability of production and delivery capabilities. (...)*

It is worth mentioning what the white, gray and black propaganda is. It is a set of methods which have been refined from World War I to influence the behaviour of people. The problem is that these methods mainly impact on the conscious level of people who grew up in Western culture²³. For example, on the one hand Paul M.A. Linebarger wrote about the need to collect detailed information about the object of interaction, but then cites numerous examples of selection methods that would have worked against the people of the Western cultural sphere, not the Japanese, to which these

²³ **Black propaganda** is false information and material that purports to be from a source on one side of a conflict, but is actually from the opposing side. It is typically used to vilify, embarrass or misrepresent the enemy. – L. Doob, *Goebbels' Principles of Nazi Propaganda. The Public Opinion Quarterly* 3, Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 419–442.

Grey propaganda is propaganda without any identifiable source or author. A major application of grey propaganda is making enemies believe falsehoods using straw arguments: As phase one, to make someone believe "A", one releases as grey propaganda "B", the opposite of "A". In phase two, "B" is discredited using some strawman. The enemy will then assume "A" to be true. - http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grey_propaganda#grey, 01.08.2013.

White propaganda is propaganda which truthfully states its origin. - <http://usmilitary.about.com/od/glossarytermsw/g/w6811.htm>, 01.08.2013.

methods were addressed²⁴. The bottom line is - the methods used during World War II and the Vietnam War differed, in most cases, in only the language of the propaganda messages. For example, for anthropologists, it is clear that the Japanese, Koreans and Vietnamese represent distinct cultures, and thus differing cultural patterns.

With reference to the studies conducted till now, I support the hypothesis that the level of psychological operations in the period referred to above was very low. Based on studies conducted so far it is difficult to list the reasons for such a low level of planning of U.S. psychological operations during the Vietnam War. Because the studies were of a general nature and preliminary, I believe that further research in this area could allow one to confirm or deny the hypothesis formulated above and indicate the reasons for this state of affairs.

24 Paul M.A. Linebarger, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-205.