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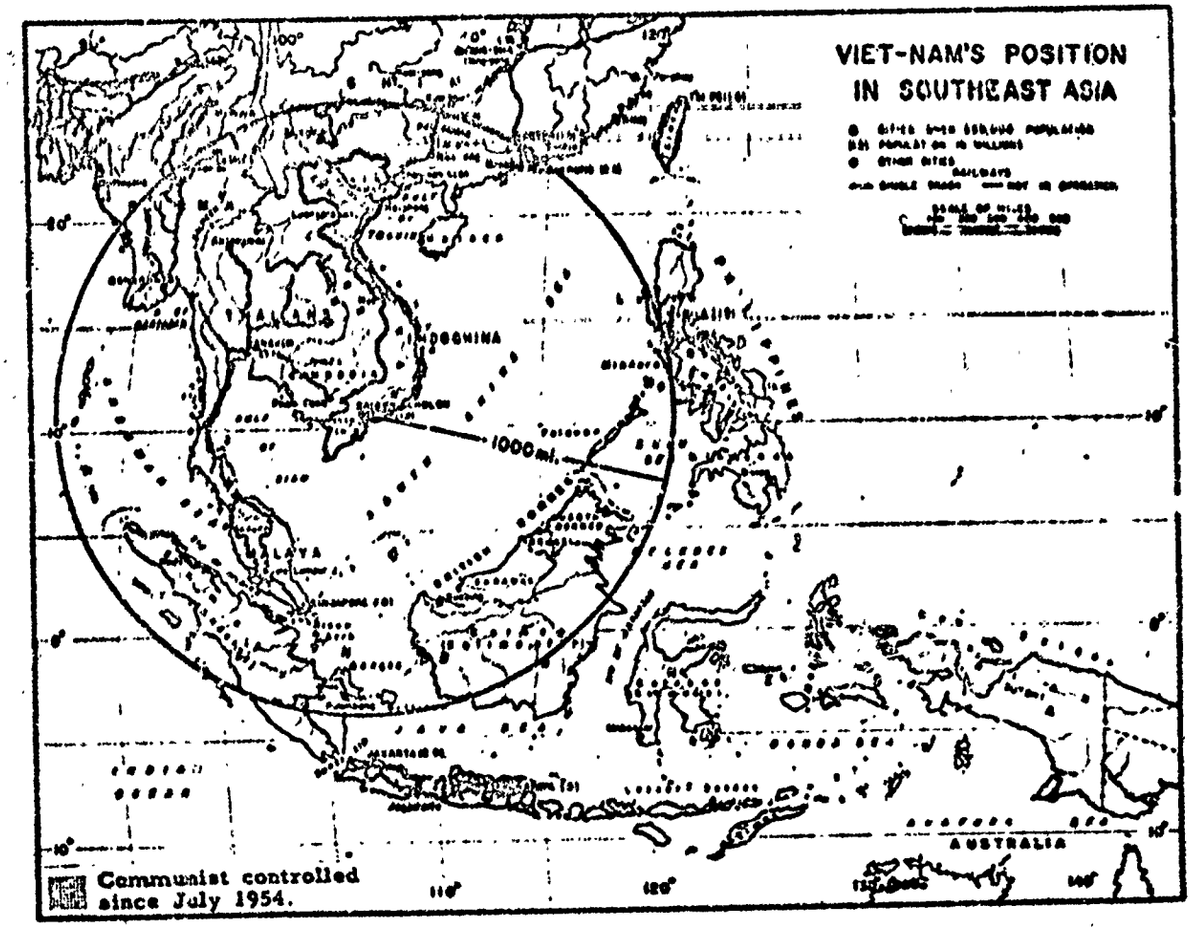
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PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS: SOUTH VIETNAM.

PROJECT PROSYMS

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The American University
Washington, D. C.

Operating under contract with the
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

April 1959

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THE AUTHORS

Technical direction of the entire PLATO project and the development of methodology was the primary responsibility of Dr. [illegible]. The entire project staff cooperated in the development of methods and procedures. Dr. Lowell D. Ingram had primary responsibility for the conduct of research of the Social Time Use study. He was assisted in the task by Dr. F. Lloyd Orrue, Dr. John L. Lenk, Mrs. Marjorie M. Lisle, Miss Dwayne M. Obst, and Mrs. Mary E. Peters. The report was edited by Mrs. Martha A. Cosgrove.

Thirty-nine consultants, selected so as to represent various interests and disciplines, contributed information and data to one or more phases of the research. All were trained observers whose recent residence in South West has ranged about two years. Appreciation and gratitude for the contributions made by these area specialists does not relieve from SSRO sole responsibility for any shortcomings this report may possess.

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FOREWORD

One important and sometimes overlooked aspect of the Army mission in time of war is psychological in nature--to persuade, rather than force, the enemy or enemy-dominated peoples to support the national objectives of the United States. In order to be effective, the means of persuasion--the messages or symbols, appeals or threats--must be tailored to communicate with an audience with which few Americans have ever had contact. In World War II the enemy included such culturally disparate peoples as the Germans, Italians, and Japanese. The turn of events since 1945--involving Koreans, Malayans, Chinese, Algerians, Lebanese, Tibetans, Laotians, and others in military events--indicates a wide range of possible future target audiences.

In order to be prepared for possible military involvements in foreign areas, Army psychological operators need to have on hand a guide to the type of appeals and symbols likely to be effective with audiences of highly varying cultures. And they also need to have available some of the principles of style and format by which messages may be presented with maximum effectiveness.

It was to meet these needs that the Army requested this Office to undertake project PROSIMS in the spring of 1957. Hand-

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books on psychological appeals and symbolic materials for ten countries—Burma, Cambodia, China, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Laos, Syria, Thailand, and Viet Nam—will be made available to the Army this year, and by the time the research is complete in 1961, handbooks for several additional countries will be available to the Army.

The research methodology employed is explained in detail in Annex I and is common to all the country studies. It is possible that this methodology may have a value in and of itself—as a technique by which an operator in the field may obtain additional up-to-the minute data and as a relevant aid in psychological operations training programs.

The actual appeal ideas collected and evaluated in the course of research and presented in this report are not intended to be, and should not be taken to be, finished messages. It is believed, however, that these appeal ideas, with their accompanying symbolic materials and supporting comments, will materially aid the psychological operator. This report should form a reservoir of usable ideas and spark new ones for appeals and messages appropriate to the cultural background of the audiences and to the developing tactical and strategic situation.

I believe that Project PEMPEES will materially assist the Army in accomplishing its psychological mission.

Kai E. Rasmussen
Kai E. Rasmussen
Director

September, 1959

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SECTION I

PLAN OF THE REPORT

OBJECTIVES OF THE REPORT

This report was prepared for use in planning and conducting psychological operations in South Viet Nam. The information it supplies is derived from Project PROSYMS-South Viet Nam, conducted for the Department of the Army by the Special Operations Research Office, The American University, Washington, D.C.

The primary objective of Project PROSYMS was to develop propaganda appeal ideas (with their accompanying key symbols) of evaluated persuasiveness for communicating psychological operations messages to members of important special audiences in selected countries. As the research design was worked out, however, it became clear that with little more time and effort other information could be obtained which would be useful to the field operator. Therefore, arrangements were made to secure the following additional information:

1. An estimate of the opportunities existing in South Viet Nam for the successful conduct of psychological operations.

2. Analysis of each of several selected special audiences in terms of group characteristics bearing on the conduct of psychological operations.

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3. A body of stylistic and format principles for effectively communicating appeals to the country as a whole and, when appropriate, to each of the selected special audiences.

4. A list of injunctions (do's and don'ts) dealing primarily with the content of psychological operations messages; that is, issues or topics to be emphasized, those to be avoided, and the manner in which certain subjects should be approached.

RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

At the outset of the project, the PROSIMS staff faced the central research questions: What is a propaganda symbol? What are the characteristics of propaganda symbols that differentiate them from other classes of symbols?

It was recognized that the definition of propaganda symbol which was formulated would dictate the research design and that the fruitfulness of the design would depend upon the adequacy of the definition.

Propaganda symbol, or key symbol, was defined as an element, verbal or nonverbal, in a psychological operations appeal that is especially significant in evoking the desired effect. This meant that the research had to be designed to secure appeal ideas for use in psychological operations. The identification of key symbols within appeal ideas is designed to give the operator a more complete understanding of the appeal ideas presented, and to guide him in adapting them for use in the field in specific

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operating situations.

The effectiveness of psychological operations appeal ideas is related to purpose and audience. Therefore, the research had to specify appropriate psychological operations tasks (a specific mental or behavioral effect, which, if secured, will contribute to the achievement of a psychological operations goal) to be accomplished with or by means of those specific groups that are the most likely to further the military objectives of the United States.

The research approach of Project PROSIMS-South Viet Nam started with the selection of such groups. For each, appropriate psychological operations tasks were then specified. Next, appeal ideas were developed for each problem situation (the special and particular problem of accomplishing a psychological operations task with or by means of a particular special audience).

Finally, the key propaganda symbols in each appeal idea were identified. Thus, the research moved from audiences to tasks, then from tasks to appeal ideas with accompanying key symbols.

The methodology developed for PROSIMS-South Viet Nam had two major features. First, it pinpointed the research. the focus was upon those special audiences most likely to be able to contribute to the accomplishment of aims and objectives of the United States in the event of war, and those tasks judged to be feasible for each selected group.

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Considerations of time and resources made it impractical to attempt to cover all important groups and all feasible psychological operations tasks; furthermore, any attempt to cover all possible situations would slight those situations more likely to occur. It should be noted, however, that for any given group the appeal ideas derived for specific tasks may prove applicable to other tasks. Indeed, the appeals may be useful for accomplishing tasks not now envisaged which may emerge in the future.

The second major feature of the methodology was the use of consultants as the primary source of PROSIMS data. The research instruments that were developed made it possible to secure data from consultants through correspondence. The PROSIMS staff was thus able to tap systematically the vast reservoir of experience and knowledge which area specialists have accumulated. Every effort was made to secure a group of consultants with diverse backgrounds, representing the different theoretical persuasions and interests which exist, in the belief that this would minimize the effect of consultant bias on the research. In addition, a panel of three consultants was convened at the Special Operations Research Office to secure auxiliary information considered useful to the field operator; this includes analyses of important selected groups and estimates of propaganda opportunities in South Viet Nam in terms of ten major psychological operations goals.

The procedures utilized to select special audiences, tasks, appeal ideas, and key symbols will be briefly explained in the

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introductory remarks to the several sections of this report. A more detailed explanation of the research method and procedures is presented as an Annex.

RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS

In formulating the project, certain research assumptions were adopted. These are:

1. A state of war would exist in the Far East involving the United States.

2. The United States would not begin this presumed war. In all probability, therefore, the United States would be on the defensive in the beginning.

3. This conflict would not be an all-out nuclear war, but would be waged for limited objectives.

4. The war would be of some duration, long enough for the employment of various psychological operations campaigns suitable for different phases of the war--defensive, stalemate, offensive.

5. The principal enemy in the Far East would be Communist China, with the Soviet Union initially maintaining official neutrality but lending moral and material support to Communist China.

6. South Viet Nam would play some role in the presumed war in the Far East. Since this role cannot be predicted with any certainty, various contingencies, even some that seem unlikely, are projected. The principal contingencies are categorized for

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research purposes into the following broad projected general military situations:

a. The regime in control of South Viet Nam at the time of the presumed conflict is an enemy of the United States, or actively allied with an enemy of the United States. This calls first for the special study of the military forces (or elements thereof) which would actively oppose U.S. military forces.

b. As in a., above, the regime in control of South Viet Nam at the time of the presumed conflict is an enemy of the United States, or actively allied with an enemy of the United States. This calls also for the study of civilian groups within the country which might be able to contribute to the accomplishment of the U.S. aims and objectives.

c. South Viet Nam, or an area thereof, is under the control of United States civil affairs/military government (Consolidation phase).

d. South Viet Nam, or an area thereof, is occupied by an enemy of the United States.

e. South Viet Nam is actively allied with the United States.

f. South Viet Nam is neutral in the presumed war.

RESEARCH DEFINITIONS

A few of the research definitions employed in Project PROSDS differ slightly from the definitions given in Department of the

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Army Field Manual, FM 33-5. These minor differences reflect the need for special definitions of the terms as used in this research. The definitions employed in this report are repeated in the text wherever such repetition is deemed necessary for clarity.

Psychological Operations--A broad term encompassing those political, military, economic, and ideological actions planned and conducted to create--in enemy, hostile, neutral, or friendly foreign groups--the emotions, attitudes, or behavior favorable to the accomplishment of United States policies and objectives.

Psychological Operations Objective--A military, political, economic, or other objective, the attainment of which is to be achieved or facilitated by the employment of psychological operations. The military objectives are:

1. To reduce the combat efficiency of the enemy military forces.

2. To further the war effort by modifying or manipulating attitudes and behavior of special audiences.

3. To facilitate reorganization and control of occupied or liberated areas in conjunction with civil affairs and military government operations.

4. To obtain the cooperation of allies and neutrals in the war effort.

Psychological Operations Goal--A type of desired behavioral or mental effect which, if secured, will contribute to the achievement of a psychological operations objective.

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Psychological Operations Opportunity—The relative probability of accomplishing the goals of psychological operations in a given country, as determined by an examination of factors in the society which are more or less enduring over a period of time.

Psychological Operations Task—A specific mental or behavioral effect, which, if secured, will contribute to the achievement of a psychological operations goal.

Psychological Operations Appeal Idea—A line of persuasion designed to accomplish a task of psychological operations.

1. A persuasive appeal idea is one which has been judged likely to lead the members of a special audience to think, feel, or act in ways which would facilitate the accomplishment of the psychological operations task.

2. A boomerang appeal idea is one which has been judged likely to evoke negative or adverse effects (damaging to the accomplishment of the desired military purpose) in the special audience to which it is primarily addressed, even under optimum conditions.

The following factors must be considered in evaluating the persuasiveness of appeal ideas for psychological operations:

Differential Effect—This refers to an appeal idea which evokes the desired response in the special audience to which it is addressed, but produces negative or adverse effects (damaging to the accomplishment of the desired military purpose) in other groups in the population.

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Situational Effect—This refers to any special condition, situation, or circumstance which may decrease the effectiveness of the appeal idea for the members of the special audience to which it is addressed, or may lead to adverse effects.

Key Symbol—An element, verbal or nonverbal, in an appeal which is especially significant in evoking the desired effect.

Problem Situation—The special and particular problem of accomplishing a psychological operations task with or by means of a particular special audience.

Special Audience—An aggregate of persons who share certain predispositions which, when successfully manipulated, may lead to mental or behavioral effects that will assist in the accomplishment of a task of psychological operations. (Throughout this report, the term "group" will be used in lieu of the longer term "special audience" when meaning is not affected.)

The following factors must be considered in evaluating the significance of special audiences (groups) for psychological operations:

1. Effectiveness—The degree to which a group can influence the aims, objectives, and capabilities of the nation of which it is a part. The different factors in effectiveness are discussed in Section III.

2. Susceptibility—The degree to which a group can be influenced by psychological operations appeals to respond in ways that will assist in the accomplishment of psychological operations tasks.

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Two aspects of susceptibility which must be considered are:

Sensitivity--This involves the nature and strength of the feelings of the members of a special audience about their own economic, political, and social status in the society; and about their relationships with other groups.

Responsiveness to Source--This involves the nature and strength of the feelings of the members of a special audience about the source of the psychological operations message. (For this project it is assumed that the message is identifiable as American in origin. Thus, it will be necessary to consider the group's feelings about United States aims and policies relevant to the country, and feelings about Americans as such.)

3. Potential--The degree to which a group can assist in the accomplishment of a goal of psychological operations. This is a function of the effectiveness and susceptibility of the group.

A CAUTION

The appeal ideas presented in the report are intended to be used by the operator in the field in the light of the tactical or strategic situation as revealed by intelligence reports and other sources of information. In writing messages, the appeal ideas must be adapted to known factors in the developing situation. They are presented only as the basic, raw materials of messages; they are not intended to be, and should not be taken to be, finished messages. And while every effort has been made to present

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only persuasive appeals, it should be emphasized that the appeal ideas, though evaluated for persuasiveness by area experts, have not been field tested. The operator is responsible for judging the appropriateness and probable persuasiveness of an appeal from his own knowledge of the situation in which he is operating. Finally, it is hoped that the appeal ideas in the report will have germinal value in sparking the operator to develop his own appeal ideas for operational use.

As indicated earlier, key symbols have been identified within appeal ideas, whenever possible, to give the operator a more complete understanding of the appeal ideas presented, and to guide him in adapting them for use in specific operating situations. However, the operator should be cautioned against devising his own appeal ideas around the key symbols identified in this report--because the meaning of a key symbol is influenced by the specific content provided by the appeal idea. A given key symbol may assume widely different meanings in different appeal contexts.

GUIDE TO THE USE OF REPORT

The report is divided into eight sections and six annexes, briefly described here:

Section I, Plan of the Report, sets forth the objectives of the report, research approach, assumptions, and definitions, and offers a word of caution about the use of the report.

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Section II, Special Audiences, identifies the groups in South Viet Nam significant for purposes of psychological operations; it objectively defines and describes each group, and explains how the relative importance of each for the conduct of psychological operations was determined to arrive at a selected list for intensive study.

Section III, Opportunities for Psychological Operations, gives the planner and operator a general view of the possibilities in South Viet Nam for the successful conduct of psychological operations, should U.S. forces become engaged in Southeast Asia under the assumptions which have been set forth above.

Section IV, Analyses of Selected Special Audiences, discusses each of the selected major audiences in terms of those group characteristics bearing on the conduct of psychological operations.

Section V, Communications Information, provides the planner and operator with information on how to achieve maximum effectiveness in designing messages to the country as a whole and to particular groups. It summarizes the style and format principles which should be observed.

Section VI, Tasks of Psychological Operations, presents the structural framework within which the study was conducted. It includes a full list of psychological operations tasks developed for use in the study, categorized under several projected military situations and ordered by the goals of desired behavioral and mental effects.

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Section VII, Appeal Ideas of Judged Persuasiveness (with Accompanying Symbols), presents evaluated appeal ideas judged to have an acceptable degree of persuasiveness. Accompanying key symbols (any element in an appeal identified as significant in evoking the desired response) and other pertinent comments are also included.

Section VIII, Injunctions, sets forth do's and don'ts which should be heeded in selecting appeals and in writing messages.

* * * * *

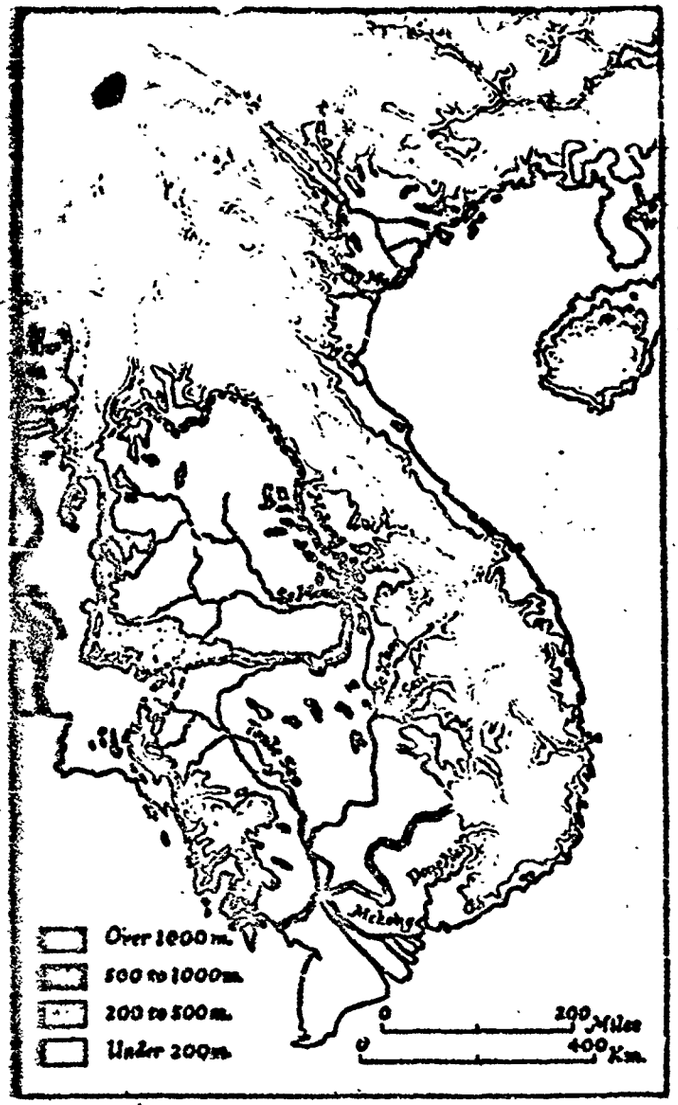
Three annexes follow the main body of the report.

Annex 1, The Research Plan, Procedures, and Technical Summary.

Annex 2, Index to Appeal Ideas by Task and Special Audience.

Annex 3, Index to Special Audience Information in the Report.

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VIET-NAM RELIEF AND DRAINAGE

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SECTION II

SPECIAL AUDIENCES

In planning PROSUM research, it was necessary to identify the special audiences important to the conduct of psychological operations with regard to South Viet Nam. Because many communications must necessarily be beamed at the total population, South Viet Nam as a whole was selected as one audience. But the population as a whole is not always the most rewarding audience for psychological operations since its vulnerabilities and predispositions are diffuse and overlapping. Therefore, it was also necessary to identify those special audiences within the total population capable of playing a decisive role in carrying out actions in support of U.S. military operations. In other words, it was necessary to identify those special audiences in the population of South Viet Nam which have the greatest potential for assisting in the accomplishment of the goals and tasks of U.S. psychological operations.

For the purposes of this research, a special audience is defined as an aggregate of persons who share certain predispositions which, when successfully manipulated, may lead to mental or behavioral effects that will assist in the accomplishment of a task of psychological operations. By this definition, special audiences are not mutually exclusive in their membership, that is, a person may be a member of more than one special audience.

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SPECIAL AUDIENCES SELECTED FOR INTENSIVE STUDY

After careful review of the Special Warfare Area Handbook for Viet Nam and other comparable sources, the PROSUM staff selected a number of special audiences in South Viet Nam which appeared to be significant for psychological operations. The selections were based on two general criteria: effectiveness, the degree to which a group can influence the aims, objectives, and capabilities of the nation of which it is a part; and susceptibility, the degree to which a group can be influenced by psychological operations appeals to respond in ways that will assist in the accomplishment of psychological operations tasks.

This tentative list was submitted to area specialists who were invited to amend it as they saw fit. Consultants then ranked and rated the amended list of twenty special audiences (including the military) for effectiveness and for susceptibility. Their final rankings guided the staff in selecting seven major groups for more intensive study. These selected special audiences are as follows:

1. Administrators
2. Educationalists
3. Intellectuals
4. Military
5. Political Elite
6. Refugees
7. Roman Catholics

For detailed analyses of these selected audiences, see Section IV, ANALYSIS OF SELECTED SPECIAL AUDIENCES.

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OBJECTIVE DESCRIPTIONS OF SPECIAL AUDIENCES

The following concise descriptions of significant audiences were prepared by a panel of three area specialists, working closely with the PROSIDE staff. Descriptions of the audiences selected for more intensive study appear first.

Page references to pertinent unclassified information about a special audience in the Viet Nam Handbook follow the descriptions; any principal reference for an audience is indicated by an underline. Whenever possible, estimates as to the size of an audience are given in the description. At the time of these estimates, the population of South Viet Nam was about 12,500,000.

Administrators

This group consists of all civil servants permanently resident in South Viet Nam, especially those employees of the central government, who hold positions below the rank of division head and above the rank of messenger. Included in the group are the chiefs of the provinces and the heads of municipalities.

The number of administrators in South Viet Nam is estimated to be well above 20,000 and includes an increasing number of women. Administrators function at the district, municipal, and provincial levels, as well as at the central government level. Those holding high positions have often been educated in Western science, philosophy, and literature, in schools modeled on the French system.

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They therefore speak French fluently, as well as their own native tongue.

Until recent years, only a few had received any formal administrative training. Now, however, there exists a national administrative school which offers a program of both academic and practical work in public administration. Its students are recruited from recent high school graduates and from civil servants with two years of practical experience.

The selection of personnel for the civil service is based primarily on educational achievement, though other factors--family ties, political allegiance, religion, geographical location--are almost as important. Since 1955, a new generation of younger administrators has been and is being trained in American administrative procedures and standards under the guidance of Michigan State University. These younger civil servants usually have a working knowledge of English, but their French is becoming increasingly less fluent. The national government retains a great number of the American-trained civil servants in Saigon; however, more and more of them can be expected to be found in provincial positions in the future. Annually, a small number of them visit the United States or the Philippines under AID leadership grants or under other auspices.

The urban Vietnamese official usually wears linen slacks and European shirts, although he always wears a jacket when receiving callers. Formal attire of the civil servant always includes a complete white suit (of expensive sharkskin material for the upper

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ceremonial) of European cut with the suit he wears white leather shoes and a contrasting solid-color tie.

Provincial administrators may occasionally wear native ceremonial clothes, which consists of a long side-slit dress (made of brocade or of black cotton, depending upon the occasion or the significance of the official involved), white pajama-like trousers underneath, and a black turban-type headdress. A black parasol is almost always carried as standard equipment with native dress.

Lately, President Ngo Dinh Diem and other very high officials (e.g., Vietnamese ambassadors abroad) have made public ceremonial appearances in native dress rather than in white shantung suits.

As a group, the administrators possess considerable social prestige. Nevertheless, a very high incidence of corruption exists among public servants.

Viet Nam Handbook Information

Concepts 159, 160, 214-215; attitudes and behavior, 132, 152, 213-213, 217-219, teachers, 703-704, 705, 845; social status, 141, 221, 271.

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Intellectuals

Included in this group are all persons permanently residing in the Republic of Viet Nam who are presently engaged in teaching or school administration as a principal occupation. This group includes Christian missionary educators (both known Catholic and Protestants) who are ethnic Vietnamese, but does not include monks teaching in pagoda schools.

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There are between 15,000 and 20,000 educationalists, most of whom have received a French type of education. At the primary level, there were about 11,500 teachers for public schools and 3,000 for private schools in 1957, but this number is increasing yearly. At the higher levels, there are still 500 schoolteachers and college professors who are French nationals. Unlike the French administrators, all of whom have left Viet Nam, teachers of French nationality have stayed on, are increasing in number, and are losing little of their influence. They are now maintained by the French Cultural Mission as part of France's technical assistance program to Viet Nam. These schools maintained by the French have a total of more than 30,000 Vietnamese students; in general, the degrees granted by French-controlled schools have higher prestige than those awarded by Vietnamese schools. "Vietnamization" of school curricula is steadily progressing, however, and will continue to grow as new teachers become available.

Teaching in Viet Nam has always been a highly honored but poorly paid profession. A large proportion of the Vietnamese teachers are men from families of moderate wealth, attracted to teaching by the high prestige of the profession.

At the village level, the school system still consists of a single schoolmaster; his house or the village dinh is the school. The village teacher is an alert observer who is very much aware of what is going on in his village. If his sensitivity and his pride are respected, he can render great service to U. S. psychological operations.

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Since 1956, American training methods have been introduced into Viet Nam, and a younger generation of American-trained educationalists is gaining increasing importance. For example, in 1957 a Vietnamese with an American Ph.D. degree and a decade's experience in the United States was made Dean of the College of Letter of Saigon University.

Viet Nam Handbook References

General, 159, 193-194, 197-199, 200, 203.

Intellectuals

All adults not working for the government whose principal occupation is that of doctor, lawyer, writer, scholar, artist, or of a nature which requires professional training and mental activity, are considered members of this group. It is estimated that the intellectuals number about two to three thousand. A considerable number of intellectuals are Roman Catholics by birth, if not by practice.

The writer and the poet have always occupied positions of the highest standing in Vietnamese society. The painter and sculptor, however, are considered as craftsmen, ranking lower than other intellectuals but not looked down upon. As in many other countries, the recent war years have stimulated creative writing in Viet Nam, and Vietnamese intellectuals have produced a considerable amount of literature on various subjects, some of which has found wide acceptance. In recent years Vietnamese painters and architects, trained in France, have received international prizes for their work in Western art and architecture.

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There are only about 450 fully trained doctors in the country. The knowledge and training of the best Vietnamese doctors are equal to that of Western practitioners. The unwillingness of French doctors to serve in Indochina, at the salaries offered, has provided greater opportunities for Vietnamese in medicine, surgery, and public health than in many other fields where French competition has crowded them out, or past administrative policy prevented their advancement. Consequently, medicine has become a much sought-after profession, although lack of educational facilities in Viet Nam has reduced opportunities for entering it.

In this century, since most of the Vietnamese intellectuals have been French-educated, they have had a close attachment with European intellectuals, especially the French. However, an increasing number understand and speak English. In general, the intellectuals live in urban centers and wear Western dress.

While most of the intellectuals have had to officially commit themselves as being on the American side in the cold war, the depth of firmness of the commitment varies. A number are trum-chanh--"under the blanket"--waiting to join the winning side. Western-educated Vietnamese feel a little uncomfortable about being trum-chanh, but the traditionally oriented Vietnamese do not.

Many intellectuals, some of whom belong to the present ruling elite of South Viet Nam, are active in political affairs. However, it is most difficult to pin them down to a given political system. Although many are acquainted with the principles of democracy from their studies in Europe or the United States, they sometimes lack

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a genuine understanding of how democracy works in actual practice. Some are often, and rightly, suspected of Communist leanings.

Viet Nam Handbook References

General, 10, 7[illegible], 87, 92, 100, 139-140, 168, 246-247, 255, 305-306; 367; artists, actors, and poets, 176-178; doctors, 314, 326-330, 829-830; political attitudes, 13-14, 142, 462-463, 542; writers, 91.

Military

This group consists of all members (active and reserve) of the Vietnamese National Army (VNA), including the incipient naval and air arms, and the adjunctive gendarmerie (Civil Guard). Members of this group number about 300,000, but the size of the group would increase sharply if a war situation developed. At present, there are 150,000 officers and enlisted men on active duty in the Vietnamese National Army, about 50,000 in the Civil Guard, and about 100,000 in the trained reserve.

Military manpower in Viet Nam includes a small representation of minority racial groups. However, almost all members of the military forces understand and speak Vietnamese.

The men are relatively small (averaging 5'2" tall), sturdy and wiry, with good physical endurance and stamina. Vietnamese soldiers are readily adaptable to living and operating under conditions of limited rations, heat, and heavy seasonal rains. They are easily amenable to discipline but usually demonstrate little or no initiative. However, they exhibit a high degree of manual dexterity, and have shown that they can adapt themselves to modern military equipment and can be trained in its operation.

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The Vietnamese National Army is organized into one single unified force, with embryonic air and naval components directly attached to the General Staff of the armed forces. The commanders of the air and naval components are directly subordinated to the Chief of Staff of the armed forces. The General Staff now has six top staff sections instead of the usual four or five. The General Staff also includes a certain number of technical services such as transportation, communications, engineering, etc. There are now three Army Corps commands.

Although no particular political party or movement controls the army or its top echelon, certain factions and spheres of influence exist which in time of crisis might cause serious division within the army as well as throughout the country. These factions include remnants of the Cao Dai, the various political groups, etc. In general, the Ngo Dinh Diem government attempts to insulate the army from partisan politics, following the Western model.

The general salary scale of the army is considered fair and relatively generous in terms of Vietnamese living costs. The comparative high pay is one of the reasons that military service is not shunned by the lowest-income groups, for example, landless farmers, unskilled laborers (coolies), etc. Enlistees do not pay taxes on their salaries, and the only pay deductions are for rations. Clothing is supplied to them, though lost equipment must be replaced. The officers however, particularly those above the rank of major, have a serious problem of expenditures for entertainment; post commanders are expected to entertain all official visitors with expensive food and wines, and below the rank of brigadier general, no special allowances are made for these expenditures.

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The army publishes a magazine, Quan Doi, which has a wide circulation among the troops. Also an educational program is now under way to train doctors, dentists, and other medical personnel for the VNA. Even with existing shortages, the military forces probably receive a higher standard of medical care than the general population.

Vietnamese naval forces consist only of vessels designed for the close-in protection of the shore lines and for the protection of land operations in the extensive river and canal system. The navy has only the embryonic beginnings of a marine force.

Like the navy, the National Air Force has been in existence only a few years. This force has very limited equipment, although it is being modernized with United States aid, within the limitations of the 1954 cease-fire agreement.

French influence has receded within the army but most officers have a working knowledge of French. American military prestige is high with most VNA personnel. All foreign training is provided with United States assistance, and an increasing number of Vietnamese officers understand and speak English.

The Ngo Dinh Diem government is aware that some senior army officers might attempt to intervene in politics, and therefore a number of them have either been shifted from their posts, removed

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from active command, or sent to the United States for "training." A potential army coup on the Thailand model cannot be ruled out.

Viet Nam Handbook References

Principal references, 729-734, 741-745, 771-775; Civil Guard (police), 496-498; decorations, 851-853; discipline, 841-843; foreign influences, 760-761, 783-790; historical background, 33-34, 755-757; leaders, 574, 870-871, 872-877, 880-881; leisure activities, 253-254, 259; living conditions, 807-810, 829-831; political aspects, 470, 532-533, 758, 765-767, 821-822, 847-848; psychological warfare, 536-540; ranks, 799-802, 803-806.

Political Elite

This group consists of all political leaders of the Republic of Viet Nam who hold, or actively compete for, policy-making positions. Thus the group is mainly composed of cabinet ministers, members of the National Assembly, judges of central courts, and national officers and informal leaders of the major political groups. It is estimated that members of this group number around 500. About 25 percent of the present political elite are Roman Catholics.

Most Vietnamese political leaders in the past came from three major groups: the mandarins, the landowning and business class, and the intellectuals. At present, the ruling elite originate largely from the intellectual and mandarin groups. Since they are mostly a Western-educated group, they speak French fluently, and to a lesser degree English. Because of their Westernization, they dress like Europeans, but it is now becoming fashionable for them to appear in native dress on special occasions.

Most of the present-day political elite are members of political parties that support President Ngo--the Party of the Dignity of the

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Workers, the Movement of National Revolution, the League of Catholic Citizens, the Movement of Union of the People's Masses, etc.

The political elite of Viet Nam tend to be more and more favorably disposed toward Americans as they grasp the intent of American aid, the nature of the Communist threat, and the precarious present position of the Republic of Viet Nam. However, because of its past experience with the French, the group is sensitive to what it may construe to be "foreign interference."

Family ties are still extremely important in this group. For example, at present the brothers of President Ngo Dinh Diem hold such key positions in the country's power structure as: political advisor to the President, Bishop of Vinh-Long, Ambassador to Britain, and the chief official of Central Viet Nam. The President's sister-in-law (he is a bachelor) is the "First Lady" of the land and represents her country in many international conferences; she is also an influential member of the legislature. Her mother is the Vietnamese observer to the United Nations; her father is Ambassador to the United States.

It is of great importance, when faced with members of the political elite, to fully ascertain their relationship to the actual center of power or to key personalities.

Viet Nam Handbook References

General, 1, 87, 91, 706, 266; attitudes, 26-27, 139; government leaders, 34, 393, 408-409, 461; National Assembly members, 395; Ngo Dinh Diem, 457-458, 477-478, 569-571; political party leaders, 468-471.

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Refugees

Members of this group are north and central Vietnamese refugees who fled from communism to the territory of the Republic of Viet Nam, either before or after the Geneva Conference of 1954.

There are 876,000 refugees from the north now settled in South Viet Nam. Of these, 607,000 are from North Viet Nam and 140,000 from Central Viet Nam. The remaining 129,000 are ethnically non-Vietnamese, either Chinese or members of tribal groups. Among the refugees are 670,000 Roman Catholics and 1,000 Christian Protestants.

Ethnic Vietnamese among the refugees may often be identified by the brown jackets which they wear over their black trousers (in contrast to the black jackets worn by the South Vietnamese peasants). Many of the women in this group wear cloth headbands. They have relocated mainly in the less populated areas of the Mekong delta and, to a lesser extent, in the plateau region of southern Central Viet Nam. They speak Vietnamese with a distinguishable accent (central and north accent), and with slight differences in vocabulary.

The successful resettlement of these refugees must be credited in most instances to the movement of entire integrated communities with their traditional organizations and leaders, including their priests or Buddhist bonzes. They are attached to their religious and village leaders, and also to the present government, with its heavy proportion of Northerners and Catholics.

Army units in which refugees are in the majority are considered the most loyal to the present government. The special relationship

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between the government and the refugees--they have been allotted priorities for economic aid, available farm land and farming implements--has tended to create some friction between them and the original native populations of the areas of resettlement.

Viet Nam Handbook References

Principal references, 353-357; general, 44, 46, 49, 59, 152, 252, 286, 342, 469-470; permanent background, 72, 74, 103, 240, 490-491.

Roman Catholics

This group consists of all adults permanently residing within the borders of the Republic of Viet Nam who have been baptized Roman Catholics and who continue to profess and practice their faith.

More than 10 percent of the population of the Republic of Viet Nam (or about 1,250,000) are Catholics--the highest proporation of Catholics of any Far Eastern country except the Philippines.

Vietnamese Catholics tend to cluster in villages. A noteworthy fact is that the wealthier and more formally educated classes in the cities, who usually can understand and speak French, contain a greater proportion of Catholics than do other Vietnamese groups. About 670,000 Catholics are refugees from the northern and central areas now under Communist control, and these Catholic refugees are concentrated in several resettlement areas.

The Christian religious practices and beliefs of Vietnamese Catholics differ only in small ways from those of Catholics in other countries. However, Confucianism and other indigenous religions

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continue to play an important part in the lives of most Catholic Vietnamese. The Vietnamese Catholic clergy in general tend to overlook these non-Catholic practices of their flock.

Since 1954 the Catholics have become a firm underpinning for the government of President Ngo Dinh Diem, who is a Catholic himself and who has surrounded himself with officials who also are Catholics. Today, the Catholic segment of the population represents the best organized and most cohesive political force in the Republic of Viet Nam.

Viet Nam Handbook References

General, 198, 254, 264, 303, 356-357; political role, 461, 469-470, 475-477, 571.

* * *

Other groups which are considered significant for the purposes of psychological operations, though less so than those described in the foregoing subsections, include:

Cambodians
Cao-Dai
Chinese
Elders and Notables
Eurasians
French
Hoa-Hao
Industrial and Plantation Workers
Tribal Groups
Urban Vietnamese
Village Folk
Women
Youth and Youth Organizations

Descriptions of these groups, prepared by the panel of area specialists, follow:

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Cambodians

This group consists of all adults of ethnic Khmer origin who permanently reside in the Republic of Viet Nam, habitually speak in the Khmer language, and conform to Khmer behavior patterns in most social situations.

Most of the 400,000 Cambodians residing in Viet Nam are located in the territory of the Republic of Viet Nam (population: 12,500,000); the largest proportion are to be found on the west bank of the Mekong. In general, the Cambodians are dark skinned, have Indian-type features and quite curly hair; they are two to three inches taller on the average than the Vietnamese. Cambodians of both sexes generally wear a samnot, a sort of skirt made of cotton or silk tucked around the waist with the lower back end brought between the legs and tucked in the belt in front. With the samnot, they wear a tight jacket buttoned down the front.

Educated members of this ethnic group, in addition to speaking the Khmer language, can usually speak Vietnamese or French, or both.

Cambodians are devout Hinayana Buddhists. Their temples and priests are important in their daily lives. Cambodian priests and monks wear the saffron toga or robe, traditional in Southeast Asia.

The Cambodians are reputed to be more easygoing, less energetic, and less ambitious than the Vietnamese, and are noted for their gentleness and hospitality. Though the Vietnamese consider them as culturally inferior, the Cambodians are readily assimilated into

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all classes of Vietnamese society once they have learned the customs and language of their adopted country.

During the Indochina War (1946-1954), Cambodians from the Mekong delta served in separate military units and gave a good account of themselves; one of their battalions received paratroop training. Cambodian soldiers were particularly noted for their faithfulness to their French officers.

Until recent years, the strong Cambodian minority in the Mekong delta remained politically amorphous. However, late in 1955 and early in 1956, when relations between Cambodia and the Republic of Viet Nam deteriorated, there were alleged declarations of allegiance to the King of Cambodia by the Cambodians living in Viet Nam. This led to charges and countercharges by both governments. In 1957, for instance, the Cambodian delegation to the United Nations circulated a pamphlet claiming that much of South Viet Nam was rightfully Cambodian (Khmer) territory.

After passage of Vietnamese naturalization legislation in 1957, Cambodians were compelled to accept Vietnamese citizenship. This, according to Cambodian sources, has given rise to additional friction. According to official Vietnamese sources, however, the Cambodians have accepted their new citizenship without resentment, and have even professed their loyalty to the Vietnamese government.

Viet Nam Handbook References

Principal reference, 62, 63, 84, 459, 515.

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Cao-Dai

This group--also known as the Dai Dao Tam Ky Pho Do, or "Third Amnesty of God"--consists of all adults permanently residing in the Republic of Viet Nam who overtly profess, or have fought under arms for, the novel theology of Nguyen Van Chieu, Le Van Trung and Pham Cong Tac.

There are an estimated 2,000,000 Vietnamese (mostly peasants) who are members of the Cao-Dai--one of the new religious sects which have sprung up Since World War I. Its doctrine consists of a combination of religious and political beliefs, and it represents a distinct departure from traditional Vietnamese religion and Confucian doctrine.

Nguyen Van Chieu is the prophet and founder of the Cao-Dai faith, the center of which is in Tay-Ninh, seat of its great cathedral and its administrative organization. The cathedral expresses in its structure and decor the eclectic nature of the sect--its towers resemble those of Christian faiths; the clean sweep of its floor is like that of a mosque; and its wall decorations of cobras and dragons are similar to those of a Buddhist pagoda. Statues of Confucius, Jesus, Buddha, Lao-tze, Brahma, Silva, and Vishnu are prominently displayed, as well as statues of eminent nonreligious figures. The French writer, Victor Hugo, is considered a "saint" of the Cao-Dai.

The Cao-Dai religion draws heavily on both Christianity and Buddhism, although it is strongly influenced by traditional Vietnamese spirit worship; it has several spiritual "fathers" who assertedly give guidance to the sect through mediums.

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The organization of the sect is modeled in part on that of the Catholic Church and in part on the political structure of modern Western states. In principle, there are three main bureaus in the central organization of the Cao-Dai. The Cuu Trung Dai (executive corps) controls the temporal administration and the armed forces of the sect. At the head of this bureau in theory is the Giao Tong--not a living person, but the sanctified spirit of the Vietnamese philosopher, Ly Thai Bach. The bureau in charge of religious affairs, the Hien Thien Dai (legislative body), is headed by the highest-ranking living member of the sect, the Ho Phap or Superior, an office which since 1935 has been filled by Pham Cong Tac. The third bureau, the Co-quan Phoc-thien (charity corps), is a welfare agency charged with caring for the poor and invalid.

From its beginning the Cao-Dai faith has aspired to become the national religion of Viet Nam. It has established a large cathedral and "foreign mission" in Phnom-Penh, Cambodia. There is a representative of Cao-Daiism in France, and the religion now claims European and American adherents.

Until late 1955, the government of Ngo Dinh Diem was harassed by the military and political opposition of the Cao-Dai, which was struggling to maintain its quasi-autonomy within the Vietnamese national state. The Superior of the sect was put under house arrest in October 1955 and fled to Cambodia in February 1956, while Vietnamese National Army troops occupied Tay-Ninh, thus stifling Cao-Dai temporal power. The former Cao-Dai leadership was replaced by leaders more amenable to the wishes of the government. However,

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some Cao-Dai remnants, together with Hoa-Hao and Binh Xuyen elements, still harass the government.

In general, the Cao-Dai may be considered as anti-Communist, although there is a Cao-Dai sect within the territory of the DRVN (Democratic Republic of Viet Nam).

There are a few units of former Cao-Daiists in the Vietnamese National Army. But the tendency is to remove most Cao-Dai officers from positions of influence in the army.

Viet Nam Handbook References

Principal reference, 232-235, 254; political role, 34, 259, 472-473, 533.

Chinese

Included in this group are all adult ethnic Chinese permanently residing in the Republic of Viet Nam who habitually speak a Chinese dialect (Cantonese, Hakka, Fukien) and conform to Chinese behavior patterns in most social situations. This group does not include Sino-Vietnamese who accept Vietnamese culture.

Close to a million Chinese live in South Viet Nam (population: 12,500,000). They are concentrated mainly in the urban centers, are well-organized in economic and social groups, and possess an economic importance far beyond their numbers. Until recently, they controlled the rice trade and most of the retail and wholesale trade, occupied an important position in moneylending and banking, and acted as middlemen between the Vietnamese and the dominant European economic interests. The government has begun to curtail this economic power.

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Sometimes a Chinese businessman is both a private merchant and an agent for large European trading companies. In his role as a comprador (middleman or broker), he channels the produce of the rural areas into the cities for sale or export, and in turn provides outlets for imported goods. He may be an agent of a Western firm interested in the purchase and sale of imported and exported goods, or of a Chinese firm interested in local retailing.

Chinese merchants are tightly organized into commercial associations whose functions are primarily the fostering of Chinese business interests and, through the setting of retail prices, the protection of their members against price competition.

The schools of the Chinese community teach the Chinese language, even though the study of Chinese in their secondary schools is now optional. There are 80,000 students in the Chinese schools. In 1959, nine daily papers, printed in Chinese were published in Saigon or Cholon; Chinese papers had a total circulation in 1955 of more than 50,000. In recent months, their importance has decreased.

With a few unimportant exceptions, the Chinese do not participate in official Vietnamese political life. In fact, their only political activity seems to consist of attempting to eliminate discriminatory acts hampering their commercial activities. Such attempts often take the form of bribes.

The Chinese in Viet Nam have a form of mutual aid society which fulfills the same functions as the charitable and mutual aid associations common in China. It usually provides the newly arrived Chinese with food and shelter until he finds employment. It loans him

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money, gives him advice, and is a channel of administration through which the government deals with the Chinese minority.

The ability of the Chinese to accumulate wealth in a poor country, their sense of superiority to the Vietnamese, the favored position they enjoyed under French colonial rule, their avoidance of taxes and other obligations, and the fact that they send much of their profit out of Viet Nam--these things make the Chinese a despised and feared element in Vietnamese economic life. Also, the fact that China occupied Viet Nam for more than 1000 years contributes to the fears of the Vietnamese about future Chinese domination.

The Chinese in South Viet Nam, who are often justly accused of ostentation and who constitute a large segment of the Vietnamese middle class, make few efforts to allay this animosity. They tend to be clannish and many refuse to be assimilated into Vietnamese life. However, intermarriage between the Chinese and Vietnamese is not rare.

In 1957, President Ngo Dinh Diem passed nationality decrees (providing subjection to military draft, etc.) which were deliberately aimed at forcing the Chinese to adopt Vietnamese nationality and to integrate them into the Vietnamese community. All Chinese wishing to retain their Chinese citizenship were barred from eleven key professions, including the vital rice trade. The Chinese retaliated by seriously hampering those trade activities which they controlled. Friction ensued between Nationalist China (Taiwan) and Viet Nam over the issue. A token number of Chinese were allowed to go to Taiwan.

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In turn the Vietnamese Government informally relaxed its rigidity in applying the nationality decrees. Some Chinese are now beginning to accept Vietnamese nationality.

There is evidence of an increasing Chinese interest in Vietnamese political affairs. Late in 1958, the Saigon press reported the arrest of a fairly extensive cell of Chinese Communists among the Chinese community of Saigon-Cholon.

Viet Nam Handbook References

Principal references, 61; general, 87, 197-198, 253, 459, 674-675; occupations and economic role, 688-690, 692-694; social status, 100-101.

Elders and "Notables"

This group consists of all males permanently residing in villages within the borders of the Republic of Viet Nam who are considered "honored" elders or "notables" by the villagers.

Since almost every village has a Council of Notables, this group consists of many thousands of adult males and is widely distributed throughout Viet Nam. Notables today may be chosen somewhat more for their economic status than for their intellectual achievement, but the latter remains important. Scholarship, or at least some degree of literacy, is a major requirement for selection to the council, and some notables can speak French in addition to Vietnamese. In any instance, age is an important criterion in selection; older men are given preference.

The Council of Notables is the highest authority within the village. It is composed of the following members: the president,

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who fulfills the duties of chief of the village; the vice president; the secretary-general and treasurer of the village; the chief of police, who is also in charge of communication (roads, canals, railroads, and telegraph and telephone wires crossing village territory); and the mayor, who generally is the junior member and least important among the executive notables. The mayor is in charge of the village civil records (birth, death, and marriage registers), keeper of the village seal, and the only notable whose nomination formerly required the approval of the colonial administration (today, probably that of the Chief of Province through the District Chief). Thus, the mayor is both a representative of the village government and an agent of the central administration.

A second group of somewhat minor notables, although still members of the council, include the village judge, the recorder of the council, and the village archivist. Last are the petty notables, the men in charge of transmitting the mayor's orders and insuring their execution; and the village sheriff, bailiff, and gendarme.

The President of the Council of Notables is always chosen from the most important members of the village and his authority is recognized. He is the most important person in the village and has the seat of honor in all ceremonies. He is the first person to be consulted by any officer who takes over a command and should be treated respectfully by the U.S. psychological operator because of his great influence with the inhabitants of the village.

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In personal contacts, the notables should never be treated rudely or embarrassed before their subordinates. Politeness and courtesy, together with firmness, bring the best results. The old saying, "he who controls the notables controls the people," is still valid.

Viet Nam Handbook References

General, 2, 95, 104, 145, 159, 374, 411-413.

Eurasians

This group consists of all adults of mixed Western and Vietnamese parentage (usually French and Vietnamese), who permanently reside in the Republic of Viet Nam. Although exact figures are not known, it is currently estimated that there were about 10,000 Eurasians left in South Viet Nam in 1958.

The father of a Eurasian is generally French or European while the mother is Vietnamese, although the reverse is not rare. Eurasians are generally to be found in population centers and usually adopt the ways of the European community, including dress. To a large extent they are bilingual (Vietnamese and French). They find it more difficult than other out-groups to integrate themselves into Vietnamese communities. Eurasians very seldom are members of the political elite.

There exists a considerable amount of hostility toward Eurasians among the Vietnamese, a hostility felt particularly in times of tension. (A new group of young Eurasians, born during the Indochina War,

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is to be found throughout the country. They live with their Vietnamese mothers and are reared as Vietnamese.)

Viet Nam Handbook References

Principal reference, 60.

French

The group consists of all adult French nationals permanently residing in the Republic of Viet Nam who habitually speak the French language and conform to French behavior patterns in most social and political situations.

Many Frenchmen have returned to their homeland in the past few years, and the French nationals in South Viet Nam (population: 12,500,000) now number only 17,000 , of whom 7,000 originally came from France. The others are French citizens of Eurasian, Indian (Pondichere), North African, and other African stock. Most of them reside in Saigon.

By 1959, the French had given up most of the positions they once held in administration and commerce and had begun to sell their holdings--possession of which in the past had given them domination over the country's economic life. Restrictions placed on the transfer of profits to France, combined with anti-French propaganda, have made ownership less attractive to the French than it once was. As a result, private ownership has tended to shift from the French to other foreigners and to Vietnamese. Nevertheless, many of Viet Nam's rubber plantations, sugar refineries, and distilleries are still owned by the French, who until recently were among the largest landholders as well.

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The smaller French interests that remain in Viet Nam have formed a new trade association, the Association of Small and Medium French Interests. The major French companies belong to the Union of Trade Societies which used to and may still include representatives of all major agricultural, industrial, and commercial activities in the country.

While many individual Frenchmen may be liked personally, France is strongly disliked because of the years of French colonial rule in Viet Nam, and is blamed for the recent political strife. This dislike is especially intense toward some groups among the French, although the French as a whole are admired for their culture. By a recent agreement, the French Government continues to support in Viet Nam primary and secondary schools which provide French-type education and lead to recognized French degrees.

French economic and technical aid is important in some key sectors: rail transportation, education, and agricultural reform. In 1958, the government of France promised to purchase from French nationals the estates they are holding in Viet Nam, and to donate these extensive holdings (close to a half-million acres of choice rice land) to Viet Nam as part of French economic aid.

However, distrust of French acts and motives is still very much alive among key Vietnamese groups, notably the present political elite. In their turn, Frenchmen in Viet Nam consider American activities in the fields of economics, military training, and education as further inroads into what already is a greatly deteriorated French position.

Viet Nam Handbook References

Principal reference, 60; general, 109, 198, 297, 459; economic role, 641, 642, 645, 646, 648, 649, 671, 687, 688; social status, 101, 371, 516.

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Hoa-Hao

This group consists of all adult members of the religious sect founded in 1939 by Huynh Phu So, and now fragmented into several separate groups led by "warlords." Most members of the Hoa-Hao live west of the Mekong delta, and earn their livelihood from rice farming.

At one time this sect claimed 2,000,000 followers, but is now much reduced in numbers. Hoa-Hao is essentially a type of "reformed" Buddhism. Prayers and offerings are made to Buddha, to family ancestors, and to national heroes, but not to spirits. The sect has no formal places of worship, such as churches or temples. Following the Japanese surrender in World War II, Huynh Phu So went into politics. In 1947, Huynh was ambushed and killed by the Viet-Minh; however, his followers still believe he is alive and they look forward to his return.

Following the death of its leader, and in the absence of another to replace him, the sect broke up into a number of "baronies" (similar to feudal states) ruled by Hoa-Hao chieftains, who often switched allegiance to meet their own purposes. In true warlord fashion, most of the Hoa-Hao barons heavily taxed the farmers and merchants in their zones of control. These oppressive measures contributed to breaking the hold of the warlords over the population, making it easy for the Vietnamese National Army to defeat and disperse the bulk of the Hoa-Hao armed forces in 1955. A few leaders and their followers submitted peacefully to the authority of the Vietnamese Government.

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A few die-hards continue guerrilla action against the government in the Mekong delta, some of them said to be backed by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Viet Nam Handbook References

Principal reference, 235-237; general 212, 258; historical background, 12, 13, 29; military role, 773, 872, 873, 875, 876; political role 255, 473-474.

Industrial and Plantation Workers

All adults who are wage earners in industrial factories, workshops, and on plantations are included in this group.

A majority of these workers have been organized into unions which are modeled after French unions. Most of the Vietnamese labor leaders have been highly influenced by French trade-union philosophy, and the unions therefore accent class differences and put great stress on the struggle of the working class to obtain its just due in society. Some unions are affiliated with the French Confederation of Christian Workers (primarily Catholic) or the nonsectarian General Confederation of Labor (CGT/FO). One major union was created entirely under Vietnamese auspices in 1952. The present government is attempting to exert strong control over the unions.

The plantation workers are found in rural areas, while the workshop and factory workers are usually found in the cities. Most plantation workers are ethnic Vietnamese; but some of the workers on coffee and tea plantations located in the highlands are members of tribal groups.

Plantation workers number between 30,000 and 40,000. The number of workers in workshops or factories is about 350,000. Over

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the years, one can expect to find, at times, up to 50 percent of this working force unemployed. The number of industrial workers is likely to increase in the future since the Vietnamese Government is interested in building up industry. All workers' groups, particularly plantation workers, contain a relatively high percentage of women.

With the exception of tribal members, plantation workers are likely to dress in the same manner as village Vietnamese. Those industrial workers normally found in cities dress like urban Vietnamese.

Vietnamese labor enjoys certain privileges now considered customary. Some have been confirmed by labor laws; others are universally respected practices. The more common of these are: family allowances (i.e., higher salaries for workers with children); New Year's (Tet) bonuses based upon length of service; severance payments in the case of dismissals; payments in goods (rice, work clothes) in addition to base salary. This last custom becomes particularly important in a wartime period, when the actual value of the currency may fluctuate and goods may be difficult to obtain.

Viet Nam Handbook References

Principal references, 275-279, 282-286, 291-307.

Tribal Groups

This special audience consists of those tribal groups living in Viet Nam south of the 17th parallel. They are neither ethnic Vietnamese nor members of the Khmer minority living in South Viet Nam. They fall into three major groupings. The first includes the primitive tribes of Malayo-Indonesian stock, such as the Rhade, Sedang,

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Hre, Baknar, Jarai, Roglai, Koho, etc. The second group consists of the Cham, of Mon-Khmer origin, remnants of a highly civilized nation subdued and absorbed by the Vietnamese between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. The third group is made up of the tribal refugees from North Viet Nam, mainly Tai, Nung, and Muong, who are of Thai stock with varying admixtures of Chinese and Vietnamese ethnic strains.

Group 1 lives on the plateaus from the 17th parallel down to 40 miles north and east of Saigon. Their features are generally less mongoloid than those of the Vietnamese or Chinese, and their skins are like those of the Cambodians. The clothing of Group 1 varies from tribe to tribe as to color and design. Usually the women wear long skirts and are bare-breasted; the men wear loincloths. They live in houses on stilts. Some tribes have communal long houses for their unmarried children of both sexes. Their dead are buried above ground in small reproductions of their houses.

Religion among members of Group 1 is generally shamanistic, although Catholic (French) and Protestant (American) missionaries have been active among the tribes for the past forty years.

Their economy is based on slash-and-burn methods of agriculture (ray), and hunting, which is carried on with bows and arrows and spears, seldom with firearms.

Group 2, the Cham, live on the edges of the southern plateau area and on some narrow strips of the coast of southern Central Viet Nam. Their physique usually resembles that of Western man more

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than that of either the mountain tribes or the Vietnamese. The men are bearded; the women wear clothes resembling those of today's Malays. The language spoken resembles Malay.

Like the Malays, the Chams are Moslems--the only large group in Viet Nam (outside of a few Pakistani businessmen in Saigon) to follow that religion in the country. Another group of Chams, the Kafir Chams, follow the Brahmanic tradition.

They are extremely poor. They do not mix with other ethnic groups, and are proud of their past civilization of which they know little else but legend. Their villages often lie near ruins of former Cham cities.

Group 3 is in no way inferior to the ethnic Vietnamese culturally. In fact several kings of Viet Nam were of Muong origin. The various tribes of Group 3 did not formerly inhabit the territory of South Viet Nam at all, but about 30,000 of them left North Viet Nam rather than remain under the Communists.

The T'ai and Muong form compact refugee villages near Dalat on the southern plateaus, in an environment that closely resembles their native habitat. They work in handicrafts, lumbering, and till a few rice fields (wet rice culture). The Muong, a warlike group, serve in the Vietnamese armed forces.

The various tribes of Group 3 are distinguishable by the clothes of their womenfolk. The tribes are called White T'ai, Black T'ai, Polka-Dot T'ai, according to the type of blouses their women wear. The blouses are always accompanied by colorful sashes and narrow

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skirts going down to the ankles. Their sun hats are not conical but slightly curved "cartwheels."

The religion of the T'ai and Muong is made up of a mixture of some Taoist and shamanistic beliefs. Christianity has made little, if any, inroads in the religion of these tribes.

The Nung come from an area forming a wedge between the Chinese province of Kwangtung and the China Sea. Physically they closely resemble the Chinese; they are more urbanized than any other tribal group and are known to engage in business. They are strongly influenced by Chinese mores; their writing system is also Chinese. They are extremely loyal to their leaders and for years constituted the guard units for the French chief administrators. Until recently, Nung units were among the crack units of the Vietnamese army.

Viet Nam Handbook References

Principal reference, 64-72, 50, 56, 548, 772, 773.

Urban Vietnamese

This group comprises all adults in the Republic of Viet Nam living in urban areas who are ethnic Vietnamese (North, Central, and South Vietnamese) and those who accept and integrate with Vietnamese culture and language and who consider themselves as Vietnamese regardless of ethnic origin.

It is estimated that more than 2,500,000 residents of the Republic of Viet Nam live in cities having a population of 15,000 or more.

In the cities, men above coolie status very commonly wear European-style dress, but women cling to modified versions of the

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traditional styles. This traditional dress includes wide, loose trousers reaching to the ankles. The robe that goes over it fits tightly over the shoulders and breast, and is loose or tight at the waist depending upon the degree of "modernism" of the wearer. The sleeves are long and tight, with a narrow cuff. On special occasions, the men, especially dignitaries, wear turbans with their native dress and many women also wear white turban-like headpieces. Usually, however, a broad conical hat is worn by women in the cities.

Because the official language, Vietnamese, is spoken only within that country, the urban Vietnamese, especially the officials and upper classes who reside in the cities, have been compelled to learn foreign languages as a bridge to the outside world. French is usually the second language, but some can speak and understand English or Chinese.

The city workers, both those who work at manual and mechanical skills and those who perform white-collar functions, are often members of a moderately prosperous peasant family and may continue to view their native village as their real home. Even the very wealthy merchant, official, or professional man maintains his links with his village of origin, returning regularly for certain family rituals, and making investments in rural land and other rural enterprises.

The urbanized Vietnamese is better informed about world events than other Vietnamese, and is more aware of the nature and implications of his country's many problems. The city dweller reads the newspaper, may have a radio, and goes regularly to motion picture theatres.

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One of the outstanding features of the Vietnamese is that they are great gamblers. Gambling is a national pastime to which the urbanized Vietnamese is addicted.

It must be borne in mind that Viet Nam's city population has increased 300 percent in the last ten years. A great deal of this increase is merely due to the insecurity in the countryside and may well disappear with it. These temporarily urbanized Vietnamese constitute two-thirds of the total. Their usual reactions, accordingly, will be similar to those of the Vietnamese peasantry, the village folk.

Viet Nam Handbook References

Principal reference, 149-150; general, 55, 93, 102-103, 112, 122, 136, 280, 285, 344, 345, 382, 661; attitudes and behavior, 2, 365-367; leisure activities, 246, 258, 263, 348; living conditions, 104, 339, 341-342, 346.

Village Folk

This group consists of all adults, male and female, who permanently reside in rural villages located within the borders of the Republic of Viet Nam. Well above 70 percent of Vietnamese adults live in peasant villages.

The peasants' clothing is almost the same for both sexes and is limited to a black short jacket and long trousers. Both sexes wear the same type of conical hat usually made from palm leaves (non la); these hats often indicate the social rank of the wearer, depending upon the type of material of which they are made. Most of the peasants either wear no shoes or wooden clogs, except for dress occasions, when they wear a European-type rubber-soled sandal.

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A few speak a smattering of French, a carry-over from the French colonial period. However, most villagers are illiterate or barely literate. Often their education is limited to traditional lore.

Most villagers are noted for their reverence for ancestors, worship of village heroes, and animistic beliefs. In recent years many have become converts to the Cao-Dai and Hoa-Hao sects as well. In addition, there are a few villages which are almost wholly Roman Catholic. Protestantism, Buddhism, and Taoism have some followers among the villagers.

Each Vietnamese village is governed by a council of notables. The keeper of the village civil records is both a representative of the village government and an agent of the central administration. It is through this individual that the villages have their closest contact with their central government, although rulings handed down by the central government officials are administered by the Council of Notables as a group.

The majority of the village folk--men, women, and children--labor in the rice paddies or at fishing; some few are artisans or storekeepers. Most of the peasants rent their land from the large landowners on a five-year basis, but recent land reforms are tending to change this. The villagers are the economic base of Vietnamese life--their rice crops support officials, artisans, merchants, and professionals in the towns and cities.

Family ties are most important to the Vietnamese. For most of them, not only emotional security but economic well-being depend upon

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the family. It is their love of family and village upon which their love of country is based.

The villagers' diet, while generally better than that of most Asian countries, contains only two-thirds the calories, or less, consumed daily by an American. There is very little protein in the diet. Being well-fed is a sign of affluence; any increase in income is likely to go toward improving the diet.

The houses of the poorer peasants are usually built of bamboo and mud, with a thatched rice roof, and floors of packed earth. There is usually one large room perhaps 150 feet square, and a smaller room that may serve as a granary or pig sty. The house of the well-to-do peasant is usually built of mud bricks with a coating of lime, well ventilated, and consists of several rooms. The homes of this class of villagers may often contain some European furniture. Most Vietnamese houses are kept relatively clean and uncluttered.

Viet Nam Handbook References

General, 2, 104, 118, 149-150, 336, 359, 602-607; attitudes and behavior, 7, 9, 141, 160, 252, 324, 366-367, 696; economic role, 8, 268-275, 285, 411, 611, 617-628; government policy toward, 630-634, 673; leisure activities, 151, 155-156, 170-171, 209, 245; living conditions, 42, 316-318, 322-323, 337, 339-341, 343, 346-347; military role, 757, 848-849; organizations, 108, 297, 627-629, 674; political attitudes and participation, 11, 367-368, 382-383; religion and myth, 223, 229-230; status and social relationships, 93, 105, 267, 621-623.

Women

This group consists of all females over 18 years of age permanently residing in the Republic of Viet Nam.

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Traditionally, women in Viet Nam have been subject to the authority of their fathers or their husbands. Nevertheless, Vietnamese women have always had more freedom than Chinese or Japanese women, both in the family and in society.

Often the most useful visible mark of the ethnic group to which a woman belongs is her clothing. Very few adopt European clothing; many urban women, however, prefer a modernized version of the traditional Vietnamese tunic and trousers. Between social classes, differences in dress are noticeable chiefly in the quality of the material.

While most women conform to Confucianism--which assign to them a place and prescribes their duties--in practice they subscribe to, and find their emotional outlet in, Buddhism and spirit worship. It is the woman who calls in the Buddhist or Taoist priest, who makes offerings at the temple, and who is most concerned with placating the spirit world.

The contribution of women to the industrial labor force is considerable, as it is in agriculture. Vietnamese tradition assigns specific agricultural tasks to women; they usually share the burden of chores in cultivation and harvesting. Most women engaged in industrial employment work in the manufacturing and processing industries, such as textiles, rice processing, matches, and paper. Wages paid to women are somewhat less than those paid to men for comparable work.

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Women play an important part in Vietnamese commercial life. They are said to be the real "businessmen" in Vietnamese society. Except in shops run by Chinese, all small and medium-size retail stores are managed by Vietnamese women. It is not unusual for the husband to carry on his duties as a public servant or teacher while his wife earns a large part of the family income by her commercial dealings. There are various women's commercial cooperatives in the larger cities, regulating many of the smaller businesses, such as taxi companies. The process of Westernization has given women an even greater role in the economic life of the country. Some Vietnamese women in the urban areas occupy important places in education, medicine, or the arts.

In the family, women are supposed to be subordinate to men. Few, if any, Vietnamese women openly challenge this rule. They are content to submit formally to the dominance of the male, but retain considerable independence and power. Once married, the woman manages the household, handles all the family money, collects or pays rents, and does the marketing and pays for all purchases. Many women use the family savings as capital for retail trade.

Polygamy is rare in Viet Nam, although it does exist to some degree in the villages. In the polygamous marriage, the first wife remains the mistress of the household.

In order to undercut Communist propaganda among women, the Vietnamese Government has made serious efforts in recent years to enhance the position of the Vietnamese woman. In 1958-59, a law was passed which forbids polygamy and makes divorce impossible

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save with the special permission of the Vietnamese President. Women university graduates have become increasingly active in fairly important government positions. It is likely that they would easily relinquish the rights they have gained.

Women have played important roles in Viet Nam's past. Two sisters, Trung-Nhi and Trung-Nhat, led a great anti-Chinese rebellion in 43 A.D. which temporarily rid the country of foreign occupation. Apparently, the Vietnamese--like the French under Joan of Arc--did not resent this intrusion of women into military matters. In fact, they often make the comparison between the Trung sisters and Joan of Arc. There is now a national holiday in their honor, which has become a Vietnamese "Women's Day."

Viet Nam Handbook References

General, 55-58, 95, 177, 225-226, 343-344; economic role, 279-280, 282; in the family, 118-124, 134-135, 563; in health and welfare, 313, 329; in propaganda, 263, 491, 589, 696; status and social relationships, 7, 58, 66, 70, 72, 130, 138, 161.

Youth and Youth Organizations

This group consists of all adolescents and young adults, age 16 to 25, male and female, who reside in the Republic of Viet Nam, and especially those youths who belong to youth organizations.

After the Japanese surrender in World War II, and the return to power of the French, the French suppressed many of the politically oriented groups which had mushroomed during the war years, but permitted the revival of nonpolitical organizations. Recently there has been a strong revival of youth organizations in Viet Nam, and

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the Vietnamese government has used these organizations as a means of keeping a close eye on the youth of the nation. Sports associations receive special attention from the government and a State Secretariat of Sports and Youth was established in 1952 to supervise their activities. Other groups, such as the Boy Scouts, and Catholic and Buddhist Youth groups, are also popular. In 1954, a National Youth Council was established to provide liaison between the government and various youth organizations.

The government is also developing a training program to provide leaders for youth organizations and to teach physical culture. Programs for the development of youth organizations and the training of new leaders are in operation in rural as well as urban areas. The political parties--new and still weak--have made some efforts to attract young people, and several of them have organized youth groups to counteract Communist influence among the youth.

The government has introduced a so-called popular-education program for those youths who have not had access to education. In addition, there is a free night school in Saigon, the Popular University, which enables young people who have been forced to leave school to finish their studies. This popular-education program is financed chiefly with private United States funds. Although the Vietnamese feel that education should be available to all young men according to mental ability, the sons of the wealthy have always had an advantage.

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Where public school facilities are not adequate (in 1955 there were only 27 secondary public schools with a total enrollment of less than 21,000), those youths who can afford to do so attend private schools or arrange for tutoring. (There are approximately 100 private secondary schools with an enrollment of 24,000 students.)

Militarily, the youth of Viet Nam were on the whole uncooperative with the Vietnamese National Army during the recent war. Young Vietnamese university or high school graduates, instead of wanting to join the Vietnamese National Army's military academy for officers training, sought every possible means to avoid it. Many went abroad for higher civilian-specialist training, which automatically exempted them from military duty.

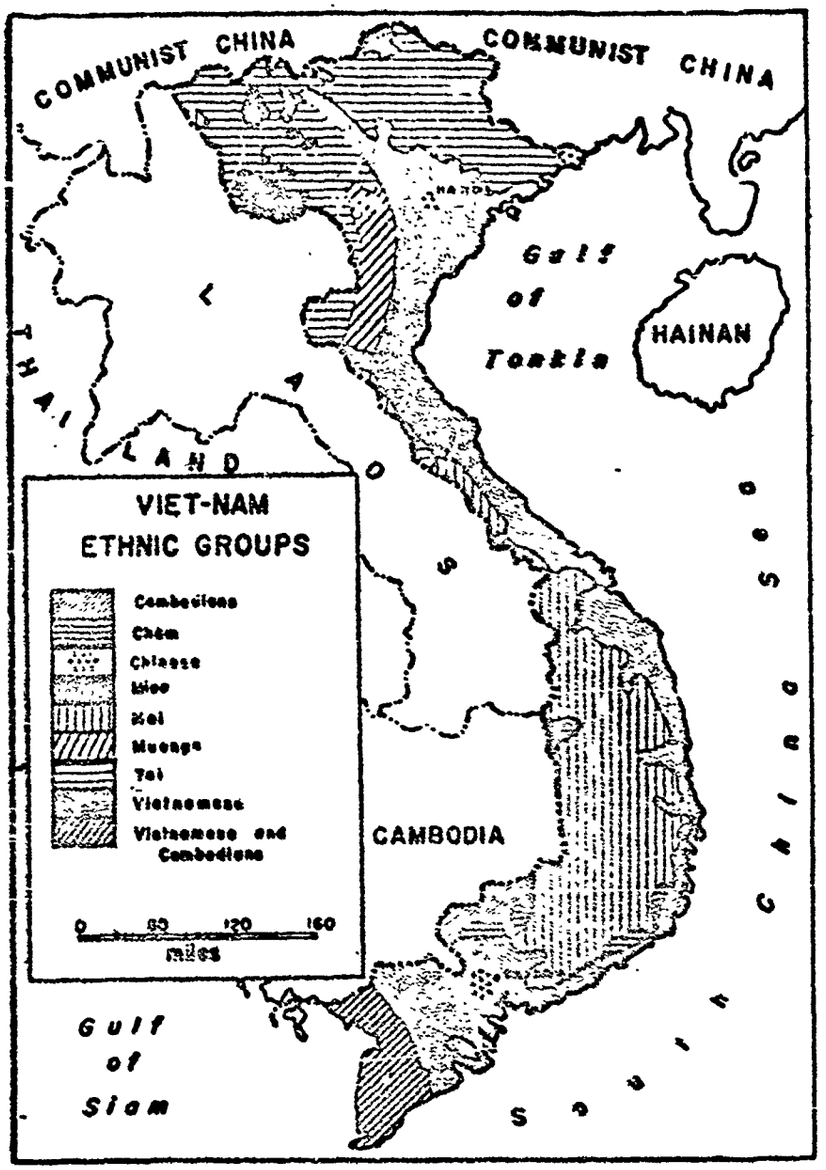
There now exists a Youth for the Republic Movement, which is a junior branch of the National Revolution Movement of President Ngo Dinh Diem. It is very active in all cities, and throughout the countryside. It may be a tribute to its effectiveness that in recent months some of its leaders became terrorist targets.

Refugee students have seen Communism first-hand, and are more anti-Communist than other students.

Viet Nam Handbook References

General, 103, 131-138, 349, 351, 352; military role, 758, 829; organizations, 110, 201; students, 196-202, 207, 463.

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SECTION III

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

Estimates of the opportunities for successful psychological operations in South Viet Nam were prepared by a panel of three area specialists, working closely with the PROSUS staff. The estimates are based on an examination of the characteristics of the special audiences that are more or less enduring over a period of time, in relation to ten specific psychological operations goals.

A psychological operations goal is defined as a category of desired behavioral or mental effect which, if secured, will contribute to a psychological operations objective. The ten specific goals selected for study are:

Good Will Toward the United States
Encouragement
Compliance and Cooperation with the United States
Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy
Hostility Toward and Noncooperation with the Enemy
Discord
Privatization
Panic and Disorganized Behavior
Subversion and Resistance
Surrender, Defection, Desertion.

The first three can be considered cohesive in purpose; that is, successful achievement of any of these three goals would strengthen or more closely unite the total society or the particular special audience. The remaining seven are divisive; successful achievement of any of them would either separate the individual from his group,

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separate the group from other groups, separate the group from the total society, or produce a complete disorganization of the group or the total society. The definition of each goal, given in terms of the types of tasks which, if accomplished, would contribute to attaining the goal, is given at the beginning of each estimate.

The estimates have purposely not been tied to the exigencies of an immediate situation. In the analyses, it was assumed only that U.S. military forces have become involved in operations in Southeast Asia and that psychological operations in support of military objectives are being carried out.

As a first step the panel assessed the effectiveness of each special audience in relation to the aims of psychological operations. Effectiveness of a group—the degree to which the group can influence the aims, objectives, and capabilities of the nation—was assumed to be a constant factor in estimating opportunity (though susceptibility of a group might vary considerably for the different goals of psychological operations). The panel considered the following factors, among others, in judging the effectiveness of the groups: size of the group relative to the total society; cohesiveness of the group—sense of group identification, shared norms, etc.; degree of organization of the group; leadership of the group; function of the group in society during war or military disruption; prestige of the group; and persuasive or coercive power of the group, that is, capacity of the group to impose its will upon other groups.

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Next the panel estimated the susceptibility of each group in relation to each goal of psychological operations. Judgments were made of the relative position of each group considered separately under each goal. That is, a particular group might be rated high under a particular goal because it is relatively higher in susceptibility among the special audiences considered. This does not necessarily mean that the same group would be judged high if considered in isolation on an absolute basis.

In making its estimates, the panel paid special attention to two aspects of susceptibility. The first is receptivity. This involves the nature and strength of the feelings of the special audience about its own economic, political, and social situation in the society, and about its relations with other audiences. The second is the audience responsiveness to messages of psychological operations. Assuming that the message is identifiable as American, the group's responsiveness involves the nature and strength of its feelings about the aims and policies of the United States, and about Americans in general.

The judged effectiveness and susceptibility, considered together, comprise the group's judged potential—the degree to which it can presumably assist in accomplishing a goal of psychological operations. This approach provides a useful basis for estimating the nature and extent of opportunities for achieving a particular goal.

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The panel considered separately the opportunity for accomplishing the ten goals of psychological operations for South Vietnam as a whole, on the basis of the society's enduring characteristics. It judged each goal in relation to the others as either relatively high, medium, or relatively low. The judged opportunities for the country as a whole are:

Goals of relatively high opportunity:

Discord
Privatization.

Goals of medium opportunity:

Good Will Toward the United States
Encouragement
Compliance and Cooperation with the United States
Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy
Hostility Toward and Noncooperation with the Enemy
Panic and Disorganized Behavior
Surrender, Defection, Desertion (military forces).

Goals of relatively low opportunity:

Subversion and Resistance.

In the analyses which follow, the planner of psychological operations and the field operator are given an estimate of what they may be able to accomplish, given the nature of the society and the groups which make it up. Relative opportunity ratings by special audiences are provided in Tables 1 to 9 for each psychological operations goal except that of Surrender, Defection, Desertion, which applies principally to military forces. Explanations of the ratings and other pertinent information are provided in the text.

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The planner of psychological operations and the operator in the field should take note that, in the period prior to 1954, Communism came to be strongly identified with Vietnamese nationalism. This identification tends to temper the effectiveness of anti-Communist propaganda despite the establishment, in the South, of a government pursuing anti-Communist policies.

The analyses of opportunities by goals which follow give a broad view of what it is possible to accomplish in psychological operations, given the nature of the special audience and of the society as a whole.

ESTIMATES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS OPPORTUNITIES TO GOALS

Good Will Toward the United States

The aim of this goal is to promote feelings of friendship and good will toward the United States as a people and a country; and to convince the members of the special audiences or the people of the country that the intentions and goals of United States policy are politically and economically desirable.

In general, South Viet Nam has a considerable amount of good will for America. This favorable climate of opinion stems principally from the following:

1. The United States is generally regarded as an anticolonial nation, though not all Vietnamese are familiar with American aims and policies.

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Table 1.

South Viet Nam--Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Good Will Toward The United States

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Administrators	H	H
Educationalists	H	M
Elders	H	H
Intellectuals	H	H
Military	H	H
Political Elite	H	H
Refugees	M	H
Roman Catholics	H	H
Village Folk	H	H
Youth and Youth Organizations	H	H
Medium:		
French	H	M
Tribal Groups	L	H
Urban Vietnamese	H	H
Women	L	H
Relatively Low:		
Cambodians	L	M
Cao-Dai	L	H
Chinese	M	L
Eurasians	L	L
Hoa-Hao	L	H
Industrial and Plantation Workers	L	H

H = Relatively High

M = Medium

L = Relatively Low

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2. The United States has never exploited Viet Nam.

3. The United States has given considerable aid and political support to the Republic of Viet Nam, since it achieved its independence.

This feeling of good will could be seriously impaired if it ever appeared that America was attempting to use its aid programs to exert undue influence over the Vietnamese Government. Any U.S. policy which would result in the Vietnamese Government appearing to be a puppet government would have a decidedly adverse effect on good will toward America.

Administrators, the military, the political elite, Roman Catholics, refugees, tribal groups, women, youth and youth organizations are, relatively speaking, considered susceptible to appeals to promote good will. Of these groups, administrators, the military, and the political elite have considerable power to influence their compatriots.

Any direct personal contact with Americans of the groups having susceptibility has generally helped to enhance good will toward the United States. This is particularly true of refugees and Roman Catholics, among whom American Catholics have carried out a sizable program of people-to-people assistance. The political elite has strong feelings of good will since it was largely American support which sustained them in power after the Geneva Agreement of July 1954. There are also strong feelings of good will toward America among the educationalist group. However, there is friction between the

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French-educated and American-educated members of this group. Those with a French educational background tend to bear some resentment toward America because they often feel that their American-educated colleagues are being promoted ahead of them.

Appeals to tribal groups would have to be of a simple nature, and vary according to which tribe is being addressed. The psychological operator should always keep in mind that there are three distinct tribal groups in Viet Nam, designated as Groups 1, 2, and 3. (See Section IV.)

Eurasians and Chinese have a particularly low potential for appeals intending to promote good will. In general, they feel that American activity in Viet Nam has not benefited them. In fact, many in these groups feel that American policy has had an adverse effect on their status in the country.

Encouragement

The aim of this goal is to promote an expectation of success for the policies of the United States and its allies; to sustain the morale of elements in the special audiences or country which are friendly to such policies; and to identify the popular or national aspirations of members of the groups with the aims of United States policy.

In the event of war the Republic of Viet Nam to a large extent would expect an American victory, and would on the whole respond favorably to appeals which identified U.S. policy with their own

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popular or national aspirations. Americans have a sufficiently good record of noncolonialism in the area not to be suspected of ulterior designs on Vietnamese independence. Also, the past record of American economic, political, and military aid speaks for itself. The fact that the United States would in all likelihood make good all war damages in the area would make more acceptable the burden of the cost of military operations for South Viet Nam.

There are several special audiences likely to be receptive to appeals of encouragement, namely: administrators, educationalists, intellectuals, military officers, and the political elite. All of these groups are connected to some degree with the present regime and have several characteristics in common: Their members have a better than average Western education, and nearly all have a very good command of at least one foreign language (usually French, but an increasing number have a command of English). Also, an increasing number of them have traveled in the United States and have first-hand knowledge of the technological and military capabilities of the U.S. Furthermore, these groups are influential in shaping public opinion in South Viet Nam or in controlling administrative or military operations. They are, therefore, extremely valuable audiences for psychological operations.

Two other groups, Roman Catholics and refugees (both Catholic and non-Catholic), have relatively high susceptibility for encouragement appeals. However, since the Roman Catholics comprise less

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Table 2.

South Viet Nam--Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goals Encouragement

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Administrators	H	H
Educationalists	H	H
Elders	H	H
Intellectuals	H	H
Military	H	H
Political Elite	H	H
Refugees	H	H
Roman Catholics	H	H
Village Folk	H	H
Medium:		
French	M	M
Urban Vietnamese	M	M
Women and Youth Organizations	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Cambodians	L	M
Cao-Dai	L	M
Chinese	M	L
Eurasians	L	L
Hoa-Hao	L	L
Industrial and Plantation Workers	L	L
Tribal Groups	L	L
Women	L	M

H = Relatively High

M = Medium

L = Relatively Low

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than 10 percent of the population, and the refugees have been uprooted from their homes, the effectiveness of these two groups is somewhat lower than that of the previously named groups.

Viet Nam, south of the 17th parallel, is not completely homogeneous—neither ethnically nor geographically. Among the population not ethnically Vietnamese are the mountain tribes who inhabit and control stretches of territory which might become very important militarily because they are contiguous with or contain pathways into neighboring nations. Such groups, therefore, assume an importance to psychological operations out of proportion to their effectiveness within the total society. Generally, they are not likely to be responsive to appeals of encouragement; in fact, such appeals might boomerang. The mountain tribes, especially Group 1 and Group 2, strongly resent government attempts to settle large colonies of ethnic Vietnamese in their areas. Resentment against the current government is also strong among the religious sects, who were crushed by the Republic of Viet Nam because the sects attempted to maintain themselves as states within a state. To these audiences, American expressions of solidarity with the present regime and promises to sustain the national aspirations might mean the continuance of a system with which they have little or no sympathy.

In other words, it would be somewhat dangerous to use blanket appeals for national unity in support of objectives held in common by the United States and the Republic of Viet Nam. Such appeals can best be used selectively. For example, appeals of encouragement

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Table 3.

South Vietnam Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Compliance and Cooperation with the United States

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Administrators	H	H
Educationalists	H	H
Elders	H	M
Intellectuals	H	H
Military	H	H
Political Elite	H	H
Refugees	M	H
Roman Catholics	M	H
Medium:		
Chinese	M	M
French	M	M
Urban Vietnamese	M	H
Village Folk	H	L
Youth and Youth Organizations	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Cambodians	L	M
Cao-Dai	L	L
Eurasians	L	M
Hoa-Hao	L	M
Industrial and Plantation Workers	L	L
Tribal Groups	L	L
Women	L	L

H = relatively high

M = Medium

L = Relatively Low

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will have excellent effects on the political elite, whose fate is clearly bound up with the survival of the status quo. Encouragement appeals will also be effective for the military. They are well aware of their numerical inferiority to the Communist forces of the North (this is a point constantly made in the Vietnamese press) and have a keen appreciation of what United States help has done for them and will do for them in order to assure that South Viet Nam remains independent.

Compliance and Cooperation with the United States

The aim of this goal is to secure the acceptance by individuals and groups in the country of the orders or instructions of friendly national or local authorities, or United States military forces when present in the country; and to encourage and stimulate participation by individuals and groups in programs sponsored by national authorities who are cooperating in the achievement of U.S. policies and aims and with programs of U.S. military forces.

The Vietnamese have historically shown deference for established internal authority. However, they have shown a tendency not to comply or cooperate when internal authority showed signs of weakness and instability, and when foreign rule was imposed from the outside by the Chinese and French. Widespread noncompliance was especially prevalent during the French rule. The response of South Viet Nam as a whole would be favorable to a friendly national and local indigenous authority, and to any such authority acting in compliance

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Table 4.

South Viet Nam—Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Administrators	H	H
Educationalists	H	H
Elders	H	H
Intellectuals	H	M
Military	H	H
Political Elite	H	M
Refugees	H	H
Roman Catholics	M	H
Village Folk	H	H
Medium:		
Chinese	M	M
Eurasians	L	H
French	M	M
Urban Vietnamese	M	H
Youth and Youth Organizations	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Cambodians	L	M
Cao-Dai	L	M
Hoa-Hao	L	L
Industrial and Plantation Workers	L	M
Tribal Groups	L	M
Women	L	M

H = Relatively High

M = Medium

L = Relatively Low

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with U.S. troops present in the country. However, because of the recent presence of French forces, the mere fact of the physical presence of U.S. forces might lessen cooperation, although it would not necessarily impair compliance.

Very favorable response to appeals for compliance and cooperation might be expected from administrators, educationalists, the military, political elite, Roman Catholics, and refugees. On the other hand, there would be little response to such appeals among certain groups including the Cao Dai, tribal groups, village folk, women, and industrial and plantation workers.

Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

The aim of this goal is to depress the morale of the inhabitants of the country in order to reduce the degree of effective support of popular or national aims inimical to the interests of the United States.

On the assumption that many special audiences would be forced by events to align themselves against the United States contrary to their basic sympathies, South Viet Nam as a whole is considered as moderately susceptible to discouragement appeals. In addition to playing upon these basic sympathies, the psychological operator could also make profitable use of the traditional Vietnamese resentment toward the Chinese, and the portrayal of the Viet Minh as puppets of the Chinese, in appeals for tools of discouragement, defeatism, and apathy.

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Table 5

South Viet Nam--Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Hostility Toward and Noncooperation with the Enemy

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Administrators	H	H
Educationalists	H	H
Elders	H	H
Intellectuals	H	H
Military	H	H
Political Elite	H	H
Refugees	M	H
Roman Catholics	H	H
Medium:		
French	M	M
Urban Vietnamese	M	M
Village Folk	H	L
Youth and Youth Organizations	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Cambodians	L	L
Cao-Dai	L	L
Chinese	M	L
Eurasians	L	M
Hoa-Hao	L	M
Industrial and Plantation Workers	L	M
Tribal Groups		
Group 1	L	L
Group 2	L	L
Group 3	L	M
Women	L	L

H = Relatively High

M = Medium

L = Relatively Low

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Administrators, educationalists, Eurasians, the military, Roman Catholics, and refugees would be relatively high in susceptibility to discouragement appeals. Administrators, educationalists, and the military are in an excellent position to influence their countrymen. Roman Catholics and refugees make up almost half of the Vietnamese National Army, which makes them valuable as audiences for discouragement appeals.

Hostility Toward and Noncooperation with the Enemy

The aim of this goal is to promote disbelief in the policy, aims, and ideologies of the local, national, or international authorities hostile to the United States and its aims; to uphold the traditional (and other existing) values which are in opposition to the policy, aims, and ideologies of authorities hostile to the United States; and to persuade members of special audiences or the country as a whole to refuse economic or political collaboration with any authority hostile to the United States.

Assuming that China and the Viet Minh would be the enemy, the Republic of Viet Nam has a relatively high potential for appeals in support of this goal. The Chinese have been the traditional enemies of Viet Nam. The Vietnamese deeply resent Chinese colonization in their territory and Chinese occupation of Viet Nam which lasted for a thousand years. The Vietnamese are also most sensitive to the Chinese attitude of cultural, social, and technical superiority toward them. Therefore, aside from singling out Chinese Communist

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policies which are hostile to traditional Vietnamese values, every opportunity should be taken to portray the Viet Minh as puppets of the Chinese.

Administrators, educationalists, elders, intellectuals, the military, political elite, and Roman Catholics are particularly susceptible to hostility appeals. With the possible exception of Roman Catholics, these groups have a great deal of power to influence others. However, their willingness to persuade others to refuse cooperation with the enemy could be seriously reduced if the military situation were such that they had reason to fear swift enemy retaliation. On the other hand, the impact of such appeals would be considerably strengthened if it were clear, at the time any particular appeal is made, that the United States and its allies were winning the war. It is also important to convey to the special audiences that their best chance for personal advancement is connected with a United States victory. The protection of traditional values should be especially stressed in appeals to the elders.

Cambodians, Chinese, village folk, and women have a low susceptibility to hostility appeals. Cambodians would be greatly influenced by the policy of the Cambodian Government. The Chinese would be torn between loyalty to the motherland and their financial interests. Village folk and women would tend to shy away, in general, from subjects involving hostility as opposed to peace and normalcy.

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Discord

The aim of this goal is to promote dissension within a particular group; to promote conflict between a group and other groups; and to encourage disaffection by elements and individuals in a group residing in a country whose government is hostile to the United States, its interests, aims, and policies.

South Viet Nam as a whole is relatively high in susceptibility to discord and to the encouragement of disaffection.

The problem of achie ng central unity has been a difficult one throughout Vietnamese history. Religious, linguistic, and other differences can be used to promote discord, especially among the administrators, educationalists, Eurasians, intellectuals, and the political elite.

The Roman Catholics and the refugees provide relatively good opportunity for creating discord in the country as a whole. However, these groups are highly cohesive and members would not respond readily to attempts to promote discord and dissension within their own group.

One group offering only medium opportunity deserves a special comment. The industrial and plantation workers possess certain cohesive features which would make it difficult to create discord within the group. However, they could be counted upon to sow discord among others, especially when appeals in support of this goal are couched in economic terms.

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Table 6.

South Viet Nam--Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goals: Discord

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Administrators	H	H
Educationalists	H	H
Elders	H	H
Intellectuals	H	H
Military	H	M
Political Elite	H	H
Village Folk	H	M
Mediums:		
Eurasians	L	H
French	M	M
Refugees	M	M
Roman Catholics	M	M
Urban Vietnamese	M	M
Youth and Youth Organizations	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Cambodians	L	L
Cao-Dai	L	M
Chinese	L	L
Hoa-Hao	L	M
Industrial and Plantation Workers	L	M
Tribal Groups		
Group 1	L	L
Group 2	L	L
Group 3	L	M
Women	L	M

H = Relatively High

M = Medium

L = Relatively Low

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Privatization

The aim of this goal is to intensify the preoccupation of the individual with his personal situation (as opposed to his group identification) in order to reduce the effectiveness of his support of group and national objectives; and to seek to encourage the personal and local loyalties at the expense of larger loyalties—such as to political party, movement, or nation—when these are opposed to United States aims.

For most groups in the country, loyalty was a characteristic traditionally associated with both the sovereign and the family. Colonial rule and its aftermath brought about a breakdown of the religious and mystical qualities that surrounded the sovereign and the family, and in the process weakened the traditional ideals of loyalty. Further, the recent period of military and political unrest caused the individual to become preoccupied with his personal situation. Thus, privatization as a goal of psychological operations is suitable for South Viet Nam.

Largely because of their high degree of Westernization, certain groups—including the administrators, educationalists, Eurasians, intellectuals, and political elite—show a relatively high degree of susceptibility to the behavioral goal of privatization. Because of their primary concern with the survival of the family, women as a group are also susceptible to appeals in support of this goal.

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Table 7.

South Viet Nam--Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Privatization

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Administrators	H	H
Educationalists	H	H
Elders	H	M
Intellectuals	H	H
Military	H	M
Political Elite	H	H
Village Folk	H	M
Medium:		
Chinese	M	M
Eurasians	L	H
French	M	M
Refugees	M	M
Roman Catholics	M	M
Urban Vietnamese	M	M
Women	L	H
Youth and Youth Organizations	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Cambodians	L	M
Cao-Dai	L	M
Hoa-Hao	L	M
Industrial and Plantation Workers	L	M
Tribal Groups	L	H

H = Relatively High

M = Medium

L = Relatively Low

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Panic and Disorganized Behavior

The aim of this goal is to promote disorganized or confused behavior by members of the special audiences. An extreme degree of such behavior may be considered a manifestation of panic.

Various sections of the Vietnamese population have different reactions to situations likely to produce panic. On the whole, however, it can be said that the exodus of nearly a million refugees from North to South was mainly a movement without panic. This also was true during the period of hostilities, 1946-1954. Still, during a military incident which took place in November 1946 in the city of Haiphong, thousands of Vietnamese fled the city needlessly, and nearly 6,000 of them were killed when the ensuing shelling caught them in the open. Uncounted hundreds more were trampled to death by the crowds.

The peasants are least likely to panic. The farmer has much to lose--his entire means of livelihood--if he leaves his rice fields, his house, his buffalo. It is unlikely that he will leave them unless the fear produced is very great. To be sure, he may run away when his village is under immediate danger of being annihilated, but he is perfectly willing to return to it as soon as the immediate danger is past. For instance, when the Communists took over their areas in North Viet Nam, the Buddhist peasants, or at least most of the non-Catholic peasants, did not move, but the Catholics migrated because to remain would have led to their

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Table 8.

South Viet Nam--Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Panic and Disorganized Behavior

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Administrators	H	M
Educationalists	H	M
Intellectuals	H	H
Military	H	H
Political Elite	H	H
Medium:		
Chinese	M	H
Elders	H	L
Eurasians	L	H
French	M	M
Refugees	H	M
Roman Catholics	M	M
Urban Vietnamese	M	M
Village Folk	H	L
Youth and Youth Organizations	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Cambodians	L	L
Cao-Dai	L	L
Hoa-Hao	L	M
Industrial and Plantation Workers	L	M
Tribal Groups	L	L
Women	L	M

H = Relatively High

M = Medium

L = Relatively Low

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annihilation. This distinction must be clearly understood in evaluating opportunities for accomplishing this particular goal with the peasants.

Conversely, it appears that those groups--like the intellectuals and the political elite--which have acquired the highest degree of Westernization are most likely to be able to evaluate the danger of a situation and are most likely to panic. The intellectuals, on the whole, are an insecure group. In the past fifteen years the majority have shifted from admiration of the French (mainly for French culture, rather than the French considered in a political sense), to admiration of Ho Chi Minh (as long as he represented "fighting" nationalism), to admiration of Ngo Dinh Diem (when he came to represent nationalism). Quite a few never made up their minds on particular issues and remained fence-sitters. Intellectuals fear reprisals if they throw in their lot with the losing side. Thus, they constitute a highly susceptible group (also an effective group) to psychological operations directed at inducing panic.

The political elite are at present made up of a small group of intellectuals, and a somewhat larger group of traditional administrators (mandarins). The political elite are also highly subject to panic, especially since they resorted to purge techniques upon their own rise to power. It is likely that whoever should succeed them in a period of tension and warfare will do likewise, and purge them. Their precarious situation tends to make them a very insecure

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group and, therefore, suitable subjects for appeals in support of this goal.

Subversion and Resistance

The aim of the goal is to encourage divisive and anti-social acts; and to promote and support resistance movements against authorities hostile to the interests of the United States.

Throughout its history, Viet Nam has shown a capability for effective subversive and resistance movements. It carried out several successful rebellions against Chinese occupiers. Subsequently, the leaders of these efforts, both male and female, became national heroes—lauded in the nation's history books and by today's political elite. Thus, traditional values in Vietnamese culture make such resistance morally acceptable to most groups.

The largest segment of the population, the peasants, can be counted upon to participate in sabotage and other types of subversion, provided the personal or collective (village) responsibility cannot be clearly established by the authorities. This is likely to hold true even if such resistance or sabotage is ordered by outsiders such as paratroops, commando groups, etc. However, the groups most likely to have better than average subversion and resistance potentialities are the political elite, the French, and the refugees. All three are susceptible to appeals in support of this behavioral goal, but for entirely different reasons.

The political elite can be counted on for subversion and

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Table 9.

South Viet Nam--Opportunity Analysis for Psychological Operations

Goal: Subversion and Resistance

Special Audience Potential	Effectiveness	Susceptibility
Relatively High:		
Administrators	H	M
Educationalists	H	M
Elders	H	M
French	M	H
Intellectuals	H	M
Military	H	M
Political Elite	H	M
Refugees	M	H
Medium:		
Roman Catholics	M	M
Urban Vietnamese	M	M
Village Folk	H	L
Youth and Youth Organizations	M	M
Relatively Low:		
Cambodians	L	L
Cao-Dai	L	H
Chinese	M	L
Eurasians	L	M
Hoa-Hao	L	M
Industrial and Plantation Workers	L	M
Tribal Groups		
Group 1	L	M
Group 2	L	L
Group 3	L	M
Women	L	L

H = Relatively High

M = Medium

L = Relatively Low

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resistance of a covert type; they are in a position to safely carry out administrative sabotage without getting into political trouble or exposing themselves to bodily harm. For example, they can slow down the transmission of orders, lose documents, promise to do certain things and not carry them out, waste scarce supplies, etc.

The French have a great amount of group cohesion and, in the case of most male adults, a past experience in actual resistance movements and networks. They consider resistance to a distasteful regime as a traditional value of French culture, as was shown in the French Resistance Movement in Continental France during World War II. Thus, if they can be convinced that resistance and subversion are justified in the particular circumstances, they can be counted upon to a large extent to carry out acts in support of these goals. However, it must be remembered that they are a fairly small group, easily distinguishable from the Vietnamese by their physical characteristics; therefore, their usefulness is limited.

The refugees from North Viet Nam already have shown their distaste for Communism and if confronted again with such a threat, would be likely to participate in activities in support of subversion and resistance, particularly in view of their past military experience in guerrilla warfare. Any appeal to the refugees couched in terms of anti-Communism is likely to be effective, even if the established government of the Republic of Viet Nam has chosen to ally itself with the Communists.

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While the effectiveness of appeals in support of this goal may be low in those areas not inhabited by ethnic Vietnamese, ethnic minorities might be counted upon to be active participants in guerrilla operations against the enemy in their own geographical areas.

Surrender, Defection, Desertion

The aim of this goal is to encourage the desertion, defection, or surrender of individuals and groups in the military forces opposing the United States (when U.S. forces are present in the country); and to promote the defection of the country's military forces from any government or authority hostile to the United States.

The Vietnamese National Army would respond quite favorably to appeals designed to promote desertion and surrender when U.S. forces are present in the country. Roman Catholics, who make up almost half the army, have a relatively high potential for such appeals. The political elite, and to a lesser extent the administrators, would also respond favorably to appeals to defect from a government hostile to the United States, once our forces entered the country.

These conclusions are predicated on two principal assumptions:

1. The army, political elite, and administrators are basically well-disposed toward the United States. Therefore, it is assumed that their opposition to the United States during the war would not be a convinced opposition but in many respects a forced

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opposition.

2. All of these groups, particularly the military and the political elite, have a great respect for the technical excellence of U.S. weapons and military tactics. In short, they either fear or respect American military power.

Tribal Groups 1 and 2, Europeans, the French, and women are considered as nonapplicable for this goal, since there is little likelihood that they would serve in the armed forces, or would have a position of power in the government or in the national administration. Also, since other civilian groups would only be affected (for this goal) as their members were incorporated into the armed forces of the country, no table of special audience potential is presented for this goal.

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SECTION IV

ANALYSES OF SELECTED SPECIAL AUDIENCE

In this section the selected special audiences are examined by a panel of area specialists in terms of those group characteristics having a bearing on the conduct of psychological operations. Group characteristics which are not directly related to the conduct of psychological operations, however interesting they may be, are not included. These analyses were prepared by a panel of area specialists working closely with the PROSYMS staff.

Each analysis begins by describing the characteristics of the group which determine its effectiveness. This part of the analysis consists largely of the supporting reasons for the judgment previously made when estimating psychological opportunities. (See Section III, OPPORTUNITIES FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS.) The second part of the analysis, which discusses the susceptibility of the special audience, is guided by those psychological operations goals and tasks with which the operator may be concerned. Those vulnerabilities of the group which can be used as a means of accomplishing the goals and tasks of psychological operations are examined.

In Section VII, the appeal ideas of evaluated persuasiveness for accomplishing a selected set of tasks of psychological operations with each of the special audiences here analyzed will be presented.

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Administrators

Effectiveness

Administrators are an important and effective group in psychological operations in Viet Nam because the positions they occupy throughout the country and their social status enables them to communicate their opinions and views to a large number of people.

Because of their civil service status and their training, they have a high degree of job security, greater than that enjoyed by other important groups such as the political elite or the intellectuals. In fact, it would be impossible for any non-Communist government in Viet Nam to function without them. The title of administrator in Viet Nam carries much prestige, not only for traditional reasons, but because of the better pay, housing and other perquisites of administrative positions.

As a group, they are cohesively organized and tend to protect one another.

Susceptibility

Since administrators represent the established order, they would be the losers in the event of a Communist China-Viet Minh victory--and they know it. Moreover, many of them are marked men, having drawn upon themselves the enmity of the Communists.

As a rule most administrators, desirous of protecting their job permanency within the governmental structure, avoid taking any chances, or taking sides in a particularly controversial issue. They tend to be noncommittal, in order to survive in their jobs. An increasing

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number of them, however, are American-trained, or have visited the United States, or in some way have benefited from American aid to Viet Nam; these particular administrators tend to be well-disposed toward the United States.

At present, an important minority among them is Catholic. This element of the administrator group originates geographically from parts of North and Central Viet Nam now occupied by the Communists; its members have more than average loyalty to the present government.

However, there is some susceptibility to divisiveness in the administrator group. Belonging to a Catholic or refugee minority does not present a special problem in normal times, but in times of tension it may result in discord between administrators and the subordinated population. Also, those administrators who took their training in the zone which is now Communist, and who joined the Nationalists later, often feel they are being discriminated against because their diplomas and the experience acquired in the Communist zone are not being credited in their personnel records.

Educationalists

Effectiveness

Educationalists enjoy a particularly high prestige in Vietnamese society. They are also important as an audience for psychological operations because they are a large group which is dispersed throughout the whole countryside, down to even the smallest villages.

Educationalists have a strong feeling of professional solidarity and superiority; they feel that they have a certain leadership role to

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play in their communities. This is especially true in the villages, where the teacher will often handle many of the written communications between private citizens, or be in charge of clerical work for the mayor or the council of notables.

Educationalists are also important as conveyors of news. In villages where literacy is still very low, the teacher is the man who reads the newspaper aloud in the public square or to smaller groups elsewhere. He not only reads it, but also explains and comments on the news as he sees fit. Thus, in addition to their influence on the youth in the schools, educationalists play an important role throughout the country as molders of opinion.

The educationalists are the most articulate group in Viet Nam. The top stratum of the group contains many persons normally classified as intellectuals.

Susceptibility

Through their acquaintance with Western ideas, the educationalists are susceptible to appeals couched in Western terms. An increasing number of Vietnamese educators have come into contact with American education through trips to the United States, or through training programs prepared by American educators for them in their own country or in neighboring Asian countries. However, opportunities for trips abroad are greater for educators at the high school level and above, than for educators dispersed in the villages.

As a group, they are curious about the world beyond their country's borders. Since their relationships with American and French

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educators have been cordial, for the most part, the group as a whole is well-disposed toward Westerners.

The educators tend to be less willing than most other groups to accept information uncritically or at face value. As a result of their past French training, with its emphasis on scepticism, they may ever distrust information which is genuine. The educator is an individualist; as such, he is aware that under Communism his individuality would be threatened and he would not enjoy his present intellectual freedom.

Intellectuals

Effectiveness

Intellectuals form a small group, but their effectiveness lies in the position they have achieved in Vietnamese society. Among them are many top-ranking administrators, educators, and professionals of considerable influence in the nation.

Intellectuals have also achieved a certain amount of political influence through their economic status. In addition to income from professional activities, intellectuals frequently have incomes derived from other sources. For example, they may have investments in commercial enterprises concerned with the import and export trade, or income from their landholdings, particularly of rice lands. However, many are supported by their families.

The intellectuals are more cosmopolitan than any other group of Vietnamese; many of them have spent extensive periods abroad—varying from three or four years to as much as ten or fifteen years. Thus,

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they are more susceptible than other groups to direct appeals couched in Western terms.

Although they profess to speak for the whole Vietnamese nation, and to represent Vietnamese national feeling, the intellectuals are often out of touch with what is going on in the rural areas. They are often better acquainted with Western cultures than with their own.

Some of the intellectuals because of their professional activities exercise an especially powerful influence—that of the doctor over his patients, or that of painters and writers over their friends, students, and the Vietnamese people as a whole. Painters and writers, because of their special activities in communication, wield important propaganda tools.

Susceptibility

The intellectuals as a group are insecure. Consequently, they are much more susceptible to divisive goals than to positive or cohesive goals.

The high degree of individualism of intellectuals makes them susceptible to such behavioral goals as panic and privatization. They tend to get overly concerned with their own private affairs when things become difficult and whenever their comparatively high standard of living becomes endangered.

Some members of this group are sympathetic to Communism. During the period 1950-59, the government arrested several Communist rings composed mainly of newspapermen, writers, and movie directors. On the other hand, there is a hard core of intellectuals who are refugees from

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North Viet Nam and who can be counted upon to remain staunchly anti-Communist.

Lastly, there is a fairly important group of intellectuals not sympathetic to Communism who are critical of the present government, either because of sour grapes, or because of the government's slowness in implementing further reforms. This group includes some American-trained intellectuals.

Military

Effectiveness

The military wield great power in Viet Nam because of their training, traditions, and numbers. The group consists of 200,000 soldiers (including 50,000 civil guards) armed with modern weapons. While selective military service does not yet fully exist in Viet Nam, it is being implemented.

On the whole, the Vietnamese National Army has a fairly young leadership. Traditionally, the army has not been considered a prized profession. In recent years, particularly since full independence was gained in 1954, strong efforts have been made to improve the prestige of the armed forces in the country. These efforts have at least in part been successful. The army's prestige began to rise after the successful campaigns against the religious sects, and as a result of later successes in re-establishing order and security throughout the countryside. However, the prestige of the army does not necessarily extend to semimilitarized units such as the civil guards, which do police duties, or to other similar quasi-military organizations.

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Susceptibility

The army's susceptibility to appeals in support of cohesive goals is considerable. Officers of the army have a keen awareness of the need for outside military aid. The past experience of these officers and of many noncommissioned officers with American training missions, or experience gained during tours of duty in the United States, has increased their respect for the American military organization.

Most of the senior commanders of Viet Nam's army have been hand-picked by President Ngo Dinh Diem for their present assignments. Nevertheless, they are shifted from their various posts often in order to forestall the creation of cliques.

The army is more anti-Communist as a group than most other groups in Viet Nam. Senior commanders in the Vietnamese National Army are marked men as far as the Communists are concerned; and therefore are not likely to be susceptible to Communist ideology or propaganda.

Among the noncommissioned officers and enlisted men, sixty to seventy thousand are refugees from Northern or Central Viet Nam. They constitute the hard core of reliable troops, loyal to the present government. Some smaller units in the present Vietnamese National Army are constituted of tribal refugees from North Viet Nam; they are considered highly reliable.

Some hostility may still exist in the military toward officers recruited from the paramilitary forces of the religious sects. And officers and noncommissioned officers who were trained by the French may feel their advancement is being held back compared with that of

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officers junior to them who were trained by Americans. The predominance of northerners in the Army, out of proportion to their numbers in the civilian population, may provide another cause for friction.

Political Elite

Effectiveness

The political elite is a group which, because of its control of the government and its command of all communications and security services, exercises an overwhelming influence over all the activities of the State. Positions and offices occupied by members of the political elite usually carry great prestige and power. Members of the present political elite, however, due to their comparative youth and the meagerness of their political experience, have not yet developed solid personal prestige apart from the prestige of the office they fill. In many cases, their power may merely be delegated by President Ngo Dinh Diem, who is the prime source of power within the political elite. For reasons of loyalty and reliability, key positions are held by relatives of the Presidential family. Other ties of personal loyalty to the President, such as joining his group even prior to his rise to power, count heavily in the selection of persons for high positions.

Susceptibility

This group is highly susceptible both to appeals in support of cohesive goals and those in support of divisive goals, principally because of its sensitivity to political change. More than any other

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group in Viet Nam, it is aware of the crucial role played by the United States in providing President Ngo and his followers with the moral and economic support necessary to consolidate and maintain his government in power. The political elite, like the top military and administrative leaders, feel they are marked men in the eyes of the Communists. The group also contains an unusually large proportion of Catholics in relation to the percentage of Catholics in the country. (The President himself and his immediate family are staunch Catholics: one of his brothers is a bishop.)

As a group which for more than a decade had been on the outside politically, and which has had to contend for power with rival groups (such as the sects), inside the country the present political elite has a great deal of experience in subversion and conspiratorial activities. Judging by the actions of the political elite in the past, this group probably has sent funds abroad to fall back upon in case of a forced exile. The group, therefore, may be highly susceptible to appeals in support of privatization, should a difficult situation imperil its position.

Refugees

Effectiveness

The refugees, especially those who have been resettled in cohesive community groups, tend to remain under effective control of their leaders--whether their leaders are Catholic priests, Chinese congregation chiefs, or mountaineer tribal leaders. The refugees are a very industrious people; this industriousness is appreciated by some

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Vietnamese groups and resented by others.

Much of what is said about the Roman Catholics under the heading of effectiveness also applies to the refugees, since the Roman Catholics constitute about sixth-sevenths of the total number of refugees. The importance of the refugee components within the Vietnamese armed forces was discussed in the analysis of military audiences in this Section.

The refugees, who have been resettled in special communities and villages, direct their loyalty toward the present central government rather than toward local issues or local leaders other than their own. The refugee group is, therefore, an important source for civil action groups and for recruiting officials for the central government. Their strong loyalty toward the present central authorities is particularly noticeable in the plateau resettlement areas, where attachments with the tribal population are not readily formed.

Susceptibility

Due to their isolation in a new area of the country, refugees are more vulnerable than any other Vietnamese group to economic crises. While they are being assisted by relief agencies and government authorities, their economic difficulties may not present a major problem, but any disturbance of such aid may lead to dissatisfaction that could develop into a major crisis.

Being refugees, they have made a clearcut choice, showing where their political allegiance lies. They have, therefore, a great deal to fear from the establishment of a Communist regime. Most refugees, because they have personally benefited from American relief and aid,

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are highly susceptible to appeals in support of good will and encouragement in favor of the United States. Most of the susceptibilities applicable to Roman Catholics are also applicable to refugees, and both groups can be counted upon to remain loyal, to a large extent, to the present regime. Having often fought in militia units in the defense of their own villages against the Communists while living in North Viet Nam, refugees are susceptible to appeals in support of subversion and resistance to a hated occupier, if such a situation should ever arise.

Roman Catholics

Effectiveness

Since the Catholics constitute a minority of about 10 percent of the total population, their effectiveness in influencing the rest of the country is limited. The Catholics, however, both those from the North and those who have always resided in South Viet Nam, are a very cohesive, well-organized group.

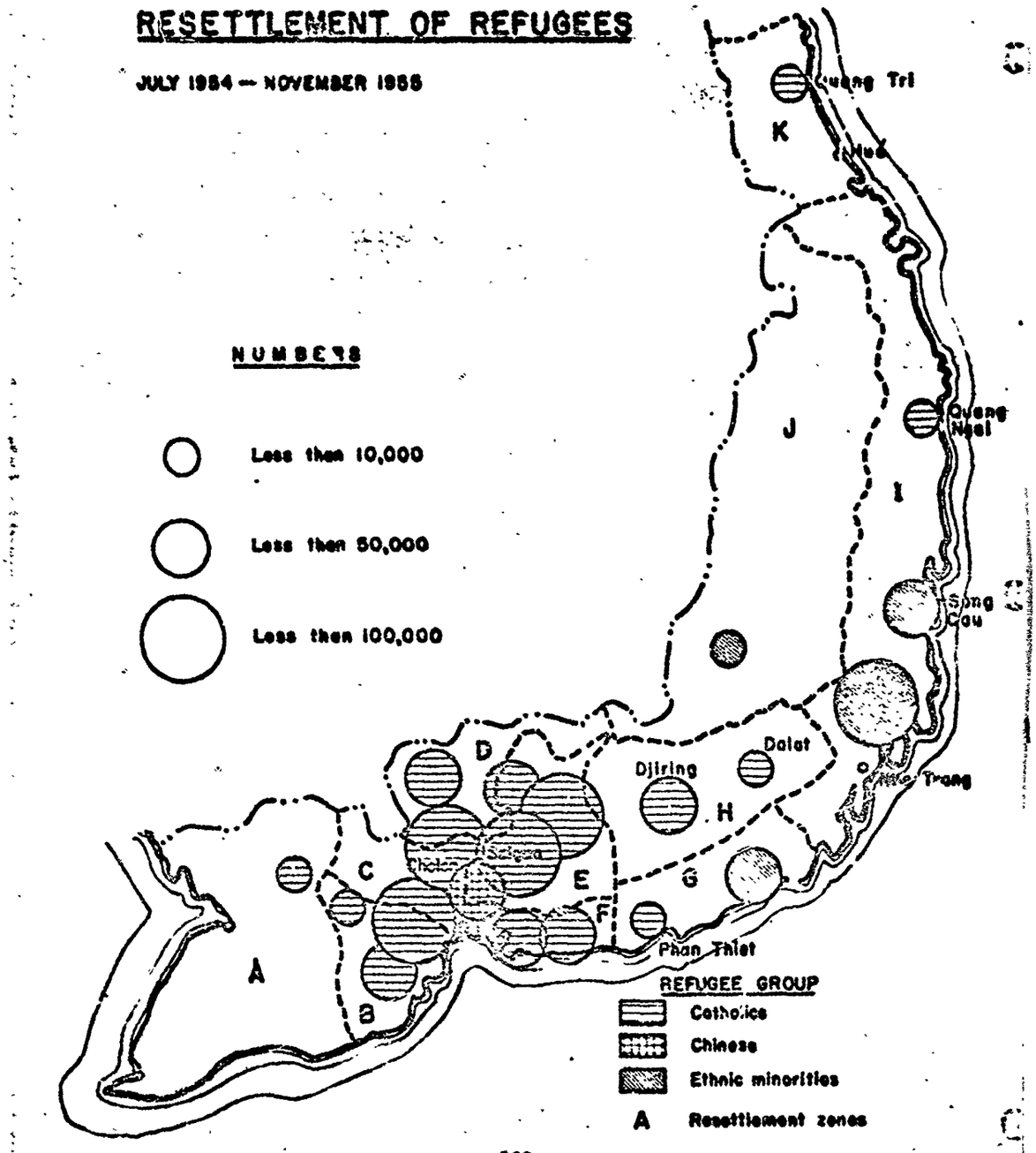
A number of the present political elite, as well as teachers and intellectuals, are drawn from this religious group. The present President of Viet Nam, and many among his immediate advisers and entourage are Catholics. As Catholics, the effectiveness of these men has been enhanced by their ability to marshal external Catholic support. Such support was particularly effective during the difficult times after partition and during the exodus of refugees.

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Susceptibility

Catholics as a group are particularly susceptible to appeals in support of cohesive goals, and to appeals based on Christian moral and ethical principles. They are, for obvious reasons, strongly anti-Communist. Having been the subject of continued large-scale aid by foreign Catholic societies, they tend to be well-disposed toward Western Catholics, and toward American Catholics especially. These feelings of good will have been extended, to a large degree, to all Americans.

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SECTION V

COMMUNICATIONS INFORMATION

In order to communicate effectively to an audience it is necessary to know what to say. Effective communication also requires knowledge of how to present the message to ensure that it will be understood and accepted. This section is concerned with the relative effectiveness of media, and the style and format of messages. Its purpose is to furnish the psychological operator with information on various media available to him, which will assist him in preparing messages directed to the population of South Viet Nam and, in cases of group variation, to members of particular special audiences.

The material is arranged under the topical headings of Media Information, Means of Address, Methods of Approach, Cultural Values in Communications, and General Comments about Special Audiences. Under each topic, information pertaining to the country as a whole is provided first, followed by any exceptions or additions that apply specifically to particular groups, which are listed in alphabetical order.

The information herein supplied has been contributed by numerous consultants chosen because of their area knowledge, their understanding of selected audiences, and, in some instances their own experiences with the mass media of the country. The data so

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collected has been collated by the SORO staff. The actual phraseology of the consultants has been retained as much as possible, in order to preserve the intended subtlety of meaning.

For some topics, points of caution important for the communicator to consider regarding certain actions, methods, or other particulars affecting the handling of communications have been set forth where relevant. Other points of caution will be found at the end of this Section, in the general comments about special audiences provided by the consultants. These admonitions should be used together with those in Section VIII, INJUNCTIONS, when preparing messages for psychological operations.

MEDIA INFORMATION

Relative Effectiveness of Media

The persuasiveness of an intercultural communication is dependent to a degree upon the medium employed, other things being constant. Table 10 below presents the average of nine ratings made, on a scale ranging from zero to five, by acknowledged experts on South Viet Nam concerning the relative effectiveness of seven media.

These ratings are presented as comparisons rather than absolutes. A higher or lower rating for a medium indicates its probable effectiveness compared with that of other rated media. The ratings are meant to be suggestive only, since final choice of a media by an operator would, of course, depend on considerations outside the scope of this research, and certain circumstances could change the comparative

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effectiveness. (For example, if U.S. radio broadcasts were being successfully jammed, then the population's dependence on newspapers and other printed matter, and hence the effectiveness of these media, would increase.)

Table 10. South Viet Nam--Ratings on Effectiveness of Media

Means of Communication	Average Rating
Newspapers	2.6
Posters	4.0
Handouts--leaflets flyers, folders	3.1
Pamphlets	2.9
Radio	3.7
Loudspeakers	3.3
Word of mouth	2.9

Visual Media Information

The quality of art work and paper used in printed materials may vary from one special audience to another. The nature of the message will exert a further influence upon the type of paper, and the art work used. For all the people of South Viet Nam, except the intellectuals and the military, a medium quality paper with simple art work would be most acceptable. For these people, the work should not have the flawless perfection that artists and printers display in American publications. A superior product would only tend to emphasize the lack of quality in Vietnamese productions.

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However, the Vietnamese military personnel have been exposed to American publications through their contact with the U.S. Army; American magazines are eagerly sought by them. Consequently, a high quality of art work and paper can be employed in preparing messages for this group. Vietnamese intellectuals would prefer a medium to high quality paper and production. They would tend to associate cheaper types of production with lower income groups or with routine publications of the government.

Newspapers

The urban Vietnamese are avid readers, and the newspaper is, therefore, an influential mass medium in the heavily populated areas of Viet Nam. Newspaper readers are interested in local as well as international political news, economic and military news, human interest stories, and stories of inventions, scientific progress, and social progress. In the villages and throughout the countryside, the newspaper is of lesser value, since only a limited number of the rural population are able to read.

The Vietnamese are accustomed to tabloid-size newspapers as well as the regular eight-column size. (Their papers, however, have fewer pages--only from four to eight as a rule.) The style of writing is usually more formal--less dramatic--than American papers. Headlines are slightly smaller than U.S. headlines. The front page contains serious news, sometimes a picture. Human interest stories, sometimes with a political point, predominate on the inside pages. There is less advertising than is found in American papers.

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The most widely read newspaper is Tu Do (Independence). Ngon Luan also has a wide circulation; a third newspaper is Saigon Moi.

The Vietnamese are also familiar with news "bulletins" which are produced on standard typewriter-size paper; they are frequently as long as twenty or thirty pages.

Administrators, Educationalists, Political Elite, Intellectuals. Newspapers are especially effective with members of these groups, as they are avid readers. Although thinking people in Viet Nam do not believe everything they read in the newspapers, the papers nevertheless do exert great influence.

Posters

Posters are a particularly good medium for use in the villages. The customary sizes of posters in Viet Nam vary from approximately 16x24 to 30x40 inches.

Handouts--Leaflets, Flyers, Folders

The customary size for this moderately effective medium is 4x6 to 5x7 inches.

Pamphlets

For those special audiences whose members are well educated, pamphlets may be as long as thirty pages, although the recommended maximum length is ten pages. For those groups whose members are less educated, pamphlets should be short, concise, and graphic.

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Pictures

Pictures are very effective in communicating with the Vietnamese of all classes and ages. A series of pictures in black and white are often used by the Vietnamese themselves, and would be preferable, whenever appropriate, to a single picture. Colored photographs would be unusual and would arouse curiosity; therefore, they would be effective. Color sketches, especially in red and yellow, are used generously; although not as desirable as photographs, they would be effective.

Cartoons

In recent years, cartoons have been used with considerable success in teaching hygiene, the care and feeding of livestock, the improvement of breeding stock, how to care for mechanical equipment, etc. Cartoons are also used to caricature personalities in the political sphere. In general, however, cartoons are not as effective in Viet Nam as in neighboring countries (Burma, Thailand, China). Vietnamese cartoons differ from American ones in that there is a notable lack of squeamishness in portraying cruelty or morbid subjects. Generally, the Vietnamese cartoons are more serious, and those intended to be humorous seem, by Western standards, to be rather naive and corny. Balloons are used for the remarks of the characters, and captions are placed at the bottom of the illustrations.

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Maps

The Vietnamese are becoming increasingly familiar with maps, especially those of their own country. However, they are not familiar with maps illustrating local areas and local terrain. Village people, of course, are much less familiar with maps, but in general the leading citizens of the village know their geographical position on their country's map. Educationalists, intellectuals, members of the political elite, and administrators in the higher positions are very familiar with maps, including those of areas outside their country.

Military. Officers not only are familiar with the map of their country and with maps of local areas, but also are trained in map reading. Enlisted personnel are familiar with maps to a lesser degree and are generally not trained in map reading.

Points of Caution in Use of Illustrations

A symbol is always sought for by the Vietnamese in the most realistic of graphic or photographic presentations. The symbol provides the Vietnamese with the true meaning and the deepest significance of an illustration. Great care must be exercised by Americans seeking to employ visual imagery to avoid unwitting use of symbolic imagery which might contradict the intended meaning.

Pictures of men and women in some kind of shared action or activity should be used with caution, and only after determining the man-woman relationship customary for the particular audience which is being addressed. The male-female societal, domestic, and political

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roles of the Vietnamese differ considerably from those of the West. In all graphic presentations, care should be taken to avoid the pitfall of unintentionally violating Vietnamese values and thus destroying the meaning of the picture as intended.

In using photographs of people, pictures of scantily clad females should be avoided; female figures in Vietnamese art are usually completely clothed. Also, it is well to avoid any presentation which might give the impression that we think United States religions are superior to Vietnamese religions.

Portrayal of death, deformity, and physical suffering is less shocking to the Vietnamese than to Americans. Such portrayals are often used for political purposes. However, their use by an American communicator may give the wrong impression; it may be considered out of character and arouse suspicion about the purpose of the message.

Use of Color

Red and yellow are the favorite colors of the Vietnamese, although blue is quite acceptable. Green should be used in moderation on posters and other printed materials; it is sometimes considered an unlucky color. Other colors also have special connotations, i.e., black usually refers to evil, red expresses joy and happiness, yellow and gold are the royal colors expressing dignity and faithfulness. White is the color of mourning according to ancient Vietnamese custom.

In depicting Vietnamese dress, white or pastel shades should be used for the tunics of women; men's trousers should always be black. The men wear black work clothes, and black tunics are worn by

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middle-aged men. Refugees wear brown tunics with black trousers. In using colored illustrations, no color changes for seasons are necessary, although yellow straw raincoats of field workers may be used to depict the rainy season.

Audio Media Information

Radio

For South Viet Nam as a whole, radio is just moderately effective as a medium for reaching a mass audience, as only one fourth of the people living in the cities and larger towns have radios. Recently, however, provisions have been made to provide one battery radio for each of the larger villages.

Radio programs consist of news, music, educational programs, and indigenous dramatic skits. Some political commentary is offered, although it is seldom if ever included in entertainment programs. News and political commentaries should be clear and concise.

Music

To the Western ear, Vietnamese music seems harsh, discordant, and monotonous, and the singing unpleasant. It is of the Chinese style, played on a five-tone scale, rather than on an eight-tone scale as in Western music. In recent years, American and European music has been increasing in popularity. This has been brought about probably because of the increasing use of Western movies with accompanying Western music. (The urban population, particularly in

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the Saigon-Cholon area, are frequent moviegoers.) Among these more Westernized Vietnamese, there is a preference for American popular music of simple melodic and harmonic structure--music of the American West, and the Stephen Foster type of American folk music. American jazz is enjoying some popularity in the larger cities.

However, for the less Westernized Vietnamese, there is a preference for Vietnamese music. Their harvest songs and love songs are a happy kind of music, but they utilize a type of doleful chant during times of fear and disaster. Folk music is used for their festivals, and the Vietnamese national anthem and other martial music is played on patriotic occasions. Collections of Vietnamese music may be obtained from the Le-Lo'i, 1 ter, Rue de la Huchette, Paris-Ve, France; the Michigan State University; the Vietnamese Embassy; and the Voice of America, USIA.

Administrators. American and European classical music is popular with this group, as well as Vietnamese folk music, and Vietnamese versions of American and European music. For some who enjoy the theater, there is a liking for the operatic arias which accompany Vietnamese drama.

Intellectuals. Members of this group enjoy folk songs such as those sung by Burl Ives, musical comedy melodies, Negro spirituals, pop tunes, the semi-classical music of Strauss, as well as some of the compositions of Mozart, Beethoven, Chopin, and other classical composers.

Military--Officers and Enlisted Men. Enlisted men prefer traditional Vietnamese folk music; many of the officers have a preference for American popular music, as well as classical and semi-classical music.

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Refugees. Since the refugees are from the North, they like northern folk music, such as "Cheo Cho" or "Hat Cheo," and "Hat trong Quan." (In this folk music, a group of boys and girls sit facing each other and in turn make up extemporaneous love lyrics based on history, geography, or literature. They challenge one another with rhythm from a drum or a stretched wire beaten by a stick; the answer must be in the same rhythm--Hó Huê. Hó means to call or tell what is in your heart; Huê is the name of the old capital of Viet Nam.) Refugees living in the villages also like movie theme songs and modern Vietnamese music. Music written or performed by Communist groups should be avoided.

Roman Catholics. This group is exposed to, and apparently likes, religious music and church hymns similar in style to Western church music. They also like Vietnamese folk music. The younger generation of this group enjoys American popular music and jazz. Since hostility exists between the Communist-led Viet-Minh and the Roman Catholics who fled from the North, it would be well to avoid any music suspected of originating in the Viet-Minh area while under Communist control.

FORMS OF ADDRESS

The great importance to the Vietnamese of status in human relations is reflected in the elaboration of kinship and the status terms used. Age, education, personal achievement, and official rank command respect, and this respect must always be displayed in conduct and speech.

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Manner of Address

Manner of address involves two parties, the communicator and the addressee; hence, it is a relative thing. Its objective is to establish a relationship between the two parties which is in accord with custom and tradition, and is suited to the particular situation. The American must, therefore, not fall into the trap of believing that the answer can be found purely, simply, and entirely in a knowledge of Vietnamese tradition. He must not overlook who he is, what he is doing, and how he seeks to accomplish his objectives. He should try, as far as possible, to bring his attitude in address into accord with the particular situation, without transgressing accepted Vietnamese manners of address.

It has been observed that Americans, when they are correct and affable without being too familiar, become popular and are accepted by the Vietnamese, who are genuinely friendly and willing to overlook a certain amount of "gaucherie."

The communicator should show genuine frankness, sincerity, and honesty; he should also show friendliness, cordiality, and confidence, but not empty pretense. There should be a clear and sympathetic comprehension of Vietnamese problems, viewpoints, and aspirations. Such an attitude will establish cordial friendly relationships and inspire confidence, which is essential to success in communicating with the Vietnamese.

The preferred manner of address in various common situations and for various special audiences is discussed below. Some common mistakes to avoid are also pointed out.

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Equality versus Self-Effacement

True humility is a virtue admired by the Vietnamese, but humility should never be allowed to degenerate into obsequiousness. It cannot be emphasized too strongly, however, that respect and the corresponding formal manner of address are exceedingly important in face-to-face contact between two persons well-schooled in Vietnamese language and culture. The equality of speaker and hearer is very rarely assumed; superior terms of address are usually employed for social equals. The use of a pronoun indicating status with the given name is the nearest equivalent to "Mr. Jones," "Miss Brown," etc., and is appropriate for persons of all social categories, when proper names are used. Vietnamese are very sensitive to the rank of others, and are concerned about giving each his proper recognition. It is better to err by giving too high status than vice versa.

When the operator is not familiar with Vietnamese customs or language, and the proper manner of address therefore is not known, the attitude of address becomes all important. An even-tempered and relaxed approach combined with a "matter of fact" attitude is then recommended. This is an especially important rule for Americans to observe in any joint undertaking of Vietnamese and Americans. The natural reserve of the Vietnamese makes it difficult for him to work well or assume responsibilities if he feels that the American is seeking to control or dominate the situation. It is important instead that he feel that both are working and pulling together. Therefore, disinterestedness (in the sense of not seeking personal advantage)

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plus friendliness is often the best combination for a communicator to use to get a Vietnamese to cooperate willingly and fully and to assume his proper work responsibilities.

Administrators. In personal contacts with this group, it is best for an American to adopt a modest and formal approach. When dealing with officials of superior rank, a respectful approach is proper. Only if the communicator is of the same age and official rank, and has developed a friendship outside his business relationship with the individual being addressed, should the informal equal status approach be used.

Educationalists, Intellectuals, Political Elite, Roman Catholics. In personal contacts with these groups, a formal respectful approach would be effective. The factors affecting equality of approach for these groups are the same as for administrators.

Refugees. The Tonkinese among the refugees are an energetic, competitive, aggressive group who stand less upon traditional forms of address than other South Vietnamese, judging relationships less by the manner of address than by objectives and results obtained. Therefore, more "equality" in the approach to this group would be acceptable.

Authoritarian Manner and Direct Commands

The authoritarian or commanding manner of address should not be used with the South Vietnamese. Face is very important to them. This holds true with the Vietnamese military as well, particularly the officer corps. Their concern about the manner in which they are addressed often overrides their desire to accomplish results, regardless of benefit to themselves or their units.

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Terms of Address

Built into the Vietnamese language is a system of personal pronouns and personal "classifiers" which reflect status relationships. For example, there are special ways of saying "you" to people who outrank the speaker or whom the speaker outranks in age, education, or occupation. A use of the wrong form by a person knowledgeable in the language will give offense. Many subtleties and nuances in status and attitude are reflected in the choice of such terms.

Proper names are rarely used by Vietnamese in speech; to do so, they say, might call the attention of evil spirits to the person named. As a result, kinship terms are commonly used, even with strangers. Thus, anh (elder brother) is used in addressing an older man. Ba (grandmother) is used in addressing or referring to an older woman (who in speaking to her grandchild will refer to herself as ba). A young man following a respected trade like that of barber will be addressed or referred to as bac (literally "uncle," i.e., father's older brother). But the less esteemed Chinese and Indian residents generally are accorded slightly lower status and are called chu (father's younger brother).

In Vietnamese usage, there are special honorific titles, as well as terms used to distinguish the addressee from someone else present with the same given name. There are also rather uncommon combinations of status pronoun and first name. In addition, there are several classes of modifiers, which, when used with status pronouns, specify

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the relationship between the speaker and hearer more exactly, or give a special significance to the address.

When addressing professionals, use the professional title such as Doctor--Thua Bac Si, Teacher--Giao-su, Leader--Truong, Mayor--Duc-ly; but even these terms should be appended to the generic terms ong, ba, etc. In addressing a general group, a more friendly form that is quite acceptable is Hoi cac ban.

When addressing members of the military forces, address them by rank and name.

It should be remembered that undue familiarity is resented, either when the communicator is alone with a Vietnamese or in groups. Unless the American is a trained linguist, he should, because of the complexity of the language, avoid trying to use detailed titles.

METHODS OF APPROACH

Comparative Persuasiveness of Methods of Approach

Various ways of approaching an audience to communicate a message in psychological operations may be employed. Other things being equal, the persuasiveness of an approach depends upon the cultural traits of the group being addressed. Experts of South Viet Nam, having a wide knowledge of its people and their customs, were asked to rate the comparative persuasiveness of eight commonly used methods of approach. They were presented with a scale where a rating of 5 is for relatively high persuasiveness, 3 for medium persuasiveness, and 1 for relatively low persuasiveness. The

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average of ratings made on this scale by seven experts for South Viet Nam as a whole are given below for the eight approaches.

Table 11. South Viet Nam--Ratings of Various Approaches

Method of Approach	Average Rating
Emotional appeals	3.7
Personal appeals	3.0
Explanation by analogy	3.4
Figures of speech (metaphor, simile)	2.8
Proverbs	3.3
Humor	3.0
Satire	2.3
Candor	3.7

Suggestions on Preferred Approaches

The concept of positive nationalism as we know it in the West is not readily available as a theme for exploitation in South Viet Nam. Rather than attempting to marshal broad public opinion and mass action in support of a national interest, it would be better to design emotional appeals aimed at arousing personal feelings of hate and fear, by utilizing images which present the greatest threat to the immediate self-interest of the members of the special audiences. In a situation of stress, the felt needs of each special audience could be readily transformed into its felt fears. It is to these fears that the appeal must be made and from which the greatest action in the desired direction may be expected.

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The appeal of proverbs is inversely related to the level of intellectual development of the Vietnamese, so that their use should be directed toward those Vietnamese with little education. The less-educated Vietnamese can also be aroused most effectively through an emotional appeal.

The Vietnamese want practical, factual information before they accept a new or different concept. Therefore, they would usually respond more readily to examples and specifics than to generalities. However, many intellectuals, educators, and political figures were trained in the French educational system and hence are accustomed to the deductive system of reasoning which proceeds from the general to the particular; thus they are far from hostile to generalities and principles.

CULTURAL VALUES IN COMMUNICATIONS

Verbal Stereotypes

Verbal Stereotypes for Special Audiences

Administrators. When others wish to discredit members of this special audience, Ong Lon meaning "Mr. Pig" is sometimes used.

Roman Catholics. The phrase Bay chien (meaning "the sheep") is sometimes used by this group for themselves.

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Gestures

For South Viet Nam as a whole there are a number of universally recognized gestures which can be readily represented pictorially or described verbally. The following are many of the more frequently used gestures.

Meaning	Gestures
Respectful greeting	Palms of hands together at about chest level, accompanied by a bow.
Friendly greeting	For men--shaking hands; for women--bowing of the head.
Respect	Folding the arms on the chest.
Scorn	Spitting.
Pride	Chest out, arms folded, head back, eyes looking up.
Joy	Striking the hands together.
Anger	Standing with legs spread and hands on hips.
Agreement with an inferior	Nodding the head up and down slowly, many times.
Menace	Clenching fist with second finger pointing.
Devotion	Kneeling position with forehead to ground, arms slightly outstretched.
Approval (or very good)	Shaking head slightly once.
Friendship or encouragement	Clasping hands in front of lower chest.

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Meaning	Gestures
Submission	Kneeling, hands together, heads bowed; or standing behind, head lowered slightly in bow.
Polite laugh	Any laugh broader than a smile is covered by a hand in front of face (especially a gesture used by women).
Impolite gestures . . . . . and stances--(to be avoided)	Putting hands in pockets while talking with an individual or group; hooking one's thumbs in one's belt; standing with feet far apart.

Veneration of the Past

Ancestor worship is common in Viet Nam, a custom which should not be criticised. Most Vietnamese appreciate the inadequacy of traditional ways, and will respond to modern techniques provided that they can be demonstrated as practical and effective. However, the Vietnamese are usually slow to accept change.

Military--Officers and Enlisted Men. Officers of the Vietnamese Army are well informed in their national history and take pride in the military accomplishments of the days before the French took over. For this group, where modern ways compare favorably with old customs, a comparison might be advantageously utilized by the communicator.

For the enlisted man, the attitudes toward veneration of the past as expressed above would prevail. Ridicule of traditional customs would generate a resentment that would be most difficult to overcome.

Political Elite. This group is proud of Vietnamese traditions and old customs; it is well to avoid any criticism which might wound their

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national [illegible]. However, this audience is eager to make known their progress [illegible] producing modern methods in government.

Refugees. [illegible] Buddhists among the refugees are more inclined to venerate the [illegible] them some other peoples. Members of this group who are Roman Catholics would have the same attitude as that audience.

Roman Catholics. This group venerates the past, but perhaps less than non-Catholic groups. Since the Catholics represent a break with the historic past of Vietnamese ancestral tradition, they might be more readily susceptible to change.

Pictorial Stereotypes

Members of one Vietnamese group rarely make caricatures of, or use stereotypes for, members of another group. Thus, there are few pictorial or verbal stereotypes in Viet Nam which can be applied to groups. However, caricature is often applied to political personalities. For example, the caricatures of Ho Chi Minh, the Communist Chief of North Viet Nam, are quite malicious and express the people's antipathy toward him and his cause.

There are two pictorial stereotypes for two types of persons which are known to all Vietnamese. These are:

1. Ong Xa, who represents someone who is slow and silly. He is pictured as a short, fat man with a big belly, and sprouting a few hairs on his round head. He wears a long black tunic with white trousers. (Ong Xa means chief of a small village; Xa means the flesh is pulled down by fat.)

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2. Ly Toet, who represents a stupid person who does not know anything. He is pictured as a thin, tall man, always wearing a long black tunic with white trousers; however, the trousers are so dirty they look brown. He carries a black umbrella on his shoulder and on top of the umbrella hangs a pair of wooden shoes.

Pictorial Stereotypes for Special Audiences

Administrators. When others wish to discredit this special audience, the picture of a fat person in European white suit, or in traditional robes with parasol, is used.

Roman Catholics. As a representation of this group, a picture of a priest in clerical garb with a cross in his hand would be satisfactory and understandable.

Magic, Superstition, Myth, and Religion

Demonstrations of magic, and pseudo-scientific explanations of magic, might be effective under certain circumstances for use with Vietnamese of little or no education. Otherwise, magic should be used only for entertainment purposes.

Generally, the dangers of attempting to employ superstition are greater than any advantage to be gained. Consequently, the use of superstition is not recommended, except for particular situations where the potential gain makes its use worth the chance.

Mythical stories such as "Truyen Ky Man Luc," "Nam Hai Di Nhan," and "Liau Trai Chi Di" (the last one translated from Chinese) might be used in support or reinforcement of traditional behavior patterns of the Vietnamese.

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Reference to and use of the traditional beliefs of Roman Catholicism might be useful in promoting an affinity between the United States and those special audiences who are mainly Catholic, such as refugees and some subgroups among the administrators.

Vietnamese Attitudes Toward the U.S.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

Those Vietnamese who have had contact with Americans, or who have visited the United States, have expressed interest in--U.S. movies, housing, communications media, automobiles, U.S. business management, the productivity of the nation, the colorful dress of the people, and, generally, the American way of life. In addition, they have admired U.S. technical knowledge and progress, freedom of the press and of speech, the rights of U.S. citizenry, and the friendly manner of Americans. Also, they have expressed interest in, and appreciation for, the philanthropy of the American people.

They are critical of our lack of knowledge of the people and the culture of Viet Nam, our failure to aid them in building Vietnamese industry, our long support of French colonial interests, the lack of respect of our young people for their elders, our high divorce rate, and the lack of discipline within our schools as well as in the home.

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Intellectuals

Members of this group have expressed interest in American resourcefulness, the U.S. school system, and medical advancements and scientific achievements. They are most interested in the U.S. concept of foreign aid as it affects their country. However, they are critical of U.S. handling of the Negro racial problem.

GENERAL COMMENTS ABOUT SPECIAL AUDIENCES

South Viet Nam as a Whole

The Vietnamese people are accustomed to a simple life, without many of the comforts and facilities which Americans enjoy. The Vietnamese do not put a high value on material things. Consequently, alluding to our modern conveniences may add only bitterness rather than exciting interest. To be effective in their personal contacts with the Vietnamese, Americans should cultivate their friendship and try to understand them. Dining with them, visiting in their homes (at their invitation), sharing their problems, will make them fast friends, and they will overlook the mistakes and faux pas that Americans may make. An intelligent, sympathetic curiosity about their customs, beliefs, and folklore is always appreciated and evokes a fluent account of these things. It is a good opening for communicating freely.

Administrators

This group is anxious to improve their administrative methods; if they are helped tactfully they react quickly and take the suggestions.

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However, they are hypersensitive to criticism; they should not be criticised before an inferior, or in public. Failure to adhere to this warning has thwarted several joint projects, and in fact, has caused some Vietnamese officials to refuse not only the proffered aid of the American Government, but even contact with Americans. Vietnamese are a proud people and would rather do without help than leave themselves open to Communist ridicule, i.e., that they could not do a specific project themselves but had to get the Americans to aid them.

Intellectuals

This group is a comparatively small one, and President Ngo, in his cabinet changes and other official-level changes, draws from it. There is much nepotism and interrelationship among this group; consequently, in personal contacts with members of this group the discussion of personalities and attitudes of criticism should be avoided.

The Vietnamese intellectuals have seemingly ambivalent feelings toward the French. While they do indeed resent the French as former colonial masters, they like and admire certain aspects of French culture and commercial organization, and have much respect for many individual Frenchmen. Remember that among the elite there are many French-trained intellectuals and administrators. Although they are indeed nationalistic, they are by no means as hostile to France as has been thought in many quarters. Many of them still express open admiration for French culture and French ways of doing things, especially in commercial life. These ways they consider more cut to the

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Vietnamese cloth th[illegible]at often appears to them as the radically new ways of the Americans.

Military -- Officers

Officers are intensely nationalistic. They often think of their nation as being at the beginning of an industrial revolution. Anything that would tend to reflect adversely on their accomplishments and national pride would be detrimental to communication efforts.

Political Elite

This group likes personal contact with Americans to be conducted in an unofficial, friendly atmosphere, as they look upon official contacts as being too formal to produce any real feeling of warmth and understanding. It is important to convey a feeling of personal interest, respect, and friendship in dealing with this group.

Roman Catholics

This group possesses antagonism to Communism in incredible intensity. They say little about it unless something awakens a response that is chilling in its quiet, almost unemotional quality, but unyielding in hatred. They definitely give no quarter nor show the slightest mercy. At present America is for them the champion of what they hold dear, and they hate Communism much more intensely than Americans do. No U.S. program arouses such complete cooperation as our foreign policy with regard to Communism.

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The backbone of Viet Nam's anti-Communist policy is the Catholic part of the population, especially the refugees. U.S. psychological operaters can build a powerful program of appeals on that basis when communicating with Vietnamese Catholics.

REFERENCES TO FACTORS RELATING TO COMMUNICATIONS

Beginning on the next page are page references to the Special Warfare Area Handbook for Viet Nam. They are provided to facilitate access to information which will assist the psychological operater in designing communications directed toward special audiences in South Viet Nam. The referenced information supplements that provided in this section of the report. Some of the page references duplicate those which are presented at the end of the special audience descriptions in Section II.

The references are arranged under two main headings: CULTURAL AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION and MASS MEDIA AND INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION. Subheadings have been provided as further guidance for the user.

The principal page references under each subheading are underlined. Page references followed by "(N)" refer to information pertaining principally to North Viet Nam. Any reference marked "(N & S)" contains material which cannot conveniently be divided into separate entries for either North or South Viet Nam.

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I. CULTURAL AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Economics: 601-718; technological development, 615-616, 637-640(N), 641-648, 652-653(N), 720; telecommunications, 542; transportation, 347, 684-687, 711(N), 733-734.

Geography: 37-43; climatological and seasonal factors, 39-42, 787, 797; natural features, 43, 789-790.

Language: 53, 62, 69, 73, 79-82.

Educational System: 87, 92, 170, 185-203, 203-205(N), 206-207, 272, 299, 327-329, 331(N), 351-353, 400(N), 423, 433(N); literacy, 84-85, 247.

Family Structure: 8, 11, 105, 112(N), 115-138, 160-161; in the minorities, 66, 69-70, 72; influence on molding opinion, 95, 102(N), 364.

Population Characteristics: 2, 37, 44-48, 65, 230, 356-357, 793; ethnic divisions, 10, 211-212, 232, 235, 471-472, 476; linguistic divisions, 80; occupations, 266-270, 275, 277, 291, 297, 308(N); religious affiliations, 10, 211-212, 232, 235, 239-241(N), 471-472, 476; social differences, 51-52, 101.

Recreation and Entertainment: Holidays, festivals, ceremonies, 117, 121(N), 131, 147, 154-156, 209, 223, 544(N); music, drama, dance, 168-171, 181(N), 602; sports and gambling, 151-152, 201.

II. MASS MEDIA AND INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION

Mass Media: 178-183, 246-266, 347-348, 535-555, 822-824; films, 262; leaflets and pamphlets, 261, 544(N); magazines and journals, 65, 253-254; press, 201, 217-252, 255-257(N), 306, 400(N), 540-542; radio, 258-261, 449-450(N), 547-549(N), 666(N).

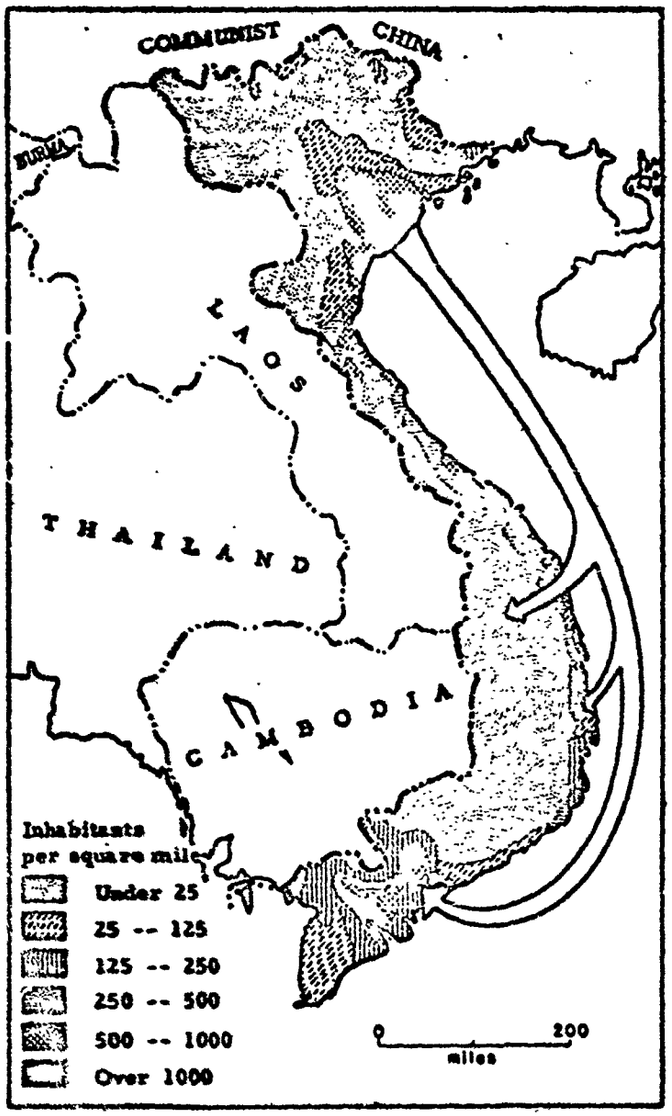
Opinion Leaders: 111, 125-126, 144, 202-203, 252, 424, 436(N), 557-592; Communist Party cadres, 434(N), 446-450(N), 547(N); labor leaders, 297, 305-306, 308(N); military leaders, 769(N), 843, 860-881(N & S); national and government leaders, 1, 4-5(N), 10-11, 25-27(N), 35, 381-382, 456(N), 457-458, 477-478; political party leaders, 460-471, 482-484(N), 488-489(N), 532(N); propagandists, 539, 821-822; religious leaders, astrologers and healers, 62, 211, 224-226, 228-229, 264, 315-316, 355-356; tribal leaders, 66-67, 71-72, 73(N), 75-76(N).

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Organized Groups: 107-111, 111-112(N), 235, 239, 241(N), 399(N), 436(N), 502(N), 532-534, 737(N); Communist Party, 433-434(N), 485-486(N), 491-494(N), 504(N), 543(N), 549-550(N), 767(N), 823(N); cooperatives and agricultural credit organizations, 602, 626-628, 628-629(N), 672-675, 630(N); labor and trade unions, 288-289(N), 295-307, 307-309(N); political parties and pressure groups, 259-260, 454-456, 460-461, 464-479, 481-494(N), 504(N), 532-534, 765-766, 767-768(N); professional and occupational groups, 121(N), 220, 687-688, 690-691, 699(N); rebel and opposition groups, 34, 533-534(N), 847-848; youth groups, 110-111, 137(N), 201, 205(N), 352, 849(N).

Personal Contact: Focal points of personal contact, 65, 102, 109, 257(N), 275, 695; persons as sources of information, 245, 263, 315, 539, 696.

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POPULATION DENSITY OF VIET-NAM
(Arrow shows shift of refugees, 1954-55)

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SECTION VI

TASKS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

In this research, the work was focused upon the development of appeal ideas. By definition, an appeal idea is a line of persuasion designed to accomplish a task of psychological operations. An appeal idea, in other words, is a tool or means for achieving a specific task. Appeal idea and task are tied together in a means-end relationship. To guide consultants in developing appeal ideas, it was, therefore, necessary to construct a working list of tasks.

Such a list was prepared by reference to past psychological campaigns and on the basis of anticipated future needs. The tasks which appear on this list are relevant to the major military objectives served by psychological operations. These are:

1. To reduce the combat efficiency of the enemy military forces.

2. To further the war effort by modifying or manipulating attitudes and behaviors of special audiences.

3. To facilitate reorganization and control of occupied or liberated areas in conjunction with civil affairs and military government operations.

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4. To obtain the cooperation of allies and neutrals in the war effort.

These objectives are consistent with the [illegible] projected military situations set forth in the research assumptions (see Section I, PLAN OF THE REPORT) and the tasks have been categorized below under the headings of these situations. The tasks have also been ordered within the broader goals of psychological operations (see Section I and Section III, OPPORTUNITIES FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS).

All tasks used in this study follow. Though arranged in categories, the tasks are numbered consecutively as an aid to the use of the Appeal Ideas Section (Section VII, APPEAL IDEAS) which appears next in the report.

GENERAL LIST OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS TASKS

Part A: Tasks for Military Groups in the Armed Forces Opposing the United States

Goal--Good Will Toward the United States

1. To convince enemy soldiers that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable (e.g., build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between the peoples of their country and the United States).

Goal--Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

2. To get the enemy soldiers to become confused and openly doubtful concerning the ideology and war aims of their government and the governments of their country's allies (e.g., by pointing out weak points, fallacies, and immoralities).

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3. To make enemy soldiers lose faith in the ultimate victory of their side and expect the United States to be victorious.

4. To make enemy soldiers loose confidence in their own military forces (top military leaders, superiors, training, weapons and ammunition, security system, etc.).

5. To arouse and intensify among enemy soldiers a disrespect for or lack of confidence in the top national civilian leaders of their country.

6. To make enemy soldiers desire peace (i.e., make them feel the end of the war is desirable).

7. To intensify the enemy soldiers' apprehension about conditions at home.

8. To arouse and intensify nostalgia (severe melancholia, homesickness, morbid sentimentality) among enemy soldiers.

9. To promote apathy (lethargy, indifference, etc.) among enemy soldiers.

Goal--Discord

10. To get enemy enlisted men to become increasingly resentful of officers.

11. To get enemy officers to distrust their enlisted men.

12. To get enemy officers of the same grade to quarrel and fight among themselves.

13. To get one faction of enemy officers to quarrel and fight with another faction.

14. To get enemy military personnel to become distrustful of and to quarrel with political officers, and vice versa.

15. To get major elements (branches and services) of the enemy military forces to quarrel and fight with other major elements (e.g., arouse resentment among ground troops about lack of adequate naval and air support).

16. To intensify conflicts among ethnic or minority groups in the enemy military forces.

17. To arouse and intensify among enemy soldiers resentment against favored civilian groups (e.g., stress inequality of sacrifice).

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18. To promote among enemy soldiers feelings of resentment toward their country's allies.

Goal--Privatization

19. To make enemy soldiers increasingly dissatisfied with military life because of its hardships (isolation, danger, cold, excessive marching, etc.).

20. To arouse resentment among enemy soldiers regarding the failure of their own military forces to provide adequate food, clothing, medical care, etc.

21. To weaken enemy soldiers' pride in and loyalty to their primary unit (squad, platoon, company, etc.).

Goal--Panic and Disorganized Behavior

22. To get enemy soldiers to panic or to behave in a disorganized manner.

Goal--Subversion and Resistance

23. To get enemy soldiers to malinger (e.g., faking diseases, injuring themselves, pretending inability to read instructions).

24. To get enemy soldiers to practice passive resistance (e.g., refusal to fight, fighting inefficiently, delaying action).

25. To get enemy soldiers to become insubordinate.

26. To get enemy soldiers to commit sabotage (e.g., blowing up supplies, disabling their weapons.

Goal--Surrender, Defection, Desertion

27. To convince enemy soldiers that they will be treated well if they surrender.

28. To arouse or intensify among enemy soldiers a desire to live (e.g., overcome fatalism, convince the soldiers that true loyalty requires survival).

29. To get enemy soldiers to surrender or be captured by passive behavior (i.e., cease fighting and wait for opportunity to surrender or be captured).

30. To get enemy soldiers to desert (i.e., take to the hills).

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31. To get individual soldiers to surrender.

32. To get groups or units of the opposing military forces to surrender.

Part B: Tasks for Nonmilitary Groups Residing in the Enemy Country

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

33. To convince members of the group that a U.S. victory is morally and politically desirable (build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between them and the U.S.; create an appreciation of U.S. culture and way of life; etc).

34. To create the belief among members of the group that United States troops are liberators.

Goal—Compliance and Cooperation with the United States

35. To get members of the group to keep away from military installations, bridges, railroads, and other military objectives.

36. To get members of the group to evacuate strategically important towns or cities.

Goal—Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy

37. To instill among members of the group a lack of faith in the ultimate victory of the regime under which they live and create an expectation of a United States victory.

38. To arouse and intensify among members of the group a desire for peace.

39. To create doubt and confusion among members of the group concerning the ideology and war aims of their government.

40. To arouse and intensify among members of the group disrespect for and lack of confidence in the top national leaders.

41. To arouse and intensify among members of the group disrespect for and lack of confidence in the top group leaders.

42. To arouse among members of the group nostalgia (severe melancholia, morbid sentimentality) for the generally approved aspects of the past.

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43. To promote apathy among members of the group.

Goal--Discord

44. To arouse or intensify among members of the group resentment against profiteers or favored groups.

45. To promote dissension and conflict between the specified group and other groups in the country which have real or potential grievances against each other (excluding the government).

46. To encourage disaffection on the part of members of the group because of grievances (ethnic, religious, social, political, economic, etc.) against the government.

47. To get top national leaders to fight among themselves.

48. To promote among members of the group feelings of resentment toward their country's allies.

Goal--Privatization

49. To make members of the group dissatisfied with living conditions (poor or insufficient food, inadequate clothing, excessive restrictions, etc.).

50. To weaken groups members' pride in and loyalty to their primary group (e.g., family group, work group).

Goal--Panic and Disorganized Behavior

51. To get members of the group to panic or behave in a disorganized manner.

Goal--Subversion and Resistance

52. To get members of the group to slow down or create delays.

53. To get members of the group to malinger or practice absenteeism.

54. To get members of the group to strike.

55. To get members of the group to commit sabotage or participate in other forms of active resistance.

56. To get members of the group to organize to take part in resistance movements in enemy areas.

57. To get members of the group to revolt or to attempt secession.

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Part C: Tasks for Countries or Areas Controlled by the United States Military Government or Civil Affairs (Consolidation).

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

58. To identify and strengthen among members of the group ideals b[illegible] in common by the liberated country and the United States.

Goal—Encouragement

59. To help rebuild among members of the group a sense of national unity or group solidarity.

60. To help give the members of the group encouragement and hope for the future of their liberated country or area.

Goal—Compliance and Cooperation

61. To prevent among the members of the group a desire for the return to power of the defeated regime.

62. To counter rumors and false reports among members of the group.

63. To create among members of the group negative attitudes and acts toward aggressive militarism.

64. To create receptive attitudes among members of the group to changes approved by the occupation forces.

65. To help prepare the members of the group for postwar reconstruction and rehabilitation.

66. To get members of the group to assist civil affairs and/or military government in restoring law and order in occupied or liberated territories.

67. To get members of the group to support the control of civilians, displaced persons, and prisoners of war.

Part D: Tasks for Groups in Areas Occupied by the Armed Forces of the Enemy

Goal—Good Will Toward the United States

68. To identify and strengthen among members of the group those ideals and values held in common by the occupied country and the United States.

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69. To convince the members of the group that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable (build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between members of the group and the United States; create an appreciation of U.S. culture and way of life; etc.).

70. To create the belief among members of the group that United States troops are liberators.

71. To justify to members of the group the use of new or extraordinary weapons.

Goal—Compliance and Cooperation

72. To get members of the group to keep away from military installations, bridges, railroads, and other military objectives.

73. To get members of the group to evacuate strategically important towns and cities.

Goal—Hostility Toward and Noncooperation with the Enemy

74. To promote among members of the group feelings of resentment toward the enemy.

75. To get members of the group to oppose portions of enemy ideology by making them aware of certain traditional values which are contradictory to the enemy ideology.

76. To promote among members of the group a disbelief in the ideology and war aims of the enemy.

77. To encourage members of the group to deny manpower and food to the enemies of the United States.

78. To discourage members of the group from collaborating with the enemy.

79. To show the allies or satellites of the enemy that they will be welcome to the U.S. side if they dissociate themselves from the enemy.

Goal—Subversion and Resistance

80. To get members of the group to stage slowdowns and delays.

81. To get members of the group to malinger and practice absenteeism.

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82. To get the members of the group to strike.

83. To get members of the group to commit sabotage and support other forms of active resistance.

84. To get members of the group to organize or support resistance movements in areas occupied by the enemy.

85. To get members of the group to revolt or to attempt secession.

Part E: Tasks for Groups in Countries Allied with the United States

Goal--Good Will Toward the United States

86. To promote among members of the group feelings of friendship and good will toward the United States.

87. To identify and strengthen among members of the group those ideals and values held in common by the allied country and the United States.

88. To convince members of the group that the United States will not interfere in the internal affairs of their country.

89. To promote among members of the group the feeling that the war contributions and achievements of their country are appreciated.

90. To justify to members of the group the use of new or extraordinary weapons.

Goal--Encouragement

91. To make the members of the group feel hopeful about the future position of their country in the postwar world.

92. To promote among members of the group an expectation of victory for the United States and its allies.

Goal--Compliance and Cooperation

93. To get members of the group to cooperate with the United States.

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Goal--Hostility Toward and Noncooperation with the Enemy

94. To promote among members of the group a disbelief in the ideology and war aims of the enemy government.

95. To arouse among members of the group hostility toward the common enemy and its leaders.

Part F: Tasks for Groups in Neutral Countries

Goal--Good Will Toward the United States

96. To promote among members of the group feelings of friendship and good-will toward the United States and its allies.

97. To identify and strengthen among members of the group those ideals and values held in common by the neutral country and the United States.

98. To convince members of the group that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable.

99. To promote among members of the group an expectation of victory for the United States and its allies.

100. To justify to members of the group the use of new or extraordinary weapons.

Goal--Compliance and Cooperation

101. To get members of the group to favor cooperation with the United States.

Goal--Hostility Toward and Noncooperation with the Enemy

102. To discredit among members of the group the ideology and war aims of the enemy of the United States.

103. To arouse among members of the group hostility toward the enemy of the United States, and its leaders.

104. To persuade members of the group to refuse to collaborate economically or politically with the enemy of the United States.

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SECTION VII

APPEAL IDEAS OF [illegible] PERSUASIVENESS (WITH ACCOMPANYING SYMBOLS)

This section sets forth appeal ideas which may assist the psychological operator in communicating effectively with special audiences in South Viet Nam or with the country as a whole. Those appeal ideas judged by area-specialist consultants to be (1) "higher in relative persuasiveness" or (2) "medium in relative persuasiveness" are presented here. As explained earlier, the appeal ideas are not intended to provide nor can they furnish ready answers to all of the operator's problems. It is expected that the operator will select, adapt, or even reject the appeal ideas according to the requirements of the current military situation, the situation of the civilian population, or considerations having to do with the media to be employed.

To obtain these appeal ideas, consultants well versed in the culture of South Viet Nam were asked to develop, on special forms, appeal ideas for a number of problem situations (defined as the special problem of accomplishing a task of psychological operations with or by means of a particular special audience). Only problem situations considered to be in some degree appropriate for the groups and of relatively high military importance were selected.

For each appeal idea a consultant developed, he was asked to describe, whenever he could, the expected reaction of the special audience, and cultural factors which would influence the reaction. He also was asked to identify the key symbols in the appeal idea

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(e.g., the concepts, icons, emblems, designs, references to individuals and events, key elements in pictures or in musical selections, or gestures) and then to explain the symbolic meaning of each in terms of the group's culture. To a considerable extent the consultants were able to comply with these requests in the more than 500 appeal ideas which were submitted.

Next, the research staff ca gorized these appeal ideas according to special audience, projected military situation, and task, and submitted them to other area specialists for judgments as to their persuasiveness. The major criteria for determining the persuasiveness of an appeal were: (1) the degree to which the appeal would gain and hold the attention of the group members; (2) the degree to which it would be readily and completely understood by the group; (3) the degree to which it would be believed and accepted by the members of the group; (4) the degree to which it would arouse appropriate motives and emotions; (5) the degree to which it would at present evoke a similar effect among members of the group; (6) the degree to which it would evoke a similar effect in the foreseeable future, assuming no major changes occurred in the group's socio-political way of life.

Three independent ratings were obtained for each appeal idea. Only those appeal ideas which received positive ratings from all three judges and a combined relatively high rating are presented in the pages which follow. Appeal ideas which were judged likely to evoke negative or adverse effects in the specified group were

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eliminated from further consideration, as, of course, were those the consultants considered irrelevant.

PRESENTATION OF APPEAL IDEAS

A total of 246 appeal ideas survived this intensive and systematic examination. Many of these were also judged to be appropriate, however, for tasks or groups other than the one for which developed. This additional appropriateness is indicated by cross-references. There are some 198 such indications of multiple relevancy. It may be that more appeal ideas than have here been cross-referenced are applicable to other problem situations; but there is not empirical data to support further cross-listing. Should the operator in the field wish to extend the application of an appeal idea to other tasks and groups, he should discuss the problem with area specialists or indigenous personnel on his staff.

The appeal ideas in this section are arranged according to projected military situations and psychological operations tasks (see Section VI), and then by special audience. If there are several appeal ideas for a problem situation, those with a higher rating of adjudged persuasiveness, indicated by the numerical value "1", precede those with the lower ratings "2".

Accompanying key symbols identified by the consultants are presented with each appeal idea. The meaning (in context) of key symbols and the expected reaction of the recipient audiences to the appeal ideas are presented directly under each appeal idea where this is not implicitly understood and where such information

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has been provided. Any comments offered by consultants regarding differential or situational effects (see Section I, RESEARCH DEFINITIONS), special conditions for use, and particular cautions to be observed, are also presented under the appeal ideas. Occasionally, in suggesting alternative wordings, modifications, and special influences to bear in mind, a comment on an idea may appear to be somewhat critical in vein. Criticism to the point of negation should not be inferred, however—the consultant who made the comment considered the appeal idea to have positive value.

In order to maintain the credibility of U.S. psychological activities, the operator is cautioned when selecting appeal ideas for use to make certain that any event, piece of information, or enemy action recounted in the appeal idea is essentially accurate and within the scope of what is believable to the audience. Some additional principles to be heeded in selecting appeal ideas for use are given on pages 29-31 of [redacted]-5 (1955). The operator is also again reminded of the other cautions set forth in Section I regarding the use of appeal ideas.

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Task 1

PROJECTED GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION

The special audience is a part of the armed forces of a nation which is a foe--or an ally of a foe--of the United States.

GOAL: GOOD WILL TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

TASK 1: To convince enemy soldiers that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable (e.g., build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between the peoples of their country and the United States).

Enlisted Men

1. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

People of Viet Nam: Almost two hundred years ago, the U.S. fought and won its independence. The principle for which we fought, that the people of any nation are supreme, is still our basis of government. We fight only that you might be free and escape the leprosy of Communism.

Key Symbols

People.....are supreme.

Leprosy of Communism.

Meaning of Key Symbols: "People are supreme" opposes the tenets of Communism. The Vietnamese attach a stigma to leprosy. Here Communism is called leprosy, leading to a feeling that the ideas of Communism are tainted as if by that dread disease.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Leads to the realization that we are not aggressors, but that we fight for all people who wish to be free; that the United States wants to live and let live.

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Task 2, 3

GOAL: DISCOURAGEMENT, DEFEATISM, APATHY

TASK 2: To get the enemy soldiers to become confused and openly doubtful concerning the ideology and war aims of their government and the governments of their country's allies (e.g., by pointing out weak points, fallacies, and immoralities).

Enlisted Men

- See Appeal Idea No. 5, developed for Task 4 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 2, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Officers

- See Appeal Idea No. 5, developed for Task 4 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for officers for Task 2, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 3: To make enemy soldiers lose faith in the ultimate victory of their side and expect the United States to be victorious.

Enlisted Men

2. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Sketch of a huge Russian Khruschchev telling a large Chinese Mao Tse-tung: telling a big Ho Chi Minh, telling a small Viet Nam soldier: We must attack! They all point to a l ; U.S.A., a big Republic of the Philippines, a big Europe, etc.

Caption: Viet Nam against the world!

Key Symbols

A small Viet Nam soldier.

(continued)

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2. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbols: No soldier has any liking or sympathy for the old army game of passing the buck, getting someone else to do the dirty work. By putting the small Viet Nam soldier in front of other large forces, his vulnerability and danger would be maximized.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The position of the Vietnamese in the front line, being forced by the Communists to fight their battle against a huge Free World, would awaken fears in the Vietnamese that success is impossible. This realization would increase the reluctance to fight, and encourage desertion, surrender, and malingering.

Enlisted Men

See Appeal Idea No. 4, developed for Task 4 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 3, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Officers

3. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Picture on the left shows young Vietnamese marching through the jungle, carrying a walking stick labeled, "United States of America," and being attacked by a tiger who has the face of Ho Chi Minh. Second picture on right shows young Vietnamese killing the tiger with the walking stick.

Caption: Together, we will be victorious!

Key Symbols

Portrayal of Ho Chi Minh as a tiger.

Vietnamese legend.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Communist leaders have nicknames and that of Ho Chi Minh is "tiger." There is a Vietnamese legend of a young man leaving his parental home who is attacked by a tiger and succeeds in killing the animal with his walking stick.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Animal stories and legends are popular for pointing a moral or explaining the reason for an action.

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Task 4

Task 4: To make enemy soldiers lose confidence in their own military forces (top military leaders, superiors, training, weapons and ammunition, security system, etc.).

Enl' ed Men

4. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Two rough maps showing comparison of enemy lines prior to start of our latest campaign and the present lines.

Caption: Soldiers: You have been driven back for over _____ months. Why do you fight on?

(Assumption: Series of reverses have been suffered by the enemy.)

Key Symbols

"Driven"

Meaning of Key Symbol: "Driven" in this context has the connotation of force and force is a very real thing to the Vietnamese. When all other efforts have failed, the use of force can convince them that a situation is hopeless. (The Vietnamese are easily discouraged.)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke a lack of confidence in the Vietnamese armed forces as well as a loss of faith in fighting on for their side.

5. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Your chances of winning are getting less and less. Your weapons are inferior and you are not getting replacements for your losses. It is apparent you are not getting the support you need to be successful.

Key Symbols

Inferior weapons.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Inferiority in anything brings discouragement to Vietnamese; the feeling of inferiority is akin to the well-known loss of face among Orientals.

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Enlisted Men

6. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Picture of Ho with little story of his background.

Caption: Nguyen-Ai-Quoc left Hanoi thirty-five years ago for Europe. His tutor was Stalin. Nguyen-Ai-Quoc returned to Viet Nam. His name, once beautiful, (meaning Nguyen, the patriot), now was Ho Chi Minh. Comrade Minh changed his name and his loyalty; so have many other Communist leaders. They are leading the Red armies--not for freedom but to enslave your people.

Key Symbols

Ho Chi Minh.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Ho Chi Minh is feared more than respected by the North as well as the South.

Officers

* See Appeal Idea No. 6, developed for this task for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for officers, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 5: To arouse and intensify among enemy soldiers a disrespect for or lack of confidence in the top national civilian leaders of their country.

Enlisted Men

7. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Why are you required to obey the orders of foreign military advisers? Is the military knowledge of the foreigners who are advising your civilian leaders so superior to that of your leaders?

Key Symbols

Chinese or Russian military advisers.

Comment: Appeals of this type can be effective in the right place at the right time. However, there may be a boomerang effect if the answer to the question asked is "yes."

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Task 5, 6

Officers

- See Appeal Idea No. 6, developed for Task 4 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for officers for Task 5, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 6: To make enemy soldiers desire peace (i.e., make them feel the end of the war is desirable).

Enlisted Men

8. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Photos showing bad conditions on the front lines and at home.

Caption: Fighting Men! Your family's misery and your own can only be ended by peace.

(Assumption: Economic blockade and series of reverses have produced bad conditions at home and at the front.)

Key Symbols

Distress of family.

Meaning of Key Symbols: In the traditional Vietnamese family, each member is closely tied to the other members and will do his utmost to alleviate family difficulties.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke anxiety about conditions at home, and encourage an attitude of defeatism.

- See Appeal Idea No. 21, developed for Task 19 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 6, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Officers

- See Appeal Idea No. 8, developed for this task for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for officers, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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TASK 7: To intensify the enemy soldiers' apprehension about conditions at home.

[redacted]

9.	Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)	Key Symbols
	Your villages are occupied by the enemy; your families are scattered, unprotected. There is no one to take care of them while you are away fighting a war you don't really believe in. Conditions were good before the war; now your home is broken up and you are guerrillas to help as long as you are away from your family.	Mistress of family.
10.	Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)	Key Symbols
	Illustration: Picture of a river whose banks are labeled Communist China and America. In the middle of the stream are a group of Vietnamese soldiers with their officer, carrying arms over their heads as if leading an attack. From the mouth of a Communist officer on shore comes the words: "Go ahead, we'll protect you from here." Chinese officers have their rifles trained on swimming Vietnamese. Mortar shells from American side are shown exploding over river to opposite bank. Caption: When you swim with the devil, stay close to the shore. (Supposition: Vietnamese troops are Catholics.)	Swimming with the devil.

Meaning of Key Symbols: For Catholic soldiers, there is a clear and simple meaning in this symbol.

(continued)

FOR [redacted] USE ONLY

Task 7, 8, 10

10. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should raise doubts about who is the real enemy; what recognition is given to the group by the Communists; and whether their allies and masters will still be alive when they return home.

Enlisted Men

- See Appeal Idea No. 8, developed for Task 6 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 7, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

TASK 8: To arouse and intensify nostalgia (severe melancholia, homesickness, morbid sentimentality) among enemy soldiers.

Enlisted Men

11. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)	Key Symbols
Think what you are missing by staying in the war you don't believe in. Your home and family miss you too. Your children want you at home with them.	Family life.

GOAL: DISCORD

TASK 10: To get enemy enlisted men to become increasingly resentful of officers.

Enlisted Men

12. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)	Key Symbols
Illustration: Two photos--one showing a fighting man in the front lines enduring much hardship, while the other illustrates an officer in the rear area enjoying life. Caption: Why should you do all the fighting?	Hardships at front. Easy life in rear areas.

(continued)

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12. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbols: Many enlisted men come from the peasant class and the officer in this appeal could become a symbol for the "landed aristocracy," for which the Vietnamese peasant has much mistrust.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The use of this appeal should cause the fighting man to have great distrust for his superiors, especially those officers in the rear areas.

TASK 11: To get enemy officers to distrust their enlisted men.

Officers

13. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Cartoon or poster: An officer marching at the head of his platoon. The officer and his platoon are in the same Communist uniform, all the same color, save for one man who wears a black uniform.

Caption: With orders from Moscow, via Peking, Hanoi, and Saigon... March with the eyes in the back of your head!

Key Symbols

"Cell within the cell."

Meaning of Key Symbol: The personnel of the Vietnamese army well understands the concept of the local Communist cell or cadre, and would comprehend the illustration depicting the Commie cadre sent from the North to report on the platoon of each Vietnamese officer.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would raise fears in Vietnamese officers that they are being watched, that they are not trusted, that they may be killed from behind by their own men, or by their cadre sent from the North.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Task 12, 13

TASK 12: To get enemy officers of the same grade to quarrel and fight among themselves.

Officers

14. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)	Key Symbols
Look at your commanders! Were they promoted because of their superior military knowledge or was it because they were favorites of their superiors? How long will it be before you are promoted? Are you a favorite of your superiors like some of your comrades? Why are the favorites always promoted first when in most cases their military knowledge is far inferior to yours?	Promotion of favorites.

TASK 13: To get one faction of enemy officers to quarrel and fight with another faction.

Officers

15. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)	Key Symbols
Illustration: Cartoon of fat politicians giving out officer uniforms to friends. Caricature both the politicians and the recipients of the uniforms. Caption: How many high ranking officers like (give the name of one) owe their command positions to their politician friends? Why must officers who have had proper training serve under these incompetents? No wonder the battle is going against you!	Promotion of favorites.

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Officers

16. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Picture of an officer sitting in a cafe with female companions.

Caption: Look around you, officers! Those of you who fought so bravely in the last war have not won promotion, while those who sat out the last war in cafes are now giving you orders.

Key Symbols

Promotion of favorites.

TASK 15: To get major elements (branches and services) of the enemy military forces to quarrel and fight with other major elements (e.g., arouse resentment among ground troops about lack of adequate naval and air support).

Enlisted Men

17. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Radio Free Viet Nam. Broadcast Announcement: Vietnamese ground troops in support of Communist tank detachment were strafed by planes. Official reports reveal that no U.S. planes were in the air at that hour in that sector. The strafing planes were in constant radio contact with the commander of the Tank Detachment, Captain _____, who made no effort to stop the strafing of the Vietnamese soldiers.

Key Symbols

Soldiers strafed by Communist planes.

(Assumption: Vietnamese soldiers are being strafed by Communist planes.)

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Communist Tank Commander is so distrustful of the accompanying ground troops that he permits, in fact sponsors, their

(continued)

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Task 15

17. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would set the Vietnamese foot soldier against the tank units. It would also arouse their antipathy against the entire Communist military machine because of its obvious treachery--an antipathy which, if there is repetition of similar circumstances, might lead to panic and mass desertion or surrender.

Enlisted Men

18. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Use statistics showing number of U.S. air raids, planes shot down, etc., as contrasted with those of the enemy's air force.

Caption: Where is your air force?

(Assumption: U.S. or its ally has active air superiority.)

Key Symbols

Superiority of U.S., allied air force.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke the feeling that the destruction of the Communist enemy air force, or its reduction to impotence, was inevitable.

- See Appeal Idea No. 15, developed for Task 13 for use with officers and judged to be appropriate also for enlisted men for Task 15, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Officers

- See Appeal Idea No. 17, developed for this task for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for officers for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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TASK 18: To promote among enemy soldiers feelings of resentment toward their country's allies.

Enlisted Men

19. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Utilize an illustration with a hand, labeled China, moving a pawn, labeled Viet Nam, over a chess board.

Caption: Will Viet Nam become a Chinese pawn?

Key Symbols

Pawn of Chinese.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Traditionally, there is great fear and distrust of the Chinese by the Vietnamese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would cause the Vietnamese to resent and distrust their allies.

Comment: Are the Vietnamese enlisted men familiar enough with chess to make this analogy effective?

- See Appeal Idea No. 18, developed for Task 15 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 18, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 20, developed for this task for use with officers and judged to be appropriate also for enlisted men, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Officers

20. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Photo showing Chinese "advisers" with Vietnamese officers.

Caption: Will China finally conquer your country?

Key Symbols

Chinese intentions.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Since the beginning of recorded history, the Vietnamese have had a fear of foreign domination, particularly of the Chinese.

(continued)

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Task 18, 19

20. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would intensify Vietnamese resentment and distrust of China.

Officers

- See Appeal Idea No. 18, developed for Task 15 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for use with officers for Task 18, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 19, developed for this task for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for use with officers, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

GOAL: PRIVATIZATION

TASK 19: To make enemy soldiers increasingly dissatisfied with military life because of its hardships (isolation, danger, cold, excessive marching, etc.).

Enlisted Men

21. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
The war keeps you from your homes, families, and the pleasant comforts of home life. Your families miss you, and what you are doing subjects you to fatigue and misery.	Comfort of home life. Hardships of war.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Vietnamese are not a hard-working people, but are more inclined to the easy life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would make the enlisted men resentful of the hardships placed upon them by their leaders, particularly if the leaders were of other nationalities.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

TASK 20: To arouse resentment among enemy soldiers regarding the failure of their own military forces to provide adequate food, clothing, medical care, etc.

Enlisted Men

22. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Picture of soldiers who are obviously in need of food, clothing, medical care.

Caption: Moi ho rang lanh (when the lips are opened the teeth feel cold). Your leaders are responsible for this war and therefore to blame for your hunger and need of clothing and medical care.

Key Symbols

Vietnamese proverb.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should arouse resentment among the enlisted men toward their leaders, and cause dissatisfaction because of their inadequate care.

23. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Su' that cha ay' bong. tôi lêp vi sáng ráo'. (Truth wipes out lies, darkness is dispelled by light.) Where are the good food, the winter clothes, the mosquito nets promised you by your Chinese friends? The truth is that there are no new shoes, clothes, mosquito nets. The truth is that there is not even enough rice to fill your bowl. The truth is that you will lose your life. The truth is that you will lose the war.

Key Symbols

Vietnamese proverb.

Truth.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Task 20

Enlisted Men

24. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustrate with large map of Viet Nam. Superimposed is a continuous rail line from China to Saigon and back--trains enroute south loaded with soldiers, enroute north loaded with rice. In the foreground at a station near the front, a train is stopped. On one side soldiers are disembarking, on the other side stacks of rice bags are being loaded onto the train.

Caption: Round and round; less rice--more men.

Key Symbols

More foreign soldiers to feed.

Exportation of needed food.

Meaning of Key Symbols: It would touch the soldier where it hurts most--in the belly. Its importance would depend upon actual food shortages developing.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would awaken fear of famine as the vicious circle of rice--north; men--south continues ad infinitum. It would arouse resentment against the military for permitting this condition to develop, and would hasten a movement toward desertion, surrender, etc., as food shortages became apparent.

25. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustrate with large map of Viet Nam. Superimposed is a continuous rail line from China to Saigon and back--trains enroute south loaded with rice. In the foreground at a station near the front a train is stopped. On one side soldiers are disembarking, on the other side stacks of rice bags are being loaded onto the train.

Caption: The rice of Viet Nam to feed the Communists of China. More soldiers--more mouths to feed, as the rice goes North.

Key Symbols

More foreign soldiers to feed.

Exportation of needed rice.

(continued)

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

25. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbolf It would touch the soldier where it hurts most—in the belly. Its importance would depend upon actual food shortages developing.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would awaken fear of famine as the vicious circle of rice—north; men—south continues ad infinitum. It would arouse resentment against the military for permitting this condition to develop, and would hasten a movement toward desertion, surrender, etc., as food shortages became apparent.

Comment: There is danger that it might appear the rice was going to feed North Vietnamese rather than Chinese. In view of the ethnic and often familial relationships between the South Vietnamese and the North Vietnamese, it would not be considered so shocking for southern rice to be sent north, unless it were clear that it was headed definitely out of Viet Nam entirely.

Enlisted Men

26. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)	Key Symbols
In spite of all your effort, you are poorly treated. None of the promises for ordinary comforts and supplies that were made before the war are being kept. It is obvious that the high command is taking care of itself and neglecting you.	Broken promises. Poor treatment.

Meaning of Key Symbols: According to the oriental viewpoint, an individual loses face when he finds that he has been duped.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would arouse dissatisfaction and resentment among enlisted personnel, especially where differentiation in treatment was evident.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Task 20, 24

Enlisted Men

27. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)	Key Symbols
Illustration: Picture to the left of well-equipped, healthy-looking Red soldier giving Communist salute. To the right, picture of South Vietnamese soldiers in tattered clothing, and emaciated from lack of food. Caption: Your rice, fish, and fruit are being shipped to Red China. That is why you are ill-fed.	Inequality of treatment.

GOAL: SUBVERSION AND RESISTANCE

Task 24: To get enemy soldiers to practice passive resistance (e.g., refusal to fight, fighting inefficiently, delaying action).

Enlisted Men

28. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)	Key Symbols
Intelligent people pass on; fools pass on, too; only those who know how to live stay on.	Slogan.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Vietnamese culture shows preference for practical over philosophic wisdom.

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Officers

29. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Show recognizable cartoons of top leaders taking it easy, while line officer suffers and dies.

Caption: Like the bee which makes honey but is not allowed to eat it, you are being sacrificed to the ambitions of your superiors. Let them fight if they wish to! Look out for yourself! To delay action is the wiser course.

Key Symbols

Adaptation of Vietnamese proverb.

30. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Do you know how many times the Chinese have invaded your homeland? For centuries aggressive foreign forces have come and gone again, repelled by Vietnamese patriots who at first passively resisted, and then openly defied, the enemy forces. Remember the Trung sisters, your women patriots, who caused the defeat of the Chinese invaders. You too can do this!

Key Symbols

Chinese invaders.

Trung sisters.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Trung sisters in the year 40 organized resistance against Chinese occupation and led Vietnamese men into battle.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would intensify the traditional dislike and resentment which the Vietnamese hold for the Chinese, and would create the desire to resist them.

TASK 25: To get enemy soldiers to become insubordinate.

Enlisted Men

- See Appeal Idea No. 38, developed for Task 29 for use with officers and judged to be appropriate also for use with enlisted men for Task 25, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 27

GOAL: SURRENDER, DEFECTION, DESERTION

TASK 27: To convince enemy soldiers that they will be treated well if they surrender.

Enlisted Men

31. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Montage of photographs of captured enemy soldiers being treated well in a prison compound.

Caption: Your comrades-in-arms on the road to rebirth.

(Assumption: Enemy units have been retreating and suffering losses.)

Key Symbols

Good treatment of POW's.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Vietnamese are, traditionally, opportunists. They are easily able to change allegiance when it suits their needs, without losing face.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It may create a desire in this group to surrender to U.S. forces.

Comment: Perhaps a better word can be found than "rebirth."

32. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Picture of smiling Vietnamese POW with equally smiling U.S. captors. Vietnamese POW is shown getting clothes, rations, etc.

Caption: The American forces are the true friends of the Vietnamese. Your wounded will be well treated—your sick men will be well cared for. We admire your courage and you will be treated honorably.

Key Symbols

Good treatment of POW's.

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Enlisted Men

• See Appeal Idea No. 35, developed for Task 29 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 27, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Officers

33. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

In the event that you should find yourself in the hands of American forces, you may not have Mai Chung (Coke) in your soup, but your treatment will be the same accorded the American soldier. Once liberated from Communism you are again important to your fellowmen and to yourself.

Key Symbols

Good food.

Good treatment.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Good food is considered essential to the Vietnamese; a ritual is made of meat meals. Stress on such things as good food, clean camps, etc., is important.

TASK 29: To get enemy soldiers to surrender or be captured by passive behavior (i.e., cease fighting and wait for opportunity to surrender or be captured).

Enlisted Men

34. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Show recognizable cartoons of top leaders taking it easy while soldiers at front lines suffer and die.

Caption: Like the bee which makes honey but is not allowed to eat it, you are being sacrificed to the ambitions of your superiors. Let them fight if they wish to! Look out for yourself! To delay action is the wiser course.

Key Symbols

Adaptation of Vietnamese proverb.

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Task 29

Enlisted Men

35. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2) — Key Symbols

Illustration: Series of photographs showing U.S. allied troops dealing kindly with civilians. Show such things as setting up food lines, building schools, etc.

Caption: Your choices are few. You can continue as you are and be killed in the fighting. You can refuse to fight and be shot by your own officers. Or you can hide when the fighting begins again, and surrender to us after the battle is over. Which do you choose?

Key Symbols: Good treatment of civilians.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Benign or enlightened treatment will win only friends. The average Vietnamese can be influenced provided that those doing the influencing can demonstrate that it is the best thing for the family group.

36. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2) — Key Symbols

Illustration: Picture of kneeling man, with hands tied behind back and shackled in chains from shoulders to ankles.

Caption at top of picture: Communist "land-reform" trials. Caption at bottom of picture: You are fighting to surrender your men and women folk to more and more of this!

Key Symbols: Land-reform trials.

Danger to family.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The thinking, introverted South Asian is repelled by mass violence. Land-reform trials in North Viet Nam incurred deep resentment among all levels of the population.

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Enlisted Men

37. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Picture of kneeling man, with hands tied behind back and shackled in chains from shoulders to ankles.

Caption at top of picture: Communist "land-reform" trials!
Caption at bottom of picture: You are fighting for a cause other than your own. Your victory today may mean your brother's death.

Key Symbols: Violence. Land-reform trials.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The thinking, introverted South Asian is repelled by mass violence. Land-reform trials in North Viet Nam incurred deep resentment among all levels of the population.

Officers

38. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Cartoon or poster. A large map of Viet Nam with a view of the railroad going north to China. A train loaded with rice is shown en route north. By gradation of coloring show Viet Nam dried up behind the train and full of life in front of the train. As the train passes, taking Viet Nam's rice, Viet Nam dries up, a withered-looking map.

Caption: Our lifeblood flows north. Do not fight the U.S.A. The real enemy is China.

Key Symbols: Withered Viet Nam. Rice as lifeblood.

Meaning of Key Symbols: They pose the threat of famine, and point to China as being responsible for that threat.

Comment: This appeal would be improved if the phrase "Do not fight the U.S.A." was changed to "Who is the real enemy?" In other words, let the officer figure out for himself whom he should fight.

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Task 30

TASK 30: To get enemy soldiers to desert (i.e., take to the hills).

Enlisted Men

39. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Photo of a family group (mother and children) with outstretched rice bowls and a dirty, haggard appearance.

Caption: You alone can end this misery by laying down your arms.

Key Symbols

Distressed and hungry family.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The fact that his family is suffering, and therefore needs his help, makes a deep impression upon the Vietnamese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would encourage the Vietnamese soldier to desert.

- See Appeal Idea No. 9, developed for Task 7 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 30, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 21, developed for Task 19 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 30, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Officers

40. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Photo of a family group (mother and children) with outstretched rice bowls and a dirty, haggard appearance.

Caption: You must know by now that your side cannot win. It is your duty to stay alive so you can protect your family when the war ends. Lay down your arms and leave the fighting.

(Assumption: The enemy has been suffering a series of reverses.)

Key Symbols

Distressed and hungry family.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The fact that his family is suffering, and therefore needs his help, makes a deep impression upon the Vietnamese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would encourage the Vietnamese soldier to desert.

TASK 31: To get individual soldiers to surrender.

Enlisted Men

41. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Leaflet--Safe Conduct Pass--illustrated series of pictures demonstrating steps to be taken in order to surrender. The steps should be numbered and understood easily by a potential defector.

Caption: Use this pass for safe passage.

Key Symbols

Surrendering procedure, step by step.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Most Vietnamese must be shown how to accomplish anything; traditionally, they have little initiative and must be led by the hand. Vietnamese soldiers are easily discouraged and change sides easily.

(continued)

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Task 31, 32.

41. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should create the desire among enlisted men to surrender.

Comment: It would be valuable in precipitating action where previous persuasion and partial agreement already exist.

TASK 32: To get groups or units of the opposing military forces to surrender.

Enlisted Men

- See Appeal Idea No. 42, developed for this task for use with officers and judged to be appropriate also for enlisted men, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Officers

42. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Picture of Vietnamese woman preparing food for her family. At her back stands a Communist soldier with gun in hand (identify soldier as Communist by showing red star on rubber-covered tropical helmet).

Caption: This may be your wife! To help her now--surrender now!

Key Symbols

Vietnamese housewife.

Communist soldier.

Meaning of Key Symbols: In the Vietnamese home the woman is undisputed mistress; even her own husband does not order her around. Consequently, this kind of behavior by a Chinese stranger in the home would deeply distress the soldiers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would arouse resentment at separation from the family, and anger at the behavior of the Chinese soldier; as a consequence, it should make the soldier want to surrender.

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Officers

43. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Picture of troops in need of food, clothes, and shelter.

Caption: Your leaders have abandoned their children to the harvest.

Key Symbols

Vietnamese saying.

Meaning of Key Symbol: This expression means that those for whom there is a responsibility have been abandoned.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke sorrow and the feeling of being forsaken. Consequently, the soldiers might lose the will to fight, and look for someone to whom they might surrender.

- See Appeal Idea No. 32, developed for Task 27 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for officers for Task 32, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

PROJECTED GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION

The special audience resides in a country which is allied with a major foe of the United States engaged in military operations against the United States and its allies.

GOAL: GOOD WILL TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

TASK 33: To convince members of the group that a U.S. victory is morally and politically desirable (build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between them and the U.S.; create an appreciation of U.S. culture and way of life, etc.).

Educationalists

- See Appeal Idea No. 47, developed for Task 34 for use with educationalsits and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 33, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 33

Educationalists

* See Appeal Idea No. 48, developed for Task 34 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 33, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Intellectuals

44. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: The President of the U.S. and a revered leader of the Vietnamese opposition to the current government.

Text: (A statement of U.S. aims, which also have the support of the revered Vietnamese leader.)

Key Symbols

Equality of nations.

U.S. aims.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: If the Vietnamese leader commands great respect, many members of the group would be inclined to follow his lead. It also would appeal to national pride.

Comment: It would be strengthened if the list of war aims were attributed to the Vietnamese leader, and the U.S. President endorsed them. This would present an impression of greater independence on the part of the Vietnamese.

45. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Major power allied with Viet Nam (symbolized by huge soldiers) tramping to death a number of tortoises which are labeled "dignity of the individual," "freedom of religion," etc. In the background, a plainly labeled figure of a UN, Allied, or U.S. soldier (whichever is most appropriate) is shown preparing to drive off the soldiers of the major power allied with Viet Nam.

Key Symbols

Tortoise.

Dignity of individual.

Freedom of religion.

(continued)

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45. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would influence members of this group to favor our cause, by attacking wrongs being done by their country's allies and by indicating those things for which the UN or the U.S. and its allies stand.

Intellectuals

* See Appeal Idea No. 47, developed for Task 34 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals for Task 33, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Political Exits

46. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols
Anticolonialism of United States.
U.S. aid programs.

The United States has demonstrated in the past, in the Philippines, Japan, and other nations, that it actually does grant self-government to defeated nations: the United States has demonstrated that it does not enslave defeated peoples: the United States has demonstrated that, with loans and gifts, it helps defeated nations get back on their feet again. What is China's record toward its smaller neighbors (e.g., Tibet)?

(There have been prolonged hostilities and war weariness has begun to set in.)

Meaning of Key Symbols: The record of the United States can be cited to demonstrate the truth of its anticolonialism and its generous aid to other nations.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would, especially after prolonged hostilities, make more and more acceptable the idea of a U.S. victory and the defeat of the Vietnamese side.

Comment: The image conjured up by "defeated nation" should be avoided. It would arouse the oriental hatred of being looked down upon. It would be better to use "liberated people" in its place.

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Task 33, 34

Refugees

- See Appeal Idea No. 32, developed for Task 34 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for refugees for Task 33, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 47, developed for Task 34 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 33, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 48, developed for Task 34 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 33, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 236, developed for Task 96 for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 33, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Task 34: To create the belief among members of the group that United States troops are liberators.

Educationalists

47. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: UN, Allied, or U.S. soldier (labeled Linh My)--strong, noble, protecting--and in contrast, a leering, lecherous man representing Communist China or Russia, holding a benevolent mask before his evil face.

Caption: My-Quoc--Ban lrung-tiin, cong-sa--ye quan-doi. Distinguish between your true friends and your enemies who make all kinds of glib promises only to get you in their power, and eventually ruin your life and country.

Key Symbols

Linh My.

My-Quoc.

Cong-san.

(continued)

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45. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would influence members of this group to favor our cause, by attacking wrongs being done by their country's allies and by indicating those things for which the UN or the U.S. and its allies stand.

Intellectuals

* See Appeal Idea No. 47, developed for Task 34 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals for Task 33, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Political Elite

46. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

The United States has demonstrated in the past, in the Philippines, Japan, and other nations, that it actually does grant self-government to defeated nations; the United States has demonstrated that it does not enslave defeated peoples; the United States has demonstrated that, with loans and gifts, it helps defeated nations get back on their feet again. What is China's record toward its smaller neighbors (e.g., Tibet)?

Anticolonialism of United States.

U.S. aid programs.

(There have been prolonged hostilities and war weariness has begun to set in.)

Meaning of Key Symbols: The record of the United States can be cited to demonstrate the truth of its anticolonialism and its generous aid to other nations.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would, especially after prolonged hostilities, make more and more acceptable the idea of a U.S. victory and the defeat of the Vietnamese side.

Comment: The image conjured up by "defeated nation" should be avoided. It would arouse the oriental hatred of being looked down upon. It would be better to use "liberated people" in its place.

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47. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbols: Linh My means, literally, noble soldier; My Quoc (America) means "beautiful country"; Quang-dai expresses the ideas of protection and generosity.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would influence this group since many know from history that the United States has always tried to befriend nations, and has not sought in recent years to obtain colonial possessions.

Educationalists

48. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The Americans have never been defeated. They will defeat the lackeys of the Chinese colonists and restore your independence.

(Assumption: That victory for the United States is imminent.)

Key Symbols

Independence.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would impress upon members of the group what their country stands to gain by a U.S. victory.

49. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: United States military officer greeting a Vietnamese educationalist. A map of United States and Viet Nam in background.

Caption: Teachers welcome their American friends back to Viet Nam.

Key Symbols

U.S. aid programs.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Current U.S. aid to the Vietnamese educational system is known to most educationalists, who continue to seek additional aid from the U.S. missions.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind the group of a period when there was close cooperation between the U.S. military and Vietnamese educationalists.

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Task 34

Educationalists

- See Appeal Idea No. 231, developed for Task 98 for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for educationalists for Task 34, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Refugees

50. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A small Vietnamese, unarmed, is being chased by a Viet Minh soldier. A U.S. or UN soldier, leading a vaguely delineated mass of troops, advances with bayonet fixed to intercept the Viet Minh soldier.

Caption: You abandoned your home in North Viet Nam in 1954 to flee to freedom in the South. The _____ (presumably Ho Chi Minh) regime pursued you and crushed that freedom. Our troops will help you regain that freedom!

Key Symbols

Exodus of 1954.

Viet Minh regime and troops.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The first is a symbol of nostalgia and regret; the second of oppression.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke memories of bitter regret at having to abandon homes in the North and frustration at having the objectives of their flight, their freedom, threatened a second time by the Viet Minh. It would serve to stimulate a favorable attitude toward the role of the entering American troops.

Comment: It would be better to have some Vietnamese soldiers with the U.S. or UN soldiers who are trying to intercept the Viet Minh soldier.

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Refugees

52. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Showing an American sailor holding a Vietnamese child on an American ship whose decks are lined with smiling Tonkinese.

Caption: The Americans saved you once from the Communists--they are coming again to liberate you.

Key Symbols

U.S. as liberators.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to reawaken a warm feeling toward Americans by the vast majority of refugees, who were evacuated from North Viet Nam on American ships.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

52. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Showing schools, hospitals, factories, etc. in background, with a representation of the American aid symbol (parts of Vietnamese and American flags, with clasped hands superimposed) in foreground.

Caption: America has shown her friendship for the Vietnamese people by building schools, hospitals, roads, bridges, and factories. America will help Viet Nam again after the enemy is crushed!

Key Symbols

American aid symbol.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke sentiments of appreciation and friendship on the part of the Vietnamese for past aid programs and would generate hopefulness about a future collaboration between Vietnamese and Americans.

- See Appeal Idea No. 42, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 34, 35

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 48, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

GOAL: COMPLIANCE AND COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES

TASK 35: To get members of the group to keep away from military installations, bridges, railroads, and other military objectives.

Educationalists

53. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Husband plowing field with water buffalo. His wife and children are sitting under a banyan tree. In the background, planes are over a distant city, with explosions visible.

Caption: Bao-ve nang song (protect life). It is wise and prudent for all people to see to it that not only themselves, but especially their children and loved ones should stay away from installations and zones which could be considered as proper military targets.

Key Symbols

Preservation of family.

Meaning of Key Symbol: To protect the family, individually and collectively, is to protect the nation, and every Vietnamese would immediately understand and approve.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Since the Vietnamese are "family" people, and since educators could continue to teach and in general carry on a program of education in the country away from danger spots, it would meet with approval because of its good common sense.

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Educationalists

54. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

The (names of military targets) are going to be bombed and destroyed. Stay away from them. You will be hurt if you don't.

Key Symbols

Self-preservation.

55. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Stay away from military installations and protect your life. Scholars are important to the nation.

Key Symbols

Importance of scholars.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to reinforce the conviction of the Vietnamese educator that he is a superior being and is so important to the nation that he is justified in saving his life.

Refugees

56. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Bridge being destroyed by aerial bombardment.

Caption: Let U.S. bombers rid your country of the cankers. Let them clear Viet Nam of the government's oppressing armies. Stay away from military bases, railroads, bridges--and watch them disappear.

Key Symbols

Self-preservation.

Communist oppressors.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would reassure the refugees that their known attitude of hostility toward Communism and Communists meets with sympatny from the United States.

Comment: Canker may not be a simple concept for the Vietnamese. This should be checked before using. Nor does the caption make it exactly clear why members of the group should stay away from the military targets.

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Task 35, 36

Refugees

57. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2) — Key Symbols

Our air forces are bombing military targets. Stay away and save your life. — Self-preservation.

TASK 36: To get members of the group to evacuate strategically important towns or cities.

Administrators

58. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1) — Key Symbols

Your city is being used as a military depot by the Chinese and must therefore be bombed! Get away from the city and out to the country where you and your family will be safe. — Preservation of family.

59. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1) — Key Symbols

Remember what happened to Saigon and the area around Boulevard Gallieni during the fighting in 1955. Saigon will be attacked soon. Get out to the village of your ancestors with your family before it is too late. — Preservation of family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The reference to a well-known incident would drive home the danger to the family and move the head of the family to take measures to protect the family.

Comment. This has limited usefulness because it refers to a situation (destruction in Saigon during Binh Xuyen suppression campaign) which is vivid in the memory of only a part of the population--the residents of the sector in question, and others who visited it during that period.

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Roman Catholics

- See Appeal Idea No. 53, developed for Task 35 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics for Task 36, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 54, developed for Task 35 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics for Task 36, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

GOAL: DISCOURAGEMENT, DEFEATISM, APATHY

TASK 37: To instill among members of the group a lack of faith in the ultimate victory of the country in which they live and create an expectation of a United States victory.

Administrators

60. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Illustration: The two Trung sisters sitting on an elephant.

Trung sisters.

Caption: Your country has always successfully opposed Chinese domination. Remember the Trung sisters. When the U.S. has won you will be free again.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Trung sisters, who once led the Vietnamese to (temporary) freedom from China, are a well-known symbol of independence.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: By indicating that real independence could be expected if the United States and its allies won the war, it would tend to promote the desire for a U.S. victory.

Comment: Situational Effect: If the military situation at the time this appeal is used is not clearly in favor of the United States, its effectiveness would be lowered markedly.

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Task 37

Intellectuals

61. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Everyone knows that a tiger who attacks an elephant is bound to lose the fight. Ask yourselves—Is a Chinaman (use derogatory term) as tall or as strong as an American? Can a Chinese rickshaw outrun an American automobile? China is the major foe.

(For use at beginning of hostilities before U.S. and Allies have had opportunity to become fully effective.)

Key Symbols

Tiger vs. elephant.

Rickshaw vs. automobile.

Meaning of Key Symbols: These stand for comparisons of strength and size; the Vietnamese have great admiration for size, strength, and power.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: By these comparisons, it would tend to discourage any faith in victory for their side and increase their fatalistic tendency to give up when the odds were obviously against them.

Comment: Situational Effect: Many members of this group have a lot of respect for China's recent accomplishments. If China's industrial potential keeps growing, undoubtedly an even greater percentage of this group would look more favorably upon China, and for us to boast of technical strength would arouse an ambivalence in them—and not always in our favor.

62. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

America is the most powerful nation on earth. It has never been defeated.

(Assumption: U.S. and allies are winning.)

Key Symbols

U.S. power.

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Refugees

- See Appeal Idea No. 60, developed for this task for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for refugees, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Comment: This appeal is especially appropriate for refugees as the Trung sisters were northerners, although they now have become national symbols.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

63. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Remember the United States of America has never lost a war! Your country will be defeated because you do not have the vast resources and industry of the United States of America.

Key Symbols

U.S. resources and power.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would create fear that their country had chosen the losing side, and tend to create discouragement and lack of effort in support of the war.

TASK 38: To arouse and intensify among members of the group a desire for peace.

Intellectuals

64. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

It is better to honor the one who forges the plowshare than to respect the one who makes arms for the Kwang Ti (War God).

Key Symbols

Slogan.

Kwang Ti.

Meaning of Key Symbol: A well-known figure from Vietnamese mythology.

Comment: This appeal could be strengthened by listing one or two specific benefits to the intellectual which peace would bring.

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Task 39

TASK 39: To create doubt and confusion among members of the group concerning the ideology and war aims of their government.

Educationalists

65. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols
Distrust of Chinese.

Can you trust the Chinese to let you live your own lives? Your government is risking Vietnamese independence by putting faith in the false promises and strange philosophy of your ally China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would touch the Vietnamese on a tender spot, the superiority attitude the Chinese have always displayed in relations with their southern neighbors, and therefore it would increase the suspicion that the Vietnamese were being used by their "ally." The record of past performance by both the major foe, China, and the United States would impress this group when contrasted.

Comment: In order to avoid any confusion, the phrase "strange philosophy" should be changed to "strange political philosophy."

Intellectuals

66. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols
Contrast between words and actions.

Your government says: (statement of purpose).
Your government does: (a contrary action).
Your government says: (statement of purpose).
Your government does: (a contrary action).
Your government says: (statement of purpose).
Your government does: (a contrary action).

(Supposition: That many examples exist of pious statements and contradictory actions.)

(continued)

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66. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would convey conviction to an intelligent audience. The more vicious and devastating the contradictions, the better; the more the cited statements and facts are common knowledge, or deal with personal experiences of the specified audience, the better.

Intellectuals

- See Appeal Idea No. 65, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

TASK 40: To arouse and intensify among members of the group disrespect for and lack of confidence in the top national leaders.

Administrators

67. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration, two panels:
1. Shows caricature of top national Vietnamese leader being decorated by caricatured Chinese leader, and at the same time another Chinese leader giving another Vietnamese national leader money.
2. Second panel shows middle class Vietnamese family contributing rice and money to representative of Chinese government.

Caption: Who gets? Who pays?

Key Symbols

Caricatures of leaders.

Family sacrifice.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would make administrators in the lower echelons resentful, for both patriotic and personal reasons.

- See Appeal Idea No. 63, developed for this task for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for administrators, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

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Task 40

Administrators

- See Appeal Idea No. 69, developed for this task for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for administrators, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 75, developed for this task for use with South Viet Nam as a whole and judged to be appropriate also for administrators, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Educationalists

- See Appeal Idea No. 67, developed for this task for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for educationalists, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Intellectuals

68. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

A caricature of the national leader of Viet Nam sitting in the ancient capital of Hue and telephoning Peking for permission to urinate at an unscheduled hour.

Caption: Emperor of Viet Nam.

Key Symbols

Hue.

Puppet.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Hue has the aura of a national shrine and represents both past and dreamed of grandeur to them; it is an insult to imply that an official is a puppet.

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Intellectuals

69. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols	
Traditional dragon.	Illustration: The traditional dragon representing Viet Nam praying with joss sticks to a picture of the current leader of the government. Caption: Your government leader says: (a statement of purpose or policy). Instead, your government does: (a contradictory action by the government).

Refugees

70. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols	
Torture. Viet Minh.	Illustration: Showing a Viet Minh general and a Chinese official watching a Christian Tonkinese being tortured. (He is distinguished as a Tonkinese by his brown clothes and a cross on a chain at his throat.) The Chinese is saying, "Are you ready to confess that you are an enemy of the people?" Caption: The Viet Minh have not changed since you fled from them.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The picture of a Viet Minh official torturing a Tonkinese reminds many in this group of a distressing personal experience.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would discredit (among this group) the leaders of South Viet Nam who have made an alliance with those who in the past persecuted the Tonkinese refugees.

Comment: Differential Effect: It is quite possible that this might have an adverse effect with groups that were not refugees or Christians.

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Task 40

Roman Catholics

71. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Political leaders (give their names) hacking the Viet Nam dragon to bits.

Key Symbols

Traditional dragon.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The dragon, which has a shape similar to the map of all Viet Nam, is often used to represent the unity of Viet Nam.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind this group that no real unity is possible under the alliance favored by the current leaders, but only disturbance and renewed civil war.

72. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: The current political leader playing a flute as Roman Catholic children follow him to the edge of a cliff and fall off into an abyss marked "perdition," above which seethe the red words Communism.

Caption: Go your own way, the Catholic way!

Key Symbols

Perdition.

Communism.

Catholic way.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would identify the Catholic way with the way of independent action (as opposed to the Communist way) and would create a reluctance on the part of Catholics to follow any political leader blindly.

73. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: To the left, leader of Viet Nam Government (allied with major foe of United States) treading on torch inscribed Tu-do va Doc-lop (Freedom and Independence). To the right, exiled pro-USA leader of Viet Nam Government holding blazing torch (with same inscription) aloft.

Key Symbols

Torch.

Tu-do va Doc-lop.

(continued)

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73. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbols: The torch stands for light, truth, knowledge; Tu-do va Doc-lap, a well-known slogan of Vietnamese nationalists, is still used extensively by the Viet-Cong with the added word of Hanh-phuc (social welfare).

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would reaffirm the nationalist spirit of the specified audience, but under their own choice of leaders rather than leaders who are obviously under the domination of the foreign ally of the regime in power.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

74. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Showing the leaders of the Vietnamese regime polishing the boots of the Chinese generals.

Caption: Lackeys of the new colonialism.

Key Symbols

Boot polishing.

Chinese colonialism.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Boot polishing by leaders is considered a sign of lackeyism, and to do this for the hated Chinese is the supreme example of obeisance; Vietnamese remember from history of their country the past colonialism by Chinese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to create contempt of the leaders of the regime in power.

75. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Current Vietnamese leaders sitting at table with Chinese leaders, signing papers of military alliance.

Caption: Look around you and see what your leaders have done to your country. You had your independence, so gloriously won! This alliance with the Chinese puts you under their yoke. Is this what you want?

Key Symbols

Loss of independence.

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Task 40, 42, 44

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 67, developed for this task for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 71, developed for this task for use with Roman Catholics and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

TASK 42: To arouse among members of the group nostalgia (severe melancholia, morbid sentimentality) for the generally approved aspects of the past.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 71, developed for Task 40 for use with Roman Catholics and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 42, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

GOAL: DISCORD

TASK 44: To arouse or intensify among members of the group resentment against profiteers or favored groups.

Educationalists

76. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)	Key Symbols
In your country, honor and respect used to be accorded to the wise and the learned. Today your intellectual inferiors are reaping great benefits and favors from the government, while you receive no privileges at all, not even the respect which is due persons of intellectual attainments.	Respect for scholars.

(continued)

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76. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbol: In Viet Nam, respect and privileges should be accorded to teachers and intellectuals.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind them that they deserved special privileges and they would resent favors shown to less erudite groups.

Educationalists

* See Appeal Idea No. 92, developed for Task 49 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for educationalists for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Intellectuals

77. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2) | Key Symbols

Even in the old days the Chinese got wealthy at the expense of the Vietnamese. What kind of protection from the gouging of the Chinese can you expect with the Chinese advising your leaders and dominating your government. | Dislike of Chinese.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Chinese are the "whipping boys" for most of the current Vietnamese ailments.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would feed the long-standing hatred of the Chinese and remind the group that the preceding regime had taken steps (rightly or wrongly) to protect the Vietnamese from the gouging of the mercenary Chinese.

Refugees

78. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1) | Key Symbols

Illustration: A refugee exodus from resettlement villages with armed Communist soldiers standing to one side watching.

Caption: How long will it be before this happens now that the central government is allied with China? | Exodus of refugees.

(continued)

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Task 44

78. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbol: Many members of this group will be reminded of their previous exodus and the reasons for it.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would arouse fears among the group of being uprooted again, and intensify suspicion of those groups favoring the regime in power.

Refugees

79. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols
Pig.
Rice.

Illustration: A pig eating rice. Pig labeled "profiteers"; rice, "national wealth."

Meaning of Key Symbols: In Viet Nam a pig is a symbol of lowly greed, and rice represents the staff of life.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: The illustration would make the audience more aware and more resentful about a situation which they know to exist.

Comment: In Viet Nam a pig does not necessarily signify someone who seizes everything for himself. Proper labeling should get over this difficulty. This appeal is best for the educated members of this audience. Vietnamese farmers do not understand the abstract economic term of "national wealth."

* See Appeal Idea No. 81, developed for Task 45 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for them for Task 44, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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South Viet Nam as a Whole

80. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A dinner table at which are seated some Communists, collaborators, profiteers, and others of that ilk, all identified by labels, and having a touch of the devil in their visage. A typical Vietnamese figure without any label is also at the table. Figures with labels have long chopsticks: the ons without a label very short sticks.

Caption: When you eat with the devil it pays to have long chopsticks.

Key Symbols

Long chopsticks.

Saying.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Long chopsticks have a meaning of greedy hands: the devil, while a more effective symbol with Catholics than other Vietnamese, is recognizable as evil to all.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would identify the avaricious exploiter groups, and put the Vietnamese on guard against members of these groups.

• See Appeal Idea No. 77, developed for this task for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 45

Task 45: To promote dissension and conflict between the specified group and other groups in the country which have real or potential grievances against each other (excluding the government).

Refugees

81. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Clearly identifiable refugees in brown shirts working in the fields, with black-shirted foremen standing by. On the other side of picture are group of seated South Viet Nam soldiers, drinking, and fondling two or three brown-shirted young girls who look scared.

Caption: Is this the freedom you ran to gain? People from the North, regain your rightful status!

Key Symbols

Black shirts.

Brown shirts.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Black shirts identify South Vietnamese, and brown shirts the refugees from the North.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would increase the resentment of the more energetic elements among the refugees, who feel that their treatment has often been shoddy. The traditional differences between the northerner and southerner in Viet Nam are easy to appeal to under stress.

Comment: Differential Effect: This would have an adverse effect upon the military audiences, and possibly other nonrefugee groups.

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B-Bureau

82. Annual Line (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Showing a South Vietnamese rubber planter sitting in a Western-style arm chair on a veranda with a fat Chinese, being served drinks by a Tonkinese girl (distinguished as such by her dress) as they look out on a group of Tonkinese rubber tappers (also distinguished by their clothes) who are poorly dressed.

Caption: Some lazy southerners make good collaborators.

Key Symbols

Western-style arm chair.

Lazy southerners.

Collaborators.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Southern Vietnamese are usually considered lazy and irresponsible by the Tonkinese. The Western-style arm chair connotes that the southerner was a collaborator of the French colonials, and depicting him as a collaborator of the traditionally hated Chinese reinforces the intended symbolism.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to evoke in the Tonkinese traditional prejudice against the southerner and strengthen the widespread belief that southerners want to exploit the refugees from the North.

Comment: This appeal is based on several strong emotional prejudices. However, it is dangerous because it could disaffect southern anti-Communists and make obvious problems for the military government after victory. It should be used with the greatest caution.

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Task 46

TASK 46: To encourage disaffection on the part of members of the group because of grievances (ethnic, religious, social, political, economic, etc.) against the government.

Administrators

83. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: The current leader of the pro-Communist government of South Viet Nam looking up from the left side of the page to Mao Tse-tung who is above him--larger, more dominant and with an evil countenance. South Viet Nam leader smiles and kisses the hem of Mao Tse-tung's robe.

Key Symbols

Subservience of Viet Nam leader to evil forces.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to lessen support of the regime in power, by showing the regime in a role of subservience to Chinese Communism, which can be equated with the forces of evil.

84. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Why has the President appointed so many members of the Cao-Dai sect to important posts in government?

Key Symbols

Sectarianism.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would raise doubts among one group of administrators about those belonging to another sect, religion, etc.

Comment: Differential Effect: Obviously, this is not going to make the Cao Dai love America. Perhaps almost all disaffection appeals should be covert, or at least not openly identified with the United States.

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Refugees

85. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Christian holy cross being damaged and scarred by a hammer and a sickle.

Caption: The Communist philosophy is to destroy religion.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Many are Catholics who fled from the North largely for religious reasons. By accentuating the religious issue between Christianity and Communism, it would tend to increase among them opposition to the regime which is cooperating with the Communists.

Comment: The more aggressive refugees might be encouraged to see in the illustration the cross fighting back a little; this is more in keeping with their outlook.

86. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The government is being run by Southerners. That is why your country is now allied with atheistic China.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would intensify the traditional prejudice of Northerners (refugees) against Southerners. It would also increase the opposition of the refugees (a majority of whom are Catholics) to the regime which is cooperating with the Communists.

87. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Two worried looking Catholic priests (Vietnamese) in cassocks sitting on a bench. A young Communist cadre wearing a red-starred arm band lectures them forcefully. Behind him is a sign on the door of the room, reading "Auto-criticism."

Caption: Communism exploits religion. If it can't exploit it, it destroys it.

(continued)

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Task 46

87. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbols: Most of the refugees are Catholics and reference to religion and its symbols has immediate significance to them. The antithetical nature of religion and Communism is understood by the great majority of this audience.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke memories of Viet Minh mistreatment of Catholics in the North before the refugee exodus in 1954, and stories of such treatment heard subsequently by the refugees. It would emphasize for this group the cynical and exploitative attitude of Communists toward religion.

Roman Catholics

See Appeal Idea No. 85, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Comment: Situational Effects: Careful consideration should be given to the use of this appeal. As there is, understandably, a revulsion among devout Catholics to seeing religion dragged into political propaganda. On the other hand, many sincere Catholics may believe that the hammer and sickle cannot do permanent damage to the cross. Furthermore, although it is true that Communism is atheistic and antireligious, it is a fact that some religious life still exists in Russia; and there have been reports of an increase in church attendance there.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

See Appeal Idea No. 83, developed for this task for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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TASK 47: To get top national leaders to fight among themselves.

Political Elite

88. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

We ask you to consider these questions concerning the government which rules over you with Peking approval. Do the many Northerners in the government really have your interests at heart? Do the many Chinese "advisers" play favorites among your officials? Why do men who were known puppets under earlier governments still have positions of power? Don't they nullify what other leaders who have the people's interest at heart are attempting to do?

(Assumption: Full occupation and a puppet government.)

Key Symbols

Northerner officials.

Chinese advisers.

Ex-French puppets.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to increase the determination of some of the more national leaders to oppose and get rid of opportunists among _

89. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Some of you have begun to cooperate with us in this war begun by your false friends, the Chinese. Some of you see clearly the handwriting on the wall. Only the naive do not know that many of you are changing sides; only the naive among you will be left holding the bag at the end.

(China is the major foe. Tide of war has begun to turn toward United States.)

Key Symbols

Naive.

"Jump on bandwagon."

Meaning of Key Symbols: To be naive is to be stupid; to play both sides and jump on the bandwagon at the right time is a sign of cleverness.

(continued)

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Task 47, 49

89. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would raise questions in the minds of many as to which leaders were "cooperating," and tend to increase suspicion of each other among the group.

GOAL: PRIVATIZATION

TASK 49: To make members of the group dissatisfied with living conditions (poor or insufficient food, inadequate clothing, excessive restrictions, etc.).

Administrators

90. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols

Illustration: A well-fed, well-housed, well-entertained Chinese military officer working in Saigon under terms of alliance.

Chinese officer.

Caption: Our Chinese cousin is living well these days.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would intensify the traditional dislike for the Chinese and at the same time increase the complaints about the different living conditions of the Vietnamese and "outsiders."

Comment: Situational Effect: A limitation on effectiveness would arise if the Chinese personnel behaved in an exemplary manner and did not indulge in conspicuous consumption.

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Administrators

91. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Showing a well-dressed, fat Chinese soldier before an overflowing table being served by a Vietnamese waitress, poorly dressed and thin, who is identified as a girl from North Viet Nam by her headdress.

Caption: The Chinese care only for themselves: rationing is only for the Vietnamese.

Key Symbols

Contrast between well-fed Chinese and poor Vietnamese girl.

Rationing.

Comment: The appeal could be strengthened by showing just a Vietnamese girl--leaving her regional origin purposely vague--so that the administrator could identify her with all Vietnamese women. Situational Effect: The effectiveness of this appeal would be decreased if Chinese personnel behaved in an exemplary manner.

- See Appeal Idea No. 98, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for administrators, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Educationalists

92. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Well-dressed, fat Vietnamese leaders obsequiously bowing to Chinese as they and other Chinese gorge themselves at heavily laden table.

Caption: The puppets of the colonialists do not worry about your short rations.

Key Symbols

Prosperous Chinese.

Puppets.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: In addition to drawing on the traditional hatred of the Chinese, it would stimulate envy and hatred by those on short rations toward the puppet leaders who are living well.

(continued)

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Task 49

92. Appeal Idea (continued)

Comment: The effectiveness of this appeal would be decreased if Chinese personnel and their Vietnamese collaborators practiced austerity to a convincing extent. Also, since the term colonialist is associated with the French, and not yet with the Chinese Communists, this association should be more carefully spelled out.

Educationalists

93. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: A flabby Vietnamese official with all the luxury and food one could desire, stupidly barking orders to incompetent underlings, while outside his palace a hungry, ragged populace is ignored.

Caption: Cong-Binh o dau? (Where is justice?)

Key Symbols

Injustice.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Vietnamese educationalists are acutely conscious of the injustices which contribute much to poverty and suffering in some areas.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would channel the blame for poor living conditions to corrupt officials of the regime in power.

94. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

To the left, a picture of a middle-class Vietnamese family, poorly clad, watching as rice is being loaded on a Chinese junk. To the right, a picture of a Chinese, in a Chinese setting, feeding rice to the birds in his garden.

Caption: You go hungry in order to feed the birds of the North.

Key Symbols

Family group.

Rice.

Hatred of Chinese.

(continued)

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94. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbols: The family is the key unit in Vietnamese culture; rice is considered the staff of life; dislike and hatred of the Chinese is a persistent characteristic of the Vietnamese.

Educationalists

95. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)	Key Symbols
Illustration: Youths and their teacher gazing into empty rice bowls; sacks of Padi in background being guarded by Chinese Reds. Caption: Where does our rice go under this regime?	Empty rice bowl. Chinese guards.

Intellectuals

96. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)	Key Symbols
Illustration: An aged, emaciated man dressed in the typical, but tattered traditional garb of the elite. He is begging from better dressed, younger, and better fed persons. Caption: Is there no room for poets? Is there no room for writers?	Age. Traditional garb of intellectual.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would cause the intellectuals to worry about the future, especially the large number of the aging who already have some fears regarding security in old age.

(continued)

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Task 49

96. Appeal Idea (continued)

Comment: While intellectuals tend to have a good deal of respect for the traditional elders, many intellectuals would be found among younger people who tend to be skeptical of traditional values. Thus, the younger intellectual might tend to identify with the younger person in the picture who is obviously flouting some of the old traditions. Therefore, the appeal would be more effective with older rather than younger people. Situational Effect: The appeal assumes the Chinese allies are actually mistreating the people of Viet Nam. If this situation did not arise, the appeal would have an adverse effect.

Intellectuals

97. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Group of aged, emaciated men dressed in typical, but tattered traditional garb of the elite, begging from better dressed, younger, and better fed persons.

Caption: Is this your future?

Key Symbols

Age.

Traditional garb of intellectuals.

Comment: As before (Appeal 96), many younger intellectuals are skeptical of the traditional values and would tend to identify themselves with the younger, more prosperous persons in the illustration. Thus, the appeal would be more effective with older people. Situational Effect: If the Chinese are not abusing the Vietnamese people with whom they are allied, then the appeal might lose all effectiveness and even have an adverse effect.

- See Appeal Idea No. 93, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 95, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

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Refugees

93 Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A ragged and emaciated peasant and family watching a train, truck, or ship marked "rice" moving in a direction indicated by a sign to be traveling toward China.

Caption: Why isn't there any food or clothing? It has gone to supply the Chinese.

Key Symbols

Hungry peasants.

Chinese.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Hunger in Viet Nam is associated by the people with exploitation by foreigners; the Chinese are traditionally considered as exploiters and aggressors by the Vietnamese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to blame difficult wartime living conditions on the Chinese and thus exploit the traditional Vietnamese resentment of Chinese aggressiveness.

Comment: If intended for an audience in the Mekong delta, a large barge should be substituted for the ship mentioned in the illustration, as barges are more common in that area. Situational Effect: This appeal could later boomerang if after the war it was necessary to export rice to get foreign exchange for Viet Nam. Many Vietnamese have a typical "peasant mentality" with no understanding or appreciation for the national need of foreign exchange.

Roman Catholics

- See Appeal Idea No. 92, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 93, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 49

South Viet Nam as a Whole

99. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Cartoon of Mao (or appropriate Chinese Communist leaders) seated on map of China, so drawn as to emphasize vastness of China. Mao is eating from large bowl of rice.

Caption: The Cholon Chinese grow prosperous by shipping more and more of the rice you need to feed your own hungry comrades.

Key Symbols

Cartoon of Chinese leader.

Rice bowl.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to increase the general fear of overseas Chinese and the long-held fear of invasion from the North.

Comment: The Vietnamese are very sensitive about their land area. Perhaps this appeal could be improved by having Mao sitting on the map of Viet Nam and picking out bits of the country with his chopsticks, and the caption changed to some statement about China nibbling at Viet Nam. Differential Effect: This appeal will alienate the Chinese living in Viet Nam, who are an influential group in business and commerce. Overt appeals and acts against this Chinese group could push them into the opposite camp.

- See Appeal Idea No. 92, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 93, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 94, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

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South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 95, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 98, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

GOAL: PANIC AND DISORGANIZED BEHAVIOR

TASK 51: To get members of the group to panic or behave in a disorganized manner.

Refugees

100. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Showing a Viet Minh general and a Chinese official watching a Christian Tonkinese being tortured. (He is distinguished as a Tonkinese by his brown clothes and a cross on a chain at his throat.) The Chinese is saying, "Are you ready to confess that you are an enemy of the people."

Caption: The Chinese are coming. You are probably an enemy of the people too.

(Assumption: That Chinese troops are making initial entry into South Viet Nam.)

Key Symbols

Torture.

Viet Minh official.

Chinese invasion.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Refugees would identify themselves with the torture victim because of their past experiences with Viet Minh officials and Chinese Communists.

(continued)

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Task 51, 52

100. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Because of the refugees' first-hand knowledge of Communist methods, it would instil doubt and trepidation about their future.

Comment: The caption presumes on Western logic. Refugees will not recognize the meaning clearly unless it is clarified a bit more.

GOAL: SUBVERSION AND RESISTANCE

TASK 52: To get members of the group to slow down or create delays.

Administrators

101. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Represent China as a huge, grasping, greedy Chinese standing over a map of South Viet Nam, holding in one arm money bags of padi and in the other many Vietnamese soldiers.

Caption: You do not want to help him steal from Viet Nam. (Lose shipping papers; misship commodities; set up unnecessary administrative procedures, etc.)

Key Symbols

Grasping Chinese ally.

Rice and wealth.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would intensify the traditional dislike and fear of the Chinese as exploiters and would indicate how the group could oppose the unpopular ally without danger to themselves.

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Political Elite

102. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Two buffaloes with locked horns, each with the flags of one adversary on its hide. A few flies, marked "occupied Viet Nam" could be shown.

Caption: When the buffaloes fight, the flies suffer. The wise course is not to take sides, to get out from underfoot, to stay unnoticed.

(Assumption: A military fluid or stalemate situation, with no United States victory clearly in sight.)

Key Symbols

Proverb.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Well-known proverb suggesting trun-chanh (under the blanket, attentisme).

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would emphasize the wisdom of paying lip service to the unpopular ally, but not cooperating wholeheartedly.

Comment: The Vietnamese are skilled at this and would find it easy to do.

103. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Exercise wisdom! Do not run when it is better to walk. Do not talk when it is better to be silent.

Key Symbols

Proverbs.

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Task 52

South Viet Nam as a Whole

104. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Fat, well-dressed Chinese (and Viet Minh) soldier eating before an overflowing table. The Chinese soldier is reaching with obvious licentious intent for a poorly dressed and thin Tonkinese waitress (her headdress distinguishes her as Tonkinese).

Caption: Why work for the Communist exploiters--join the strike.

Key Symbols

Chinese and Viet Minh soldier.

Tonkinese servant.

Licentiousness.

Communist exploiters.

Meaning of Key Symbols: To see a Viet Minh soldier sit by calmly while a Chinese soldier (traditionally distrusted by Vietnamese) reaches for a Tonkinese girl would be enraging to most Vietnamese. The Chinese have always been considered exploiters, and the Viet Minh have expropriated the land of those Vietnamese who had to flee south.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to enrage many Vietnamese by showing the disparity between their food supplies and those of the Chinese allies, and they would be angered by the licentious behavior pictured. It would drive many to consider ways of getting revenge on the Chinese and Viet Minh.

Comment: The strike appeal is dangerous and may get people killed. Perhaps it would be better to advocate "stay away" or "slow down."

- See Appeal Idea No. 101, developed for this task for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 102, developed for this task for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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TASK 53: To get members of the group to malinger or practice absenteeism.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 101, developed for Task 52 for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 53, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 102, developed for Task 52 for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 53, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 54: To get members of the group to strike.

Refugees

105. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

The more rice you grow, the more the Chinese-controlled government takes from you in taxes. Is it worth planting more than the amount your family needs?

Key Symbols

Rice taxation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to persuade the peasant to limit his production to the barest needs.

Comment: In some places, because of soil conditions, the refugees do not grow rice, but other crops.

106. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Why work for starvation wages to equip (or feed) _____ (presumably Ho Chi Minh) and his blood-soaked army? Strike for higher pay!

Key Symbols

Ho Chi Minh's "blood-soaked" army.

(continued)

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Task 54, 55

106. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbol: It would represent Viet Minh mistreatment of those who fled from North Viet Nam in 1954 and later. It would remain important as a symbol to the refugees despite any amount of Ho government propaganda to which they may be exposed.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would, by pointing up further cruelties by the Viet Minh military toward elements of the refugee group, cause them to react so as to decrease their labor and their support of the regime holding power.

Comment: This appeal would be limited to workers among the refugees; however, few are workers--most are farmers.

TASK 55: To get members of the group to commit sabotage or participate in other forms of active resistance.

Educationalists

107. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: The Trung sisters leading a charge aginst a Chinese invasion army.

Caption: Death and destruction to the Chinese invaders.

Key Symbols

Trung sisters.

Chinese invaders.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The exploits of the Trung sisters in resisting the Chinese are legendary and permanently fixed in the minds of Vietnamese educators.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would indicate that opportunities existed for members of the group to become national heroes by following in the footsteps of the Trung sisters.

Roman Catholics

See Appeal Idea No. 107, developed for this task for educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 107, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 111, developed for Task 56 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 55, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 112, developed for Task 56 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 55, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Task 56: To get members of the group to organise to take part in resistance movement in enemy areas.

Intellectuals

- See Appeal Idea No. 108, developed for this task for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Political Elite

106. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Remember the Trung Sisters. They gave their lives for Vietnamese independence. Follow their example and fight the enemy.

Key Symbols

Trung sisters.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Trung sisters are heroines who led a fight against the Chinese and died for Vietnamese independence.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would likely arouse sentiments of patriotism and a desire for independence.

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Task 56

Refugees

109. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

A thousand years of Chinese rule and 80 years of French colonialism could not break the nationalist spirit of the Vietnamese. How long must the people endure the yoke of _____ (Chinese Communist leader) and his Vietnamese Communist stooge (Ho or successor) _____? Down with the Chinese oppressors and their traitorous Vietnamese (Viet gian) stooges! Remember Le Loi! Join the resistance!

Key Symbols

Chinese and French domination.

Le Loi.

Viet gian.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Le Loi, one of Viet Nam's greatest warriors and rulers, symbolizes nationalistic resistance against foreign domination; he drove out the Chinese invaders in the 15th century. Viet gian (traitor, false Viet Nam) was once widely used by the Viet Minh, and its use in this appeal could perhaps be turned against them.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: By recalling the success of glorious, historical, anti-Chinese, nationalist campaigns and pointing up the inevitability of victory for Vietnamese nationalism, it would make participation in resistance efforts appear more worthwhile and more likely to attain overthrow of the Communist regime that is allied with the Chinese.

110. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

You abandoned your homes in the North for freedom in 1954. The _____ (presumably Ho) regime destroyed that freedom in the South. You cannot flee again. Join the resistance and help drive the Chinese and their Vietnamese Communist stooges from the fatherland!

Key Symbols

Flight to freedom in 1954.

Viet Minh as stooges of Chinese.

(continued)

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110. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbols: The flight to freedom will be long remembered and is emotion-charged; references to Chinese exploitation of Vietnamese regimes are believable and will also have value with this group.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke resentment at having lost freedom twice, and bring a realisation that although further flight (in the sense of escape to a non-Communist zone) is impossible, direct resistance against the Chinese and Vietnamese Communists is logical as a last resort.

Refugees

111. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A fat, well-dressed Chinese (and Viet Minh) soldier eating before an overflowing table. The Chinese soldier is reaching with obvious licentious intent for a poorly dressed and thin Tonkinese waitress (her headdress distinguishes her as Tonkinese).

Caption: Why continue to allow the Communists to despoil your women? Join the resistance movement.

Key Symbols

Chinese and Viet Minh soldiers.

Tonkinese servant.

Licentious behavior.

112. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Drive the Chinese and their Vietnamese Communist (Viet-Cong) stooges from the fatherland. The spirit of Le Loi and the Trung sisters remains in the Vietnamese people. Organise resistance groups in your area!

Key Symbols

Viet-Cong stooges.

Le Loi.

Trung sisters.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Le Loi and the Trung sisters are heroic historical figures, famous for their anti-Chinese resistance.

(continued)

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Task 56

112. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: By recalling glorious achievements against the Chinese in the past, it would reinforce the belief in the triumph of this nationalist spirit once again, and encourage participation in the resistance movement.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

113. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: The two Trung sisters pulling a boat along a canal.

Caption: By "pulling together" the Trung sisters were able to repel the invaders once before. This same kind of cooperation will work again.

Key Symbols

Trung sisters.

Cooperation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would suggest that cooperative efforts can be very fruitful, and would provide hope in difficult situations. It strikes a note which is attractive to the national pride of the Vietnamese.

- See Appeal Idea No. 107, developed for Task 55 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 56, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 108, developed for this task for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 109, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 111, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 112, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 57: To get members of the group to revolt or to attempt secession.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 107, developed for Task 55 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 57, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 108, developed for Task 56 for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 57, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 111, developed for Task 56 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 57, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 112, developed for Task 56 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 57, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 58

PROJECTED GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION

The special audience resides in a country or area controlled by United States military government or civil affairs (consolidation phase).

GOAL: GOOD WILL TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

TASK 58: To identify and strengthen among members of the group ideals held in common by the liberated country and the United States.

Intellectuals

- See Appeal Idea No. 114, developed for this task for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Political Elite

114. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Photos and/or pictures of United States and Viet Nam officials in positions of "equality," or Vietnamese in the United States.

Caption: Viet Nam, America--two countries, one task: victory for democracy.

Further text: (Include items showing common points in United States and Viet Nam Constitution, statesmen of both nations, etc.)

Key Symbols

Equality of Viet Nam and U.S.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to establish a commonness of purpose; it also would flatter the Vietnamese who like to be considered as equals by other greater powers.

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GOAL: [redacted]

TASK 59: To help rebuild among members of the group a sense of national unity or group solidarity.

Refugees

- See Appeal Idea No. 118, developed for Task 60 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 59, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 112, developed for Task 60 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 59, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 116, developed for Task 60 for use with communalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 59, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 118, developed for Task 60 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 59, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 118, developed for Task 60 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 59, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Draft #0

Theme #0: To help give the members of the group encouragement and hope for the future of their liberated country or area.

Educationalists

115. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: At left, a circle of darkness, at right a bright circle of light. A young Vietnamese, sturdy and resolute, has just stepped out of the darkness, dropping his chains, into the circle of light. His upturned face is bathed by a shaft of light.

Caption: Khoi no-le, Tien vao tu-do (escape from slavery, advance into liberty).

Key Symbols

Truth vs. error.

Freedom vs. slavery.

Meaning of Key Symbols: In the Vietnamese mind there is an eternal conflict between the world of darkness and the world of light. They naturally like to think of themselves as being on the side of light, truth, and freedom as opposed to the world of darkness, error, and slavery.

116. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Khoi no-le, Tien vao tu-do (escape from slavery, advance into liberty). The cruel memory of oppression, privation, injustice, degradation must still haunt you. You cannot, indeed must not, forget the terror and horror from which you have just escaped. But the bright light of truth and hope like a new day dawns ever more clearly, as you work together with us, your liberators, for the restoration of the dignity, sovereignty, and prosperity of your country.

Key Symbols

Truth vs. error.

Freedom vs. slavery.

(continued)

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116. Appeal Idea (continued)

Comment: The promise of better, freer, and broader educational opportunities could be used with good effect in support of this appeal. Particularly in stressing the future for young people, education would be a symbol of a better life for them and for their relatives.

Educationalists

117. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The Philippines recovered quickly from the ravages of World War II because America assisted them economically after their independence. The United States helped the Republic of Viet Nam recover from the ravages of Communist aggression after the Geneva Convention of 1954. The United States is prepared to help you rebuild your war-torn country today.

Key Symbols

National pride and confidence.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would, by citing examples, give them confidence that U.S. words would be backed up with deeds.

Refugees

118. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Map of Viet Nam. Superimposed, is group of well-armed United States troops, and right behind them of refugees, marching north. Enemy troops in north are fleeing.

Caption: [illegible] of liberation is at hand. Rejoice and lend your help. We bring new freedom to your brothers in the north.

Key Symbols

Map of all Viet Nam.

Liberation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would use the dominant emotional drive of most refugees today to elicit active cooperation with the U.S. in a rebuilding program.

(continued)

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Task 60

118. Appeal Idea (continued)

Comment: This appeal could give the impression that the U.S. is going to help them move back north. Since there is more land in the south, it is very questionable whether the U.S. policy would be in favor of such a move. However, many refugees still dream about returning north. At present, this is a touchy subject and an internal matter about which the U.S. can make no promises and is not taking a stand on, as of 1959.

Refugees

119. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

For the first time in _____ years, Viet Nam is free from the Gate of Nam Quan to the tip of Camau.

(Number of years is the total elapsed from 1861 to hypothetical situation.)

Key Symbols

A nation reunited.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would hearten the people by stressing the fact that freedom and unification have been achieved for the first time (in the long period indicated).

120. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The Americans helped you to get re-established before. They will do so again.

Key Symbols

Promise of aid.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind the refugees of U.S. help in their resettling in South Viet Nam and convince them that they could depend on similar help in the future.

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South Viet Nam as a Whole

121. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Young Vietnamese standing in a circle of light. A shaft of light is shining on his upturned face. In the background is darkness with chains, fantastic and distorted creatures, and men indistinctly seen.

Caption: Tuong-lai day Hi-vong (the future is full of hope).

Key Symbols

Contrast: light vs. darkness.

122. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The Americans have never oppressed you. They will help develop your country with their wealth.

Key Symbols

Anticolonialism of U.S.

American wealth.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Educated Vietnamese know the U.S. record respecting colonialism, and the Vietnamese react favorably toward noncolonial powers; all Vietnamese respect wealth.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: As confidence in America grew, the future of their country, with American material assistance, would appear to be assured.

- See Appeal Idea No. 115, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 116, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 60, 62

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 118, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 119, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 120, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

GOAL: COMPLIANCE AND COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES

TASK 62: To counter rumors and false reports among members of the group.

Intellectuals

123. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: First picture at right shows back of two heads with traditional kalo headdress. Figures are in conversation with one telling the other some rumor. At left, is the reverse of the picture, showing Chinese faces with cunning and malicious expressions, and a red star as identification on collar or clothes.

Caption: Not all you hear is true, although from some angles it may appear to be.

Key Symbols

Traditional headdress.

Chinese.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The first is both an identifying and nationalistic symbol; "Chinese" will conjure up negative reactions.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind the group that not everything heard is true and that much of it may come from malicious sources.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Intellectuals

124. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2) | Key Symbols

Four horses at full gallop would not be able to catch again a slipped word. | Saying of Confucius.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would caution the group against spreading false reports, quoting the view of the "wise man" of the East on this point.

Comment: This appeal could be fortified if presented as a caption for a poster showing groups of intellectuals, each very busy at his job--artists, writers, doctors, lawyers, etc.

Political Elite

125. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1) | Key Symbols

Caption: Tongue without bone speaks no truth (someone who is known to have lied before is likely to lie again). (Cite known lies and well-verified facts, side by side.) | Well-known saying.

Verified facts.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to discredit enemy propaganda and increase skepticism about rumor spread by hostile elements.

Comment: A fairly complex image, but fully acceptable for this group.

126. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2) | Key Symbols

Illustration: Government Assembly Hall. | Assembly Hall.

Caption: Leaders in peace and freedom. What does your intelligence tell you? Do you believe the rumors and lies spread by your mutual enemy; or, do you realize the truth in your own good fortune? You are the chosen leaders of the Republic of South Viet Nam. | Chosen leaders.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Task 62, 64

Political Elite

127. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Our common enemy will attempt to create dissension by false report and rumor. Analyze these carefully and you will not be fooled. The United States has proven in the Philippines that it stands for freedom. You will have such freedom and independence if you do not believe false rumors and reports.

Key Symbols

Anticolonialism of U.S.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to discredit anti-American rumor by reference to the known fact of the freedom and independence of Viet Nam's neighbor, the Philippines.

TASK 64: To create receptive attitudes among members of the group to changes approved by the occupation forces.

Administrators

- See Appeal Idea No. 129, developed for this task for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for administrators, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 138, developed for Task 67 for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 64, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 139, developed for Task 67 for use with [illegible] and judged to be appropriate also for administrators for Task 64, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Educationalists

128. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Teachers are opinion leaders in whose hands rests the development of your country's youth. By explaining the necessity of the new laws and regulations to your students, you can help your country recover quicker from the ravages of war and help shape a brighter future for all Vietnamese.

Key Symbols

Professional pride.

Leadership responsibility.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to increase the efforts of this group as opinion leaders for students.

Intellectuals

129. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A Viet Nam soldier and U.S. soldier in battle positions.

Caption: Your cooperation on the home front will make their jobs easier.

(Supposition: Viet Nam has become an active military ally of United States at this stage of war.)

Key Symbols

Comradeship of Viet Nam and U.S. soldiers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would stimulate national pride by showing equality of Viet Nam soldier with U.S. soldier.

130. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: An emaciated dragon.

Caption: To be healthy again, Viet Nam needs your cooperation and help.

Key Symbols

Dragon.

(continued)

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Task 64

130. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbol: The dragon, having the same shape as the territorial outlines of all Viet Nam, stands as a representation of the nation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would stimulate nationalism and encourage efforts to effect a cure for whatever was ailing the nation.

Comment: The effectiveness of this appeal would depend a good deal on what one was trying to get done. It would make a lot of difference whether the objective was to persuade people that price control was desirable for their own good or that a curfew law was a good thing.

- See Appeal Idea No. 133, developed for Task 66 for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals for Task 64, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 132, developed for Task 67 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals for Task 64, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Refugees

- See Appeal Idea No. 132, developed for Task 67 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for Task 64, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

South Viet Nam as a Whole

131. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: People of all walks of life pulling a large elaborate boat upstream. The boat represents the Ship of State. In the background, depict some dark, subversive characters protesting, saying, "No." "Let go, no use."

Caption: Pull together for the salvation of the country! This is no time to allow our enemies to intimidate us and to scatter our forces, dissipate our energies. Now is the time to stand together, to maintain order, to carry out the laws and regulations of the proper authorities.

Key Symbols

Pulling boat upstream.

Meaning of Key Symbol: This scene is a familiar one in Viet Nam and its figurative sense very clear and immediately recognizable.

Comment: The goals should be specific and not as vague as "maintain order" and so forth. The Vietnamese have a poor concept of organized effort to reach a goal. Usually it is every man for himself. Thus, simple goals must be simply presented to them to make this appeal effective.

132. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Elderly intelligent Vietnamese man--in Vietnamese dress.

Caption: The civil affairs officer is like your grandfather. Do as he tells you and all will be well.

Key Symbols

Vietnamese elder.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Vietnamese culture respects the wisdom of old men and tends to obey them without question.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to build up an identification between the civil affairs officers and the respected elders.

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Task 64, 66

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 129, developed for this task for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 139, developed for Task 67 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 64, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 140, developed for Task 67 for use with South Viet Nam as a whole and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 64, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Task 66: To get members of the group to assist civil affairs and/or military government in restoring law and order in occupied or liberated territories.

Administrators

- See Appeal Idea No. 129, developed for Task 64 for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for administrators for Task 66, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 137, developed for Task 67 for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 66, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 138, developed for Task 67 for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 66, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 139, developed for Task 67 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for administrators for Task 66, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Political Elite

133. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

	Key Symbols
Series of photographs showing Military Government officers and Viet Nam officers doing jobs side by side, as equals. Caption: Unite with the forces of freedom to rebuild your country!	Comradeship of Viet Nam and U.S. officers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would encourage a willingness to cooperate for the sake of the nation. A Vietnamese official is flattered by the thought that he has authority and is an equal to the foreign official with whom he has to work.

134. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Free elections and turn-over of administration of your country will come about with the restoration of law and order. You will have the opportunity to regain your political posts as soon as that is accomplished. Your cooperation to that end is necessary.	Self-interest.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would arouse a strong desire among political leaders to regain their former positions, thus making them favorable to cooperation.

Comment: This could be very effective, provided the language used involves no implication of threat or overt coercion.

• See Appeal Idea No. 137, developed for Task 67 for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for political elite for Task 66, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Task 66

~~Influence~~

135. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Trong Gia-Chanh, cung nhu trong Gia-Dinh, phai co Linh-Tu. (In the nation, as in the home, there must be order.) It is the responsibility of the elders of the nation, as the father of the home, to speak the words of truth and wisdom, and to command which way to go. It is the part of the people to obey, as it is the part of the children to obey their parents. Your leaders are like your fathers. For the sake of the country, and for the welfare of your own homes, heed their words of wisdom, and unite your hearts in obedience. Therein lies the path of peace and progress.

Key Symbols

Saying.

Respect for elders.

Ancestor worship.

Meaning of Key Symbols: All three together touch on one of the deepest values in the Vietnamese culture, the traditional respect given to elders.

Comment: Differential Effect: This appeal, based upon paternal authority, would be more effective among rural people. There is some danger that to the more highly educated Vietnamese the appeal's theme would represent a frustration of their desires to develop more modern, libertarian ideas and political processes. It might be looked upon with suspicion by these persons as a retrograde type of propaganda. It also might be susceptible to profitable manipulation by an occupying power.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Refugees

136. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Elderly Vietnamese father with long beard on chin (not too heavy) seated erect upon old-fashioned high-back chair; his face serene, quiet, but commanding. Nearby, looking at him, standing or squatting, his children, both young men and young women, listen to his words.

Caption: Cha bao—con nghe.
(The father commands, the children hear and obey.)

Key Symbols

Vietnamese father.

Saying.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would remind them of the respect due age and authority.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 129, developed for Task 64 for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 66, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 131, developed for Task 64 for use with South Viet Nam as a whole and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 66, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 136, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 139, developed for Task 67 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 66, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Task 67

Task 67: To get members of the group to support the control of civilians, displaced persons, and prisoners of war.

Administration

137. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: U.S. Military Government officer and Vietnamese administrator working together in assisting refugee family, pictured as emaciated, ill-clothed, and carrying few possessions.

Caption: Victory means order--order means cooperation on mutual problems.

Key Symbols

Comradeship of Viet Nam and U.S. officials.

Aid to Viet Nam family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would stimulate national pride by depicting equalitarian cooperation and would remind them of U.S. part in the successful resettlement of refugees in 1954-55.

138. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Green beret (symbol of Binh Xuyen).

Caption: Remember what happened in your country when the Binh Xuyen were on the loose? Avoid the chaos and looting of your homes by strangers. Controls are established to protect you.

Key Symbols

Green beret.

Meaning of Key Symbol: This is the symbol used by Binh Xuyen, a leader of dissidents and bandits who exacted tribute from people throughout Viet Nam.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: By reminding them of predatory tactics of uncontrolled gangs, it would point up the moral of following instructions of the authorities.

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Administrators

- See Appeal Idea No. 139, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for administrators, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Educationalists

- See Appeal Idea No. 133, developed for Task 66 for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for educationalists for Task 67, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Political Elite

- See Appeal Idea No. 133, developed for Task 66 for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 67, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 137, developed for this task for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for political elite, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Refugees

139. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The Americans rescued you from the Communists before. They can be trusted now.

Key Symbols

American aid.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to give the group faith in the judgment of the U.S. military government. Most refugees who were evacuated from North Viet Nam by the U.S. Navy trust and like American military people.

Comment: This appeal assumes that Viet Nam has been abused by the Communists and was, therefore, indeed liberated.

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Task 67, 68

South Viet Nam as a Whole

140. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Support the present Vietnamese government; whose leaders helped the Resistance drive out the Communists.

Key Symbols

Anti-Communist resistance.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would identify government leaders with anti-Communist resistance, and heighten the prestige of their regime.

• See Appeal Idea No. 139, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

PROJECTED GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION

The special audience resides in a country or area which is occupied by armed forces of the enemy of the United States.

GOAL: GOOD WILL TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

TASK 68: To identify and strengthen among members of the group those ideals and values held in common by the occupied country and the United States.

Military--Enlisted Men

141. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Picture of Vietnamese soldier and American soldier with hands clasped in firm handshake.

Caption: Not the fist, not the red flag, but a helping hand is America's symbol of liberation of your people.

Key Symbols

Fist salute and red flag.

Hand clasp.

(continued)

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141. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbols: The fist salute and red flag represent fanaticism and disregard for the individual. The hand clasp is widely recognized as a symbol of U.S. economic aid in Southeast Asia.

TASK 69: To convince the members of the group that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable (build up understanding of and sympathy for U.S. wartime policies, aims, and objectives; create an awareness of traditional friendship between members of the group and the United States; create an appreciation of U.S. culture and way of life, etc.).

Educationalists

The Appeal Idea No. 2[illegible], developed for Task 93 for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for educationalists for Task 69, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Intellectuals

142. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Major power allied with Viet Nam (symbolized by huge soldiers) tramping to death a number of tortoises which are labeled, dignity of the individual, freedom of religion, etc. In the background, a plainly labeled figure of a U.S. soldier is shown preparing to drive off the soldiers of the major power allied with Viet Nam.

Key Symbols

Tortoise.

Dignity of the individual.

Freedom of religion.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Tortoise is a representation widely used and well known to all Vietnamese; the values identified by the labels are those treasured by the intellectuals.

(continued)

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Task 69

142. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would, by indicating some of the things for which the United States stands and some of the wrongs recently suffered under the former regime, give intellectuals cause for hope and tend to increase their assistance in the liberation process.

Intellectuals

143. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A United States and a Vietnamese soldier marching arm in arm, happy and resolute, with guns on shoulders.

Caption: Anh em trong thoi Chien-tranh va binh-an (brothers in war and in peace).

Key Symbols

Comradeship of U.S. and Vietnamese soldiers.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Although the Vietnamese are traditionally not a warlike people, in recent years they have come more and more to respect and appreciate soldiers for the safety and protection they provide.

Comment: This appeal will be appropriate and effective only when U.S. troops are nearby and are expected to liberate the area very soon.

144. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Anh em trong thoi Chien-tranh va binh-an (brothers in war and in peace). East and West are no longer separated. Vietnamese and Americans have worked together for the strengthening and upbuilding of the freedom and sovereignty of Viet Nam. Both will continue to stand together, and if necessary fight shoulder to shoulder until complete victory is achieved and peace and justice restored.

Key Symbols

Shared objectives of U.S. and Viet Nam.

Comradeship of Vietnamese and Americans.

(continued)

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144. Appeal Idea (continued)

Comment: This appeal becomes more appropriate and effective when U.S. troops are close-at hand, ready to begin the liberation of the area.

Military--Enlisted Men

145. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Pictures of Filipinos welcoming U.S. troops, and ceremonies for independence.

Caption: Men of the Vietnamese Army: In World War II, the United States liberated the Philippines from the yoke of Japanese slavery. Two years later, the Philippines were given independence by the United States--who does not wish to conquer land or people for colonies. When American soldiers arrive in your country, welcome and assist them for they wish only to help you. (Signed by Head of Government-in-Exile.)

(Assumption: That the reoccupation of this country is feasible in terms of military strategy.)

Key Symbols

U.S. as liberator.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to create belief in the aims and policies of the United States, particularly the fact that Americans wish to help the Vietnamese people.

• See Appeal Idea No. 116, developed for Task 70 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 69, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 69

Military--Officers

- See Appeal Idea No. 141, developed for Task 68 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for officers for Task 69, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Refugees

- See Appeal Idea No. 147, developed for Task 70 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 69, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 146, developed for Task 70 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 69, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 149, developed for Task 70 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 69, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Roman Catholics

- See Appeal Idea No. 143, developed for this task for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 144, developed for this task for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 143, developed for this task for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 144, developed for this task for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 149, developed for Task 70 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 69, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 235, developed for Task 90 for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 69, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 70: To create the belief among members of the group that United States troops are liberators.

Military--Enlisted Man

146. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Picture of elephant with U.S. markings and carrying behind itself easily recognizable goods (cigarettes, food cans, etc.).	Vietnamese proverb. U.S. military power.
Caption: As our proverbs say: Theo voi an bã mia. (When you follow an elephant, you will get some of his sugar cane.) The United States forces are mighty. They will not forget their Vietnamese friends.	

Meaning of Key Symbols: The proverb means that it is good to travel with the powerful, for one gets protection and also material rewards from them.

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Task 70

Refugees

147. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Showing an American sailor holding a Vietnamese child on an American ship whose decks are lined with smiling Vietnamese.

Caption: The Americans saved you once from the Communists--they are coming again to liberate you.

Key Symbols

American sailor. Vietnamese refugee child.

Smiling refugees.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The vast majority of refugees who were evacuated from North Viet Nam on American ships have a warm feeling toward Americans. They realize that American ships took them away from the Communists and could be expected to save them from the Communists again.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to evoke the belief that American troops are liberators.

148. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Christian cross and United States flag with dates 1955-1956 and the one word RESETTLEMENT in capitals.

Caption: The United States troops and your clergy worked well together to evacuate you to freedom before. They can do it again.

Key Symbols

Christian cross.

Catholic clergy.

U.S. flag.

Comment: Intimations that the refugees would have to be evacuated again should be avoided. Also, while the exodus was a dramatic operation, resettlement was fraught with problems. Differential Effect: This appeal should be directed only to Catholic areas; it would have an adverse effect on a great many non-Catholic Vietnamese who at present feel treated as second-class citizens.

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Refugees

149. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2) | Key Symbols

Illustration Determined-looking United States soldier, arms linked with brown-shirted refugee and Free Vietnamese soldier.

Caption: Join us. We shall retake Haiphong and Hanoi together.

(Assumption: Landings by United States troops imminent.)

Shared objective of U.S. and refugees.

GOAL: COMPLIANCE AND COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES

TASK 73: To get members of the group to evacuate strategically important towns and cities.

Administrators

150. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1) | Key Symbols

The family must be kept intact. So, do not stay where you might be killed. The rice fields and forests are your safest haven.

Be safe in rice fields.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Vietnamese are emotionally unable to remain calm when adverse conditions might arise. They are also susceptible to suggestion.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

* See Appeal Idea No. 150, developed for this task for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 74

GOAL: HOSTILITY TOWARD AND NONCOOPERATION WITH THE ENEMY

Task 74: To promote among members of the group feelings of resentment toward the enemy.

Administrators

151. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Do you want to serve under a foreigner? Every ruler of your country in the past has retained all important posts for themselves. Remember, you were clerks and plantons under the former colonial power.

Key Symbols

Planton.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Plantons hold a very low position in the community. Also, a vast amount of resentment exists because of lack of recognition of the talents of this group in the past.

152. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Showing burning rice fields and rural houses.

Caption: Present from your "brothers" from the North.

(Assumption: North Viet Nam troops led the invasion and are serving as occupation troops.)

Key Symbols

Brotherhood of North and South Viet Nam.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Feeling of brotherhood between North and South is strong. Many of the administrators have come originally from the North.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should arouse resentment against the enemy.

(continued)

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152. Appeal Idea (continued)

Comment: This appeal should be used with caution. It would tend to produce the desired effect but at the cost of promoting cleavage within Viet Nam on a regional basis. This side effect may not be one desired by U.S.

Administrators

- See Appeal Idea No. 152, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for administrators, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Military--Officers

153. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Sketch of Chinese and Vietnamese traitors making merry in luxurious surroundings.

Caption: The bee makes honey but isn't allowed to eat it; the swallow makes its nest but cannot inhabit it. The Chinese Communists and their Vietnamese traitor-friends live in the best houses, eat the best food, enjoy the prettiest girls...Aren't you their equal? Aren't you master in your own house?

Key Symbols

Vietnamese proverb.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Envy for material achievement is a strong Vietnamese trait, particularly when coupled with the intimation that the Chinese are profiting from the situation at the expense of the Vietnamese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would create strong resentment against the Chinese.

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Task 7A

Refugees

154. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Series of pictures: Communist soldier bayoneting young boy; another beating old woman; a third setting a house on fire.

Brutal acts of Communists.

Caption: This is the enemy you know. Help United States troops to eradicate him. Help to the United States now is help to your brethren in the North.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Assuming strong resentment of the enemy already widely exists, appeals of this kind reinforce and channel it.

155. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Illustration: Showing a Viet Minh general and a Chinese official watching a Christian Tonkinese being tortured. (He is distinguished as a Tonkinese by his brown clothes and a cross on a chain at his throat.) The Chinese is saying, "Are you ready to confess that you are an enemy of the people?"

Viet Minh general.

Chinese official.

Christian Tonkinese torture victim.

Caption: The Viet Minh have not changed since you fled from them.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Because of the refugees' experiences under the Viet Minh, the picture of a Tonkinese being tortured would bring back many unpleasant memories.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to promote feelings of resentment toward the enemy.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Refugees

156. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Map of Viet Nam, with North and South separated at 17th parallel.

Caption: The occupiers split Viet Nam once and drove you from your homes. Can you trust them?

Key Symbols

Broken map of Viet Nam.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would strengthen the already existing resentment of a dislocated people against the cause of the dislocation.

157. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Viet Nam a province of China? Never! Down with the Chinese and their flunkey, the _____ (presumably Ho) regime!

Key Symbols

Viet Nam--a Chinese province.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should remind the Vietnamese of their national pride in their long tradition of freedom from Chinese domination, and cause them to view the present domination as something which can be ended by their efforts.

Roman Catholics

158. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Caption: A Catholic leader has been deposed by the enemy. (Reveal story of treachery in the take-over of power by the Communists in South Viet Nam, including the behind-the-scenes story of the deposition of Ngo Dinh Diem.)

Key Symbols

Loss of leader.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Catholics of South Viet Nam, as much if not more than other Catholic groups, look strongly to the presence of leadership as a security symbol.

(continued)

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Task 74

158. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would create resentment turning into fear and hate of the enemy, the Communists.

Comment: Differential Effect: Since the Catholics are a minority group, the identification of the national leadership, favored by the U.S., with the Catholics may produce an adverse effect among other special audiences.

Roman Catholics

- See Appeal Idea No. 162, developed for Task 76 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics for Task 74, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 165, developed for Task 76 for use with Roman Catholics and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 74, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 166, developed for Task 76 for use with Roman Catholics and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 74, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 162, developed for Task 76 for use with Roman Catholics and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 74, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 221, developed for Task 95 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics for Task 74, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 152, developed for this task for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

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South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 154, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 156, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 157, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 223, developed for Task 95 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 74, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 75: To get members of the group to oppose portions of enemy ideology by making them aware of certain traditional values which are contradictory to the enemy ideology.

Military--Enlisted Men

- See Appeal Idea No. 159, developed for this task for officers and judged to be appropriate also for enlisted men, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 164, developed for Task 76 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 75, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Military--Officers

159. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Photograph of churches and temples.

Caption: For centuries your people have followed religious teachings in the temples and churches. You have taken up arms to fight for these teachings. Why do the Communists now forbid you to follow these instructions? Are they afraid of the truth?

Key Symbols: Communism vs. religion.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The deep-rooted acceptance of Buddhism or Christianity is real to the Vietnamese. They distrust those who accept no religion.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would raise the question--Why is Communism afraid of religious worship? Do they fear that people will find mistakes in Communism?

* See Appeal Idea No. 153, developed for Task 74 for use with officers and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 75, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 76: To promote among members of the group a disbelief in the idsology and war aims of the enemy.

Educationalists

160. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Are the war aims of the Communists what they say? Haven't the occupiers of your country shown by their actions that they consider you to be inferior to them?

(Supposition: There have been a number of instances of mistreatment and suppression of teachers.)

Key Symbols: Superiority of [illegible].

Inferiority of Vietnamese.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Vietnamese resent being treated as inferiors.

(continued)

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160. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: This group would especially resent any intimation that they or their countrymen were considered inferior. They would also respond to evidence that similar circumstances had resulted in slavery for other countries.

Educationalists

161. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Key Symbols
Tram Hoa.

Illustration: Communist leader with one flower in outstretched hand.

Caption: Tram Hoa (a hundred flowers) or one?

Meaning of Key Symbols: This phrase of Mao is widely known among Vietnamese intellectuals.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It will cause the special audience to associate professed Mao ideology of one hundred voices with real policy of permitting only one voice.

162. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols
Trung sisters.

Illustration: Two Trung sisters holding spears, riding on elephant.

Caption: Free Viet Nam from foreign domination.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Trung sisters evoke memory of success against foreign domination.

- See Appeal Idea No. 223, developed for Task 95 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 76, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 76

Intellectuals

163. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1) | Key Symbols

The invaders profess: (statement of intention). Instead, they do: (some contradictory action). The invaders profess: (another statement). Instead, they do: (a contradictory action). The invaders profess: (statement). Instead, they do: (c tradiction). | Contrast between words and actions.

Comment: "Invaders" should be changed to "Communist occupiers."

Military--Enlisted Men

164. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1) | Key Symbols

Soldiers: Do the Communists do as they say or do they have the forked tongue of a serpent? You have laid down your arms. Do the Communists give you land to plant or do they keep it for themselves? Do all receive equally or do a few receive much as in your colonial days? | Communist deceit.

Forked tongue of serpent.

Unequal land distribution.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The long years of colonization recall vividly the large plantations which took most and gave little. Such remembrances are vivid and distasteful to all Vietnamese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would raise doubt as to the true purpose or intent of the Communists and their doctrines.

Roman Catholics

165. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1) | Key Symbols

Illustration: A cup clearly marked "poison from Russia" in bold red or black letters.

Caption: Error is poison. Dung uong chen doc. (Don't drink the cup of poison.) | Cup marked "poison."

(continued)

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165. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbols: The cup marked "poison" is clearly understood by the Vietnamese as not merely referring literally to the cup, but to false teaching and propaganda.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would help create doubt as to the true intent of the Communists and their doctrines.

Roman Catholic

166. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Tich ta qui chanh (refuse evil, follow truth). The enemy will not hesitate to lie, deceive, pervert, and distort the truth; he will make tens of thousands of vain, empty promises: don't fall for his words of wind (hot air) and his pretense of doing you good. Refuse his flattering evil speech, and his violent, unlawful ways. Choose only the way of truth, honor, and righteousness--which lead to your desired goal of real peace.

Key Symbols

Deception.

Untruthfulness.

167. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Degenerate characters at a table. One is smoking opium, another pulling a knife, and some unsavory females are immodestly presenting themselves. A young man with a gesture of repugnance and rejection has turned away.

Caption: Tich ta qui chanh (refuse evil, follow truth).

Key Symbols

Evil vs. truth.

- See Appeal Idea No. 158, developed for Task 74 for use with Roman Catholics and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 76, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 76, 77

Roman Catholics

- See Appeal Idea No. 162, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 223, developed for Task 95 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics for Task 76, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 157, developed for Task 74 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 76, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 166, developed for this task for use with Roman Catholics and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 77: To encourage members of the group to deny manpower and food to the enemies of the United States.

Administrators

- See Appeal Idea No. 173, developed for Task 78 for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 77, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 174, developed for Task 78 for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 77, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Educationalists

168. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Why sacrifice your energy and your food to the enemy? You cannot trust the Chinese.	Mistrust of Chinese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should encourage this group to deny assistance to the enemy.

169. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Do not cooperate with the occupiers of your country. You will need your manpower and food for yourselves when he is thrown out. Do not collaborate.	Nationalism.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should instill a desire for preservation of the nation and the individual. This special audience by tradition is clannish and not amenable to giving assistance to outsiders.

- See Appeal Idea No. 171, developed for this task for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for educationalists, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 172, developed for this task for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for educationalists, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 77

Military--Enlisted Men

170. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration of a Viet Nam village. A wagon attended by two Communists in uniform is going through the village, loaded with food, vegetables, rice, a pig or two, etc. It stops at each paillote (straw hut) while one man goes in and the other guards the wagon. The wagon is marked: "Food for the Communists of China." None of the usual children follow the wagon. They are behind the houses peering out furtively. A woman comes out carrying food while the soldier holds his gun on her.

Caption: Hide your well-being from the devil. He waits to rob you of it!

Key Symbols

Tribute--food tax for Communists.

Devil robbing Vietnamese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would awaken the fear of hunger as the image of Communist food tribute being exacted is suggested. It would also arouse antipathy toward voluntary support of the Communists.

- See Appeal Idea No. 177, developed for Task 78 for use with officers and judged to be appropriate also for enlisted men for Task 77, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Intellectuals

- See Appeal Idea No. 169, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 171, developed for this task for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 172, developed for this task for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

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Political Elite

171. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Ancestral alter.

Caption: Your ancestors fought against the Chinese for a thousand years. If you help the enemy you betray your ancestors.

Key Symbols

Ancestral alter.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Vietnamese are devoutly attached to their ancestors and reserve a place of honor in their homes for the ancestral alter.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It plays upon Vietnamese feelings toward their ancestors, and would arouse antipathy toward giving aid to the enemy.

172. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: At right, a drawing of a rice bowl, and underneath another drawing of a basket carrier. Both are crossed out with a heavy X. Opposite the rice bowl is a drawing of a group of enemy soldiers looking emaciated; to the side of the other drawing is shown enemy soldiers clearly tired from carrying heavy loads.

Caption: To deny one bowl of rice is to kill one enemy. To deny one man is to win a battle.

Key Symbols

Rice bowl.

Enemy soldiers.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Rice is the staff of life. To deprive someone of rice really means to eventually starve him to death.

Comment: This appeal is a little exaggerated, although the Vietnamese may go for it.

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Task 77

Roman Catholics

- See Appeal Idea No. 168, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics for Task 77, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 178, developed for Task 78 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics for Task 77, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 169, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 171, developed for this task for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 172, developed for this task for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 174, developed for Task 78 for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 77, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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TASK 78: To discourage members of the group from collaborating with the enemy.

Administrators

173. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Showing government official sticking knife in back of typically dressed Vietnamese. Official clearly labeled "collaborator."

Caption: Don't do this for the Chinese imperialists.

(Assumption: Noncollaborators have been removed from office. Task is to reduce collaboration of incumbents.)

Key Symbols

Stabbed Vietnamese.

174. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A fat Vietnamese civilian eats dinner in his home with a Chinese army officer as his guest, while emaciated Vietnamese peer through his window.

Caption: Death to traitors who fatten on the suffering of the people!

Key Symbols

Traitor.

Fattening on the suffering of the people.

Catering to the Chinese.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The first two symbols have become linked and are well understood by the Vietnamese. In wartime, the significance of not catering to the Chinese should be understood by a large part of the special audience.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should induce reluctance to be seen entertaining or dealing with representatives of the Chinese ally.

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Intellectuals

175. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A monster, representing the enemy, almost finished gulping down the dragon of Viet Nam. Caption: Will you help him to become engorged by collaborating?	Key Symbols Monster. Dragon.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The monster represents the enemy, and the dragon represents free and independent Viet Nam.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should discourage collaboration with the enemy, since it would point out that what the individual does affects the larger picture.

- See Appeal Idea No. 169, developed for Task 77 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals for Task 78, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 171, developed for Task 77 for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals for Task 78, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Military--Enlisted Men

176. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Picture of spider web containing spider with face of Ho Chi Minh, and a red symbol in center of its back. Caption: The web stretches over your homeland--keep clear of its mesh. One action to help the aggressor may find you in the deadly embrace of blood-sucker Ho Chi Minh.	Key Symbols Spider and web.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Spiders are held in utter contempt by the Vietnamese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke disgust for the enemy upon the part of the Vietnamese.

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Military—Enlisted Men

- See Appeal Idea No. 172, developed for this task for use with officers and judged to be appropriate also for enlisted men for this task, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Military—Officers

177. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Cartoon or poster, with a sketch of a large scale or balance. On one side, the rice of Viet Nam. On the other, the guns of Russia and China. A Chinese Mao Tse-tung stands behind the scales.

Caption: Fair exchange! Viet Nam must give her rice to get the guns to fight for China! The Communists eat while Viet Nam fights!

Key Symbols

Guns vs. rice.

Fighting vs. eating.

Death vs. life.

Meaning of Key Symbols: They communicate directly with the basic felt needs of the special audience. Their need for food, their need for independence and self-determination is challenged here as they see themselves giving up their staff of life and being forced to take up guns to fight the United States for their Communist masters.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should cause the special audience to back away from collaboration.

Refugees

178. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Chinese occupiers destroying a church (denoted by a cross) and preventing refugees from meeting to pray.

Caption: Do not help the enemy; if you do, you will be helping to destroy your churches.

Key Symbols

Holy cross.

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Refugees

179. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: On one side, heroic-looking Catholic priest, Buddhist monk, and brown-shirted, bearded elder, surrounded by members of the flock. On other side, treacherous-looking, brown-shirted northerner whispering to police and army officials and pointing accusing finger at group on the other side.

Caption: Who are the traitors in your midst? What should be the fate of such dogs?

Key Symbols

Respected leaders.

Accusing finger.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would make the people aware of collaborators and perhaps stimulate more activity in weeding them out and dissuading them.

Roman Catholics

- See Appeal Idea No. 168, developed for Task 77 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics for Task 78, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 178, developed for this task use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics for Task 78, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 169, developed for Task 77 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 78, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 171, developed for Task 77 for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 78, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 7[illegible], 80

South Viet Nam as a Whole

See Appeal Idea No. 174, developed for this task for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

GOAL: SUBVERSION AND RESISTANCE

TASK 80: To get members of the group to stage slowdowns and delays.

Military--Enlisted Men

180. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Map showing location of a road, airstrip, or some other piece of construction.

Caption: Prisoners: The road you are building is the same road that will carry tanks, trucks, and soldiers to conquer another country and place it under colonial domination. Help your brothers in [illegible] as they are helping you. Be soldiers still--lose your tools, become ill, work slower.

(Assumption: That the invaders are utilizing POW labor for construction of roads, etc.)

Key Symbols

Colonial domination.

Be soldiers still.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Vietnamese have a deep mistrust of colonial domination. The personnel of the Vietnamese Army are tremendously proud of the simple fact that they are soldiers.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should create passive resistance toward the enemy's program, should encourage slowdowns and delays.

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Task 80

Military--Enlisted Men

181. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Picture depicting the quiet and peaceful life of the Vietnamese village.

Caption: Return to your family and village. This is not your war.

Key Symbols

Peaceful village life.

Home and family.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should increase absenteeism and desertion.

• See Appeal Idea No. 184, developed for Task 81 for use with enlisted men and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 80, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Political Elite

182. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Why work for the Chinese whom you cannot trust? Your future lies with the defeat of the colonialists.

(Assumption: That military situations are positively in United States favor.)

Key Symbols

Distrust of Chinese.

Anticolonialism.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should tend to raise questions in the minds of this group as to the value of helping the occupation forces. This appeal would play on the traditional, patriotic distrust of the Chinese, and the knowledge that the individual's power under Chinese rule is limited.

• See Appeal Idea No. 188, developed for Task 82 for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for political elite for Task 80, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Roman Catholics

183. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Help is on the way. You are not alone and you will not be forsaken. The church does not forget or abandon its faithful followers. Those who support the work of the Communists support the devil.

Key Symbols

World unity of the faithful.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Spiritual and physical security is available to all faithful Catholics. Full faithfulness is obligatory to avoid perdition and damnation.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke the need to wait for help from the church, and it would oblige Catholics to follow the church faithfully by not supporting the Communists.

Comment: One consultant stated that he believed the appeal should read "God does not abandon His faithful followers," that otherwise the appeal is quite meaningless.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

See Appeal Idea No. 182, developed for Task 81 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 80, with a perspectiveness rating of 2.

TASK 81: To get members of the group to malinger and practice absenteeism.

Military-Related Men

184. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

To work for the Chinese Communists and for their Vietnamese traitor (Vietnamese) friends is to destroy your own father's house. Do not work for your enemies! Do not burn your father's house!

Key Symbols

Betrayal of family.

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Task 81

Reference

185. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2) | Key Symbols

Illustration: Perspiring Vietnamese laborer carries a heavy box on his back while a Viet Minh overseer with red star arm band chats idly with a Chinese army officer in background. | Sweat for the Chinese.

Caption: Why sweat for the Chinese? Food will become scarcer. Conserve your energy. | Scarcity of food.

Meaning of Key Symbols: "Sweat for the Chinese" relates to traditional domination by the Chinese. Food scarcity is an expected condition of wartime and is dreaded.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should identify Viet Minh leadership of the war effort with the Communist Chinese and evoke resentment against the traditional exploitation of the Vietnamese by the Chinese. It should make Vietnamese question the advisability of working very hard when living conditions, including the availability of food, are declining.

186. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1) | Key Symbols

Illustration: A thin, perspiring Vietnamese laborer sits in foreground, a worried expression on his face and his hand to his chest. In the background, a silhouetted line of laborers, doubled over, carrying heavy burdens on backs, winds its way toward a field of Vietnamese grave mounds. | Tuberculosis.

Caption: Want to live to enjoy the liberation? Avoid tuberculosis! Don't work yourself into your grave now. Rest at home when you are ill.

Meaning of Key Symbol: Tuberculosis is widespread and widely dreaded.

(continued)

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186. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should point up the preferability of looking ahead to a better day in the future after the present emergency period. Meanwhile, the advisability of taking it easy to avoid tuberculosis is suggested.

Refugees

187. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A fat, well-dressed Chinese (and Viet Minh) soldier eating before an overflowing table. The Chinese soldier is reaching, with obvious licentious intent for a poorly dressed and thin Tonkinese waitress (her headdress distinguishes her as Tonkinese).

Caption: Why work for the Communist exploiters? Take it easy and report sick at every opportunity.

Key Symbols

Enemy soldiers.

Overflowing table.

Licentiousness.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Chinese are traditionally disliked by the Vietnamese, and the average refugee fears and dislikes the Viet Minh. The Chinese have always been considered exploiters, and the Viet Minh have been exploiting much of the refugees' land in the North.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: If one may assume that the refugees would be subject to food rationing, the sight of the Chinese and Viet Minh soldiers gorging themselves would create envy. The appeal would tend to make the special audience malinger and practice absenteeism.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

See Appeal Idea No. 126, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 82, 83

TASK 82: To get the members of the group to strike.

Administrators

183. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2) | Key Symbols

Illustration: A number of cowed Vietnamese paying obeisance to a caricature of an occupying soldier. The Vietnamese are holding out items, preparing to lay them at his feet. The items are labeled food, money, taxes, etc.

Caption: The imperialistic intruder depends on you for his sustenance. It is in your power to destroy him.

Obeisance to foreigner.

Meaning of Key Symbols: This special audience reveres Vietnamese independence.

Comment: The effectiveness of this appeal would be considerably enhanced if it is evident that the U.S. is winning the war.

TASK 83: To get members of the group to commit sabotage and support other forms of active resistance.

Administrators

189. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2) | Key Symbols

Illustration: Vietnamese shield and U.S. shield, with a South Viet Nam and an American clasping hands, superimposed on the shields.

Caption: Remember that we worked hand-in-hand before. This will be possible again when our enemy has been deposed. Resist the enemy with all its controls and restrictions!

American-Vietnamese friendship.

(continued)

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189. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should evoke nostalgia for the past when Americans and Vietnamese enjoyed friendly relations. Resisting the enemy is suggested as a means of restoring U.S.-Vietnamese friendship.

Administrators

- See Appeal Idea No. 192, developed for Task 84 for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 83, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Intellectuals

- See Appeal Idea No. 204, developed for Task 84 for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate for intellectuals for Task 83, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

South Vietnamese as a Whole

190. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Vietnamese running away in the distance from a railroad bridge which is blowing up and throwing train in air.

Caption: Successful sabotage and resistance are the first steps toward regaining your country's independence.

For Exploiting

National independence.

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Task 83, 84

South Viet Nam as a Whole

191. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A Vietnamese guerrilla hides in a field alongside a railroad track. A train labeled "rice" has been moving down the track toward a destination indicated by a trackside sign to be China. The locomotive is being blown into the air by a mine exploding under the track.

Caption: Down with the Chinese Communists and their Viet Minh flunkies who exploit the Vietnamese people!

Key Symbols

Flunkies of Chinese.

Rice to China.

Guerrilla action.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should recall guerrilla action during the anti-French resistance period and the feasibility of such measures as sabotaging railways. It should evoke resentment against the regime for food shipments from Viet Nam to China that are known or suspected to exist.

• See Appeal Idea No. 202, developed for Task 84 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 83, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 84: To get members of the group to organize or support resistance movements in areas occupied by the enemy.

Administrators

192. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: A water buffalo labeled to represent the occupying forces which is in obvious discomfort because of all sorts of insects flying around it and alighting on it.

Caption: Even little harrassments make him uncomfortable.

Key Symbols

Small harassments.

(continued)

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192. Appeal Idea (continued)

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should point up to the audience that it is important to harass the enemy. Further, it will show them that no matter how small, whatever they do is significant.

Administrators

- See Appeal Idea No. 189, developed for Task 83 for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 84, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 190, developed for Task 83 for use with South Viet Nam as a whole and judged to be appropriate also for administrators for Task 84, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Intellectuals

193. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Shall the enemy of your country be allowed to run your railroads, use your canals and rivers against you? You can help by obstructing the use of all these facilities.

Key Symbols

Enemy exploitation of Viet Nam.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should evoke cooperation from the special audience since the use of obstructionist tactics is favored by this group.

Military--Officers

194. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Use traditional Vietnamese battle pictures.

Caption: Officers of the South Viet Nam forces! Remember Hung-[illegible]ing! Your head remains--so will your country. To resist the invader is to ensure victory.

Key Symbols

Military hero.

(continued)

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Task 84

194. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbols: Marshal Tran-Hung-Dao was a Vietnamese army leader in 1278, when the Mongols under Kubla Khan invaded Viet Nam after having defeated the Chinese. Hung-Dao defeated the Mongols at the battle of Dong-Da, thus saving the country. The appeal contains allusion to Hung-Dao's alleged reply to his king, when the king said that resistance to all-powerful Mongols was useless: "Sire, if you wish to surrender, please cut off my head first. As long as my head remains, the kingdom remains."

Military--Officers

195. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Remember the example of the Trung sisters! Expel the Chinese!

Key Symbols

Trung sisters.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The Trung sisters are a symbol of struggle against Chinese domination.

196. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Chinese soldiers (well-fed, gluttonous) are eating while Viet Nam children are looking on, hungry and starving. In the background Viet Nam officers are sitting with bowed heads, looking down.

Caption: The home front starves!

Key Symbols

Hungry Vietnamese children.

Dejected Vietnamese officers.

Gluttonous Chinese officers.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The threat of hunger and the impoverishment of their country by the Communists has a deep meaning as a real, never-ending threat to life in the Orient.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would cause the home-loving Vietnamese officers to resist the Communists whenever they exploit Vietnamese civilians.

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Military--Officers

197. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Chinese soldiers (well-fed, gluttonous) are eating while Viet Nam children are looking on, hungry and starving. In the background Viet Nam officers are sitting with bowed heads, looking down.

Caption: The winner is winning and the loser is losing!

Key Symbols

Hungry Vietnamese children.

Gluttonous Chinese officers.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The threat of hunger and the impoverishment of their country by the Communists has a deep meaning as a real, never-ending threat to life in the Orient.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would cause the home-loving Vietnamese officers to resist the Communists whenever they exploit Vietnamese civilians.

198. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Use traditional Vietnamese battle pictures.

Caption: Remember Hai Ba (the two sisters)! Their blood flows in your veins. You will conquer the same enemy if you resist now.

Key Symbols

The Trung sisters--heroes.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The sisters, Trung Trac and Trung Nhi, led an anti-Chinese rebellion in 43 A.D. which took the Chinese several years to put down. In Viet Nam both Ba and the Trung sisters are considered like Joan of Arc and George Washington rolled in one.

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Task 84

Military--Officers

199. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Officers: Your fight has just begun. The years in which you followed Ngo Dinh Diem (or name another leader) are not over. He will return once more to govern your country--a country where men will be free to do as they wish. Prepare your country for his return. Fight on against the Chinese who use Viet Nam as a colonial state.

(Assumptions: That the leader (military or civilian) was popular with the masses. That the officers in the armed forces were loyal to him. That the equipment--rifles, etc.--is still in the hands of the troops or is readily available.)

Key Symbols

Leader--Ngo Dinh Diem.

Chinese.

Colonial state.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should encourage the officers of the armed forces to organize resistance movements in order to prepare for the return of their country's leader.

200. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Map of Viet Nam encircled by iron collar (at the 17th parallel) to which is attached a length of chain, at the other end of which is the hammer and sickle.

Caption: The plum flower will break the iron collar.

Key Symbols

Plum flower--plum tree.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The plum tree is symbolic of Vietnamese resistance against foreign oppression. Legend has it that the red color of the plum tree stems from Vietnamese patriots who fought and died at the hands of the enemy.

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Political Elite

201. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

What you do now will be remembered by the people of your country when it becomes free again. You have been leaders in your country. Organize your groups and oppose the enemy in every way. Do not permit them freedom of movement. Your leadership in this resistance will be remembered by your people.

Key Symbols

Patriotism.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: A show of strength in the country by this special audience could create resistance against the occupier.

Comment: This assumes that some Vietnamese political elite are permitted to wander about the country in wartime and have not been killed or confined.

Refugees

202. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: A fat, well-dressed Chinese (and Viet Minh) soldier eating before an overflowing table. The Chinese soldier is reaching with obvious licentious intent for a poorly dressed and thin Tonkinese waitress (her headdress distinguishes her as Tonkinese).

Caption: The Communists eat your food and despoil your women. Sabotage the enemy.

Key Symbols

Enemy soldiers.

Overflowing table.

Licentiousness.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Chinese are traditionally disliked by the Vietnamese, and the average refugee fears and dislikes the Viet Minh. The Chinese have always been considered exploiters and the Viet Minh have been exploiting much of the refugees' land in the North.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: If one may assume that the refugees would be subject to food rationing, the sight of the Chinese and Viet Minh soldiers gorging themselves would create envy. The use of this type of appeal should encourage the group to commit sabotage.

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Task 84

Roman Catholics

203. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

(A leaflet describing atrocities committed against Catholics in North Viet Nam, as reported by the Catholic Church.)

Caption: Resist the enemy who committed atrocities against your fellow Catholics, before you too become his victims!

Key Symbols

Communist atrocities.

Communism vs. religion.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should evoke an immediate hatred and fear of anything related to Communism. It would create fear of the loss of property, of life, and of the means for spiritual salvation. It should, therefore, encourage Catholics to resist and attempt to destroy Communism.

204. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The Christian Church is in a fight to the death against the atheistic teachings of Communism. It is the duty of the followers of the Christian cross to fight back against the ruthless aggressors who conquer under the sign of the hammer and sickle.

Key Symbols

Holy cross vs. hammer and sickle.

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PROJECTED GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION

The special audience resides in a country allied with the United States.

GOAL: GOOD WILL TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

TASK 87: To identify and strengthen among members of the group those ideals and values held in common by the allied country and the United States.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 208, developed for Task 88 for South Viet Nam as a whole and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole for Task 87, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

TASK 88: To convince members of the group that the United States will not interfere in the internal affairs of their country.

Administrators

205. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The American belief in government of, by, and for the people identifies the attitude of America toward the governments of other countries: these, too, are governments of, by, and for their own people in the eyes of America. The traditional role of America abroad has been one of noninterference, and of assistance to foreign countries in need only upon request. America is the haven of the Free World!

Key Symbols

Government of, by, and for the people.

Right of self-determination.

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Task 88

Educationalists

206. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: To the left, ceremonies giving the Philippines their independence; to the right, Americans aiding Vietnamese after Geneva Agreement in 1954. Caption: The United States is against colonialism!	Key Symbols Anticolonialism.

Intellectuals

- See Appeal Idea No. 207, developed for this task for use with political elite and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Political Elite

207. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Your country has nothing the United States desires except your friendship and cooperation. History proves that the United States does not seek colonies. Your own experience with U.S. authorities lending assistance to your country will support this. The entire Free World knows of the efforts of the U.S. in assisting all nations to remain free and independent.	Key Symbols U.S. and Viet Nam friendship. Vietnamese independence.

Comment: The U.S. does not want political colonies but is so often thought of as wanting economic colonies--it might strengthen this appeal if something is added to cover this point.

- See Appeal Idea No. 206, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for political elite, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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South Viet Nam as a Whole

208. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Viet Nam has remained free and independent during the time the U.S. has provided economic, technical, and military aid.

Key Symbols

Viet Nam independence.

American aid.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should reinforce the Vietnamese desire to remain truly independent.

TASK 89: To promote among members of the group the feeling that the war contributions and achievements of their country are appreciated.

Educationalists

209. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Cung nhau chiu hi-sinh; Cung nhau huong dac-thang! (Together we sacrifice; together we enjoy victory!) Victory requires sacrifice, and the contributions and sacrifices of the Vietnamese people toward achieving the great goal of victory have won the sincere admiration and gratitude of the U.S. and all the Allied nations. Let us all continue to do our part--to carry the load, to share in the suffering and sacrifice. Victory is sure if we continue courageously on.

Key Symbols

Slogan.

Equality of allies.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should evoke the deepest emotions and highest aspirations of the people.

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Task 89, 91

Intellectuals

210. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Picture of allies as in family council, with Vietnamese in prominent place.	Key Symbols: Family unit.
Caption: As in an individual family, in the family of nations it takes all the resources and skills of each to bring a task to successful fruition.	

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Representing the Vietnamese as a member of the family of nations would appeal to national pride.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 209, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 210, developed for this task for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

GOAL: ENCOURAGEMENT

TASK 91: To make the members of the group feel hopeful about the future position of their country in the postwar world.

Refugees

- See Appeal Idea No. 212, developed for Task 92 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for this group for Task 91, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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TASK 92: To promote among members of the group an expectation of victory for the United States and its allies.

Political Elite

211. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Map of Viet Nam--characteristic shape of country being well-known among all literates--showing United States and South Viet Nam flags or troops side by side.

Caption: From Nam Quan to Camau--unity through victory of democracy.

Key Symbols

U.S. and Vietnamese flags.

Nam Quan to Camau.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Nam Quan, the "Gate to China," and Camau, the southernmost peninsula, are well known throughout Viet Nam. The United States and allies have become identified with democracy over the past decade.

Refugees

212. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

America is the most powerful nation on earth. They have never been beaten. You are on the right side.

(Assumption: That it is evident that the United States and allies will win.)

Key Symbols

Most powerful.

Never defeated.

On right side.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would tend to promote the general belief that the United States will win. The Vietnamese respect power and like to be on the winning side.

Comment: Some know about Korea and aren't convinced that the the U.S. always wins in war.

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Task 32

Refugees

213. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: United Nations (or United States) soldier bayonets a red octopus which is located on the China portion of a map of East Asia and whose tentacles extend over Red-held areas including Viet Nam.

Caption: Freedom fighters crush oppression. United Nations (or United States) forces have never been defeated.

(This appeal should not be used if the United States and its allies have suffered serious reverses.)

Key Symbols

Red octopus.

Oppression.

Freedom fighters.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Oppression will be particularly significant to this group because of its prior relationships with the Communists.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should point up the probability of a UN or U.S. victory, and associate this victory with a release from Chinese Communist exploitation of Viet Nam.

Comment: An octopus is hard to kill--one must kill each arm. I don't know that many Vietnamese know this, however. How familiar most refugees are with the map of Asia is doubtful. It is best to use sparingly appeals which rely on maps.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

214. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

History is a great teacher. Remember, the United States has never lost a war.
Winning is a habit with the U.S.
Our industrial might provides the means for victory.

Key Symbols

U.S. resources and military strength.

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South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 212, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 211, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

GOAL: COMPLIANCE AND COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES

TASK 93: To get members of the group to cooperate with the United States.

Administrators

215. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

You are now holding positions of importance in your country which were denied to you in the past, as you know. Remember the record of the United States in freeing its former colonies, like the Philippines? You will only retain your standing under the protection of the United States.

Key Symbols

U.S. anticolonialism.

Self-interest.

216. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Viet Nam and United States soldiers in field fighting common enemy.

Caption: We need your help.

Key Symbols

Equality and partnership with U.S.

Comment: Guard against this appeal backfiring, as it implies that the powerful U.S. needs help. Precise wording in Vietnamese will be important!

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Task 93

Administrators

- See Appeal Idea No. 217, developed for this task for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for administrators, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

- See Appeal Idea No. 220, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for administrators, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Intellectuals

217. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration at right: Traditional weapons found in Vietnamese shrines, with labels on each indicating various professions in which the intellectuals are engaged. Picture at left of the same weapons, labeled with the names of the U.S. and Allied nations involved in the war.

Caption: It takes all nations and all skills to achieve ultimate victory.

Key Symbols

Weapons found in shrines.

Meaning of Key Symbols: Weapons found in shrines are familiar to all Vietnamese and are part of the venerated history and glory of the past.

- See Appeal Idea No. 220, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Political Elite

218. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Contrast your right to hold political office *now* against your former status under colonial rule. The United States has a long history of political freedom. Help us protect your right to hold office.

Key Symbols

Independence.

U.S. protection.

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Political Elite

219. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

Hous somos en accord. The harmony that exists between our countries has resulted in great economic and social progess in South Viet Nam in a short period of time.
The United States commends you for your fine spirit of cooperation. Our friendship is steadfast.

U.S.-Vietnamese friendship.

Comment: Perhaps it would be well to omit the sentence reading "The United States commends..." After all, it is to this group's self-interest to stay with the U.S.

Refugees

220. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols

The Americans rescued us from the Communists before. They can be trusted now.

Americans.

Rescue.

Trust.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should encourage members of the group to collaborate with the United States.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 216, developed for this task for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

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Task 95

GOAL: HOSTILITY TOWARD AND NONCOOPERATION WITH THE ENEMY

TASK 95: To arouse among members of the group hostility toward the common enemy and its leaders.

Educationalists

221. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: Showing two Trung sisters on elephants leading battle against Chinese invaders.

Caption: Viet Nam--independent and free.

Key Symbols

Trung sisters.

Freedom and independence.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Trung sisters are the acknowledged symbol of Viet Nam's struggle against Chinese domination. Freedom and independence are self-explanatory.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should encourage the already existing hostility between the Vietnamese and their enemy to the north.

222. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Communism destroys the family patterns and denies religious worship. Look at Russia and China! Only under a democracy can the family stay together and religious worship remain unfettered.

Key Symbols

Religious worship.

Family well-being.

223. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Chinese rule has never been good for Viet Nam.

Key Symbols

Chinese rule.

Meaning of Key Symbols: A traditional distrust and hatred of the Chinese makes the group fear a Chinese victory.

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Educationalists

224. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

In China, teachers are safe from molestation by the government only if they knuckle under to thought control and the suppression of free thinking. Under Communism, teachers are no longer leaders in the intellectual development of their country's youth.

Key Symbols

Intellectual freedom.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: By reminding them that their traditional position of esteem and respect would be destroyed under an "enemy" regime and that they would no longer be leaders in the intellectual development of their country's youth, it would tend to increase their distaste and fear of a Communist regime.

225. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Hatred (can-thu) for traitors who work for the enemies of the country. (Add easily verifiable examples of collaboration between North Vietnamese regime and Chinese Communists.)

Key Symbols

Can-thu.

Meaning of Key Symbol: This concept, used by the Communists, can be turned against them effectively since there has always existed in Vietnamese history a strong revulsion against any person of Vietnamese blood working for the Chinese.

Political Elite

See Appeal Idea No. 221, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for political elite, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

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Task 95

Refugees

226. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1)

Illustration: A fat, well-dressed Chinese (and Viet Minh) soldier eating before an overflowing table. The Chinese soldier is reaching with obvious licentious intent for a poorly dressed and thin Tonkinese waitress (her headdress distinguishes her as Tonkinese).

Caption: This is what an enemy victory means.

[redacted] Symbols

[redacted] soldiers.

[redacted] flowing table.

[redacted] lousness.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Chinese are traditionally disliked by the Vietnamese, and thus encourage refugee fears and dislikes the Viet Minh. The Chinese have always been considered exploiters and the Viet Minh have been exploiting much of the refugees' land in the north.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: If one may assume that the refugees would be subject to food rationing, the sight of the Chinese and Viet Minh soldiers gorging themselves would create envy. The appeal would increase the already existing hostility toward the enemy.

227. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Your friends and relatives who stayed in the North are still being mistreated by the Communists. Both the Republic of Viet Nam and the United States are fighting to put an end to the brutality of our common enemy.

[redacted] Symbols

Communist brutality.

Comment: For most refugees, this appeal would be all right, but there are some whose relatives in the North have not done too badly.

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Refugees

228. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2) | Key Symbols

Appropriate funeral music followed by the message: Thus we grieve for our fallen brethren. The transgressors must be punished, and the earth rid of their tyranny. | Religion vs. Communism.

Comment: This appeal could be most effectively used at a time of great emotional receptivity on the part of the audience, when anti-Communist feelings are intense.

229. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2) | Key Symbols

The northward march will succeed! Recover your homes abandoned to the Ho gang in 1954! | Northward march (Bac tien).

Meaning of Key Symbol: Northward march, a reversal of the traditional southward march (Nam tien) of the Vietnamese, has assumed symbolic importance among military and civilian officials originally from the North.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should recall the sense of loss felt by the refugees in leaving their homes in the North, and should increase their determination to drive out the Communists now preventing them from returning to those homes.

Comment: Use of this appeal depends upon how much it was desired to arouse hostility toward the North. Refugees at various times have wanted to march on North Viet Nam and have had to be calmed down, and helped to understand that a march on North Viet Nam will be decided by the big powers, not by South Viet Nam.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

See Appeal Idea No. 221, developed for this task for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 95, 96

South Viet Nam as a Whole

* See Appeal Idea No. 226, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

PROJECTED GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION

The special audience resides in a country which is neutral.

GOAL: GOOD WILL TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

TASK 96: To promote among members of the group feelings of friendship and good will toward the United States and its allies.

Administrators

230. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: At the top, list military and political objectives of United States, and parallel them with list of historical events to demonstrate past record. Below, list announced military and political objectives of enemy, and parallel them with list of historical events to demonstrate insincerity. (Here, stress cases where small nations lost independence to big nations.)

Caption: Which do you prefer?

Key Symbols

U.S.-Viet Nam friendship.

Threat to independence.

Meaning of Key Symbol: A threat to independence will at once arouse the Vietnamese to seek help and aid from their friends.

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Task 25

Refugees

231. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: 1. A church burning. 2. A pregnant woman being bayonated by Communist Viet Minh soldier. 3. Refugees being shot. 4. A monk having his throat slit.

Caption: That is Communism. How long can South Viet Nam remain neutral while its brothers still suffer in the North?

Key Symbols

Communist atrocities (as depicted).

Meaning of Key Symbols: Incidents of atrocities have been seen or experienced by many refugees and are recognized as true.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: Its depiction of the brutality of the Communist enemy would increase the anti-Communist feeling of this group.

232. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Poster showing montage of hospitals, schools, bridges, etc., constructed in Viet Nam by the American economic aid program. In foreground is the American aid symbol--the Vietnamese and American flags, and Vietnamese and American hands in a handclasp.

Key Symbols

American aid symbol.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should recall gratitude felt toward the United States for its aid in Vietnamese reconstruction.

Comment: Situational Effect--This appeal may have to be revised if the Communists contribute considerable aid in an effort to woo Vietnamese neutrality or cooperation. It may boomerang if U.S. aid were to result in enforcement political pressures on the Vietnamese from the enemy.

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Task 96, 98

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 231, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 232, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 98: To convince members of the group that a United States victory is morally and politically desirable.

Intellectuals

233. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: Picture of a burning torch.	Burning torch.
	Free World.
Caption: Free World victory means independence for Viet Nam.	Independence.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The burning torch is a symbol of hope and knowledge. Free World is, to the Vietnamese, a synonym for U.S. Independence of Viet Nam is the foremost political belief of the group.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should reaffirm the pro-U.S. sentiments in minds of the special audience.

234. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

	Key Symbols
Illustration: A Vietnamese family standing at a fork in the road. One road marked Communism leads down to darkness, terror, ruin; the other road is clean, bright, attractive and leads up to victory, justice, and peace. The first road is marked "Made in Soviet Russia," and the second "Road built by United States."	Communist road vs. U.S. road.
Caption: Ta nhai chon con duong nao? (Which way shall we take?)	(continued)

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234. Appeal Idea (continued)

Meaning of Key Symbols: The idea of the two ways, with their different goals, has universal appeal, but particularly so to the Vietnamese people. The moral and spiritual significance of the two ways will be immediately understood by all.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should encourage the special audience to desire victory for the United States and its allies.

Comment: The appeal could be strengthened further by substituting the word "China" for Soviet Russia.

Political Elite

235. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

The Americans are fighting to free you from Chinese colonialism. The Americans are generous and will restore your independence.

(Assumption: That Viet Nam has been taken over by China.)

Key Symbols

Chinese colonialism.

Independence.

Meaning of Key Symbols: The Vietnamese traditionally distrust the Chinese and very much want independence. This group knows that Americans will be generous victors and that an American victory should return independence to the Vietnamese.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should help create a desire for an American victory.

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Task 98

Roman Catholics

236. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1) | Key Symbols

In recent decades, Viet Nam has sometimes been forced along paths on which her people did not want to go. The choice today is not colonialism or Communism—it is Communist slavery or democratic freedom. The choice is up to you. Ta nhai chon con duong nao? (Which way shall we take?) | Choice between two ways of life.

Meaning of Key Symbol: The moral and spiritual significance of choosing between distinctly different ways is immediately understood by this group.

237. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2) | Key Symbols

The Communist Party of China has regularly and systematically destroyed Roman Catholic facilities and Catholic believers, as individuals and as family units. | Destruction of Catholicism.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would evoke a fear and hatred of Communism by all Catholics. Further, it would evoke a spontaneous support of America as the chief defender against Communism.

- See Appeal Idea No. 233, developed for this task for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

- See Appeal Idea No. 234, developed for this task for use with intellectuals and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

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GOAL: COMPLIANCE AND COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES

TASK 101: To get members of the group to favor cooperation with the United States.

Intelligentsia

238. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Your country is underdeveloped; it is surrounded by destroyers of liberty and democracy. The United States desires to assist you as it has assisted and protected your neighbors--Japan, Thailand, the Philippines, etc.

Key Symbols

U.S. aid and protection.

Comment: The appeal could be strengthened by substituting the words "Chinese imperialists" for the words " destroyers of liberty and democracy." If the present relative lack of civil liberties continues in Viet Nam, "liberty and democracy" are not as relevant as "Chinese imperialists."

Political Elite

239. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

An American victory is your best protection against Chinese colonialism.

(Assumption: That an American victory is imminent.)

Key Symbols

American victory.

Chinese colonialism.

Meaning of Key Symbols: This appeal plays on the traditional Vietnamese hatred of Chinese rule and the desire of the Vietnamese political elite to maintain their positions of power.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would encourage the special audience to cooperate with the U.S. war effort.

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Task 101, 102, 103

Roman Catholics

240. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols
Recognition by and identification with the U.S.

Illustration: Roman Catholic leaders of Viet Nam being officially received by both Catholic and political leaders in the United States.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would increase the security of the Catholic community of Viet Nam.

GOAL: HOSTILITY TOWARD AND NONCOOPERATION WITH THE ENEMY

TASK 102: To discredit among members of the group the ideology and war aims of the enemy of the United States.

Refugees

See Appeal Idea No. 242, developed for Task 103 for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for refugees for Task 102, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

TASK 103: To arouse among members of the group hostility toward the enemy of the United States, and its leaders.

Educationalists

241. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Key Symbols
Encroachment.
Lack of respect by enemy.

Communist China is encroaching slowly but surely on the rights of your country, as she has on other nations, such as Tibet. The record shows that China, your ancient enemy, has no respect for your government, nor for your teachers as the intellectual leaders of your country.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It would increase the already existing hostility between Viet Nam and the Chinese.

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Refugees

242. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: United States (or United Nations, or Allied) soldier uses rifle butt to smash door or a stockade in which emaciated prisoners are sitting weakly or leaning against the bars. They bear tags identifying them as coming from countries held by the Communists and liberated by the United States (United Nations, etc.). A flag with a red star flies from the stockade.

Caption: United States (or United Nations, etc.) forces smash Red oppression!

Key Symbols

Communist oppression.

Emaciated prisoners.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should evoke hostility toward the Communist regime.

Roman Catholics

- See Appeal Idea No. 221, developed for Task 95 for use with educationalists and judged to be appropriate also for Roman Catholics for Task 103, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

South Viet Nam as a Whole

243. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

China is your traditional enemy. The Americans are fighting your fight.

Key Symbols

Traditional enemy.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should encourage the already existing hostility against the Chinese.

- See Appeal Idea No. 242, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

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Task 104

TASK 104: To persuade members of the group to refuse to collaborate economically or politically with the enemy of the United States.

Administrators

- See Appeal Idea No. 244, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for administrators, with a persuasiveness rating of 2.

Intellectuals

- See Appeal Idea No. 205, developed for Task 88 for use with administrators and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals for Task 104, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

- See Appeal Idea No. 246, developed for this task for use with South Viet Nam as a whole and judged to be appropriate also for intellectuals, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

Refugees

244. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2)

Illustration: Communist Chinese officer offers a wad of paper money to a Vietnamese wearing trousers and a shirt. The Vietnamese is reaching out for the money. The Communist holds a pair of handcuffs in his other hand which is hidden behind him.

Caption: Cooperation with Communists is slavery.

Key Symbols

Slavery.

Communist domination.

Chinese treachery.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should play upon Vietnamese fears of Chinese treachery, and cause the Vietnamese to be wary of collaboration with the Chinese.

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South Viet Nam as a Whole

245. Appeal Idea (Rating: 1) | Key Symbols

Don't give up your policy of trung-chanh. Play it safe. Remember, the United States has never lost a war. | Trung-chanh (under the blanket).

(Assumption: Communist countries are putting pressure on South Viet Nam to declare for their side.)

Meaning of Key Symbol: In trou[illegible] se, the Vietnamese have avoided choosing sides [illegible]ng a virtue of trung-chanh.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should make the Vietnamese reluctant to collaborate or join sides with the Chinese, or other Communist countries.

246. Appeal Idea (Rating: 2) | Key Symbols

China is your traditional enemy. The Americans are fighting your fight. | Traditional enemy.

Reaction to Appeal Idea: It should tend to persuade the Vietnamese to refuse to collaborate with China.

See Appeal Idea No. 244, developed for this task for use with refugees and judged to be appropriate also for South Viet Nam as a whole, with a persuasiveness rating of 1.

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Table 14

OFFICIAL HOLIDAYS OF SOUTH VIET NAM

Date	Holiday
(Numbered months refer to the Vietnamese calendar; named months to the European calendar)	
First two days of the first month	The New Year (Tet). Usually this holiday occurs in February; in 1956, it began on February 12.
Fifth day of the first month	Commemoration of the Battle of Dong Da in 1789, in which Chinese invaders were expelled from Tonkin.
Sixth day of the second month	Holiday of the Trung sisters, who led a rebellion against China. A day of celebration of Vietnamese independence.
Fifth day of the third month	Thanh-Minh. Holiday of the dead. One or two days before, the family tombs are cleaned; on the holiday itself, the family decorates the tombs with small gifts.
Tenth day of the third month	Hung-Vuong. Anniversary of the first royal dynasty.
Eighth day of the fourth month	The birth of Buddha.
May 1	Labor Day.
Fifteenth day of the seventh month	Holiday of the Erring Souls.
Fifteenth day of the eighth month	Trung Thu. Holiday of the middle of autumn. This is a special children's holiday during which they get small gifts of candy and cake.
Twentieth day of the eighth month	Holiday of Marshal Tran Hung Dao, the Vietnamese general who defeated the Mongols in 1284.
Twenty-second day of the eighth month	Anniversary of the accession of the Emperor Le Loi.
October 26	Anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Viet Nam.
December 25	Christmas.
Fifth day of the twelfth month	The canonization of Buddha.

Additional local, regional, or occupational holidays

The peasantry has a holiday of the Village Spirit (Ong Than Lang) and many holidays in honor of the turning points in their yearly round of work. Also, special rites are held at spring-planting time, at the transplanting of rice shoots, at the time of the rice-plant flowers, and at harvest time.

Fishermen, coppersmiths, and practitioners of other traditional Vietnamese occupations have special holidays for their patron saints.

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SECTION VIII

INJUNCTIONS

This section consists of "do's" and "don'ts" which are important for the operator to bear in mind in preparing messages for delivery to Vietnamese audiences.

The injunctions were supplied by consultants who worked on Sections II through V, and, are based on generalizations about the cultural ways of the Vietnamese people. A few appeal ideas (see Section VII) may appear to conflict with them at one point or another. These apparent contradictions reflect the more specific nature of the appeal ideas. As has been said, an appeal idea should be thought of as a possible basis for constructing a message to accomplish a particular task with a particular special audience. The operator may retain the central idea of the appeal in presenting it in a message, appropriately expressed. The injunctions are to be used as guides in the framing of messages; they are general statements of what seems to be culturally appropriate in most circumstances.

The injunctions presented here, then, deal primarily with the general approach appropriate in communicating with Vietnamese people, given their cultural ways. They cover issues and topics that should be emphasized, issues or topics that should be avoided, and the manner in which certain aspects of such subjects as sex, religion, and nationalism should be approached or handled.

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INSTRUCTIONS FOR SOUTH VIET NAM AT A MEETING

Position

1. Emphasize America's traditional sympathy and support of colonial peoples in their efforts to establish independence.

2. Contrast the Communists' record of imperialism in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East.

3. Stress Vietnamese distrust and dislike of China because of its thousand-year occupation of Viet Nam. Play upon their fear that China intends to occupy their country again.

4. Take every opportunity to show that Ho Chi Minh and the northern Communist regime have become traitors to the Vietnamese nation by accommodating the Chinese Communists.

5. Stress America's support for Vietnamese nationalism.

6. Promise continued American assistance to Viet Nam, based upon the past American record of assistance to Viet Nam in every field. (This must be done tactfully.)

7. Stress, without being boastful, American military power and capabilities in the area.

8. Stress that American troops will withdraw as soon as possible after the end of hostilities. (Show past examples—Lebanon, etc.)

9. Stress that Americans come as liberators, not as occupiers.

10. Show knowledge of, and respect for, Vietnamese history and culture.

11. Respect temples, shrines, churches, and other revered places, as well as monks, priests, elders, etc.

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12. Couch appeals, written or oral, in such a way as to respect regional and ethnic (northern, central, southern, tribal) accents and language usage.

13. Respect the privacy of the Vietnamese home. Enter only if invited or after permission to enter has been granted.

14. Show great respect for age.

Avoiding

1. Do not identify the United States with unpopular colonial practices.

2. Do not establish or maintain on Viet Nam soil any recreational and educational facilities on a segregated basis, i.e., excluding Vietnamese nationals.

3. Do not make comparisons between the Vietnamese and American economic, political, social, and military practices which reflect adversely on the Vietnamese.

4. Do not portray the United States as showing a preference for Christian groups over other groups.

5. Do not identify the United States with northern refugees.

6. Do not make disparaging references to religious practices of any kind, including animism, belief in spirits, etc.

7. Avoid any actions, both in personal contact and propaganda, which might be construed as disrespect for Vietnamese women. (These women lead a sheltered life and improper approaches toward them are highly resented.)

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8. Avoid the use of terms which could be interpreted as advocating the further emancipation of Vietnamese women.

9. Do not refuse all local food offered to you. Foods which have been boiled (rice dishes, tea) are fairly safe, and so is alcohol ([redacted]—rice alcohol).

10. Do not order the Vietnamese to "do this now" by ordering them as fools or liars. If a Vietnamese is incapable of doing a particular job, do it yourself or assign it to someone else.

11. Avoid use of complex concepts or explanation to Vietnamese counterparts.

12. Do not be overconfident in the ability of your local translators to convey properly and correctly thoughts couched in strictly American terms ("getting to first base," etc.). In general, avoid American slang in communicating with translators.

13. Never refer to Vietnamese as "natives."

14. Do not use large amounts of green on posters or leaflets; it is considered an unlucky color.

15. Do not use Chinese as intermediaries between yourself and the Vietnamese, or as employees or servants in preference to Vietnamese, in spite of the fact that the Chinese may speak better English or be more diligent.

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Administrators

Positive

1. Stress that their position will not be impaired by the presence of an American.
2. Show them the respect due their ability, education, and place in society.
3. Be aware of the gradations of rank (often very subtle) between various administrators, and try to accord each the respect due his rank.

Negative

1. If the war situation is still fluid, do not try to force them to commit themselves to anything that might be damaging to them, or that might compromise them.
2. Avoid confusing the rewards and persuasion instead.
3. Do not embarrass old or traditional Vietnamese officials by showing favoritism toward younger and foreign-trained officials.

Westernization

Positive

1. Show great respect for their learning, as well as their position in society.
2. Observe gradations of rank as in the case of administrators.

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Positive

1. Do not denounce French culture.

2. Do not emphasize elements of relationship between China and Vietnamese culture.

Intellectuals

Positive

1. Demonstrate that America has a degree of cultural unity comparable to that of Western Europe.

2. Stress lack of intellectual freedom existing under Communism. For instance, refer to such actions as the North-Vietnamese suppression of Nhan Van-Giai Pham literary groups, etc.

In addition, those injunctions listed under Nationalists also apply to this group.

Negative

1. Do not expect correspondents to perform the usual Western functions of inquiry and information. Factual reporting (particularly of personal interviews) cannot be expected of them.

Military

Positive

1. Stress the glorious military past of Viet Nam: defeat of the Mongols, uprisings against the Chinese, etc.

2. Show respect for a military career as an honorable profession.

3. Underline America's contribution to the military might of Viet Nam.

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b. When the Viet Cong is in need of United States, explain that surrender to communist Viet Cong forces is not dishonorable.

Psychological Value

Positive

1. Approach that is a manner which one would use in dealing with representatives of a fully sovereign nation.

2. Attempt, when possible, to give the impression that their position of power will be retained in the cooperation with the United States.

3. When referring to President Ngo Dinh Diem, refer to him as President Ngo.

Religion

Positive

1. Stress Communist oppression of Catholics.

2. Point out use of martyrs in Catholic present and past.

Refugees

Positive

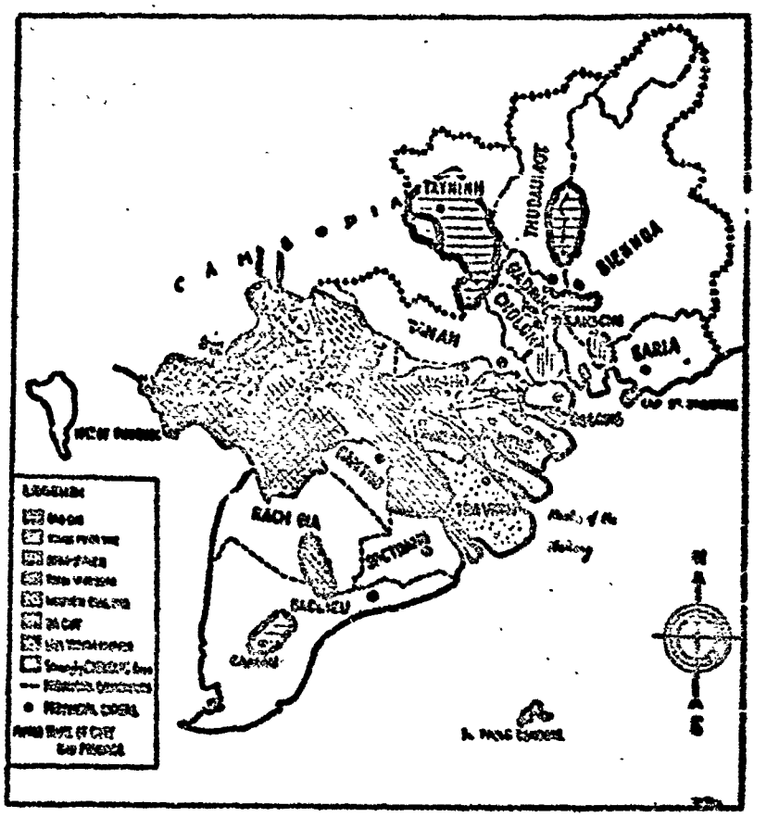
1. Stress American assistance to refugees.

2. Point out refugees of the 1954 that would flee if the Communists are victorious.

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LOCATION OF SECTS IN SOUTH VIET-NAM



Source: Fall, Bernard B., "The Political-Religious Sects of Viet-Nam," Pacific Affairs, September 1955, p. 236.

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ANNEXES

1. The Research Plan, Procedures, and Technical Summary.
2. References to Factors Relating to Communications in the Special Warfare Area Handbook for Viet Nam.
3. Index to Appeal Ideas by Task and Special Audience.
4. Index to Special Audience Information.

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ANNEX 1

THE RESEARCH PLAN
PROCEDURES AND TECHNICAL SUMMARY

I. Overview of Research Plan

A. The Operational Requirement

The title of PROSYMS as given in the Task Statement submitted by SORO on 25 February 1957 and accepted by the Office of the Chief of Special Warfare (OCSPWAR) on 24 July 1957 is as follows:

"A study of the comparative persuasiveness of various oral and visual symbols for the purpose of developing phonic and graphic forms to be used in propaganda operations against particular categories of individuals in potential target areas."

The potential military pay-off is described as follows:

"The OCSPWAR will have at hand a catalogue of symbol forms, for use in psychological warfare operations against selected target audiences, which:

(1) Would already have been field-tested for effectiveness;

(2) Would be of value in training psychological warfare personnel;

(3) And would be ready for immediate use against possible and probable targets, in the more probable areas of military operations."

Consideration of Project PROSYMS by the staff of the Research Division of SORO led to the conclusion that the operational requirement as given in the original Task Statement needed some

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revisions. Both research considerations (see discussion in Research Objectives, below) and considerations of operational utility dictated a re-examination of the operational requirement.

Discussion of the problem with OCSPWAR led to the following restatement of the title of the task:

"The development of appeals and symbols of tested persuasiveness for communicating propaganda messages to specific target groups in selected countries and the formulation of principles of style and format for the effective presentation of propaganda messages."

The operative word in the revised title is appeals.1/ Propaganda appeals are the primary research product. Propaganda symbols are means for communicating propaganda appeals and can only be collected as they appear in the appeals developed for accomplishing specific tasks of psychological operations with specific audiences. Note also that the objective of the project has been broadened to include the collection and formulation of principles of style and format for the effective presentation of messages.

The potential military pay-off is as follows:

The OCSPWAR will have at hand a battery of appeal ideas with their key symbols for use in psychological operations with selected audiences, and a style and format guide for the effective presentation of messages to the selected audiences.

1/ For the definition of "appeal" and all other terms of psychological operations as used in this Annex, see Research Definitions on pages 6-10 of the Report.

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B. The Research Objectives

The research objectives of Project PROSPS and the operational requirements of the project became one and the same as a result of the above revisions in the task title and in the potential military pay-off.

The primary research objective of Project PROSPS is the development of tested appeal ideas for use in preparing messages to accomplish specific tasks of psychological operations with specific audiences. The secondary research objective is the compilation of information to assist in the presentation or design of effective messages.

The decision to abandon the research for persuasive symbols as the primary objective of the project was based on the following considerations:

1. Symbols for what? The world is full of symbols, verbal and nonverbal. On what basis could the research staff proceed to search for "propaganda symbols"? Clearly propaganda symbols are those symbols which are employed to communicate appeals in propaganda messages. Hence, the first objective must be to develop appeal ideas. Only as these are developed, can propaganda symbols be identified.

2. The meaning of a symbol is determined by the context in which it is used. To place isolated propaganda symbols (assuming that such symbols could be developed) in the hands of an operator who may not be familiar with the language and culture of the particular audience would be of little or no value and might, in fact, be

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dangerous. The field operator requires complete communication concepts rather than isolated symbols. He requires appeal ideas which are sentences or paragraphs containing symbols, correctly used. In the writing of messages for use in psychological operations, these appeal ideas can be modified or adapted as required by the situation to accomplish specific tasks with specific audiences.

C. The Research Plan and Procedures

The accomplishment of the two research objectives of PRESIDE required that a systematic research plan be developed. The plan finally evolved is diagrammatically represented on pages 318 - 319.

The first major phase of the research design is that of Appeal Development (including the identification and selection of special audiences). The knowledge and experience of area specialists was the primary source of needed information and appeal ideas. In the area consultant approach, specialists were used to accomplish each of the research steps listed in the left-hand column of the diagrammatic representation of the research design. The research, then, proceeds step by step to the end result, the development of appeal ideas and the identification of key symbols. The procedures which were developed to tap the knowledge of area specialists at each step in the development process are listed in the right-hand column of the diagram.

The second major phase of the research is the Appeal Evaluation phase. In this phase the appeal ideas developed in the first phase were evaluated for persuasiveness.

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The third major phase of the work is the Communication Phase. In this phase, style and format information was secured from persons knowledgeable about the subject country, some of them communications specialists, others indigenous personnel. The material thus collected was edited by the PROSYMS staff and submitted to independent specialists for review and evaluation.

The fourth major phase of the project is the Area Background Material phase. A panel of area specialists was convened to prepare the necessary background material. The work of the panel was guided by instructions prepared by the PROSYMS staff.

D. The Guiding Assumptions

Work upon PROSYMS required the projection of a set of assumptions regarding the nature of the possible future military situations for which the PROSYMS material was to be developed. Clearly the nature of the tasks of psychological operations will differ with the nature of projected military situations, as will the reactions of special audiences and the nature and content of persuasive appeal ideas. The problem that the PROSYMS [illegible] was the selection and projection of the most probable range of broad military situations in which U. S. forces might become involved and the formulation of guiding assumptions on a useful level of generality. The guiding assumptions selected for this study are given on page 5 of the Report.

II. The Selection of Special Audiences

A. The Problem

At the outset of the research planning process, the PROSYMS staff faced the question of the nature of the audience of psychological

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DIAGRAM OF PROTOS RESEARCH PLAN AND PROCEDURES

Requirements: Psychological Operations Appeals with Key Symbols and Accompanying Cultural Information and Explanations.

I. APPEAL DEVELOPMENT PHASE
(Area Consultant Approach)

Research Tasks		Procedures
Subject Country	→	(Assigned by CDC3OP3)
↓		
Selection of Audiences	→	Audience Appraisal Forms
↓		
Selection of Tasks	→	Goal and Task Criticality Form
↓		
Development of Appeal Ideas	→	Appeal Idea Development Form
↓		
Identification of Key Symbols	→	Appeal Idea Development Form

Research Product: Selected Appeals

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II. APPEAL EVALUATION PHASE

Research Task		Procedure
Evaluation of Appeal Ideas	→	Appeal Idea Rating Form

Research Product: Evaluated Appeals

* * * * *

III. STYLE AND FORMAT OF COMMUNICATION PHASE

Research Task		Procedure
Compilation of Style and Format Information	→	Communication Style Form

Research Product: Guide for Effective Communication

* * * * *

IV. BACKGROUND AREA MATERIAL PHASE

Research Task		Procedure
Collection of Background Area Material	→	Panel of Area Specialists

Research Product: Background Area Material

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operations. Should appeal ideas be developed for the communication of messages to the mass population or should crucial groups and categories of persons within the total population be selected as target audiences? The importance of defining special audiences is recognized by Daniel Lerner and Hans Speier. Lerner, in his book Sykewar, writes:

> The idea that "all Germans are alike" may have had some value as a morale weapon at home. As a guide for Sykewar, it was useless. For purposes of persuading the enemy, it was obvious that among Germans there were differences important enough to make repulsive to one group, the very appeals that were attractive to another group. Allied propagandists to Germany, like propagandists everywhere, had to cope with the existence of "multiple publics" within the given "target." Stated another way, Allied propaganda was directed against all Germany as "the enemy." This common characteristic was sufficient to distinguish Germans from, say, Belgians. It was not sufficient, however, to distinguish groups among Germans whose differences from one another, for Sykewar purposes, often were decisive. 2/

In his essay, "Psychological Warfare Reconsidered," Hans Speier writes:

> Since in modern societies the mass of the population cannot overthrow, or actively influence the policies of despotic regimes...the population at large is no rewarding target of conversion propaganda from abroad. Any notion to the contrary may be called the democratic fallacy....3/

Lerner also recognizes, however, that the mass population may be an appropriate target for certain kinds of propaganda messages.

2/ Daniel Lerner, Sykewar, New York: George W. Stewart, Inc., 1949, pp. 135-136.

3/ Published in Daniel Lerner and Harold Lasswell, eds., The Policy Sciences, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951, p. 259.

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Thus he writes:

> ...strategic propaganda concerns itself with the longer-term causes, conduct, and consequences of the war. With such an approach the interests of larger and more varied publics could be reached, and the lines of political differences among Germans could be crossed by Sykewar.4/

In view of the importance of dealing with special audiences in psychological operations and the appropriateness of the mass population for certain kinds of propaganda messages, the decision was made to select the mass population as one audience and to identify especially significant special audiences with the total population as additional targets of psychological operations. The military groups were given first priority and are included in all PROSYMS country studies.

B. The Process of Selecting Special Audiences

The selection involved the following steps.

1. Development of a tentative list of special audiences. The PROSYMS staff assembled a tentative list of special audiences from various documentary sources. Each group was briefly described in terms of those observable characteristics typical of the group which differentiate it from other groups in the population. To assure the selection of the most crucial groups in the population, the first tentative list included those groups identified in available literature on the country as important within the society.

2. Revision of the tentative list. The tentative list was submitted to four consultants who were asked to review and, if necessary, to correct the descriptions of the groups and to nominate

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4/ Lerner, Sykewar, p. 148

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additional groups if they felt there were significant omissions. The form used to accomplish this task is the Special Audience Appraisal Form (Section One). A copy of this form is given in Appendix 1.

The comments of the consultants were reviewed by the PROSPS staff and a final list of special audiences with brief descriptions was developed which incorporated the revisions suggested by the consultants.

3. Assessment of the effectiveness and susceptibility of the special audiences. The list of special audiences was then sent to several area specialists who were instructed, first, to rank order the groups in terms of their effectiveness in helping to accomplish the objectives of United States psychological operations, and next, to rank them in terms of their susceptibility to psychological operations messages. The form used to secure these rankings is shown in Appendix 2.

The rankings on effectiveness submitted by the specialists were transmuted into equivalent linear scores by means of a conversion table developed by Larson 5/ and averaged for each group. The same procedure was followed with the susceptibility rankings. For each group the average linear scores for effectiveness and susceptibility were then computed. The resulting sum yielded a measure of the potential of each group for assisting in the accomplishment of the objectives of U.S. psychological operations.

5/ In Clark L. Hull, Aptitude Testing, New York: World Book Co., 1928, p. 491.

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RANK ORDER OF SPECIAL AUDIENCES BY POTENTIAL BASED ON COMPOSITE OF AVERAGE LINEAR SCORES FOR EFFECTIVENESS AND SUSCEPTIBILITY

RANK ORDER	SPECIAL AUDIENCES*	EFFECTIVENESS average linear score (5 rankings)	SUSCEPTIBILITY average linear score (5 rankings)	POTENTIAL Composite of E & S scores
1.	Military	75.6	80.8	156.4
2.	Administrators	79.8	72.6	152.4
3.	Political Elite	73.2	74.8	150.0
4.	Educationalists	60.4	64.0	124.4
5.	Roman Catholics	56.8	67.0	123.8
6.	Refugees	54.2	63.6	117.8
7.	Intellectuals	62.6	48.8	111.4
8.	Youth	54.0	50.2	104.2
9.	Elders	58.6	45.2	103.8
10.	Chinese	50.2	53.0	103.2
11.	Urban Vietnamese	53.2	44.2	97.4
12.	Cao-Dai	43.6	44.8	88.4
13.	Village Folk	49.2	38.2	87.4
14.	Women	42.6	43.0	85.6
15.	French	30.2	53.2	83.4
16.	Eurasians	28.2	53.0	81.2
17.	Hoa-Hao	40.4	30.0	70.4
18.	Cambodians	27.4	30.2	57.6
19.	Spirit Worshippers	32.6	21.2	53.8
20.	Cham Tribal Group	24.8	22.2	47.0

* Groups selected for more intensive study include the first seven in rank order. South Viet Nam as a whole was added to the list in conformity to the decision to include in all PRESIDIO country studies the mass population as a special audience for the purposes of this research.

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In compositing effectiveness and susceptibility to yield a composite measure of potential, the two measures were given equal weight.

The equivalent linear scores of each group on effectiveness and susceptibility, the composite scores of each group on potential in their final rank order, and the list of those groups finally selected are shown on page 323, preceding.

Analysis of the reliability of the rankings of the groups on effectiveness and susceptibility shows that the rankings are highly reliable as measured by inter-judge agreement. The average intercorrelation between the effectiveness rankings of the five judges was .66.6/ The estimated correlation between the summated scores of the five consultants and the summated scores of a comparable set of five additional consultants is .91. The corresponding correlations for the susceptibility scores are .72 and .93 respectively.

4. Selection of special audiences for intensive study. The complete list of the criteria that were used to select the more important special audiences (and those most relevant to psychological operations) for more intensive study is given on page 325, opposite. The criteria were used as required to satisfy the operational requirements of the project.

6/ These statistical analyses are based on formulas and tables in C.C. Peters and W.R. Van Voorhis, Statistical Procedures and Their Mathematical Bases, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1940.

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CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF SPECIAL AUDIENCES FOR INTENSIVE STUDY

The following criteria will be considered by consultants in evaluating the significance of groups for psychological operations.

Potential: Equally weighted composite of effectiveness and susceptibility—a measure of the degree to which a group can assist in the accomplishment of a goal of psychological operations.

In addition, the following factors will be taken into account by the PROSYMS staff in selecting the set of groups for each subject country which will be studied in Project PROSYMS:

1. Groups will be so selected as to cover as many segments of the population as possible, i.e., to provide heterogeneity.

2. Groups will be so selected as to include one mass audience group in the set, when feasible.

3. Groups will be selected on the basis of the adequacy of available sources of information.

4. Whenever possible, groups will be so selected as to include representation of strategically important geographical areas of the country.

5. In selecting groups, the probable military role of the country in the event of war will be considered.

6. The accessibility of the group will be considered.

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III. The Selection of Tasks

The second step in the appeal development phase was the selection of those tasks of psychological operations for which it would be deemed feasible and useful to try to develop appeal ideas for each of the selected special audiences.

A pretest of the research form for appeals development revealed that the optimum number of problem situations for each consultant assignment was approximately thirty. Clearly, then, time, the number of available consultants, and manpower resources of [redacted] were not sufficient for complete and extensive processing of each and every task for each and every selected special audience. Moreover, not every task is of the same order of importance, nor has the same degree of relevance to each special audience or situation. Finally, it was recognized that an appeal developed for a particular group and for a task of a particular goal under a projected military situation could often be generalized as applicable to other tasks of the same goal.

The criterion for the first step in the selection of tasks was the task's degree of importance to military operations--its military criticality, in other words. Criticality is defined as the relative military importance of getting members of a special audience to respond in the desired way to appeals in support of a task of psychological operations. For purposes of PROSPECTS research, criticality was determined by asking 14 knowledgeable

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military and civilian judges to rank and rate the goals and tasks of the study. The resulting criticality scores for each task under each projected military situation were examined. Those tasks with low criticality scores were eliminated; those falling in the medium range of criticality were selected or rejected on other criteria; and those having high criticality scores were in most cases included. The forms used to secure these scores are shown in Appendix 3.

The criterion for the second step in the selection of tasks was representativeness—that is, selection so made as to represent each goal considered to possess a significant criticality by at least one task. If a goal of adjudged significant criticality was not represented by a task judged to have high criticality, then for that goal a task with the highest score in the medium range of criticality was selected. By this process, one to four tasks were selected for all goals judged to be significant in each military situation.

The criterion for the first step in the selection of tasks was relevance to the special audience. It was clear that greater economy in research and a more highly useful product would result from such relevance. This relevance was determined by members of the PROSIMS staff after intensive analysis of each group to discern whether a logical compatibility existed between task and group predispositions. It would not seem profitable, for example, to waste research effort attempting to justify the use of

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new weapons to Buddhist Monks, who by philosophy and conviction are divorced from temporal affairs and opposed to violence. It was also clear that selection on the basis of relevance would lead to a more useful product. At the same time, it would not necessarily preclude the collection, and later evaluation, of appeal ideas for an unchosen task. On the reverse side of the appeal development data sheets (see Appendix 4), consultants devising appeal ideas were invited to indicate any extension of applicability or generality of an appeal specifically developed for a particular task to other tasks of the same goal--including those tasks which by reason of limited relevance or because of low criticality scores had not been placed on the selected list.

Thus the list of tasks based on order of criticality and representative coverage of goals was adjusted for task-group relevancy. The tasks so selected for each of the special audiences are shown on pages 329 - 332, following.

IV. The Development of Appeal Ideas

In planning the procedure for the development of appeal ideas, the PROSYMS staff was guided by the injunction of Lerner to work within the predispositions of the audience.

> What we wish to emphasize here is that...predispositions define the limits within which audiences can be effectively persuaded to modify their experiences...1/

1/ Daniel Lerner, Propaganda in War and Crisis, New York: George W. Stewart, 1951, p. 347.

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TASKS SELECTED AS APPROPRIATE FOR MILITARY AUDIENCES

Task No.	Short Title of Task	Military Officers	Military Enlisted Men
	Military Situation A:		
	Goal: Good Will		
1.	Desirability of U.S. victory		
	Goal: Discouragement		
2.	Doubt re: own ideology, war aims		
3.	Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory	x	x
4.	Loss of confidence in own forces		x
5.	Disrespect for civilian leaders	x	
6.	Desire for peace		
7.	Anxiety about home conditions		
8.	Nostalgia		
9.	Apathy		
	Goal: Discord		
10.	Resentment of officers by E.M.		x
11.	Resentment of E.M. by officers	x	
12.	Conflict among officers same grade		
13.	Conflict between officer factions	x	
14.	Distrust of political officers		
15.	Discord between service branches		x
16.	Conflicts involving ethnic groups		x
17.	Resentment of profiteers & favorites		
18.	Resentment toward country's allies		
	Goal: Intimidation		
19.	Dissatisfaction with military life		
20.	Resentment of inadequate care		x
21.	Disloyalty to primary unit		
	Goal: Panic		
22.	Disorganized behavior		x
	Goal: Subversion		
23.	Malingering		
24.	Passive resistance	x	x
25.	Insubordination		
26.	Sabotage		
	Goal: Surrender		
27.	Good treatment of POWs		x
28.	Desire to live		
29.	Passive surrender	x	x
30.	Desertion		
31.	Individual surrender		
32.	Group surrender	x	

* A few tasks under Military Situation D were also selected for the military, namely, for Enlisted Men, Tasks 70, 77, and 81; and for Officers, Tasks 74, 78, and 84.

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TASKS SELECTED AS APPROPRIATE FOR SPECIAL AUDIENCES

Task No.	Short Title of Task	Administrators	Country as a Whole	Educationalists	Intellectuals	Political Elite	Refugees	Roman Catholics
	Military Situation B:							
	Goal: Good Will							
33.	Desirability of U. S. victory				x	x		x
34.	U.S. troops liberators		x	x			x	
	Goal: Compliance							
35.	Avoidance of military targets		x	x			x	
36.	Evacuation of cities	x						x
	Goal: Discouragement							
37.	Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory		x			x	x	x
38.	Desire for peace							
39.	Doubt about own ideology, war aims			x	x			
40.	Disrespect for national leaders	x	x	x	x		x	x
41.	Disrespect for group leaders							
42.	Nostalgia							
43.	Apathy							
	Goal: Discord							
44.	Resentment of profiteers			x	x			
45.	Dissension between cliques/groups	x					x	x
46.	Ethnic or social disaffection	x	x		x		x	x
47.	Conflicts among leaders					x		
48.	Resentment toward country's allies							
	Goal: Privatization							
49.	Dissatisfaction with conditions	x	x	x	x		x	x
50.	Disloyalty to primary group							
	Goal: Panic							
51.	Disorganized or panicky behavior	x	x				x	x
	Goal: Subversion							
52.	Slowdowns and delays	x	x			x		x
53.	Malingering and absenteeism							
54.	Strikes						x	
55.	Sabotage		x	x				x
56.	Organized resistance				x	x	x	
57.	Revolt and secession							

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TASKS SELECTED AS APPROPRIATE FOR OFFICIAL AUDIENCES

Task No.	Short Title of Task	Administrators	Country as a Whole	Ethnic Nationalists	Intellectuals	Political Elite	Refugees	Roman Catholics
	Military Situation C:							
	Goal: Good Will							
58.	Strengthening of common ideals				x	x		x
	Goal: Encouragement							
59.	Rebuilding national unity		x					
60.	Hope for the future			x			x	
	Goal: Compliance							
61.	Discrediting of defeated regime		x					
62.	Countering of rumors/false reports				x	x		
63.	Eradication of militarism							
64.	Receptive attitudes to change			x	x			
65.	Preparation for postwar world							
66.	Assistance in restoration of order		x			x		x
67.	Assistance in handling DPs & POWs	x					x	
	Military Situation D:							
	Goal: Good Will							
68.	Strengthening of common ideals							
69.	Desirability of U.S. victory		x	x	x			x
70.	U.S. troops liberators						x	
71.	Justification for new weapons							
	Goal: Compliance							
72.	Avoidance of military targets							
73.	Evacuation of cities	x	x					x
	Goal: Hostility							
74.	Resentment toward common enemy	x	x				x	x
75.	Traditional values vs enemy ideology							
76.	Disbelief in enemy war aims			x	x			
77.	Withholding of manpower and food		x			x		x
78.	Discouragement of collaboration	x			x		x	
79.	Disassociation from enemy							
	Goal: Subversion							
80.	Slowdowns and delays		x			x		x
81.	Malingering and absenteeism						x	
82.	Strikes	x						
83.	Sabotage	x	x				x	
84.	Organized resistance				x	x		x
85.	Revolt or secession							

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TASKS SELECTED AS APPROPRIATE FOR SPECIAL AUDIENCES

Task No.	Short Title of Task	Administrators	Country as a Whole	Educationalists	Intellectuals	Political Elite	Refugees	Roman Catholics
	Military Situation E:							
	Goal: Good Will							
86.	Promotion of friendship							
87.	Strengthening of common ideals							
88.	Noninterference in their affairs	x	x		x	x		x
89.	Appreciation of contributions		x	x	x	x		x
90.	Justification for new weapons							
	Goal: Encouragement							
91.	Hope for postwar world							
92.	Expectation of U.S. victory		x			x	x	x
	Goal: Compliance							
93.	Cooperation with U.S.	x	x		x	x	x	
	Goal: Hostility							
94.	Disbelief in enemy war aims							
95.	Hostility toward common enemy		x	x		x	x	
	Military Situation F:							
	Goal: Good Will							
96.	Promotion of friendship	x	x				x	
97.	Strengthening of common ideals							
98.	Desirability of U.S. victory		x	x	x	x		x
99.	Expectation of U.S. victory							
100.	Justification for new weapons							
	Goal: Compliance							
101.	Cooperation with U.S.		x		x	x		x
	Goal: Hostility							
102.	Discrediting of enemy war aims							
103.	Hostility toward U.S. enemy		x	x			x	x
104.	Discouragement of collaboration	x	x		x		x	

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The form used to guide the consultants in the task of developing appeal ideas (see Appendix 4) emphasized that the objective was to develop appeal ideas that would arouse predispositions in the members of the audience which would lead to the desired changes in behavior. The consultants were first enjoined to think of the motives, values, and attitudes shared by the members of the special audience that might render them susceptible to appeals from a U.S. source.

What vulnerabilities does this group possess, i.e., what predispositions do the members of the group share that a U.S. operator can use as a means of achieving a specified task? This was the question the PROVOKE staff asked of the consultants. The consultants were then instructed to develop appeal ideas phrased in the conceptual and emotional language of the special audience. The attempt in developing appeal ideas was to use native symbols in speaking to the audience in order to evoke the desired response. Culturally specific symbols and not American symbols were sought in order to evoke culturally specific predispositions.

For each appeal idea developed, the consultant was asked to provide supporting information to assist the planner and operator to make effective use of the appeal idea in the writing of messages. He was asked to describe the reactions the appeal would probably evoke in the members of the audience and the cultural basis for these reactions. In addition, he was asked to identify the key symbols in the appeal idea and to describe their meaning for members

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SOUTH VIET NAM: DISTRIBUTION OF APPEAL IDEAS DEVELOPED FOR EACH SPECIAL AUDIENCE

Special Audience	No. of appeals collected for each group	No. of appeals selected for evaluation 1/	No. of appeals surviving evaluation 2/	Percent of those evaluated which survived
Administrators	162	94	38	40%
Educationalists	180	112	44	39%
Intellectuals	143	85	37	44%
Military: Officers	159	101	35	35%
Enlisted Men	211	146	59	40%
Political Elite	144	73	29	40%
Refugees	201	163	62	38%
Roman Catholics	160	84	26	31%
South Viet Nam as a Whole	254	198	87	44%
TOTALS	1624*	1056	417	39%

* Of this total, 503 are primary appeal ideas (developed primarily for a particular problem situation), and 1,121 are secondary (applied to other specified problem situations at the express suggestion of a consultant).

1/ See, 201 QUALITY CONTROL AND 203 DATA PROCESSING FORM; and see also, SELECTION OF APPEAL IDEAS FOR EVALUATION.

2/ See, DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL PERSUASIVENESS SCORES BY SPECIAL AUDIENCE.

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of the special audience. Finally, he was asked to indicate whether the effectiveness of the appeal idea was dependent upon any particular military situation or assumption.

The appeal development phase resulted in the development of 1056 appeal ideas suitable for evaluation. Twenty-three consultants contributed appeal ideas. The distribution of appeal ideas developed for each special audience is given on page 334.

After developing appeal ideas for accomplishing given tasks with a given group (hereafter called primary appeal ideas), consultants were asked to indicate the generality of these appeal ideas for other tasks and for other groups. Primary appeal ideas judged appropriate for other tasks and for other groups are for those other tasks and/or other groups hereafter termed secondary appeal ideas.

V. The Evaluation of Appeal Ideas

The appeal ideas developed by consultants were processed by the PROSYMS staff before they were presented to consultants for evaluation.

In processing the appeal idea material, the PROSYMS staff was guided by a common set of instructions. A sample of the analysis of one consultant's contribution is presented on page 336, following. This work sheet makes manifest the common procedures.

Practical considerations made it impossible to evaluate all of the secondary appeal ideas secured in the appeal development phase.

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201 QUALITY CONTROL AND 203 DATA PROCESSING FORM

Country South Viet Nam Audience Refugees Consultant SVN-74

Assigned Problem Situations 23
Completed Problem Situations 22 Consultant Hours 7

Item	Sum	Percent
1. Nonconformity to SORO Appeal Concept		
A. Desired behavior only given	none	-
B. Desired behavior and supporting reasons given in appeal	none	-
2. Completeness of Material		
A. Appeals conforming to SORO concept	none	-
B. Failures to identify key symbols	none	-
C. Failures to answer 2b or 3b	none	-
3. Relevancy of Material		
A. Appeals judged irrelevant to task	none	-
4. Cultural Specificity of Material		
A. Appeals employing only Western or American symbols	none	-
5. Situational Specificity of Material		
A. Instances of increased specificity of assumptions or countermeasures	4	18%
6. Generality of Material		
A. Appeals judged relevant to additional audiences	19	87%
B. Appeals judged relevant to additional tasks	11	50%
7. Specific Deficiencies		
A. Source of possible appeal in culture given but appeal itself not supplied	1	5%
B. Documentary references to appeal cited but appeal itself not given	none	-
C. Appeal idea suggested but appeal itself not phrased in communicative form.	1	5%

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All primary appeal ideas were evaluated, however. Secondary appeal ideas were selected in the number required to secure a sufficient number of appeal ideas per problem situation for the evaluation process. The rules for selecting secondary appeal ideas for evaluation are given on page 338, following.

Appeal ideas selected for a given group were submitted to three consultants for evaluation. The consultant judges independently evaluated each appeal idea on a scale that ranged from +5 (high in persuasiveness) through 0 (no persuasiveness whatever) to -5 (high in unfavorableness).

In addition the consultant judges were asked to specify and describe differential and situational effects which might affect the operational use of appeal ideas judged to have some degree of persuasiveness. For an example of the rating form used, see Appendix 5.

In selecting the appeal ideas for presentation in this report the PROSPECTS staff adhered to the following rules:

(1) All appeal ideas which received a zero or negative rating from one or more judges were rejected.

(2) The ratings assigned the appeal ideas that survived step 1, above, were totaled, and the distribution of total ratings plotted.

(3) In selecting appeal ideas for presentation in the Report, only those which had high positive ratings were accepted for each group. The percentages of acceptances varied from group to group to correct for differences among the consultants in

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SELECTION OF APPEAL IDEAS FOR EVALUATION

Combinations of Primary and Secondary Appeal Ideas for Submission to Judges for Evaluation:

1. Select all primary appeal ideas for evaluation.
2. If there are four or more primary appeal ideas for a given problem situation, do not include secondary appeal ideas for evaluation in that problem situation.
3. If there are three or fewer primary appeal ideas for a given problem situation which includes a selected task, select enough secondary appeal ideas to reach a total of four.
4. If there are no primary appeal ideas in a problem situation which includes a selected task, select four secondary appeal ideas for evaluation.
5. Do not ordinarily select any appeal ideas for a problem situation for which there are no primary appeal ideas and which does not include a selected task (an exception can be made if appeals for the problem situation are needed for breadth of coverage and if there is a significant number of secondary appeal ideas from which to make a selection--in which case select only four or less).

Criteria for Selection of Secondary Appeal Ideas Needed for Points 3 and 4 Above:

a. Select the most dissimilar appeal ideas (thus avoiding repetition and giving greater range).

b. Select, when a choice exists, those secondary appeals primarily written for the task which have special audience generality.

c. Select the appeal ideas most relevant to the problem situation.

d. Select appeal ideas which need the least SCRO editing.

e. Select appeal ideas which are richest in symbol content.

f. Select appeal ideas with most complete (and relevant) supporting data.

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standards of judgment and to secure, insofar as possible, representative coverage of problem situations.

(4) Appeal ideas which received a total persuasiveness score of nine or less were not ordinarily considered for inclusion in the final report.

The table on page 340 following gives the distribution of total persuasiveness scores of the appeal ideas developed for each group and the cut-off points used for each group.

The percent of appeal ideas submitted for evaluation that survived the evaluation process is given in the table on page for each of the special audiences and for the totals.

The appeal ideas that survived the evaluation process described above are given in Section VII of the Report. Their summed evaluation scores indicated some of the surviving appeal ideas to be higher in relative persuasiveness—these were assigned the score-category of "1", the remainder of those surviving were designated as medium in relative persuasiveness, or "2."

VI. The Compilation of Communications Information

To frame messages that will effectively communicate appeal ideas, it is necessary to know a good deal about the communication habits of the audience. As has been said so often, the "how" of communication is no less important than the "what."

Appeal ideas assist in coping with the problem of what to say to an audience. Information about acceptable stylistic and format

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SOUTH VIET NAM: DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL PERSUASIVENESS SCORES BY SPECIAL AUDIENCES

Special Audience	Number of appeal ideas for each special audience having positive persuasive ratings from three judges on a -5 to +5 scale, with a summed score of: 3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	No. of appeals with all scores	No. of appeals above cut-off point
Administrators				1	3	5	6	10	11	8	12	5	2	63	38
Educationalists			3	9	12	11	15	12	17	7	5	2	1	94	44
Intellectuals				1	6	3	10	8	14	10	8	2	3	65	37
Military: Officers		1	7	12	11	1	9	9	8	4	3	2		67	35
Military: Enlisted Men	1	4	11	11	12	8	25	14	13	5	2			106	59
Political Elite			3	3	7	8	10	12	8	1	5	3		60	29
Refugees	1		5	10	9	20	27	24	22	10	1	5		134	62
Roman Catholics					1	8	10	82	5	8	2			56	28
South Viet Nam as a Whole			2	3	13	21	20	23	31	27	16	11	2	169	87
TOTALS														804	417

The cut-off point is indicated by the line drawn through the table. Appeal ideas with scores on the high side of the line are included in Section VII of the Report with only a few exceptions: in a very few instances, one or two appeal ideas were taken from the summed score just lower than the cut-off line in order to obtain more complete coverage; also, in a few instances, some appeal ideas evaluated as persuasive are not presented in the Report since they essentially repeat other appeal ideas under the same problem situation.

characteristics is useful in dealing with "how" to address the audience.

To provide the planner and operator with a body of information on questions of style and format that should be considered in preparing messages, the PROSDMS staff developed an extensive form for securing information from persons with knowledge of the subject country--many of them communication specialists and some indigenous persons (see Appendix 6).

The material collected through this form was processed and edited by the PROSDMS staff. It was then submitted to an independent authority for review and criticism.

VII. The Collection of Background Area Material

The appeal ideas given in the Report are intended to be used as ideas for the preparation of messages. Local circumstances will often require that they be revised or adapted. To assist the operator to use the appeal ideas effectively in the context of a fluid and changing strategic and tactical situation, background area material is given in Sections II, III, IV, and VIII of the Report. Opportunities for psychological operations in the country are treated in Section III. The major predispositions of the selected audiences which may be appealed to by the operator in propaganda messages are analyzed in Section IV.

The area background material was supplied by a panel of three consultants, convened at SORO for that purpose. The work of the

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panel was guided by a detailed set of instructions prepared by the PROSYMS staff. Throughout its deliberations, the work of the panel was directed by a PROSYMS staff member who served as panel coordinator. The instructions under which the panel worked and reached their consensuses are set forth in Appendix 7. Reference to these instructions will indicate the disciplined manner in which the panel members made their contributions.

There follows, on pages 344 - 345 a Diagrammatic Summary of the PROSYMS Research Plan and Procedures which graphically illustrates the relationship of panel work to the more empirically determined data--as well as presenting visually the step-by-step complex of the PROSYMS research.

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DIAGRAMMATIC SUMMARY OF PROSYS RESEARCH PLAN AND PROCEDURES

Requirement: Appeal Ideas, together with Key Symbols, suitable for use in psychological operations in appropriate cultural content.

	APPEAL DEVELOPMENT PHASE:			COMMUNICATIONS AND BACKGROUND MATERIAL PHASE:	
Research Task	Procedures and Forms		Findings	Material needed	Method used
A. Determination of subject country	(assigned)		Subject country (South Viet Nam)		
B. Specification of research assumptions	SCRO with military approval		Logical assumptions amenable to research	Objective description of special audiences	Panel & Review
C. Identification of significant audiences	SCRO tentative list SCRO collation	Audience Appraisal Form, Section 1 (200a)	20 audiences of operational significance	Analysis of opportunities for accomplishing goals of PsyOps	Panel & Review
D. Selection of specil audiences for appeals development	SCRO collation & adjustment on internal criteria	Audience Appraisal Form, Section 2 (200b)	8 selected audiences	Analysis of selected audiences for Effectiveness and Susceptibility	Panel & Review
E. Selection of appropriate tasks	Consultant ranking for military criticality; SCRO selection by goal representation, audience relevancy and criticality.	Goal and Task Criticality Form (200c - 2)	Tasks appropriate to each selected audience		

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F. Appeals development

1. Appeal ideas	SORO assignment by military situation, goal, & problem situation (according to consultant knowledge)	Appeal Idea Development Form (201)	1,056 unevaluated appeal ideas with supporting data selected from 1,624 collected		
2. Identification of key symbols	SORO collation & quality control	Appeal Idea Development Form (201)		Material relevant to effective communication	Communications Style Form (202) Review
		APPEAL EVALUATION PHASE:			
Evaluation of appeal ideas	SORO collation	Appeal Idea Rating Form (203) Consultant Review	417 evaluated appeal ideas for selected problem situations	General injunctions	Panel & Review

RESEARCH PRODUCT: Appeal Ideas of adjudged persuasiveness with Key Symbols, supporting data and comments.

RESEARCH PRODUCT: A body of culturally specific data for use in PsyOps.

FINAL RESEARCH REPORT: A body of systematically elicited data and background material logically arranged for the information of the American communicator; and designed to assist him in conducting psychological operations in the subject country under conditions approximating the research assumptions.

Appendix 1

SPECIAL OPERATIONS RESEARCH OFFICE
The American University
4501 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W. Washington 16, D. C.

SPECIAL AUDIENCE APPRAISAL FORM (Section One):

A. Introduction and General Instructions

B. Potentially Significant Groups as Tentatively Designated

Name of Consultant_____

Date_____

SORO Form 200a
3 January 1958

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SPECIAL AUDIENCE APPRAISAL FORM

A. INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

The Special Operations Research Office (SORO) has the following research task: "A study of the comparative persuasiveness of propaganda appeals expressed in various verbal and non-verbal symbols for the purpose of communicating effectively with particular categories of individuals in selected areas (PROSTMS)."

In order to develop propaganda appeals which will be of maximum usefulness to psychological operations planners and to operators in the field, it was felt that an explicit statement of psychological operations objectives and tasks was needed for the major special audiences or "categories of individuals" in each country being studied. From these objectives and tasks, it will be possible to derive propaganda appeals appropriate for use with these special audiences.

A working list of psychological operations tasks has been extracted from materials dealing with the past experiences of psychological operations and writings about its anticipated future needs. These tasks fall under the following major psychological operations objectives:

1. To reduce the combat efficiency of the enemy military forces.

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2. To further the war effort by creating, modifying, or exploiting attitudes and behaviors of special audiences.

3. To facilitate reorganization and control of occupied or liberated areas in conjunction with civil affairs and/or military government operations.

4. To obtain the cooperation of allies and neutrals in the war effort.

For the purposes of this research project, a psychological operations task is defined as a specific mental or behavioral effect, which, if secured, will contribute to the achievement of a psychological operationsgoal. Examples are "to make the front line soldier apprehensive about conditions at home," "to encourage individual surrender," and "to arouse nostalgia."

It is clear that some tasks may not be applicable to all countries. Moreover, the degree of appropriateness of any task, of course, would depend upon the existing war situation. For instance, front line surrender appeals would not be very appropriate if the United States forces were on the defensive; certain other tasks might decline in importance if the United States forces were winning on all fronts.

Similarly, not all tasks will be equally applicable to the various special audiences within a country. Later on, we shall ask you to help us determine which tasks are most applicable to specific groups.

Our first step, however, before dealing with psychological operations tasks, will be to arrive at those groups which are most

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significant for the purposes of psychological operations. A special audience, for this purpose, has been defined as an aggregate of persons who share certain predispositions which, when successfully manipulated, may lead to mental or behavioral effects that will assist in the accomplishment of a task of psychological operations.

From a study of the literature, we have tentatively selected a number of special audiences which appear, on the basis of two general criteria, to be of significance in psychological operations. The first of these criteria is potential effectiveness, or the degree to which a group can influence the aims, objectives, and capabilities of the nation of which it is a part. Some component factors—logically and historically related to purposes of psychological operations—which varyingly contribute to a group's effectiveness are: (a) size of the group relative to the total society; (b) cohesiveness (i.e., sense of group identification, shared comprehension, common values); (c) formal and informal organization; (d) leadership; (e) function in the society during wartime; (f) prestige, formal or informal; and (g) coercive or persuasive ability (ability to impose its will on others). In evaluating the overall effectiveness of each group, we suggest that you make your final judgment after considering each of these component factors.

The second criterion is potential susceptibility, or the degree to which a group can be influenced to respond in ways that

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will assist in the accomplishment of a task of psychological operations.

Using these two criteria, please review critically each of the audiences listed in Part B. You will be invited to make additions to the list based on your knowledge of the culture, and using the above criteria of potential effectiveness and potential susceptibility.

B. POTENTIALLY SIGNIFICANT SPECIAL AUDIENCES AS TENTATIVELY NOMINATED

In Section 1 of this form, groups judged by us to be of potential significance within the country under consideration are listed.

We have also presented for each group listed the minimal set of observable characteristics which determines membership in that group. These objective descriptions are for the purpose of reaching a common and acceptable agreement among consultants.

The listed groups are not mutually exclusive in membership. That is, a resident of the country under consideration may have membership in more than one of the groups listed below.

These brief descriptions cannot include the nuances that you might like to make. What we want right now is a minimal standard description which several area specialists can accept and use. If you agree with the description that we have supplied, please place a checkmark (✓) after it. If you believe the set of characteristics we have supplied requires correction or modification, please write your proposed changes on the other side of the page on which the group is listed. However, do not make corrections or modifications

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of any group description unless it contains an error sufficiently serious to prevent the very agreement which we seek.

The list of groups, with their descriptions, begins on the next page, arranged in alphabetical order.

(List omitted)

You are now invited to add to the preceding tentative list of groups any additional groups which you feel are both effective and susceptible, as those terms have been defined above for the purposes of psychological operations.

However, we do not wish you to fragment the society into so many groups and sub-groups that we cannot work with them to useful purposes.

To help you in thinking about possible additional groups, we herewith list those group-systems which have been used by us in surveying this society for potential special audiences of pertinence to psychological operations. These group-systems are occupational, ethnic, religious, family-kinship, political, leisure-time, social class, and age-sex. Other possible audiences may be based on geographical-regional considerations, etc.

When nominating additional groups on the form which follows, please describe each group in terms of observable characteristics, e.g., age, sex, physical characteristics, ethnic origin, behavioral characteristics, occupation, language, organizational membership, level of education, etc. These characteristics must be those which are verifiable by direct observation of physical or behavioral phenomena or by reference to records, such as membership lists, etc.

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Consultant_____ Country_____

Please list below any group or groups which you believe to be of high effectiveness and susceptibility, as defined previously. We have provided space for you to describe briefly the group(s) you have added and your reasons for nominating them. Please type or write clearly.

Name_____ Why nominated_____

Description_____

Name_____ Why nominated_____

Description_____

Name_____ Why nominated_____

Description_____

Name_____ Why nominated_____

(Use the back of this page for additional comments)

SORO Form 200a
3 January 1958

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Appendix 2

SPECIAL OPERATIONS RESEARCH OFFICE
The American University
4501 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington 16, D.C.

SPECIAL AUDIENCE APPRAISAL FORM (Section 2):

Ranking of Groups

Name of Consultant_____

Date_____

SORO Form 200b
20 May 1958

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INTRODUCTION

Recently you may have reviewed some special audiences described in the SORO Form 200a. If so, you may have added other groups which you judged significant in terms of the criteria provided.

Based upon the collation of data such as you or other of our consultants may have furnished, SORO has revised the original list of groups. This revised list of special audiences, together with descriptions, follows on the next two or three pages. (List omitted.)

Please study this revised list carefully. You will probably wish to review the group descriptions as you proceed to each of the three steps in this research form.

SORO Form 200b
20 May 1958

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Instructions:

After you have studied the revised special audience list on the preceding pages, please do the following tasks: (list omitted)

1. Ranking for Effectiveness--Using the composite list provided you, please rank the groups on potential EFFECTIVENESS within the country as a whole.

Effectiveness has been defined as the degree to which a special audience can influence the aims, objectives, and capabilities of the nation of which it is a part. Some important component factors in judging effectiveness are, to repeat, (a) size of the group relative to the total society; (b) cohesiveness (e.g., sense of group identification, shared comprehension, common values); (c) formal and informal organizations; (d) leadership; (3) function in the society during wartime; (f) prestige--formal or informal; and (g) coercive or persuasive ability (ability to impose its will on others).

Please use the following ranking method:

(1) On the top line of the numbered spaces provided on the work sheet, write in the group you think possesses the most potential effectiveness according to the factors supplied above. Cross off this group name on the composite list to the left of the page.

(2) Next, of the remaining groups, select the one you consider least effective, place its name in the last space, and cross it off the composite list.

(3) Next, of the remaining groups, select the one which you consider the next most effective, write its name in the space numbered 2 at the top, and cross it off the list. Now, of those remaining, choose the one you think next least effective and place its name in the next to last space and cross it off the composite list.

In this fashion, selecting alternatively the most effective of the remaining groups, then the least effective, and crossing off each group after it has been ranked, work through the list until all groups have been arranged in rank order of effectiveness.

SOIO Form 200b
20 May 1958

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Consultant_____ Country_____

WORK SHEET

RANKING OF SPECIAL AUDIENCES FOR EFFECTIVENESS

SPECIAL AUDIENCES (In alphabetical order)	EFFECTIVENESS Review the instructions on the procedure to follow in ranking the groups.
	(1)
	(2)
	(3)
	(4)
	(5)
	(6)
	(7)
	(8)
	(9)
	(10)
	(11)
	(12)
	(13)
	(14)
	(15)
	(16)
	(17)
	(18)
	(19)
	(20)
	(21)
	(22)
	(23)
	(24)
	(25)
	(26)
	(27)
	(28)
	(29)
	(30)

SNRO Form 200b
20 May 1958

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2. Ranking for Susceptibility

We would now like you to rank these same groups again on the basis of their SUSCEPTIBILITY. Susceptibility is defined as the degree to which a special audience can be influenced to respond in ways that will assist in the accomplishment of a psychological operations task(s). A group ranked very high on susceptibility would be one which you consider generally susceptible or responsive to U.S. psychological operations appeals, e.g., because of its position in the society of the country as a whole, or because of interests held in common with the United States. A group ranked very low on susceptibility would be one which you consider to be almost completely unresponsive to U.S. psychological operations appeals.

In making these judgments, please consider only the group's susceptibility, without any regard for its effectiveness. The rankings for effectiveness and susceptibility are not necessarily related; in fact, the ranking may differ greatly in the case of some groups.

Following the same method which you have just used, please rank for susceptibility the groups on the list provided you.

(1) On the top line of the numbered spaces on the work sheet, write in the group which you think is most susceptible, and cross off this group on the composite list at the left of the page.

(2) Next, of the remaining groups, select the one you consider least susceptible and write its name on the bottom line, which corresponds to the total number of groups. Cross it off the composite list.

(3) Next, of the remaining groups, select the one which you consider most susceptible, write its name in the space numbered 2 at the top, and cross it off the list. Then, of those remaining, choose the one you think least susceptible, place its name in the next to last space, and cross it off the composite list.

In this fashion, selecting alternately the most susceptible and then the least susceptible of the remaining groups, and crossing off each group after it has been ranked, work through the list until all groups have been arranged in rank order of susceptibility.

SORO Form 200b
20 May 1958

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Consultant_____ Coun*-y_____

WORK SHEET

RANKING OF SPECIAL AUDIENCES FOR SUSCEPTIBILITY

SPECIAL AUDIENCES (In alphabetical order)	SUSCEPTIBILITY Review the instructions on the procedure to follow in ranking the groups.
	(1)
	(2)
	(3)
	(4)
	(5)
	(6)
	(7)
	(8)
	(9)
	(10)
	(11)
	(12)
	(13)
	(14)
	(15)
	(16)
	(17)
	(18)
	(19)
	(20)
	(21)
	(22)
	(23)
	(24)
	(25)
	(26)
	(27)
	(28)
	(29)
	(30)

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20 May 1953

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3. Special Audience Knowledgeability of Consultants

In conducting the subsequent phases of this research project, it will be necessary for us to know the groups about which our consultants are particularly knowledgeable. This will enable us to adapt our future data forms to the special competencies of our consultants.

The groups which you have just ranked for effectiveness and susceptibility are listed again on the following page (list omitted). To this list have been added "The Country as a Whole" and some military subgroups.

On the following page please go through the list and evaluate your own relative knowledge of each group. In making your self-ratings, it may help you to refer to the descriptions of the groups which have been provided you. Feel free to comment on your self-ratings if you care to do so on the reverse side of the rating work sheet.

After you have completed the self-rating on special audience knowledgeability, you will have completed this 200b assignment.

If our research needs warrant, your next assignment will be ready after the analysis and collation of this 200b data.

SORO Form 200b
20 May 1958

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Appendix 3

SPECIAL OPERATIONS RESEARCH OFFICE
The American University
4501 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington 16, D.C.

CHIEF RESPONSE CATEGORIES: PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS TASKS

RANKING FOR MILITARY CRITICALITY

NAME OF PERSON RANKING: _____

ORGANIZATION: _____

DATE COMPLETED: _____

SORO Form 200c - 2
1 April 1958

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PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS GOALS: RANKINGS FOR MILITARY CRITICALITY

Below are some chief responses (acts and attitudes) that are goals of psychological operations. We are interested in determining the relative military importance of getting members of the special audiences to respond to each of these--that is, we are interested in the criticality of these chief responses to the military operations of the United States.

You will be asked on the work sheets which follow (see sample on next page) to rank these chief responses on the basis of relative military criticality. We have supplied certain planning assumptions with regard to the military role of the other nation (i.e., whether enemy, occupied by enemy, neutral, or allied with U.S.), and with regard to the nature of the special audience (i.e., whether members of military forces opposing the United States, or nonmilitary audiences, etc.). We ask you to accept these planning assumptions each in its turn--as you make your determinations as to criticality.

In addition, as you rank these response categories or goals, you are asked to assume two conditions--first, that each response is equally of attainment by psychological operations appeals in the field in which, and second, that there would be an equal number of appropriate occasions during the course of a war for attempting each chief response.

The chief response categories which you are to rank are identified and described on the pages immediately following.

(The descriptions of the chief response categories have been omitted from this appendix. These descriptions, however, can be found in Section III, and are given as the first paragraph of the textual explanation of psychological opportunities for each of the ten goals.)

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[SAMPLE]

RANKING FOR GOAL CRITICALITY: WORK SHEET

Military Planning Assumption: Psychological operations directed against an enemy actively engaged in war operations against the United States.

Special Audience: Members of the military forces opposing the United States forces in battle.

INSTRUCTIONS

Please rank the response categories below in the following manner:

Write on the top line of the space provided, the response categories which you think would be most important to accomplish in supporting U.S. war operations.

Proceeding in this fashion, write on the next line the category considered next most important of those remaining, and so on until all of the categories listed are placed in the rank order you consider proper.

(Please review category descriptions before ranking.)

Response Category	Rank Order
Privatization	(1)
Surrender and Defection	(2)
Discouragement, Defeatism, Apathy	(3)
Subversion and Resistance	(4)
Discord	(5)
Good Will Toward the U.S.	(6)
Panic	(7)

(Now proceed to the next set of response categories on the following work sheet.)

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RANKINGS FOR TASK CRITICALITY: WORK SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS

Attached to this form is a general list of psychological warfare tasks. Those tasks deemed appropriate for use against enemy military forces opposing United States military forces, 32 in all, are grouped under the heading A, entitled "Tasks for Military Groups in the Armed Forces Opposing the United States." Those tasks deemed appropriate for nonmilitary groups are grouped according to several assumed overall military situations. Thus, under B, entitled "Tasks for Nonmilitary Groups Residing in the Enemy Country," are grouped 25 tasks; under C, entitled "Tasks for Nonmilitary Groups in Areas Controlled by United States Military Government or Civil Affairs (Consolidation Propaganda)," are 10 tasks; under D, entitled "Tasks Primarily for Nonmilitary Groups in Areas Occupied by the Armed Forces of the Enemy," are 18 tasks; under E, entitled "Tasks Primarily for Nonmilitary Groups in Countries Allied with the United States," are 10 tasks; and under F, entitled "Tasks Primarily for Nonmilitary Groups in Neutral Countries," are 9 tasks.

We are interested in determining for each group the relative military importance of each of the tasks; that is, their criticality in supporting the war operations of the United States, taking into account, of course, the assumed overall military situation stated in the group headings. For the purpose of judging the relative importance of each task in a group, two assumptions are made. First, that each task is possible of accomplishment by psychological operations. Second, that there would be appropriate occasions during the course of military action for attempting each task.

Will you please rank these tasks in each group in terms of their relative military importance, using the forms we have provided. These forms use a short title for each task, so please consult the general list of psychological operations tasks to make sure you understand the task. Please rank the tasks in each group in the following manner:

1. Select the task in each group you think most important to accomplish in supporting United States military operations (under the conditions stated in the heading for the group of tasks) and place its number on the top line provided for this purpose. Now cross off this task by drawing a line through it.

2. Next, select the task in the same group that you think least important to accomplish in supporting United States military operations (under the conditions stated in the heading for the group of tasks) and place its number on the bottom line provided for this purpose. Now cross off this task by drawing a line through it.

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Proceeding in this fashion, selecting alternately the task considered most important of those left, rank all of the tasks listed in the group you are working on.

(Sample work sheet follows)

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[SAMPLE]

Tasks for Nonmilitary Groups Residing in the Enemy Country

33	Weaken loyalty to primary group	
34	Intensify dissatisfaction with conditions	
35	Instill expectation of U.S. victory	
36	Create a desire for peace	
37	Create doubt re: enemy	
38	Lack of confidence in national leaders	
39	Lack of confidence in group leaders	
40	Resentment against profiteers	
41	Dissension between cliques	
42	Encourage ethnic and/or social disaffection	
43	Resentment toward his country's allies	
44	U.S. victory desirable	
45	U.S. troops liberators	
46	Promote disorganized or panicky behavior	
47	Create conflicts among leaders	
48	Encourage strikes	
49	Encourage slowdowns and delays	
50	Encourage malingering and absenteeism	
51	Encourage sabotage	
52	Encourage organized resistance	
53	Encourage revolt or secession	
54	Get people to evacuate cities	
55	Keep away from military objectives	
56	Arouse nationalism	
57	Promote apathy	

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Appendix 4

SPECIAL OPERATIONS RESEARCH OFFICE
The American University
4501 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington 16, D.C.

APPEALS DEVELOPMENT FORM

Name of Consultant_____

Date_____

SORO Form 201
12 June 1958

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PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS APPEALS DEVELOPMENT FORM

INTRODUCTION

As you now know, the Special Operations Research Office of the American University in Washington, D.C., has been requested to develop propaganda appeal ideas for selected countries. The purpose of these appeal ideas is to facilitate communication with the peoples of these countries.

In this phase of Project CROSSMAN, we are requesting your assistance in the development of culturally appropriate appeal ideas or lines of persuasion for specific audiences in the country under consideration. The data sheets accompanying this form have been especially designed for recording such appeal ideas and have been carefully prepared to take advantage of your specialized area knowledge.

You will find that the audience specified at the top of the data sheets is a group about which you have indicated knowledgeability. The psychological operations task for which you are being asked to devise an appeal is one to which the group has been judged susceptible to some degree. Other broad guidance concerning the projected military situation has also been provided. Finally, in the interest of achieving a common frame of reference among all consultants, we are including below a list of definitions and in a separate enclosure we have briefly described the group(s) with which you are to work.

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12 June 1958

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Definitions

1. A psychological operations task is a specific mental or behavioral effect which, if secured, will contribute to the achievement of a psychological operations goal.

2. A special audience is defined as an aggregate of persons who share certain predispositions which, when successfully manipulated, may lead to mental or behavioral effects that will assist in the accomplishment of a task of psychological operations.

3. A psychological operations appeal idea is a line of persuasion designed to accomplish a psychological operations task. An appeal, then, is the means used to evoke an effect which will help in accomplishing a task of psychological operations.

4. A key symbol is the element, verbal or non-verbal, in an appeal which is especially significant in evoking the desired effect.

5. A problem situation is a special and particular problem of accomplishing a psychological operations task with or by means of a particular special audience. What you will be doing in completing this research form is imaginatively applying your special talent and area experience to a suggested solution of a given problem situation.

INSTRUCTIONS

General Objectives for the Consultant

Your present job is two-fold: (1) For the group specified at the top of the data sheet, we are asking you to develop as many

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psychological operations appeal ideas (verbal and non-verbal) as you can think of which may be used to assist in the accomplishment of the designated psychological operations task. After you have developed each appeal, we would like you to answer the question: Why do I judge this appeal idea to be effective for this task? Describe the reaction(s) you expect the appeal to produce among members of the group as concretely as possible, e.g., What motive? What emotion? What attitude? What action? What change in understanding? Explain the cultural factors relevant to the group which influence the reaction(s) to the appeal. (2) Identify the key symbols (e.g., concepts, icons, emblems, designs, references to individuals and events, key elements in pictures or in musical pieces, gestures, etc.) in each of the appeals you have devised. After identifying each key symbol, please try to explain its symbolic meaning in terms of the cultural ways of the specific group.

Mode 3. Frame of Reference for Consultant

Throughout your work please continuously think and reason in terms of the language, concepts, and values of the group. That is, as you approach each psychological operations task for a specific group ask yourself this question: What appeal or line of persuasion will produce the desired effect among members of this group, given their characteristic pattern of sentiments, motives, values, etc? The appeals you devise should carry the appropriate emotional as well as conceptual meaning for members of the group.

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Criteria for Devising Propaganda Appeals

As you consider each psychological operations task and ask yourself what appeals would be most effective for members of the designated group, please bear in mind the following:

1. The degree to which the appeal would gain and hold the attention of the members of the group.

2. The degree to which it would be readily and completely understood by the members of the group.

3. The degree to which it would be believed and accepted by the members of the group.

4. The degree to which it would arouse appropriate motives and emotions in the members of the group.

5. The degree to which it would evoke a similar effect (i.e., motive, emotion, attitude, change in understanding or action) among the members of the group.

6. The degree to which it would evoke a similar effect among members of the group over the foreseeable future, assuming no major changes in the prevailing socio-political way of life.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

Some examples of the kind of products desired appear on the following inserts. Directions for completing the data sheets of this form follow.

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Directions for Completing Data Sheets

Data sheets have been prepared for you with your special area knowledge in mind. The special audience is identified at the top of each data sheet.

In Column 1, we have established a general framework of assumptions, under the heading "Projected General Military Situation," as a guideline for you in developing appeals. There is also space provided in this column for you to write in any special assumptions or contingencies you might wish to make with regard to a particular appeal (that is, if the effectiveness of the appeal you devise is contingent upon a particular situation or military assumption).

In Column 2, you are to enter a psychological operations appeal which you think will assist in accomplishing the task given at the top of the data sheet. You will note that the relevant group is also specified at the top of the data sheet.

a. Type or write only one appeal on a data sheet. Represent in the most appropriate manner any non-verbal appeal and provide necessary captions for drawings. (If you cannot sketch pictorial concepts, describe them.)

b. After you have listed the appeal, please describe the concrete psychological and/or behavioral reaction(s) which you judge the appeal will evoke; then describe the cultural factors of the group which contribute to the reaction(s).

(You may need to use the reverse side of the data sheet to complete your answers here.)

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e. IF YOU CANNOT DEVELOP AN APPEAL for the particular problem situation presented on a data sheet, please check the appropriate box provided at the bottom of Column 2 (susceptibility, for the purpose of this research study, has been defined as the degree to which a specific group can be influenced by psychological operations appeals to respond in ways that will assist in the accomplishment of a task of psychological operations).

In Column 3, you are to identify and represent in an appropriate manner the key symbol(s), verbal and non-verbal, which are contained in the appeal.

a. If you are able to do so, translate any verbal key symbol into the language of the audience. Place this translation directly under the English version.

b. For each identified key symbol, please explain its symbolic meaning in terms of the cultural ways of the group; then give us your judgment as to the relative importance and permanence of the meaning of the key symbol. (You may need the use of the reverse side of the data sheet to complete your answer to this.)

On the reverse side of the data sheet, you will find a chart designed to indicate possible generality of the appeal.

a. This chart can be completed by simple check marks, but each mark should be the result of careful consideration.

b. In one column of the chart you will note that you are to consider whether the group designated at the top of the data sheet (and repeated in the chart) would be susceptible to the developed appeal for another task.

c. In another column of the chart you will consider whether the task designated at the top of the data sheet (and repeated in the chart) could likely be accomplished by use of the developed appeal for another group.

d. Next consider other possible task-audience combinations for appeal generality.

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One word of caution! If the appeal would need to be substantively modified in order to be used for alternative task-audience combinations, then it should be considered a NEW APPEAL and not be considered in the generality chart.

You will also note that for each group that you will be assigned, you will find extra blank data sheets. On these blank data sheets you may insert any additional appeals which may occur to you for any task assigned. Please identify the Special Audience, the Task, and the "Projected Military Assumption" for which you intend these additional appeals.

Working Guides

1. You may discover that some of your suggested propaganda appeals are appropriate for more than one problem situation. Unless indicated in the chart provided for "generality" (on the reverse side of the data sheet), it is important that you repeat, or give a specific reference to, an appeal mentioned earlier each time it again seems relevant.

2. If, in working with a group, you find it difficult to handle a particular psychological operations task, skip it and go on to the next one. The first time through the forms, work only with those psychological operations tasks which rather easily call to mind appropriate appeals. However, before finishing your work on this assignment, please return to the skipped tasks for a second attempt to develop appeal ideas.

3. At this stage of Project PROSYMS, we are more interested in obtaining a large number of potential appeals and symbols which

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are culturally appropriate than we are in judging their effectiveness. At a subsequent stage of the research, all of the appeals now being collected will be put through a sifting process and judgments obtained concerning their comparative persuasiveness. In the present appeal-writing stage, we would like you to submit any idea for an appeal and symbol that you can think of, even if you are a little uncertain about its persuasiveness.

4. In suggesting appeals for psychological operations tasks you may find it helpful to think of concrete situations deriving from your own experience; and to remember concrete things or objects, such as statues, stylized decor, predominant colours, etc., which have significance to and can be comprehended by all or most of the group being considered.

5. The fragmentation of appeal-writing by task, special audience, and military situation makes it possible for you to divide your efforts into work periods of an hour or two at a time if you wish. While each consultant will adopt a technique of appeal writing suited to his customary work habits, SORO experience with appeal writing indicates that most persons find it desirable to divide an eight-hour assignment into several shorter work periods.

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6. We have provided you with extra data sheets for your use in cases where you can suggest more than one appeal for a particular task for a group.

7. Please type or write clearly.

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AUDIENCE_____ Country_____ Consultant_____

PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS TASK:

(1) PROJECTED GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION:	(2) PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS APPEAL: (a) Express appeals in culturally correct terms of the group: present non-verbal appeal in the most appropriate manner; provide necessary captions for drawings.	(3) KEY SYMBOLS: (a) Identify and present in most appropriate manner the key symbol(s): words, concepts, emblems, gestures, key elements in pictures, etc.
	(b) What psychological behavioral reactions would the APPEAL evoke? What cultural factors of the group contribute to these reactions?	(b) Describe the meaning of the key symbol(s) in terms of the culture of the group: judge their relative importance, permanence.
Is the effectiveness of this appeal contingent on a particular military situation or assumption? If so, please explain above?	IF YOU CANNOT DEVELOP AN APPEAL ON THIS PAGE, PLEASE CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX BELOW: ☐ Group not susceptible to this task. ☐ Group likely susceptible, but no effective appeal channel is known at present ☐ Other (explain)_____	(c) (OVER) TURN OVER CAREFULLY THE LOWER HALF OF THIS PAGE TO DETERMINE POSSIBLE GENERALITY FOR THIS APPEAL_____

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APPEAL GENERALITY: (After careful consideration, please check the square(s) below which indicate generality--if there is appreciable doubt in you mind, DO NOT INDICATE such generality.

TASKS	SPECIAL AUDIENCES (see descriptions)			
If the appeal you have just devised would also be effective for accomplishing any task(s) listed below as relevant to any audience(s) listed to the right, please place a check mark (✓) in the space appropriate to that task-audience combination--(the task-audience combination for which you have just developed an appeal is already checked for you as an illustration):				

Use space remaining in margins for comments continued from the face side of this data sheet--referencing by column and paragraph numbers.

Appendix 5

SPECIAL OPERATIONS RESEARCH OFFICE
The American University
4501 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington 16, D.C.

APPEALS RATING FORM

Name of Consultant_____

Date_____

SORO Form 203
27 October 1958

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APPEALS RATING FORM

INTRODUCTION

As you know, the Special Operations Research Office of the American University in Washington, D.C., has been requested to develop and evaluate propaganda appeal ideas for selected countries. The purpose of these appeal ideas is to facilitate communication with the peoples of these countries.

In this phase of Project PROSPECT, we are requesting you and other carefully selected consultants to give us independent judgments of the persuasiveness of the appeal ideas that our consultants have devised for assisting in the accomplishment of various psychological operations tasks among selected special audiences. The data sheets accompanying this form have been especially designed for evaluating such appeal ideas and have been carefully prepared to take advantage of your specialized area knowledge. (Sample rating sheet on page 391.)

You will find that the audience specified at the top of the data sheets is a group about which you have indicated knowledgeability. Under the name of the country and the group is the psychological operations task for which the group has been judged susceptible to some degree. Below the task statement, other broad guidance concerning the projected general military situation has also been provided. The appeal ideas to be judged for this stated task follow

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27 October 1958

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and are numbered consecutively. Finally, in the interest of achieving a common frame of reference for all consultant judges, we are including below a list of definitions and in a separate enclosure we have briefly described the group(s) with which you are to work.

Definitions

1. A psychological operations task is a specific mental or behavioral effect which, if secured, will contribute to the achievement of a psychological operations goal.

2. A special audience is defined as an aggregate of persons who share certain predispositions which, when successfully manipulated, may lead to mental or behavioral effects that will assist in the accomplishment of a task of psychological operations. A primary group is that particular group for which the appeal idea is developed.

3. A psychological operations appeal idea is a line of persuasion designed to accomplish a task of psychological operations. An appeal idea, then, is the means used to evoke an effect which will help in accomplishing a task of psychological operations.

4. A problem situation is a special and particular problem of accomplishing a psychological operations task with or by means of a particular special audience.

5. A persuasive appeal idea is one which has been judged likely to lead the members of a special audience to think, feel or

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act in ways which would facilitate the accomplishment of the psychological operations task.

6. A boomerang appeal idea is one which has been judged likely to evoke negative or adverse effects (damaging to the accomplishment of the desired military purpose) in the special audience to which it is primarily addressed, even under optimum conditions.

7. An appeal idea is said to evoke a differential effect if it produces the desired response in the primary group but produces negative or adverse effects (damaging to the accomplishment of the desired military purpose) in other groups in the population.

8. A situational effect is any special condition, situation, or circumstance which may decrease the effectiveness of the appeal idea for the members of the special audience to which it is addressed, or may lead to adverse effects.

INSTRUCTIONS

Guide for Evaluating the Persuasiveness of Appeal Ideas

Your present task then is to judge the persuasiveness of each appeal idea. By the persuasiveness of an appeal idea we mean the likelihood that it would lead the members of the group to think, feel or act in ways which would facilitate the accomplishment of the psychological operations task.

While the appeal idea and/or illustration is given in English on the rating sheets, in rating the appeal ideas for persuasiveness

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you are to assume that the appeal idea before being used in psychological operations will be prepared in culturally correct format, style, language, and art work.

Please test each appeal idea against the stated task, then rate the persuasiveness of an appeal idea in the light of your knowledge of the socio-psychological characteristics of the special audience. Would the appeal idea be persuasive for these people with their characteristic patterns of sentiments, motives, values, and so forth? And in making your ratings, assume optimum conditions with respect to delivery, i.e., timing, medium, and so forth. Remember also that the communicator is a United States citizen and that the appeal idea would be used in overt psychological operations (unless the appeal idea is expressly specified as "rumor" or "covert").

The major factors which determine the persuasiveness of an appeal idea are:

(1) The degree to which it would gain and hold the attention of the members of the group.

(2) The degree to which it would be readily and completely understood by the group.

(3) The degree to which it would be believed and accepted by the members of the group.

(4) The degree to which it would arouse appropriate motives and emotions in the members of the group.

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(5) The degree to which it would evoke a similar effect, i.e., motive, emotion, attitude, change in understanding, or action, among the members of the group.

(6) The degree to which it would evoke a similar effect among members of the group over the foreseeable future, assuming no major changes in the prevailing socio-political way of life.

The Rating Procedure

The appeal ideas are to be rated for persuasiveness on a scale which runs from +1 to +5. A rating of +1 means that you judge the appeal idea would be persuasive (the likelihood that it would evoke an effect which would assist in the accomplishment of the task) to a low degree. A rating of +5 means that you judge the appeal would be persuasive to a high degree. A rating of +3 means that you judge the appeal would be moderately persuasive. Rate each appeal idea +1, +2, +3, +4, or +5, depending upon your judgments of its probable persuasiveness.

You are to judge each appeal idea on its own merits. However, we suggest that you review all of the appeal ideas listed for a particular task before rating any of the appeal ideas for persuasiveness. In your ratings, please attempt to use the full range of the scale. This does not mean that if five appeal ideas are to be rated the ratings must necessarily be 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. Instead, the ratings might very well be 5, 1, 1, 2, and 5.

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Among the appeal ideas you are being asked to rate, there may be some which in your judgment possess no persuasiveness whatsoever, and which also contain no elements that might produce boomerang effects (explained below). Rate these appeal ideas zero. There also may be some appeal ideas which you judge are not applicable to the designated task, or to the designated group, or are irrelevant for other reasons. In such cases write "irrelevant" across the rating box (comment on irrelevant appeal ideas on the reverse side if you so desire).

The appeal ideas which have been suggested for accomplishing psychological operations tasks among the members of a particular special audience may contain one or more possible boomerang appeal ideas. By a boomerang appeal idea is meant an appeal idea which is judged to evoke negative or adverse effects (damaging to the accomplishment of the desired military purpose) in the primary group even when delivered under optimum conditions. By primary group is meant that particular special audience for which the appeal idea was developed.

When, in your opinion, an appeal idea would produce boomerang effects even under the most favorable conditions of utilization, place a "B" on the dotted line above the box opposite the appeal idea in the column headed "Boomerang," pass on to the next appeal idea, and continue your rating of appeal ideas for persuasiveness. Do not rate these boomerang appeal ideas on the +1 to +5 scale of persuasiveness.

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After you have finished rating the persuasiveness of all the positive appeal ideas for a given group, please go back to those which you have marked "B" and rate them for their degree of unfavorableness. Boomerang appeal ideas are to be rated for unfavorableness on a scale which runs from -1 to -5. A rating of -1 means that you judge the appeal idea would arouse only slightly unfavorable effects, i.e., the likelihood that it would produce an effect which is damaging to the accomplishment of the desired military purpose is judged to be very low. A rating of -5 means that you judge the boomerang appeal idea would arouse extremely unfavorable effects, i.e., the likelihood that it would evoke adverse effects is judged to be very high. A rating of -3 means that you judge the appeal idea would arouse moderately unfavorable effects. Rate each boomerang appeal idea -1, -2, -3, -4, or -5, depending upon your judgment of its probable degree of unfavorableness.

On the reverse side of the appropriate rating sheet, please be <u>sure</u> to explain why you judge each appeal idea marked "B" to be a boomerang. In other words, give your reasons for anticipating adverse effects, were the appeal idea to be used.

When you have completed rating the positive appeal ideas for persuasiveness and the negative appeal ideas for boomerang effects, review those positive appeal ideas you have rated for persuasiveness for both differential effects and situational effects, defined and explained below.

An appeal idea is said to evoke differential effects if it produces the desired response in the primary group but produces

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negative or adverse effects (damaging to the accomplishment of the desired military purpose) in other groups in the population. In explaining differential effects for an appeal idea, please specify those groups judged likely to react negatively or adversely to the appeal idea, and explain why.

By situational effects we mean those special conditions, situations, or circumstances which may decrease the effectiveness of the appeal idea for the members of the primary group or may lead to adverse effects. Explain your reasons for thinking there may be possible situational effects on the reverse side of the page containing the appeal idea in the space provided for comment.

To review the rating procedure:

First, rate the appeal idea for persuasiveness using the scale immediately below. (Mark "B" those appeal ideas you feel would produce a boomerang effect.) Note any conditions or circumstances with respect to delivery which would lower the persuasiveness of any appeal idea, as rated, on the reverse side of the rating sheet.

+5 High in Persuasiveness
+4
+3 Medium in Persuasiveness
+2
+1 Low in Persuasiveness

Second, rate boomerang appeal ideas for degree of unfavorableness using the scale below. Give your explanations on the reverse side of the page, with references to the appeal ideas in question.

-1 Low in unfavorableness
-2
-3 Medium in unfavorableness
-4
-5 High in unfavorableness

Please place all your ratings in the appropriate space in the column labeled "Rating" on the pages that follow.

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APPEAL RATING FORM

COUNTRY: _____ SPECIAL AUDIENCE: _____

TASK:

PROJECTED MILITARY SITUATION:

APPEALS:	RATING: Persuasiveness	Boomerang
1.	☐	☐
2.	☐	☐
3.	☐	☐

RATING SCALE

Persuasiveness is to be rated from 1 to 5, with 5 standing for a very high degree of persuasiveness and 1 for a very low degree of persuasiveness and zero as no persuasiveness at all.
Boomerang is to be rated from -1 to -5, with -5 standing for a very high degree of boomerang potentiality, and -1 a very low degree of boomerang potentiality.

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The space below is provided for your comments. For any appeal marked B by you, please use the provided space for explaining why you judge this appeal to be a boomerang appeal. For any positive appeal, you may use this space when you so desire for commenting on conditions or circumstances which would lower the persuasiveness of the positive appeal, or for explaining any possible situational effects.

Comments - Appeal 1:

Comments - Appeal 2:

Comments - Appeal 3:

SORO Form 203
27 October 1954

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Appendix 6

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Massachusetts and Nebraska Avenues

WASHINGTON 16, D.C.

COMMUNICATIONS SKILL FORM

SCHO Form 202

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THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Massachusetts and Nebraska Avenues

WASHINGTON 16, D. C.

COMMUNICATIONS STYLE FORM

INTRODUCTION:

The improvement of communications between nations and cultures is a major problem in today's world. Many misunderstandings result from cultural differences in the meanings attached to the words, terms, expressions, and symbols employed in international communications. Misunderstandings also arise from how inter-cultural messages are communicated. To remedy this situation, the social sciences have initiated many cross-cultural studies in international communications. Several universities and research foundations are studying various aspects of the problem. The overall purpose of these studies is to learn how to facilitate accurate and exact communication between different cultures and nations and thereby increase understanding between the peoples of the world.

The present study, in which you are taking part, is primarily concerned with stylistic and format problems connected with inter-cultural communication. The study is being conducted under the auspices of The American University.

INSTRUCTIONS:

The general purpose of this form is to obtain information on effective ways and means of communicating with a number of groups

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or aggregates in the country under consideration. A description of each group with which you will be concerned is given in a separate enclosure. We have included a blank form for each group for which you are requested to provide information.

In addition to information on the specific groups, we would like to determine whether the material you provide might also be generally applicable to the country as a whole.

When answering a question to which you find that a previous answer applies, you may simply reference your original answer by group and question number.

Disregard those questions which we have struck out. Answers to these questions have been obtained from other sources.

Please type, print, or write plainly your answers to the questions.

Of course, we do not expect everyone to have complete knowledge about each question. Nevertheless, please give as much information as you can about each subject mentioned. Avoid simple affirmative or negative answers.

If you should need more space for answering any of the questions, please use the other side of the page or an additional sheet.

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1. MANNER OF ADDRESS

What is the most effective manner for an American information specialist to use in communicating with the members of the above group?

a. Under what conditions, if any, should the American communicator use the authoritarian or commanding approach for communicating most effectively with members of the above group?

(1) When an authoritarian or commanding approach is adopted, what terms of address should be used for individuals?

(2) For the group as a whole?

b. When, if ever, would it be appropriate for the American communicator to use a self-effacing manner in addressing members of the above group?

(1) If the communicator adopts a self-effacing manner, what terms of address should be used for individuals?

(2) For the group as a whole?

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c. When, if ever, would it be effective for the American communicator to address members of the above group in terms of equal status?

(1) What equal status terms of address should be used for individuals?

(2) For the group as a whole?

d. What effective terms of address can be used in circumstances other than those indicated in a, b, and c? For each term please give the circumstances in which it would be effective.

e. Are there any circumstances in which certain terms of address should be avoided when communicating with members of the above group? If so, what are the terms of address and what are the circumstances?

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f. What other suggestions do you have about the most effective manner of communicating with members of the above groups?

g. Which comments, if any, to question #1 apply to the country as a whole?

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2. PERSUASIVE APPROACHES

There are various persuasive approaches which can be employed in inter-cultural communication of information or ideas. A number of these approaches are listed below. Please add to the list additional approaches which you feel might be effectively employed by an American communicator to members of the above group.

Now please evaluate all of the approaches, including the ones you have added. Use the rating scale given below. First, in the middle column rate the persuasiveness of these approaches for the particular group under consideration. Then, in the last column, rate each approach on its persuasiveness for the country as a whole. (Give the ratings for the country as a whole only once; omit these ratings when completing the forms for subsequent groups.)

Persuasiveness Scale

Extremely persuasive	5
	4
Moderately persuasive	3
	2
Only slightly persuasive	1
Don't know	DK

Approaches	Group	Country as a Whole
Emotional appeals	____	____
Explanation by use of analogies	____	____
Figures of speech (metaphor, simile)	____	____
Humor	____	____
Personal appeal	____	____
Proverb	____	____
Satire	____	____
Candor	____	____

Please write your comments to this question on the other side of this page. However, be sure to give all the ratings required.

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a. Do the members of the above group ordinarily respond more readily to particulars (examples and specifics) or to generalities and principles? Please elaborate on your answer.

b. If the past is venerated to an unusual degree by the above group, what form does this veneration take? How can the old ways, customs, and mores be built up by the American communicator to criticize present ways or to advocate new ways?

c. Which comments, if any, to question #2 apply to the country as a whole?

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3. MUSIC

What kinds of music, familiar to members of the above group, could be used to strengthen the emotional impact of inter-cultural communication of information or ideas. (Give titles, if possible.) For example, what types of music are associated with:

happiness _____

fear and uncertainty _____

disaster _____

festivals _____

patriotism _____

state occasions _____

ceremonies associated with crucial points in life cycle: birth _____

manhood _____

marriage _____

death _____

a. What kinds of music do members of the above group generally enjoy? Please be as specific as possible, e. g., jazz, movie theme songs, rock n' roll, folk music. (Give titles, if possible.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

b. Where could we obtain recordings or sheet music of these pieces?

_____

_____

_____

_____

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e. What music should be avoided for members of the above group and under what circumstances?

d. Which comments, if any, to question #3 apply to the country as a whole?

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4. CARTOONS

Under what conditions would cartoons be useful devices for the American communicator to use with the above group?

a. How do cartoons familiar to members of the above group differ from those in the United States? Are they more serious or more humorous? Is the format different? For instance, do cartoons use balloons? Where are the captions placed?

b. Which comments, if any, to question #4 apply to the country as a whole?

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5. PICTURES

How effective would pictures be for the American communicator to use with members of the above group? Are there any circumstances in which they would be particularly effective or ineffective?

a. What kind of pictures would be most effective for the American communicator to use with the above group? Please comment on each example.

individual picture
vs. a series of pictures

black and white only

colored illustrations

sketch

photograph

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b. The quality of the art work and the quality of the paper may influence the acceptability of a message for members of the above group. For instance, the use of "slick" paper might denote alien (foreign) origin or exclusive usage. What would be the appropriate quality of art work and paper for the American communicator to use with members of the above group?

c. Which comments, if any, to questions a and b apply to the whole country?

d. Is there any kind of pictorial representation (either subject matter or treatment) that is acceptable in United States culture which would be considered offensive or in bad taste by members of the above group?

e. Would any of the kinds of pictorial representations considered shocking or startling in United States culture (pictures of brutality, physical suffering, grotesque physical deformities, dead bodies, etc.) be considered less acceptable or more acceptable by members of the above group?

f. Which comments, if any, to questions d and e apply to the whole country?

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6. COLORS

What colors would be useful and preferable for the American communicator to use in printed materials (e. g., posters, news sheets, printed handouts) prepared for members of the above group?

a. Specify the conditions under which various colors would be useful. For instance, what color or colors should be used for clothing of persons in the picture, the background of pictures, borders, to indicate certain times of the year, and so forth.

b. What colors should the American communicator avoid and under what circumstances?

c. Which comments, if any, to question #6 apply to the country as a whole?

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7. PRINTED HANDOUT

a. What would be the most appropriate size and shape for the American communicator to use for printed handouts for members of the above group? (The size and shape might be estimated from the handouts and throwaways the above group is accustomed to receive.)

b. What is the maximum number of pages you feel a pamphlet can have and still be effective with this group?

c. What about the most appropriate size and format for wall posters?

d. For purposes of inter-cultural communication what kind of printing would be most effective for members of the above group? If possible give reasons.

printed handouts

posters

newspapers

e. Which comments, if any, to question #7 apply to the country as a whole?

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8. NEWSPAPERS

What kind of newspaper layout (e.g., size of headlines, placement of serious news, and use and placement of pictures) should the American communicator use to secure the greatest credibility in members of the above group? If possible, please give the names of one or more newspapers with such an acceptable layout.

_____

_____

_____

a. What kinds of news stories are especially interesting to the members of the above group?

_____

_____

_____

b. In general, how much interest, if any, do the members of this group tend to have in events that take place . . .

	considerable	somewhat	no interest
. . . in the U. S.?	____	____	____
. . . in the U. S. S. R.?	____	____	____
. . . in Europe?	____	____	____
. . . in Asia?	____	____	____
. . . in Africa?	____	____	____

c. How much interest do they have in:

. . . national news	____	____	____
. . . international news	____	____	____

d. Which comments, if any, to question 8c apply to the country as a whole?

_____

_____

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9. PICTORIAL AND VERBAL STEREOTYPES

a. What are the pictorial stereotypes (e. g., "Uncle Sam") that are associated with the above group? Identify the pictorial stereotype(s) the group applies to itself and the pictorial stereotype(s) others in the country use for the group.

Applies to itself_____

Applied by others_____

b. How does the above group feel about the pictorial stereotypes used by others for it? Which ones are accepted or rejected? Why?

c. What are the verbal stereotypes (e. g., "egghead") that are associated with the above group? Identify the verbal stereotype(s) the group applies to itself and the verbal stereotype(s) others in the country use for the group.

Applies to itself_____

Applied by others_____

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d. How does the above group feel about the verbal stereotypes used by others for it? Which ones are accepted or rejected? Why?

e. Do any of these verbal or pictorial stereotypes apply to the country as a whole? Which ones, and under what circumstances?

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10. RADIO

What kind of radio programs (in terms of content) are most effective for the American communicator to use with members of the above group?

a. Which comments, if any, to question #10 apply to the country as a whole?

b. How would you assess the relative acceptability to this group of political interpretations and commentary attributed to:

(a) U. S. professional observers and commentators who are not officials of the government.

(b) Officials of the U. S. Government.

_____ that of professional observers and commentators more acceptable
_____ that of government officials more acceptable
_____ both equally effective

c. Are the members of the above group accustomed to the introduction of political commentary in entertainment programs? If they are, do they consider the practice offensive or unoffensive? If they are not, what do you think their probable attitudes would be to this practice?

d. How much "selection" of program material by the American communicator to further U. S. view points would you say is acceptable in radio programs directed at this group?

_____considerable selection
_____some selection
_____very little or no selection

e. How much direct or indirect self-criticism by the American communicator would you say is advisable in radio programs directed at this group?

_____ considerable _____ some _____ very little or none

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11. PERSUASIVENESS OF MEDIA

Other things being constant or equal, messages designed for inter-cultural communication of information or ideas may vary in persuasiveness according to the medium used to reach the members of the above group. Using the following rating scale, evaluate the persuasiveness of the various media when employed by an American communicator for the above group. (Give ratings for the country as a whole only once; omit these ratings when completing other forms for subsequent groups.)

Persuasiveness Scale

Extremely persuasive	5
	4
Moderately persuasive	3
	2
Only slightly persuasive	1
Don't Know	DK

Means of Communication	Group	Country as a Whole
Printed handouts	_____	_____
Loudspeakers	_____	_____
Newssheets	_____	_____
Pamphlets	_____	_____
Posters	_____	_____
Radio	_____	_____
Television	_____	_____
Word of mouth	_____	_____

Please write your comments to question #11 on the other side of this page. However, be sure to give all the ratings required.

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12. GESTURES

Are there any universally recognized gestures among members of the above group which can be readily represented pictorially and/or described verbally? Examples from American cultures: clasped hands for friendship, raising a person's arm to indicate the "victor," two fingers held aloft for "victory," a clenched fist for "anger." Some of the basic human emotions and attitudes for which there may be recognized gestures in various cultures are: friendship, anger, sorrow, pride, submission, devotion, contempt, ridicule, thoughtfulness, etc. Please include as many gestures and mannerisms of the above group as you can.

a. Which comments, if any, to question #12 apply to the country as a whole?

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13. VULGARISMS

Are there any words or phrases which usually have a polite and socially acceptable meaning but which in a special context can serve as an epithet, curse, word of double-meaning, etc.?

a. Which comments, if any, to question #13 apply to the country as a whole?

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14. MAPS

How familiar are members of this group with maps, i. e., can they read and understand them? Are the group members familiar with the map of their country and their geographical location on it?

a. Which comments, if any, to question #14 apply to the country as a whole?

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15. MAGIC, MYTHS, RELIGION, AND SUPERSTITIONS

To what extent and under what circumstances could the use of magic, myths, religion, and superstitions be effectively employed in communicating inter-cultural messages to members of the above group?

a. Which of these should the American communicator be careful to avoid?

b. Which comments, if any, to question #15 apply to the country as a whole?

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16. ATTITUDES TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

a. In your contacts with individual members of the group, what things about the United States appeared to be of particular interest to them?

List:

b. Of what things did they appear to be particularly critical?
List:

c. What things about the United States did they particularly admire? List:

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17. The questions to which you have just responded refer generally to stylistic and format factors which may influence the effectiveness of communication between the United States and the above group. There may be other important points (do's and don'ts) that we should consider which would help in effectively communicating with the above group. What would you suggest?

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Appendix 7

SPECIAL OPERATIONS RESEARCH OFFICE
The American University
4501 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington 16, D. C.

SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS FOR PANEL MEMBERS

Introduction to Panel Responsibilities

Part 1: Objective Descriptions of all Special Audiences

Part 2: Analysis of Psychological Operations Opportunities

Part 3: Analysis of Special Selected Audiences

Part 4: General and Special Audience Injunctions

SORO-Panel
1/2/59

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INTRODUCTION TO PANEL RESPONSIBILITIES

As a panel member you will be asked to accomplish the following:

1. To prepare objective descriptions of a number of special audiences already selected for their significance within the country under consideration.

2. To analyze and describe the general opportunities for United States psychological operations existing within the country under consideration.

3. To analyze and describe, in terms of their effectiveness and susceptibility to psychological operations, a limited number of groups which have already been selected as especially appropriate for intensive study.

4. To identify the injunctions ("do's" and "don'ts") which you believe the psychological operations operator should bear in mind when dealing with each particular group and with the country as a whole.

In the material that follows, there is a set of SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS for each of these steps, together with examples of the type of product we expect from the panel deliberations. Please read these materials carefully and prepare for the panel meetings as you judge necessary.

In order to relate your panel assignment with the total research project, we are attaching A General Introduction to Project PROSYMS for Panel Members, SORO'S Research Assumptions, and Research Definitions of Psychological Operations Terms. A Schedule of the Panel is also enclosed.

(omitted)

SORO-Panel
1/2/59

(Intro.)

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Part 1: Objective Descriptions of all Special Audiences

The panel will be asked to collaborate in the writing of a more complete objective description of each group.

All panel members will please bear in mind the following OCRO specifications for the objective descriptions of groups:

1. Descriptions should be in terms of those observable and/or verifiable characteristics which differentiate the group under consideration from other groups.

   These characteristics will naturally differ according to the nature of the group--e.g., whether it is an occupational group in the society or an ethnic-cultural group, etc. Such factors as cultural practices, physical characteristics, functional role, etc., should be considered and noted where pertinent.

2. Constituent sub-groups of a larger group should be specified in the description if they are significant for psychological operations. Example: political elite: ministers of government, legislators, King's Council.

3. Whenever it is necessary to differentiate a group from a more inclusive group, characteristics that differentiate the group should be specified in terms of the degree or amount of those characteristics that define the cut-off points. Example: Old women--Women 60 years of age or over.

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4. In the descriptions, words from the language used in the country under consideration should be avoided unless a particular foreign word gives just the nuance of meaning required to differentiate a particular group from another. Whenever used, foreign words should in all instances be accompanied by the nearest standard English equivalent.

5. Information concerning number of members, geographical location, major language or dialect spoken, distinctive type of dress, peculiar and identifying religious or cultural practices, and other observable and verifiable factors should be included.

In these objective descriptions, subjective type information should not be included. By subjective information, we mean the feelings and attitudes of members of the group toward other groups or toward its own position in the society (unless such feelings give rise to behavior patterns which can be objectively described and which are essential to the identification of the group).

It is important that you come to the panel prepared with respect to the data needed to complete this task. Please bring with you whatever notes you believe will be helpful for the full description of each group.

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Part 2: Analysis of Psychological Operations Opportunities

The panel will analyze the general and presumably enduring opportunities existing (and likely to continue to exist even during wartime or crisis) within the country under consideration for the successful conduct of United States psychological operations. The term psychological opportunity is used here to refer to the relative probability of accomplishing a particular goal of psychological operations. The relative probability of accomplishing a particular goal is, in turn, a function of the effectiveness of the major groups in the society and of their susceptibility to propaganda designed to accomplish the ten goals of psychological operations. The problem is to assess the opportunity for achieving each of these goals in the subject country.

Please keep in mind that psychological opportunities are conceived of as relatively enduring. Estimates of opportunities should therefore be based on an examination of factors that are more or less enduring over time rather than those tied to the exigencies of an immediate situation.

The focus of the panel responsibility here is upon goals and the opportunities for the accomplishment of each of the goals. Analysis of special audiences is important only as it is a means of assessing opportunities.

Step 1. Assessment of the relative effectiveness of each special audience in the society.

Effectiveness has been defined by SCRO as the degree to which a group can influence the aims, objectives, and capabilities of the

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country of which it is a part. The groups will be classified as relatively High, Medium, or Low in effectiveness, and these judgments will be recorded on the chart provided by us.

Step 2. Assessment of the relative susceptibility* of each group with respect to each of the ten goals of psychological operations as listed in Attachment 1.

Susceptibility has been defined by SORO as the degree to which an audience can be influenced to respond in ways which will assist in the accomplishment of U. S. psychological operations objectives. Taking one goal at a time, the groups will be classified on the chart provided by us into those which are relatively High, Medium, and Low in susceptibility for purposes of accomplishing that goal. It is important to pick out the groups which have the greatest susceptibility and those which have the least susceptibility for the goal. In other words, for each goal, distribute the groups among the three categories to indicate their relative susceptibility to appeals which help to accomplish the goal in question. The panel should not force an equal number of groups into each category. The number of groups assigned to each of the three categories should reflect the consensus of the panel as the relative susceptibility of the groups considered.

*In making these judgments, two aspects of susceptibility must be considered (1) Sensitivity, which involves the nature and strength of the group's feelings about their own economic, political, and social status in the society, and about its relationships with other groups; and (2) Responsibilities toward source: assuming that the source is identifiable as U. S., this involves the nature and strength of their feelings about U. S. aims and policies and about Americans.

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Step 3. Assessment of opportunities in the country as a whole for each psychological operations goal.

The Panel with the assistance of the Panel Coordinator will integrate the judgments of the panel on the relative effectiveness and relative susceptibility of the audiences for each goal in turn. The assessment of propaganda opportunities existing in each of the groups considered will be based upon such integration. (That is, the judged potential of each group. Potential, as the term is used here, is a function of effectiveness and susceptibility and refers to the degree to which a group can assist in the accomplishment of a goal of psychological operations.)

After all of the groups have been evaluated for their potential for accomplishing each of the ten major goals of psychological operations, the Panel Coordinator will assess these ratings and construct a tentative evaluation of the relative opportunities appearing to exist for the accomplishment of the several goals for the Country as a Whole. This tentative evaluation will then be given to the panel for whatever modification the panel members in concert might deem appropriate and for the textual justification which will be required in the next step.

Step 4. Textual statements regarding psychological opportunities.

Using the results of the above steps as a guide, the panel will construct a general analytical statement for each goal, explaining

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the opportunities do or do not exist for accomplishing the goal in the country. In the case of those goals for which there is judged to be some appreciable opportunity, the statement should include mention of the group(s) judged to have <u>real</u> potential for the goal, on the basis of its susceptibility and, where relevant, its effectiveness in the society. Groups that do not have a relatively high potential for the accomplishments of the goal may also be discussed, but the primary emphasis should be placed on groups which <u>do</u> offer psychological opportunities. On the other hand, where it is clear that there is little or no opportunity for the accomplishment of a particular goal this fact should be noted and explained in detail. The textual statements for each goal may run from one to three pages in length.

Step 5. Exceptions or modifications to the general estimate of opportunities.

Finally, when necessary under a goal, the panel will note any exceptions or modifications which should be made when the goal is considered in the light of a particular assumption or "projected military situation." Please note only exceptions: do not mention the military situations unless they would make an important change in the estimate of opportunities, either for the country as a whole or for a particular group. Since the estimate of opportunities should be based on relatively enduring charac-

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teristics, it is hoped that exceptions and modifications will be few, if any.

Note: Once again, it is important that you come to the panel prepared for maximum effective participation. We want you, first, to feel confident that you understand what is desired. (If there is any doubt, please call us and discuss the matter.) With an understanding of what is desired, please prepare notes under the headings of each of the psychological operations goals and bring these to the panel deliberations.

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EFFECTIVENESS	SPECIAL AUDIENCE	SUSCEPTIBILITY to [illegible]									
		Good Will	Encouragement	Compliance	Discouragement	Hostility	Discord	Privatization	Panic	Subversion	Surrender

SORO - Panel
2/2/59

(Part 2)

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Part 3: Analysis of Selected Special Audiences*

Up to this point, the panel will have been working with the entire list of groups judged to be of importance in the country under consideration. This phase of the panel's work, however, will deal with a limited number of special audiences which have already been selected by SORO as especially appropriate for intensive study.

The panel will examine and describe the specific characteristics of each of the selected groups, first as they determine the group's effectiveness within the country and second as they influence the group's susceptibility to United States psychological operations. The analysis of each of the groups should be explicitly organized around and focused upon factors (within the group or in the group's relationships to other groups in the society) influencing effectiveness and susceptibility. Characteristics of the group which are not directly related to these two qualities are not relevant, however interesting they may be.

The discussion of the various groups will of course vary in length; about two pages, double spaced, is perhaps an acceptable average. The analyses should be as concise as possible, but should include all important and relevant facts.

*Unlike the analysis in Part 2 (Opportunities) which was goal oriented, this phase of the panel's work is focused upon certain selected special audiences.

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Step 1. Analysis of Group Effectiveness.

This part of the analysis should consist of a few paragraphs describing the characteristics of the special audience which determine its effectiveness within the country of which it is a part. Each group has already been judged as High, Medium, or Low in relative effectiveness. Referring to this judgment, the panel will now give briefly the supporting reasons for its judgment.

Step 2. Analysis of Special Audience Susceptibility.

The second part of each group analysis will consist of a few paragraphs describing those characteristics which influence the group's susceptibility to psychological operations conducted by the United States. Susceptibility has been defined by SORO as the degree to which a group can be influenced by psychological operations appeals to respond in ways which will assist in the accomplishment of psychological operations tasks.

Those things which may be of particular importance in this discussion are the grievances of the group, its relationships with other groups in the society, and the attitude of its members toward the United States and other major powers.

Remember that this analysis should be guided by psychological operations tasks, which are the frame of reference in which the operator may utilize your material. You are not to analyze the special audience for vulnerability task by task, but do

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keep the tasks generally in mind as you make your analysis.

Item 3. Special Comments.

Any special additional information about the group which it is felt would be of assistance to the psychological operator may be given at the end of the group analysis, under the heading of "Special Comments." This section should be limited, however, to information about the group itself; suggestions concerning the content of psychological operations messages addressed to the group should be reserved for the next and final phase of the panel's work (Part 4, Injunctions).

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Part 4: General and Special Audience Injunctions.

As their final task, the panel members will be asked to formulate lists of general injunctions or "do's and don'ts" which they believe are important for the psychological operator to bear in mind. Separate lists of injunctions will be prepared for the country as a whole and for each of the selected special audiences covered in the preceding part.

The injunctions will deal primarily with the content of appeals and messages of psychological operations--i.e., things which should be remembered in selecting appeals and writing messages. They may cover such things as issues or topics that should be emphasized; issues or topics that should be avoided; the manner in which a certain subject (e.g., sex, religion, nationalism) should be approached; special circumstances in which a particular type of psychological operations appeal should or should not be used, etc.

Although in writing injunctions emphasis should be placed on the content of communications, injunctions concerning propaganda style and format (e.g., proper terms of address, media to be avoided, etc.) may also be included when they are of particular importance.

Note: For this step, each individual panel member is asked to work out a list of injunctions on his own, and to bring the list with him to CORC. It may then be possible for the PSYOPS staff to combine these individual lists, and thus save the time of the panel for Parts 1, 2, and 3.

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The lists of injunctions may be organized in whatever way seems most appropriate to the members of the panel. For instance, the list can be divided into Political, Religious, and Social Injunctions, or divided into positive and negative injunctions and presented under the headings "Do" and "Do Not." For the special audience injunctions, the panel may, if it prefers, use no headings at all other than the names of the groups. Use whatever organization seems most logical, as long as consistency is maintained throughout the entire Injunctions section. The number of injunctions will of course vary greatly from one special audience to another.

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ANNEX 2

INDEX TO APPEAL TOPICS BY TASK AND SPECIAL AUDIENCE

The page references in the special audience columns opposite the tasks refer to the initial page upon which the appeal ideas for that particular audience and for that task begin.

Task No.	Short Title of Task	Military Forces: Enlisted Men Page Nos.	Military Forces: Officers Page Nos.
	Goal: Good Will		
1	Desirability of U.S. victory	147	
	Goal: Discouragement		
2	Doubt re: own ideology, war aims	148	148
3	Expectation own defeat, U.S. victory	148	149
4	Loss of confidence in own forces	150	151
5	Disrespect for civilian leaders	151	152
6	Desire for peace	152	152
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22	Disorganized behavior		
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28	Desire to live		
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30	Desertion	170	171
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Task No.	Short Title of Task	Administrators	Theoreticalists	Intellectuals	Political Elite	Masses	Ethnic Collectivities	Party as a Whole
	Goal: Goal Will							
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34	U.S. troops as liberators		176			178		179
	Goal: Compliance							
35	Avoid military areas		180			181		
36	Evacuate cities	182					183	
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38	Desire for peace			185				
39	Doubt re: own war aims		186	186				
40	Disrespect, nat'l leaders	187	188	189		189	190	192
41	Disrespect, group leaders							
42	Nostalgia							192
43	Apathy							
	Goal: Discord							
44	Resent profiteers		192	193		193		195
45	Dissension, cliques, groups					196		
46	Rebels, social disaffection	197				199	200	200
47	Conflicts among leaders				201			
48	Resent country's allies							
	Goal: Intimidation							
49	Dissatisfaction, complaints	202	203	205		207	207	208
50	Disloyalty to own group							
	Goal: Panic							
51	Disorganized behavior					209		
	Goal: Submission							
52	Slowdowns and delays	210			211			212
53	Malingering, absenteeism							212
54	Strikes					213		
55	Sabotage		214				214	
56	Organized resistance			215	215	216		
57	Revolt, secession							

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Task No.	Short Title of Task	Administrators	Educationalists	Intellectuals	Political Elite	Refugees	Roman Catholics	SVN as a Whole	Military: Enlisted Men	Military: Officers
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	Goal: Encouragement									
59	Rebuild national unity					221		221		
60	Hope for the future		222			223		223		
	Goal: Compliance									
61	Discredit defeated regime									
62	Counter false reports			226	227					
63	Eradicate militarism									
64	Receptiveness to change	228	229	229		230		231		
65	Prepare for postwar world									
66	Assist in law and order	232			233	234		235		
67	Assist handling DP's, POW's	236	237		237	237		238		
	Goal: Good Will								238	
68	Strengthen common ideals									
69	Desire U.S. victory		239	239		[illegible]		[illegible]	241	242
70	U.S. troops, liberators					244			243	
71	Justify new weapons									
	Goal: Compliance									
72	Avoid military areas									
73	Evacuate cities	245						245		
	Goal: Hostility									
74	Recent common enemy	246				246	250	250		247
75	Tradition vs. alien beliefs								251	252
76	Disbelief in enemy aims		252	254			254	256	254	
77	Withhold food, manpower	256	257	258	259		260	260	258	
78	Discourage collaboration	261		262		263	264	264	262	263
79	Disassociate from enemy									
	Goal: Subversion									
80	Slowdowns and delays				266		267	267	265	
81	Malingering, absenteeism					268		269	267	
82	Strikes	270								
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84	Organized resistance	272		273	277	277	278			273
85	Revolt, secession									

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INDEX TO SPECIAL TASKS BY GOAL AND SPECIAL AUDIENCE

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[illegible]	Maintain reference by U.S.	279	280	280	280			281
[illegible]	Contributions appreciated		281	282				283
90	Justify new weapons							
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91	Hope for postwar world					283		
92	Expectation U.S. victory				283	283		284
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93	Encourage cooperation	285		286	286	287		287
94	Disbelief in enemy aims							
95	Hostility to common enemy		289		289	290		291
	Goal: Good Will							
96	Promotion of friendship	292				293		294
97	Strengthen common ideals							
98	Desirability U.S. victory			294	295		296	296
99	Expectation U.S. victory							
100	Justify new weapons							
	Goal: Compliance							
101	Encourage cooperation			297	297		298	
	Goal: Hostility							
102	Discredit enemy war aims					298		
103	Hostility toward U.S. enemy		299			299	299	299
104	Discourage collaboration	300		300		300		301

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ANNEX 3

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