

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

NAVY, Army, OSD  
reviews completed.

INFORMATION

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~~SECRET/SENSITIVE/EYES ONLY~~

June 1, 1972

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN... *HA*

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER *Haig fw*  
SUBJECT: Psychological Warfare Campaign

As you directed and as I reported on May 23, an intensive psychological warfare campaign is underway against North Vietnam.

-- A massive leaflet campaign is being conducted with over 46 million dropped in the last ten days and 90 million ready for delivery. Themes stressed are high NVA casualties, ARVN military successes, the isolation and destruction of North Vietnam, our desire for meaningful negotiations, and U.S.-Soviet agreements.

-- Radio broadcasting aimed at NVN has been more than doubled, and a new transmitter will be operating by 9 June. Both covert and overt radios are broadcasting names of NVA POWs and KIA and are playing heavily on NVA reverses, your Moscow meetings, ARVN victories, and our air attacks.

-- Disinformation operations with the aim of sowing doubt and confusion among the leaders in Hanoi are underway, and contact has been made.

-- A program to proselytize North Vietnamese in Paris is being conducted with the purpose of achieving defections, acquiring new channels of inserting desired information, and increasing confusion and mistrust in the North's leadership.

-- Five amphibious diversionary operations off the coast of North Vietnam and the DMZ have been planned, and one has been ordered executed as soon as ships and helicopters are available. These operations are designed to increase enemy uncertainty and spread the feeling that our forces may strike anywhere.

-- We continue to benefit from Al Haig's backgrounder as more articles reflecting North Vietnamese difficulties appear daily.

NSS, State Dept. reviews  
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-- Defense and State spokesmen are getting some of these stories out daily in their regular press briefings. In addition we are stimulating specific articles by friendly journalists and authorities on Southeast Asia.

A more detailed coverage of progress in each major segment of our campaign follows.

### Leaflets

-- Before your trip over 2.4 million leaflets had been dropped over Hanoi and Haiphong.

-- Since then, over 46 million more have been dropped in the North Vietnamese panhandle. The leaflets cite the effectiveness of our mining-interdiction operations, stress the monumental NVA losses, attribute responsibility for continued North Vietnamese losses and destruction to the power-hungry Party leadership, cite the benefits of peace, and urge the North Vietnamese people to demand that their government accept the U.S. proposal to end the war.

-- CINCPAC is prepared for B-52 saturation leaflet dissemination in North Vietnam's Red River Delta area including Hanoi and Haiphong as soon as authorization is given.

-- Regular strike missions have been ordered to deliver leaflets when attacking targets near urban areas (other than Hanoi and Haiphong).

-- Ten new leaflets will bring home to the North Vietnamese population the high NVA casualties, will announce ARVN victories, cite U.S. determination and power, document the unwillingness of South Vietnamese to be "liberated" by invading Communist troops, emphasize the disastrous policy of the Party leadership, show the war is a lost cause, stress that peace is necessary for reconstruction, and underline our offer--that it is time for a political solution. An example is at Tab A.

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### Radio Broadcasts

-- The GVN Voice of Freedom (VOF) and the VOA are repeating several times each day lists of recently captured North Vietnamese POWs. In addition, the radios are broadcasting names of prisoners held for longer periods, building to 100 names per day. VOA is announcing that it will continue to supply such information as a public service. VOA has also broadcast a story on 154 ralliers.

-- VOA has increased its broadcast time to NVN from 5 to 13 hours a day.

-- Your Moscow trip and the military situation in Vietnam have been accounting for 65 to 90 percent of VOA broadcast time to NVN. Recent highlights have been:

- the SALT agreement;
- the U.S.-Soviet space agreement;
- the U.S.-Soviet statement of principles;
- the first withdrawals of NVN troops from SVN (at An Loc);
- our continuing desire to settle the Vietnamese problem through negotiations;
- Sino-Soviet friction over unloading Soviet war supplies at Chinese ports;
- reports on the New York Times article on NVN officials in SVN advising Hanoi to seek a political settlement;
- the effectiveness of the mining and its impact on NVN morale;
- ARVN military successes and lighter casualties than the NVA;
- U.S. air activity in the north, including the destruction of six bridges and a transformer station near Hanoi.

-- Four black radios are in operation. All are describing in detail NVA losses in the South and the great damage being suffered in NVN. They are also emphasizing the U.S. determination and massive response. Though beamed specifically at troops in the field, these radios reach throughout NVN.

-- Two of the four radios mimic NVN broadcasts and stress the need for the populace and troops to prepare for much greater suffering

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to achieve victory, thus driving home the idea that the leadership cares only for its ambitions, not for the people.

-- The other two radios pretend to speak for anti-regime groups and play up the theme that the leadership is mad to continue a war they cannot win.

-- The new grey radio targetted against North Vietnam is on the air on a frequency designed to take advantage of the audiences already built up by the BBC. It stresses that the fault for the war and suffering lies with the selfish, ambitious Party leadership which has set brother against brother. It also comes down hard on NVA losses, broadcasts names of KIA and POWs, records the suffering of NVA troops in the south, and intersperses this with international and Vietnamese news and sentimental music.

-- Word-of-mouth will disseminate our themes far beyond our direct listeners which we are taking steps to increase through leaflets providing broadcast times and frequencies, broadcasts of POW information, and provision of transistor radios to the NVN population.

### Special Operations

-- A bogus secret Ho Chi Minh letter criticizing Le Duan (similar to Lenin's actual letter about Stalin) has been drafted. It will be rumored and then inserted into international mail to several Northern officials outside NVN. Once surfaced it will be picked up in our radio, leaflet, and press operations to sow further confusion among the people and lower level cadre in the North. 25X1

-- A black radio is sending one-way broadcasts into NVN to give the impression that agents have been inserted. This impression will be reinforced by dummy parachute drops and rafts on beaches.

-- Recordings of selected parts of Ho's speeches are being located so that we can doctor them to produce a speech by Ho criticizing current DRV leadership policies.

-- The operation plan for knocking out and replacing Radio Hanoi will feature a special announcement that the Party has shifted to a peace policy and will project the resulting benefits to the population--more food, more clothes, return of their men.

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-- A rumor campaign directed against Communist targets inside SVN (by planting rumors through ARVN tactical radio operator chatter, which we know the NVA monitors) are being developed. Themes are designed to confuse the enemy about our military intentions, to increase doubts concerning Soviet and PRC support, and to add to internal NVA mistrust.

-- Rumors are also being circulated within overseas Vietnamese communities in Paris, Vientiane, and Thailand (and selectively in Hanoi itself) of dissidence in Hanoi, leadership splits, privation in NVN, etc.

-- Three NVA pilots have been identified as targets of a campaign to compromise them through placed mailings of financial inducements.

-- Contacts have been made to proselytize the DRV and PRG delegations in Paris and the Vietnamese population in Paris to secure defections, statements against the Hanoi leadership, and support for Saigon.

-- We are getting actual ration cards and other documents to be used in forging bogus copies for insertion into NVN.

-- CINCPAC is purchasing transistor radios for aerial and float delivery into NVN.

-- CINCPAC has completed five plans for amphibious deception operations off the coast of North Vietnam and the DMZ. One is ready to go and will be undertaken as soon as ships and helicopters are free.

-- In all our activities--leaflets, radios, rumors, and other special operations--we are giving the impression of iron U.S. determination and power.

-- We have already told them that our air and sea power has been greatly increased and new augmentations have been announced.

-- We also hint at powerful, new weapons.

-- And we are playing on North Vietnamese superstitions by claiming that the wandering souls of their unburied dead in the South are guiding our bombs.

#### Special Press Activities

-- General Haig on May 22 briefed reporters from UPI, AP, U.S. News and World Report, the New York Daily News, the Evening

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Star, and NBC on morale, political, economic, military and other problems in North Vietnam caused by our actions. AP and UPI carried stories on the briefing attributed to an unnamed "White House official, "but the New York Times named Al Haig as the briefer.

- That briefing has produced much greater interest about North Vietnam's situation and a constant flow of articles in the press.
- For example, Victor Zorza in the Washington Post for 31 May, said the Haig briefing was self-serving but correct.
- On the same day Henry Bradsher writing in the Star dwelt on Hanoi's fear that it cannot count on effective support from the Soviet Union or the PRC.
- Orr Kelly reported in the Evening Star that Operation Linebacker is much more effective than previous bombing campaigns against NVN. He also notes that the new guided bombs have knocked out hundreds of bridges, Haiphong is closed, and remaining targets are being rapidly destroyed.
- The Washington Post quotes "high American intelligence sources in Saigon" as saying there is no evidence that China or the Soviet Union is trying to offset the mining by ground or air supply to NVN.
- We stimulated an article by Sir Robert Thompson, which appeared in the Baltimore Sun. He traced the enemy build-up prior to the current offensive, points out the ARVN advantage in defending against large-scale attacks, and refers to An Loc as a "meat-grinder" for the NVA.
- The State Department press spokesman has discussed with the press the North Vietnamese concept of a coalition government in an attempt to discredit it. He has also covered the substantial effect of bombing on the flow of Soviet and Chicom supplies into and through North Vietnam.
- As a result, the Washington Post carried a page-one article on this subject on 26 May, and the New York Times mentioned the briefing in an article concerning China's refusal to allow Soviet ships to unload supplies for North Vietnam.
- The material disseminated in our press activities is picked up and broadcast by the VOA and our black and grey radios.

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Organizational

-- The Saigon Mission Special Psyops Committee is meeting daily.

-- The Mission has also established an interagency research group which selects and provides to VOF and VOA information from both classified and overt sources. This insures that good, hard, information from intelligence sources can be declassified promptly and can be given maximum coverage in broadcasts and leaflets to North Vietnam and in the press.

-- On items the field lacks authority to declassify, we back them up here in Washington.

-- Both PACOM and MACV have established unconventional warfare task forces.

-- In Washington the Psychological Pressure Operations Group meets daily to ramrod the field into more effective and speedier action.

-- USIA's foremost expert on psychological warfare in Vietnam, Douglas Pike, arrived in Saigon on 28 May to take charge of the "Hanoi Watchers" group.

-- Three other USIA officers have arrived in Saigon to recruit 20 Vietnamese to strengthen VOA's broadcasts to North Vietnam, and still another USIA officer has arrived and has begun special VOA Vietnamese reporting.



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Text of Leaflet 4498

Side I

Through constant war, are the people full or hungry?

In each of the Past 16 years of the war the Party has demanded that each farmer endeavor to cultivate a hectare of land, produce five tons of rice and raise two pigs, and that workers double and triple their efforts.

But, with most of the men and boys away in the army, have the women who replaced them been able to fulfill the Party's and State's production plans? When there is so much poverty and food shortage around what is the use of the "three responsibilities" and the "three readiesses" rules? They could as well be the "ten responsibilities" and the "ten readiesses" topped with the "hundred postponements" and still the Party would be unable to fulfill the needs of the North Vietnamese people so long as it continues to wage useless war against the South.

Hunger and want are familiar in North Vietnam, but the more the people suffer, the more stubbornly the Party prolongs the war. Is the Party concerned for the people's welfare or only in making people suffer? The people suffer hunger and hardships, but the Party carries on its war. Is the Party for you or against you?

Side II

North Vietnamese Compatriots

How many kilos of rice are each of you allowed to buy each month; how many meters of cloth each year? How many of you have to wear rags or turn to the black market for clothing?

The Party tells you to work harder. But when you work harder, do you have more food and warmer clothing? What has happened to your sons, husbands, and brothers that you must work harder and harder only to enjoy less and less?

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The Government of the Republic of Vietnam many times has proposed an end to this war by peaceful means, but each time the party has rejected its proposals flatly. The longer the Party continues this war, the more the people will have to endure hunger and hardships. Yet the Party stubbornly prolongs the war. You can see clearly the prospects for your future.

You have suffered enough over the past 16 years, having known hunger and hardships and seen the deaths of your loved ones. Why not peace now?

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