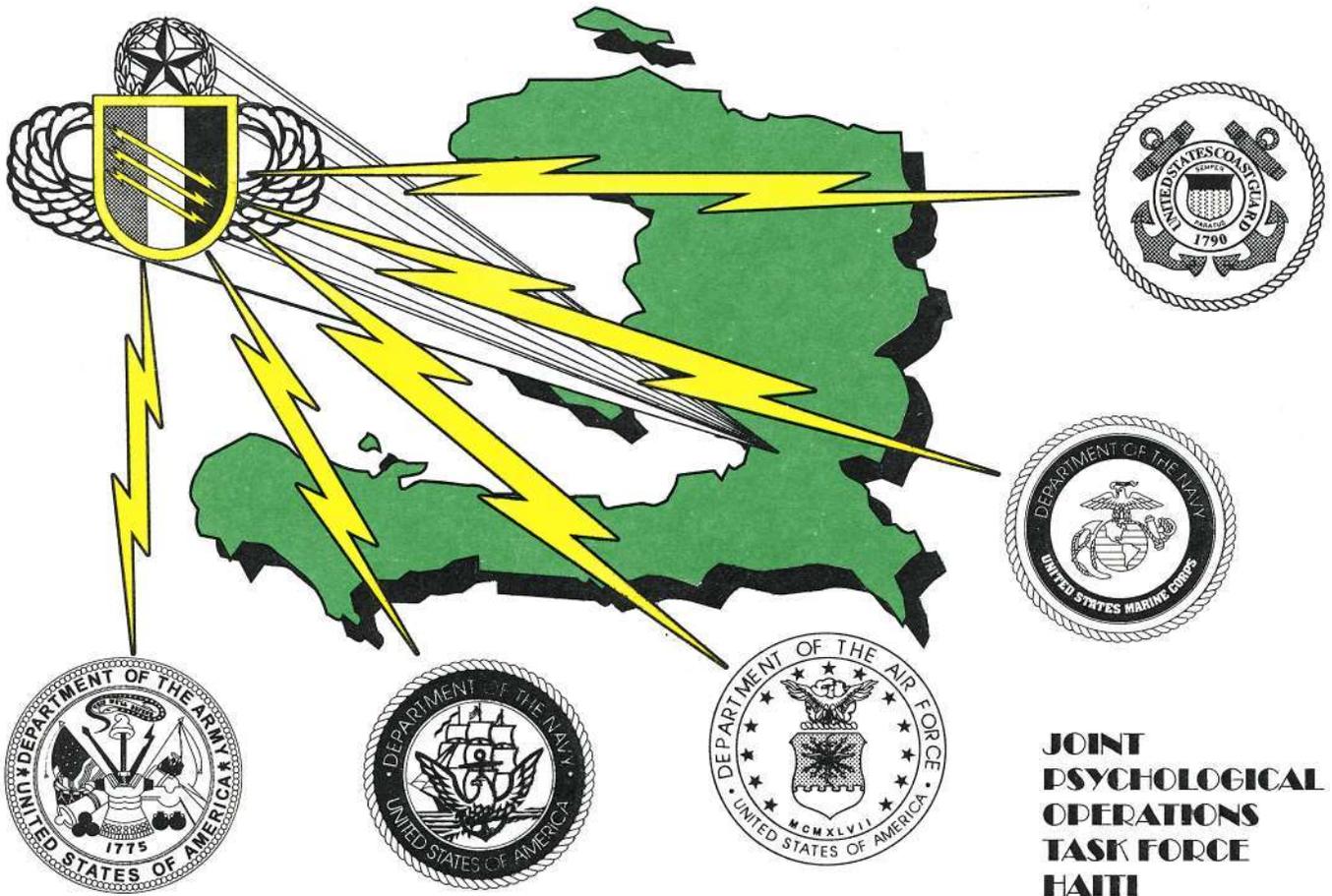
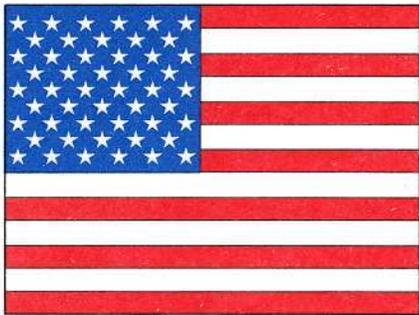


PSYOP Support to Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY



A Psychological Victory

PSYOP Support to Operation Uphold Democracy: A Psychological Victory
Published by the 4th Psychological Operations Group, Fort Bragg, NC, ©1995

Reproduced by PsyWar.Org, 2008



HQ, XVIII Airborne Corps
and Fort Bragg
Fort Bragg, NC 28307-5000
May 4, 1995

As Commander of Joint Task Force 180 during Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY, it is my belief that the integration of Psychological Operations (PSYOP) early in the planning process was critical to the successful execution of the operation. Long before any American military forces stepped ashore, PSYOP helped us quickly accomplish our political and military objectives by laying the foundation for transition from forced entry to semi-permissive operations. Without a doubt, PSYOP won the hearts and minds of Haiti's citizens, as well as setting the stage for the peaceful accomplishment of the Joint Task Force's mission.

There is no question PSYOP saved lives, on both sides, during Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY. It proved to be the unsung, yet vitally important, factor in this operation -- a true force multiplier.

This booklet provides examples of the products generated by the Joint Psychological Operations Task Force (JPOTF) in Haiti. They may help you understand why PSYOP made such a difference throughout the operation. We dedicate this booklet to the soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, coast guard personnel and civilians who contributed and continue to contribute to the success of American efforts in Haiti.

Henry H. Shelton
Lieutenant General, U.S. Army
Commanding Officer

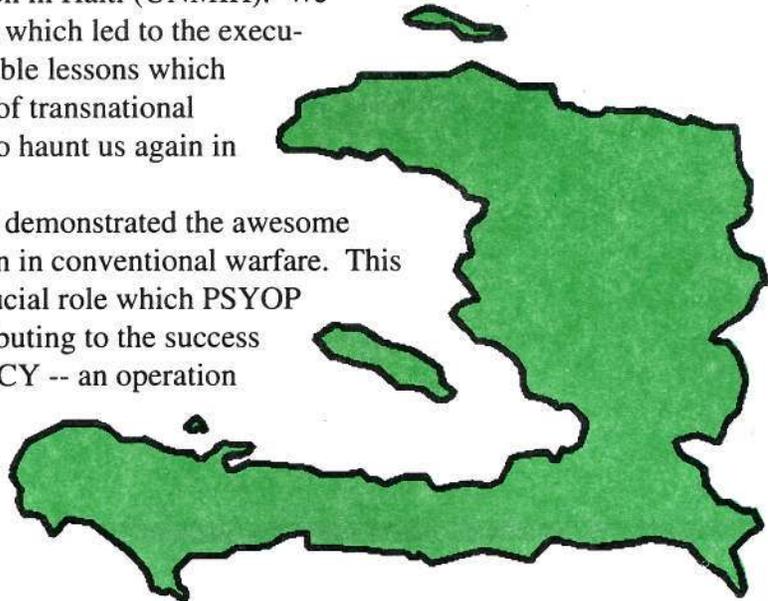
INTRODUCTION

The end of the Cold War has forced the United States to reexamine its role in a world radically different than that we have known for over four decades. Part of our response has been a foreign policy rededicated to fostering democratic peace and prosperity around the world, while sharing that burden with our allies through collective engagement. Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY has been an unprecedented success in both endeavors and a model for future collective action.

American forces deployed to Haiti to resolve a dilemma that threatened American and Hemispheric interests. After all else failed, President Clinton decided upon military action, because allowing Haiti's coup leaders to remain in place would be to acquiesce in the face of brutal violations of human rights, to endanger fragile democracies in the hemisphere, and to encourage a massive and dangerous exodus of desperate Haitians toward American shores. All diplomatic efforts by the US government, the Organization of American States, and the United Nations to avert these crises and to restore the democratically elected government of Haiti had been stymied contemptuously by the Haitian dictatorship.

In January 1994, the Department of Defense and Department of State began coordinated planning for Haiti. In July, the UN Security Council passed a US-sponsored resolution authorizing the formation of a multinational force to use "all necessary means" to force the departure of Haiti's military leaders and the restoration of the legitimate government. These preparations culminated in the launching of US paratroopers, infantrymen, and special operations forces on 19 September to conduct a forced entry into Haiti. The invasion was averted at the last minute when a US delegation led by former President Jimmy Carter negotiated an agreement allowing the permissive entry of US forces to carry out Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY. Without a single combat casualty, the ensuing incursion removed Haiti's corrupt military regime, precluded the flow of Haitian boat people, and reinstilled hope for a better tomorrow in the lives of 7 million Haitian citizens. US efforts, and PSYOP's participation in them, continue today in support of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH). We must remain cognizant of the factors which led to the execution of this operation and the invaluable lessons which can be taken from it. The paradigm of transnational threats to US sovereignty is certain to haunt us again in the future.

Operation DESERT STORM demonstrated the awesome influence of the power of information in conventional warfare. This pamphlet will tell the story of the crucial role which PSYOP played as a force multiplier in contributing to the success of Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY -- an operation other than war.



HAITI CHRONOLOGY

1990

DEC 16: With two-thirds of the vote, Aristide is elected President of Haiti.

1991

FEB 7: Aristide is sworn in as President.

SEP 30: The military, belatedly led by General Raoul Cedras, seizes control of Haiti. Aristide flees to Caracas, Venezuela.

OCT: As many as 500 are massacred in the days following Aristide's ouster.

OCT 24: The United States establishes an embargo against Haiti, effective 5 NOV.

FALL: President Aristide moves to Washington, D.C., and enlists help from members of Congress and African-American leaders in his quest to return to Haiti.

NOV 1991-JUL 1992: Haitian migrant camps established at Guantanamo Naval Base, Cuba, to house nearly 35,000 boat people.

1992

JAN 21: Port-au-Prince police reestablish a network of 20,000 urban deputies known as attaches to keep the people in submission.

FEB 23: President Aristide and Haitian parliamentarians sign an accord in Washington D.C. aimed at restoring democracy in Haiti. The Washington Accord called for President Aristide's reinstatement and for General Raoul Cedras to remain as FAd'H Commander in Chief. Once parliament ratified Aristide's choice for prime minister, the embargo would be lifted.

MAR 27: The Haitian Supreme Court, citing violations of constitutional separation of powers clauses, rules that the Washington Accord is null and void and cannot be submitted to the national assembly.

MAY 24: President Bush issues an executive order authorizing the direct repatriation of Haitians interdicted at sea. Democratic party presidential candidate Bill Clinton criticizes the order as inhumane.

OCT 17-18: Twin-engine aircraft dropped pro-Aristide leaflets over Port-au-Prince, Les Cayes, Jeremie, Cap Haitien, Gonaives, and St. Marc.

NOV 3: Arkansas governor Bill Clinton is elected President of the US; increased migrant flow is expected following his inauguration.

NOV 24: UN General Assembly adopts a resolution giving the Secretary General a mandate to

take the necessary measures” to cooperate with the OAS in solving the Haitian crisis. The UN begins developing plans for aggressive action in Haiti.

1993

JAN 14: President-elect Clinton announces he will continue Bush policy of direct repatriation in order to avert another Haitian exodus.

MAR 16: Aristide meets with President Clinton.

APR 13: The White House acknowledges that it is considering sending US troops to Haiti to help professionalize Haitian security forces in the event a political settlement is reached.

JUN 23: A worldwide UN Security Council oil embargo and assets freeze against Haiti takes effect.

JUL 3: Cedras, then Aristide, sign a ten-point agreement known as the Governor’s Island Accord that is to culminate with Aristide returning to power on 30 October 1993.

AUG 27: UN Security Council suspends sanctions against Haiti, four days after Haitian Parliament ratified Robert Malval as Prime Minister.

AUG 31: Adoption of UNSC Resolution 862, allowing a team to visit Port-au-Prince to determine how many civilian police and military would make up a proposed “UN Mission in Haiti.”

SEP: De facto regime thugs begin a campaign of violence against Aristide supporters. They assassinate a prominent Aristide financial backer and establish the Revolutionary Front for Haitian Advancement and Progress (FRAPH).

OCT: FRAPH and other opponents launch public demonstrations against the Governor’s Island Agreement. After 12 US soldiers are killed in Somalia, they threaten to turn Haiti into “another Somalia.”

OCT 12: The environment in Haiti is declared “non-permissive.” The USS Harlan County, with US and Canadian troops aboard, leaves Port-au-Prince Bay. The move is viewed as a significant blow to the Governor’s Island process.

OCT 30: Cedras reneges on the 3 July agreement, announcing he will not step down as FAd’H CINC.

1994

JAN 4: Aristide indirectly endorses military intervention in Haiti.

APR-MAY: US intensifies efforts to restore Aristide to power.

MAY 6: UN passes resolution increasing sanctions as of 21 May.

MAY 11: Supported by LTG Cedras, Supreme Court Chief Justice Emile Jonassaint is sworn in as provisional president under Article 149. Pro-Aristide legislators boycott the voting.

JUN 10: President Clinton announces new sanctions, effective 25 June. Commercial air traffic, payment, transfers of funds or assets between US and Haiti will be banned.

JUL 31: UN passes Resolution 940, citing, de facto, the illegal regime's failure to comply with the Governor's Island Accord. UN members authorized the use of all necessary means to facilitate the departure of the regime and to establish a safe environment.

AUG 22/23: Pro-Aristide leaflets distributed throughout Saint Marc overnight.

SEP 17: With invasion plans set, Clinton sends negotiation team headed by former President Jimmy Carter to Haiti.

SEP 18: Cedras agrees to step down by 15 October.

SEP 19: US forces enter Haiti peacefully.

OCT 10: Cedras and staff resign and depart Haiti three days later.

OCT 15: President Aristide returns to power.

OCT 27: Transition from US forces to Multinational Forces (MNF).

1995

JAN: Transition between the 10th Mountain Division (Light) and the 25th Infantry Division (Light)

MAR: Transition between the MNF and the UN Mission in Haiti (UNMIH).



Haitians eagerly anticipating the return of President Aristide

WASHINGTON D.C. MIST

On 18 June 1994, in order to deter an exodus of Haitian migrants and help restore the democratically elected government of Haiti, a Military Information Support Team (MIST) was established in Washington D.C. The goal of the MIST was to create an information environment in support of US objectives to restore democracy to Haiti, to allow President Aristide to present a message of reconciliation to his constituents, and to outline plans for his return to power. This information campaign was of particular importance because of the steady diet of disinformation and misinformation provided by the Haitian military regime to their people. According to State Department spokeswoman Christine Shelly, "The capacity to communicate directly with the Haitian people without the risk of censorship by the Haitian military authorities is very crucial."

The MIST was composed of PSYOP soldiers from the 4th Psychological Operations Group (Airborne) and Creole-speaking civilian linguists. They coordinated with President Aristide and other representatives of the Government of Haiti (GOH), representatives from the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), J-3 (PSYOP), and representatives from the National Security Council (NSC). All products developed by the MIST had to be approved by the NSC, President Aristide, and by the Commander in Chief, US Atlantic Command (CINCUSACOM) who maintained control of the area of operation until the incursion commenced. Two radio stations were established: Radio Democracy, an FM outlet for President Aristide's messages, and Radio AM 940, which carried messages designed to deter Haitian migration.



Members of the Washington, D.C. MIST with President Aristide



President Aristide recording for Radio Democracy to the Haitian people, Washington, D.C. MIST

Within five hours of establishment of the MIST, products were being developed to stem the flow of Haitian migrants to the United States. These products, which consisted of loudspeaker broadcasts from U.S. Coast Guard ships and messages from US special envoys, had tremendous success in arresting the flow of Haitian migrants. The initial products stressed the inherently unsafe nature of boat migration due to the dangers of the sea, sharks, inclement weather, and poorly constructed boats. After the US created an offshore processing center in Ja-

maica, a surge of departures began in late June. The mini-exodus came to a halt after messages were broadcast over Radio AM 940 announcing a change in US asylum policy made on 5 July. PSYOP products informed potential migrants that people picked up at sea would not be eligible for asylum in the United States but rather be sent to refugee camps outside the United States, and that the only way to qualify for US asylum was by applying at Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) offices in Haiti.

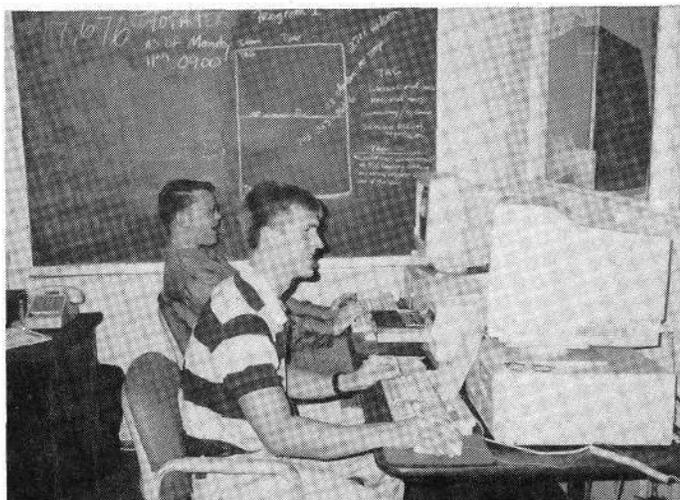


Commando Solo EC-130

Radio messages prepared by the D.C. MIST were developed by 4th POG (A) production specialists and transferred to Roosevelt Roads Naval Air Station (NAS), Puerto Rico, and Key West NAS using a Getner recording machine which transmits recorded messages over commercial telephone lines. The radio messages were then formatted for broadcasting equipment on board the Air Force 193d Special Operations Group's (SOG) Commando Solo EC-130 aircraft. On receiving approval from CINCUSACOM, the 193d would then fly missions broadcasting the messages directly to the Haitian people.

Realizing that the only mitigating influence upon this information campaign was the size of the potential target audience, 10,000 radios are airdropped into Haiti substantially increasing the listening audience.

As pressure continued to mount for U.S. intervention, the



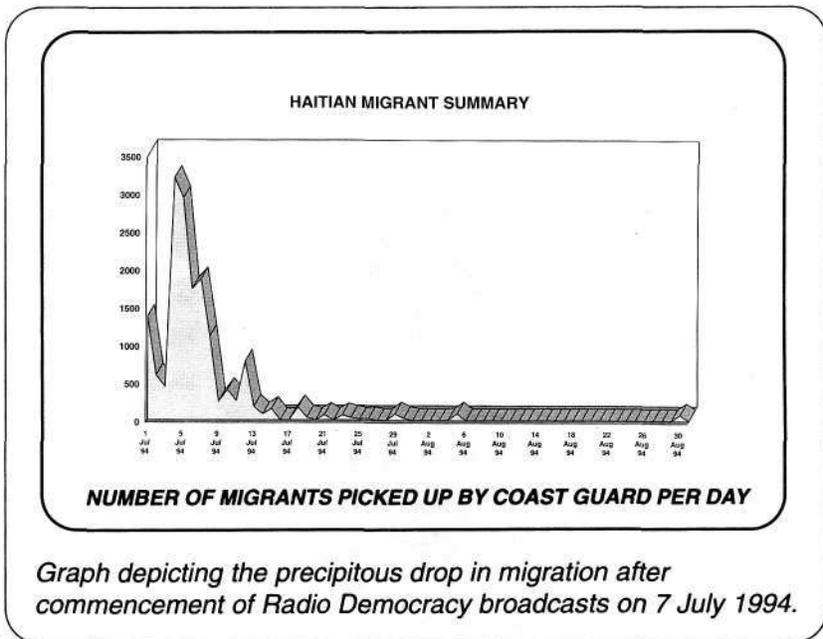
Members of the Washington, D.C. MIST in the Product Development Center

D.C. MIST expanded its information campaign through the development of Radio and Television Democracy. The objective of these programs was to prepare the Haitian populace for the restoration of democracy and to continue the discouragement of illegal emigration from Haiti.

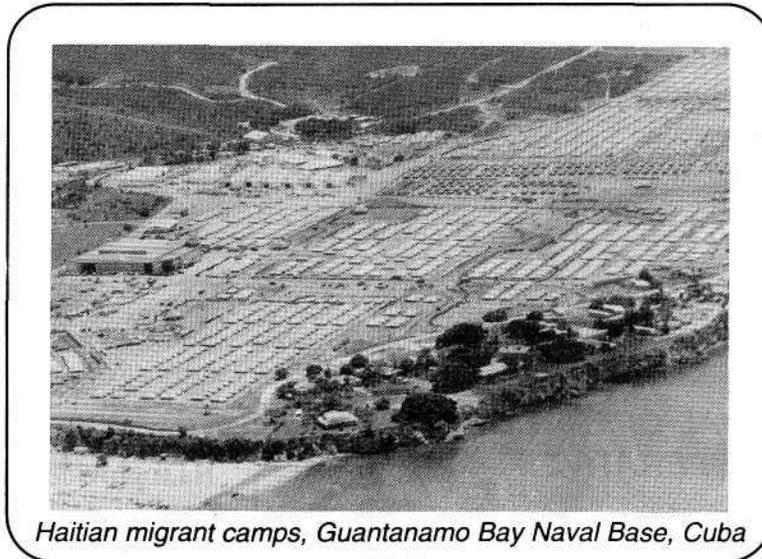
In order to accomplish these objectives, three FM bands of Radio Democracy alternately broadcast daily messages from President Aristide and discussions conducted by a panel of Haitian political experts. Designed to educate Haiti's citizens on the basic theories and concepts of democracy ... government of the people, by the people, for the people ... these broadcasts also stressed the benefits which the restoration of democracy would bring about. The broadcasts stressed also that violent retribution against the corrupt regime and its agents was neither in the interest of President Aristide nor in the restoration of democracy.

In addition, several American officials, to include President Clinton and Secretary of Defense Perry, used the programs to convey US intentions to Haiti's citizens. These broadcasts were aimed at legitimizing US involvement in Haiti through the highlighting of past, present, and future aid programs to the nation and similar US/UN efforts to benefit less fortunate people in all parts of the world. U.S. officials also utilized the programs to discredit the reigning military junta and to convey US determination to remove the corrupt regime by whatever means necessary.

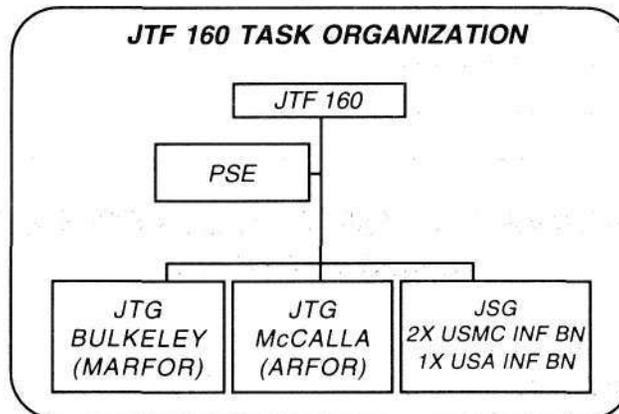
To reinforce the credibility of the information campaign, Radio and Television Democracy broadcast also current news stories, commentaries by popular local figures, as well as selected popular Haitian music. The unprecedented success of the campaign was clearly evident in the warm embrace extended to US forces by the Haitian population, the minimal acts of violent retribution, and the absence of even a single US combat casualty during the introduction of US forces.



**OPERATION SEA SIGNAL
JOINT TASK FORCE 160 MIST, GUANTANAMO BAY
NAVAL BASE, CUBA**



PSYOP support to Operation SEA SIGNAL began with the initial planning in late January and early February of 1994. Migrant operations were originally established on the US hospital ship COMFORT in Kingston Harbor, Jamaica. Because of a greater influx of Haitian migrants than was expected, the operation was transferred to the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base, Cuba.



The PSYOP Support Element (PSE), consisting of the JTF-160 J3 PSYOP Staff Officer and a Military Information Support Team (MIST), deployed to Guantanamo on 14 July, 1994. The MIST supported Joint Task Group McCalla for the Haitian humanitarian assistance mission through multimedia resources. Every effort was made to provide as much information to the Haitians as possible. The MIST produced a Creole language newspaper, SA K'PASE, which

presented a balance of news articles on both the positive and negative situation in Haiti. The Psychological Operations Airmobile Dissemination System (PAMDIS) provided a radio station on which news, entertainment, and other broadcasts were presented in Creole over 97.5 FM, "Radio Creole."

MISSION

PSYOP Support Element (PSE) supports JTF-160 to assist with population control, safety, sanitation, and security of migrant camps, while minimizing migrant interference and increasing force protection by conducting comprehensive military information support operations.

SPECIAL OPERATIONS IMPERATIVES

- *Understand the operational environment*
- *Recognize the political implications*
- *Facilitate interagency activities*
- *Engage the threat discriminately*
- *Consider long-term effects*
- *Ensure legitimacy and credibility of SOF*
- *Anticipate and control psychological effects*
- *Apply capabilities indirectly*
- *Develop multiple options*
- *Ensure long-term sustainment*
- *Provide sufficient intelligence*
- *Balance security and synchronization*

The mission at Guantanamo as well as the eventual operation in Haiti provided an ideal opportunity for engaging in most of all 12 Special Operations Imperatives on a daily basis.

Interagency cooperation between the MIST, other US military forces, and governmental and non-governmental organizations occurred routinely. The Information Coordinating Committee (ICC) concept was practiced every morning at the Joint Task Group McCalla meetings.

GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

- *Department of State (DOS)*
- *Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)*
- *Community Relations Service (CRS), Department of Justice*
- *International Organization for Migration (IOM) -- (NGO)*
- *World Relief Corporation (NGO)*
- *United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)*

PSYCHOLOGICAL OBJECTIVES

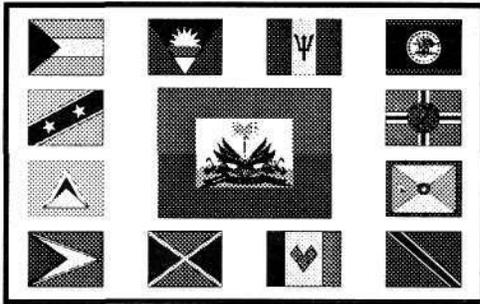
- *Discourage migration of Haitians to the U.S.*
- *Disseminate changes to the migrant processing procedures.*
- *Ensure Haitians understand there is no change in current repatriation policy/criteria.*
- *Informal leaders of migrants understand that they would benefit from a calm and orderly environment while awaiting transfer.*
- *General migrant population understands that U.S. authorities are genuinely concerned about their problems and that cooperation with the authorities is in the migrants' best interest.*
- *Pacify migrant population through public information while they are processed.*
- *Minimize rumors.*

An analysis of the dissemination techniques, the information being distributed, and its receptivity by the Haitian migrants identified many recurring themes and objectives after the commencement of Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY.

The objective of the dissemination plan was to provide ample news coverage for the Haitians to make informed decisions about returning to Haiti.

THEMES TO BE STRESSED

- *New procedures do not alter or change previous rules or migration criteria.*
- *Boat migration is inherently unsafe.*
- *Unseaworthy boats threaten not only a loss of money but loss of life.*
- *The most effective immigration processing is through the U.S. Embassy at Port-au-Prince.*
- *The U.S. supports the return of the legitimate democratic government to Haiti.*
- *The U.S. has not changed the criteria for entry or increased the number of Haitian refugees who might be granted asylum in the U.S.*
- *Repatriation is in accordance with international law and U.S. policy.*



**ALO. NOU SE SOLDA FÒS
MILTINASYONAL LA KI SÒTI
NAN PEYI KARAYIB YO.
NOU VINI POU EDE OU
KENBE LAPÈ E SEKIRITE
NAN KOMINOTE OU.**

Handbill promoting MNF

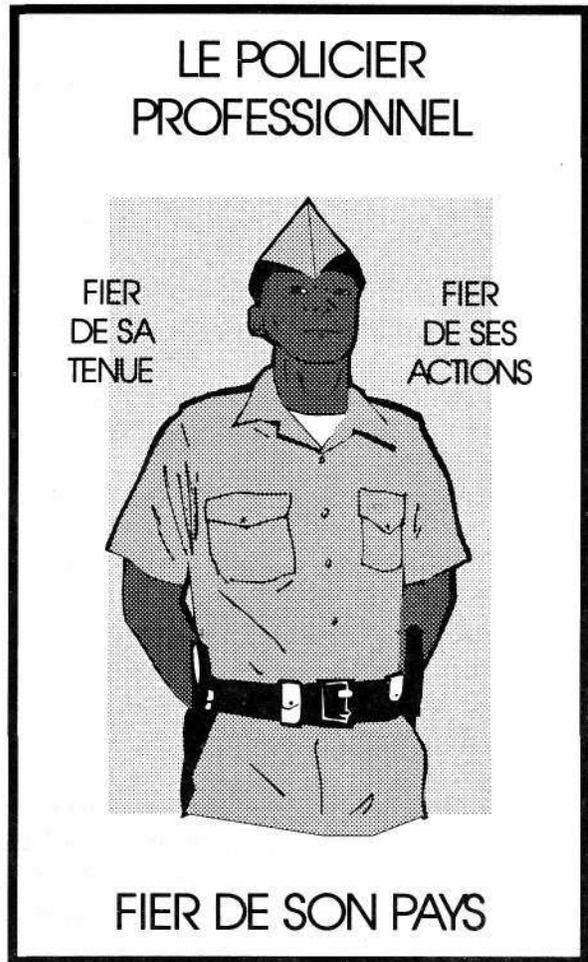


Handbill supporting UNMIH

KÒD KONDWIT FÒS SEKIRITE
MWEN PAP NI
ANTRE, NI FÈMEN
JE M KOTE
YAP KRAZE ZO AK
MACHE SOU DWA
MOUN
E MA VA RAPÒTE
BAY
TOUT
VYOLASYON KE

KÒD KONDWIT FÒS SEKIRITE
MA FÈ TOUT
POSIB MWEN
POU M
PWOTEJE
SITWAYEN YO E
TRETÈ
YO AVÈK ANPIL
RES
MA FÈ TOUT SA M

IPSF Code of Conduct card



Poster supporting IPSF

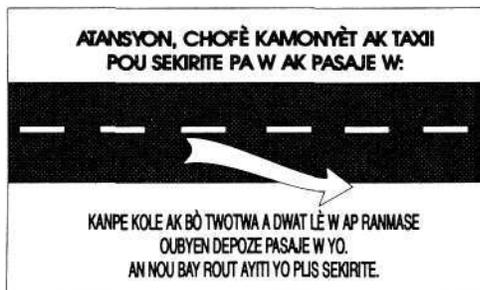
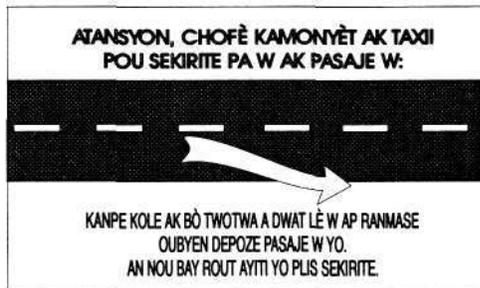


**RELE FÒS SEKIRITE
PIBLIK ENTERIMÈ-A
POU ASISTANS
62-2313 OU 62-0951**

Community Watch program handbill



Transition to UN Banner



Handbill to facilitate civil order

ECHANJE ZAM OU POU LAJAN.

**A PATI 18 NOVANB
NAP DOUBLE LAJAN
NAP BAY POU ZAM YO!!**

- NENPÒT RÈVOLVÈ
200 DOLA AMERIKEN
- EKSPLOZIF (GRENAD, BONM)
400 DOLA AMERIKEN
- FIZI SÈMI OTOMATIK
400 DOLA AMERIKEN
- GRO KANNO MITRAYÈT/MITRAYÈT LOU
1200 DOLA AMERIKEN
- ZAM OTOMATIK
800 DOLA AMERIKEN
- ZAM ANJEN LOU
1200 DOLA AMERIKEN
- GRENAD GAZ LA KRIMOGEN
100 DOLA AMERIKEN

● SI OU FÈ NOU JWEN ZAM KI KACHE, NAP PEYE-OU SELON ZAM NOU JWEN.

POU SEKIRITE TOUT AYISYEN, OU KAPAB RETOUNEN ZAM OU POU LAJAN NAN AYEROPÒ MILITÈ, NAN PAK INDISTWIYEL LA, NAN STAD FOUTBÒL KAFOU-A, E NAN WAF PÒTOPWENS LAN, DI 1er NOVAMB A 15 DESAMB 94. CHAK MADI JISKA SAMDI DE 8È DI MATEN A 4È DI SWA. MEN NOU PAP RESEVWA ZAM OUBYEN BAY LAJAN LE 24 NOVAMB. POTE ZAM YO VINI SAN BAL LA DAN YO, KENBE YO NAN PWENT, OUBYEN FILE YO SOU DO OU TÈT ANBA. NAP PEYE OU AK DOLA

Guns for Money poster



Poster to facilitate civil order

**FÒS CARICOM
AN AYITI**

**LE 12 DESANM FÒS CARICOM
NAN PWAL GEN YON SEREMONI
POU RANPLASE SOLDA'L YO**

**AP TRAVAY AK FÒS
SEKIRITE PIBLIK ENTERIMÈ-A
POU BAY SEKIRITE NAN LARI
E KENBE DEMOKRASI**

**NOUVO SOLDA AP VIN RANPLASE
SOLDA KI TE LA POU KONTINYE
OPERASYON "KENBE DEMOKRASI"**

Handbill to promote MNF (Multinational Force)

MISSION PLANNING

“I’d rather invade Haiti right now, by myself, than continue to plan one more day.”
PSYOP planner

The PSYOP plan for Haiti has been described as the most detailed and documented in our history. Planning began for Haiti in March 1993, but continued somewhat intermittently until the ill-fated Haiti Assistance Group (HAG) was established in August. Although the HAG did not deploy, this mission integrated PSYOP planners into the operational environment, thus laying the groundwork for PSYOP success in Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY. Immediately after the USS Harlan County was turned back and the UN mission aborted, PSYOP personnel developed plans to support Noncombatant Evacuation Operations (NEO) and Migrant Interdiction Operations (MIO). Planning for these contingency operations kept PSYOP focused on and committed to the situation in Haiti until forced entry planning under the control of the XVIII Airborne Corps began in January 1994.

Throughout forced entry planning, PSYOPers were a ready source of information for everyone from commanders and operators to logisticians. Unique expertise had been gained from a variety of sources -- intensive study of Haitian geography, society, telecommunications, and culture; daily study and analysis of intelligence message traffic; and on-the-ground experience in migrant relief operations as well as individual training opportunities in Port-au-Prince with the US Country Team. From the outset, plans were prepared for both permissive and nonpermissive environments. This was prompted by DCINCUSACOM’s directive to focus upon activities after the fight. “We know we can defeat the Haitian military. The question is what do we do the day after?”

In February 1994, US Army Special Operations Command (USASOC) established a staff for US Forces Haiti (USFORHAITI) which was to take over from XVIII Airborne Corps after forced entry operations were complete and civil order had been established. USFORHAITI staff later became the nucleus for the Joint Special Operations Task Force-Haiti (JSOTF).

Planning with both XVIII Airborne Corps/JTF-180, USFORHAITI, and the 10th Mountain Division/JTF-190

simultaneously required PSYOP planners to build information campaigns modularly to ensure continuity if the hand over occurred,

“We know we can defeat the Haitian military. The question is what do we do the day after?”

while still meeting the unique mission requirements of each JTF commander. PSYOP planners were committed to strategic activities under the direction of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, an operational campaign for CINCUSACOM, and tactical support for each JTF’s subordinate command. Among the dozens of branch plans were support to Civil Military Operations (CMO), promoting Haitian support for JTF operations, law and order campaigns, and weapon turn-in programs. Sequels to the base plans were developed as well. Transition or hand over to multinational forces, United Nations forces, and others was planned as the theater CINC wargamed the effects of political pressure and diplomatic initiatives as well as different operational scenarios and force packages.

Planning, however, was simple compared with the coordination challenges and balancing acts necessary to meet all the demands. PSYOPers were constantly competing for assets with other units whose mission success was thought to be far more quantifiable. During Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY, PSYOP coordinated leaflet drops with US Air Force Special Operations Command (AFSOC) and 16th Special Operations Wing (SOW); Radio Democracy and EW transmissions with 193d SOG PAANG; command and control warfare operations with the Joint Electronic Warfare Center (JEWEC) and the Electronic Capabilities and Analysis Center (ECAC); political and information strategies with the NSC, DOD, DOJ, DOS, USIA, JCS, the US Country Team in Port-au-Prince, DIA, the Aristide Government-in-exile, USACOM, USSOCOM, Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Special Forces, and Special Mission units. The challenge was enormous but essential to the success of the operation and to the significant impact PSYOP achieved.

While planning Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY, various coordination tools were used and refined to improve overall effectiveness and operational synergy. Synchronization matrices, both internal and external to PSYOP, helped ensure focus and unity of effort. Information coordination committees were formed at national and JTF levels. These organizations not only helped the United States speak with one voice throughout the operation, but gave direction to our information programs. The Washington-based, NSC-led Interagency Working Group (IWG), participated in by OJCS PSYOP staff officers, as well as the NSC, State Department,

EXECUTION TIMELINE PSYOP CAMPAIGN OBJECTIVES	EXTERNAL INFORMATION PLAN / RADIO & TV DEMOCRACY	PRE-DEPLOYMENT PHASE I D - 13 TO D - 1	DEPLOYMENT / SECURITY PHASE II D DAY TO D + 6	EXTENDED SECURITY / CMO PHASE III D + 6 TO D + 20	EXPANDED CMO PHASE IV D + 21 TO D + 120	TRANSITION TO UNMIH PHASE V D + 120 TO D + 180
REDUCE MIGRATION						
SET CONDITIONS FOR THE INTRO OF US FORCES						
REDUCE INTERFERENCE						
FACILITATE CIVIL ORDER						
REDUCE HAITIAN ON HAITIAN VIOLENCE						
SUPPORT CMO						
SET CONDITIONS FOR THE RETURN OF ARISTIDE						
DISARM THE POPULACE						
SET CONDITIONS FOR RETURN OF MIGRANTS						
INCREASE POLICE EFFECTIVENESS						
INCREASE SUPPORT FOR GOH						
SET CONDITIONS FOR TRANSITION TO UNMIH						
SET CONDITIONS FOR DEPARTURE OF MNF						

USIA, OSD, and others, was an unprecedented success. This organization helped break through bureaucratic red tape and establish coherent information policy. In addition, USACOM offered PSYOP a chair at all Joint Operations Planning Group (JOPG) meetings. Because PSYOP was treated as an equal player during all planning, the PSYOP Task Force was able to focus upon the CINC's intent.

The PSYOP campaign plan for Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY consisted of six parts:

(1) The unit OPORD/Scheme of Maneuver. This order included the internal Task Organization of the Joint PSYOP Task Force, the battle roster and equipment lists, the N-Hour schedule for deployment, the logistical support plan, and the plan of employment of PSYOP forces upon insertion.

(2) The PSYOP Plan. This plan cross-walked the PSYOP information program from the JTF Commander's objectives, through the PSYOP campaign objectives, subordinate PSYOP objectives, target audiences, themes or lines of persuasion, and methods of dissemination to be used, to the actual products prepared.

(3) The Dissemination Plan. This plan established the direction for all information dissemination media and insured that target audiences did receive our message in the Joint Operational Area.

(4) The External Information Support Plan. This plan proposed a broad array of political, economic, military, and informational activities for interagency consideration. This plan was the genesis for successful information coordination at the national level.

(5) The Electronic Warfare/Command and Control Warfare (EW/C2W) Plan. PSYOP served as a major contributor to these plans. We compete for resources, provide resources, and must be apprised of any attack plans during EW operations. For C2W, the JPOTF commander is the commander's primary advisor and a leading executor of activities in support.

(6) The Synchronization Matrix. PSYOP was included in the fires portion of all SYNCH matrices. As a result, commanders and staff alike understood our role in the operation and PSYOP activities. The task organization for PSYOP was originally sold to a skeptical JTF staff as requiring only one C-141 on D-Day, with tactical assets attached to and deploying with their respective supported units. This "JPOTF-light" met the JTF Commander's base needs and later, as the staff and commanders became more comfortable with PSYOP, other resources were added to further enhance capabilities. The JPOTF for Haiti was tailored in personnel strictly to the mission -- the absolute minimum was allowed. PSYOP offset the inherent problems of this austere organization by using host nation assets and JTF logistics to the maximum extent possible.

THE INCURSION

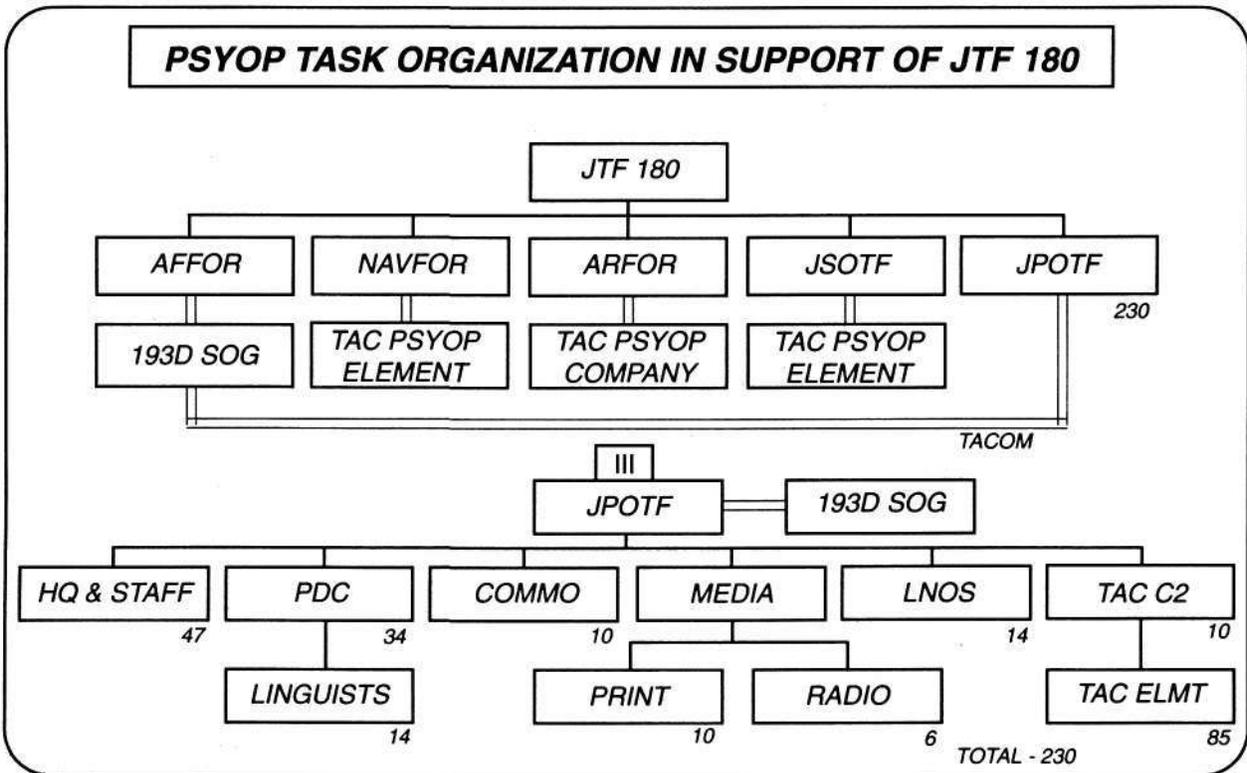
The “eleventh hour” change of mission forced the PSYOP planning cell, and the entire Joint Task Force, to substantially reorient their approach. PSYOP soldiers worked around the clock to facilitate the peaceful introduction of US forces into Haiti. Thankfully, because of their previous experience in similar Operations Other Than War (OOTW) in Northern Iraq, Somalia, Kuwait, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, PSYOP soldiers displayed unprecedented flexibility and



Haitian crowd in Port-au-Prince

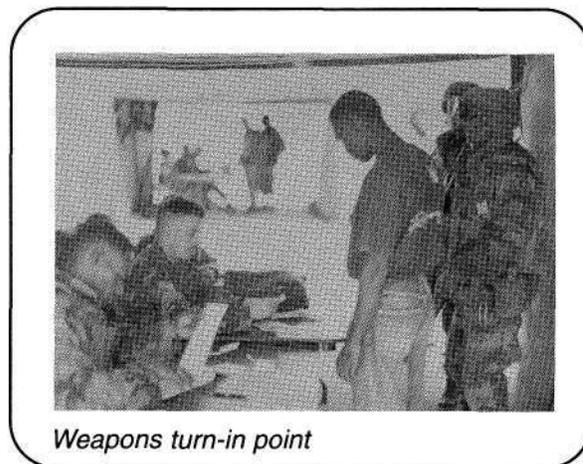
initiative in quickly transforming an invasion information campaign into a non-combat information campaign. Within hours after the change of mission, messages broadcast from helicopters announced the imminent peaceful arrival of US forces. Simultaneously, Tactical PSYOP Teams (TPT) inserted by helicopter before the arrival of the ground forces began a campaign to reduce interference by the Haitian military and the civilian population. The effectiveness of the tactical PSYOP teams was extremely high, especially in the initial phases of the operation. The constant

presence of the teams among the people enhanced the overall effectiveness of the PSYOP campaign plan. The access to immediate PSYOP intelligence afforded by the tactical teams gave the JPOTF a unique opportunity to quickly assess the effect of the campaign and develop new or modified products and actions.



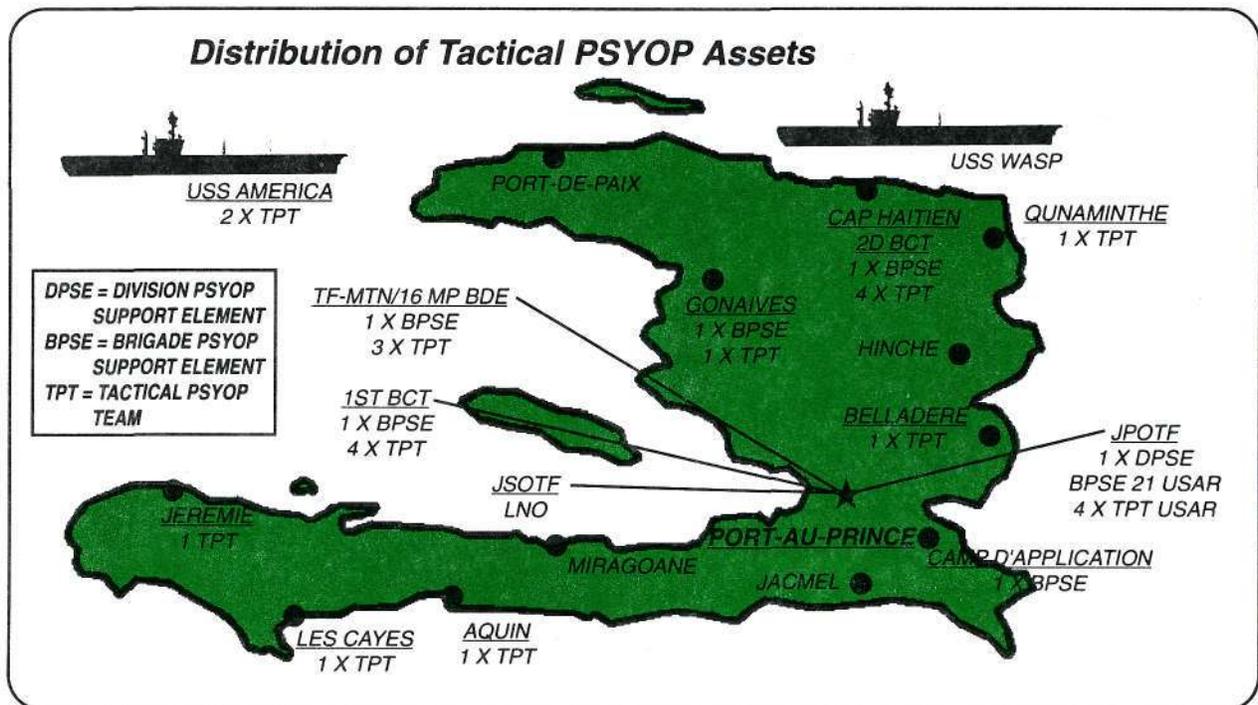
With the introduction of the Army and Marine forces into Haiti, a Joint Psychological Operations Task Force (JPOTF) consisting of Headquarters, 4th POG, 1st POB, 9th POB, PSYOP Dissemination Battalion personnel and linguists from all four services deployed ashore. The primary objective of the JPOTF became management of the Haitian population's expectations to pave the way for successful accomplishment of the JTF's mission. It was essential to reconcile popular expectations about the JTF with reality and to assuage the masses' visceral desire for violent retribution against the de facto regime and its agents. Further, it was essential to allay the fears of the former political leaders and economic elite about the consequences of President Aristide's return. Undoubtedly, any long term growth and political reform would require their support.

Thus, one of the first campaigns was designed to facilitate civil order and reduce Haitian-on-Haitian violence. President Aristide's messages of peace and reconciliation were used, along with print and other broadcast messages discouraging revenge and retribution. The Haitian police and military were reminded of their constitutional duties to serve the people and, for the most part, were persuaded to avoid the unnecessary use of violence. The citizens were also instructed on how to conduct themselves in mass demonstrations in a democracy. The campaign also addressed the disarming of the Haitian population which PSYOP promoted through its support to weapons seizure and turn-in programs. The unequivocal success of this campaign is underscored by thousands of weapons turned over, by the few instances of Haitian-on-Haitian violence, the low number of acts of retribution by Aristide supporters, and by the peaceful conduct of popular demonstrations.



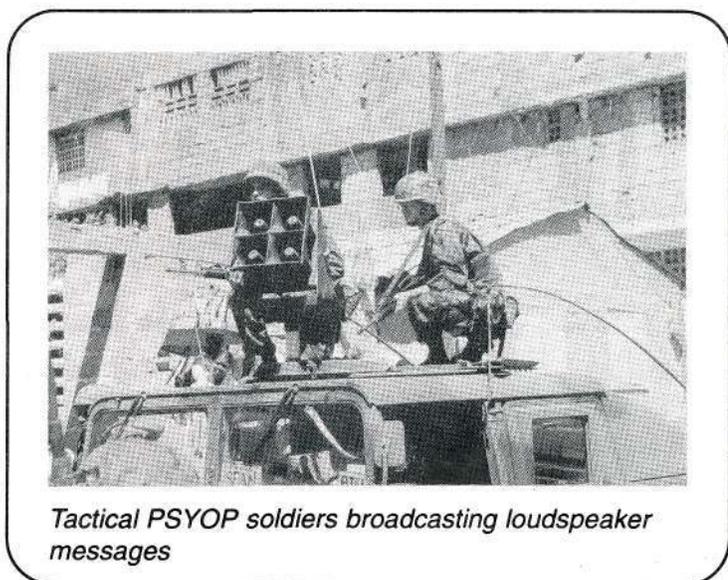
Supporting conventional Army and Marine forces as well as the Special Forces and Special Mission Units, Tactical PSYOP Teams (TPT) would eventually conduct over 760 ground PSYOP missions covering an area from the northern tip of Haiti near Port-de-Paix to the southwestern city of Jeremie. Aerial loudspeaker teams flew 67 missions in support of ground operations, facilitating PSYOP dissemination in the rugged and mountainous regions bordering the Gulf of Gonave and in other denied areas. Tactical PSYOP missions varied in degrees of

complexity ranging from broadcasts of surrender appeals during weapon cache seizures to the daily distribution of handbills and posters. In all cases, the employment of tactical PSYOP assets resulted in not a single shot being fired at US soldiers. TPTs became an integral part of all conventional and Special Operations Forces (SOF) operations.



The JPOTF's objective of enhancing the image of the US forces and explaining their objectives was the thrust of another crucial effort designed to influence, and to a degree, temper popular expectations. This was of particular importance because of the steady diet of misinformation propagated by the military junta, and because the average Haitian held a deeply instilled historical aversion to outside military forces. To accomplish this objective, PSYOP began broadcasting radio messages from the JTF-180 Commander, LTG Shelton, the JTF-190 Commander, MG Meade, and from US Ambassador Swing as well as a number of other public service announcements. These broadcasts used the theme "help us help you" to stress the importance of US forces working peacefully together with Haitian authorities and the population to facilitate an expeditious return of President Aristide and transition to democratic governance. The messages also emphasized that US soldiers were not part of an occupation force, but were rather conducting a mission to ensure that all Haitians may live in a secure and peaceful environment. One can only imagine the information void which would have existed in Haiti without these PSYOP campaigns and what adverse effect it might have had on the JTF's mission.

A second objective in the JPOTF's campaign to win over the



Tactical PSYOP soldiers broadcasting loudspeaker messages

Haitian population was to publicize humanitarian relief operations and civic action projects. PSYOP experts not only insured that information explaining these operations reached the population nationwide, but also utilized its regional and cultural expertise to supervise and execute several of the operations. The Adopt-a-School and Adopt-an-Orphanage programs were two of the more prominent PSYOP-inspired humanitarian operations. During these activities, PSYOP and other JTF soldiers voluntarily constructed school desks and picnic tables, and even painted walls to improve the quality of life for the members of their "adopted" institutions. These programs helped reinforce the image of US forces as a military which assists rather than oppresses people (a concept not easily embraced by the Haitian masses). They also proved to be the most fulfilling aspect of the operation for all those who participated.



PSYOP soldiers Adopt-an-Orphanage

To put an end to anti-MNF and disinformation campaigns, multinational force soldiers peacefully secured Radio and TV Nationale and turned them over to the control of the new Haitian government. These stations, and several others throughout the country, were later contracted by PSYOP personnel to broadcast messages in support of different information campaigns.



PSYOP billboard in Port-au-Prince

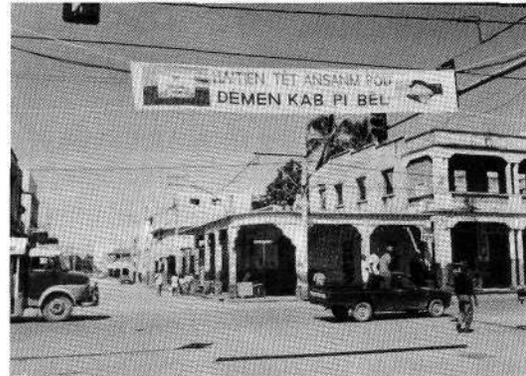
In addition to conventional media, PSYOP used a number of innovative methods of dissemination during Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY made all the more essential by Haiti's low literacy rate and underdeveloped communications infrastructure. Messages were disseminated on nearly everything imaginable from soccer balls, bumper stickers, t-shirts, and billboards to street banners and buttons. Haitians delighted in getting samples of PSYOP products.

At an early stage of Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY, the JPOTF Commander proposed the formation of an Information Coordinating Committee (ICC) headed by the US Information Service (USIS) Director. The idea met with embassy approval and, on 27 September, USIS Director Stan Schragar chaired the first ICC meeting. Representatives attended from the JTF Joint Operations Center, Joint Information Bureau (JIB), JPOTF, US Agency for International Development (USAID), Public Affairs Office, Disaster Assistance Relief Team (DART), and the Department of Justice Police Training

Team. The ICC formulated a weekly agenda of public affairs activities. USIS and the JIB highlighted a single event at the press conferences each weekday morning for the foreign and Haitian media.

With the approach of 30 September, the anniversary of the 1991 coup which exiled President Aristide, tensions began to mount. This day would be a crucial hurdle to overcome in accomplishing a peaceful transition of power to the legitimate government. The JPOTF stepped up its campaigns to reduce violence, maintain civil order, promote orderly demonstrations, and encourage cooperation. Ultimately, the anniversary of the coup passed without serious violence.

After the 30th, it was clear that PSYOP had successfully helped to establish an information environment conducive to the peaceful return of President Aristide. Both the FAD'H and Lavalas had been pacified and popular support for President Aristide and the MNF was overwhelming -- precisely the criteria which the JTF Commander had established for PSYOP to fulfill. On 15 October 1994, nearly one year after the date agreed to in the Governor's Island Accord, President Aristide returned to Haiti peacefully. Haiti was once again free.



PSYOP banner in Port-au-Prince



Repatriation of Haitian migrants in Port-au-Prince

With his arrival back home, the migrants at Guantanamo Bay were now able to return to a secure Haiti. Thus, the JPOTF began the implementation of several campaigns to prevent prejudice and retribution against the repatriates and to foster support within the GOH. Included in the planning time table was the plan for transitioning from active tactical PSYOP assets to reserve component assets.

The transition of active tactical PSYOP elements to reserve component elements occurred without degrading PSYOP support to maneuver units. In the transition from OPLAN 2370 to OPLAN 2380 and subse-

quently to OPLAN 2385 and its draw down, the plan was to replace the active component tactical assets with reserve assets. A month-long, planned, programmed, and phased process took place from 15 October 94 to 15 November 94, where tactical PSYOP elements were replaced with reserve component PSYOP elements. The intense two week train-up and SOF certification helped to smooth the transition of the reserves into the Haitian theater of operations.

The Multinational Force (MNF) had begun arriving to assume their roles in the operation not long after the first US troops had landed. Having established the people's confidence in US forces, PSYOP specialists now had to downplay the US role, shift popular focus to, and build confidence, in the Multinational Force. Haitian popular opinion regarding US forces, with the

assistance of PSYOP, had evolved from guarded optimism to the sincere belief that the American soldiers had saved their country and created the conditions for fundamental political reform. Thus, it was essential to bolster confidence in the emerging Multinational Force to insure continued civic order and to encourage popular participation in the rebirth of democratic systems.

Not only did the positive image of the emerging MNF need reinforcement, but even more importantly, PSYOP now had to underscore the achievement of the original US goals and begin to shift responsibility for positive actions from the United States to the Haitian government, all the while continuing to stress the benefits which democratic governance would bring to the people.

An even more challenging objective of this campaign was to generate public confidence in the Interim Public Security Force (IPSF) which was replacing the notorious Haitian police force. The fact that many members of the old police force had been incorporated into the new organization made this difficult. PSYOP campaigns were developed to inform the population that all members of the IPSF had been carefully screened for former atrocities, that the force had undergone detailed training on proper police procedures and respect for human rights, and that the force would patrol under MNF supervision.

From the beginning, it was understood that eventually there would be a transition between the Multinational Forces (MNF) and a United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) force.



PSYOP soldier disseminating PSYOP posters



Product Development Center in JPOTF

This transition would include the downsizing of the total forces originally involved in the operation. The 10th Mountain Division (Light) relinquished responsibility to the 25th Infantry Division (Light) in January 1995. By that time, the force had been reduced to approximately 6,000. But for PSYOP, neither the mission nor the campaign objectives changed. The process of transition continued with no diminution of the public's trust and confidence.

The 4th PSYOP Group (ABN) efforts combined with those of the reserve component's 2nd PSYOP Group, whose soldiers had been activated during the Presidential Selected Reserve call up, continue to reassure the population that United Nations forces which assumed overall responsibility in March can provide a safe environment for democracy. Both the international community, the democratically-elected government and the Haitian people themselves must all work together to ensure it flourishes.

CONCLUSION

Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY provided the soldiers and civilians of the 4th Psychological Operations Group (Airborne), Reserve Component PSYOP units, and our supporting linguists from all four services as well as the Air Force's 193d Special Operations Group another opportunity to test our mettle in a complex operation other than war. While in many ways, the requirement for joint, combined, and interagency coordination and cooperation is far greater than in combat, synergy is no less important. Throughout the political/governmental, military, private, public, and international arenas, the members of the PSYOP Task Force became masters of planning, developing, and disseminating products and activities and arranging them in time and space to have the greatest impact. Innovations in ideas, procedures, and equipment became routine. We all learned a tremendous amount as professionals and as human beings. The education, the commitment, and the contribution continue.

The efforts by the United States and the world community in Haiti underscore that the encouragement and preservation of democracy, often at great cost, must continue to be a high priority in the post-Cold War era. Democracy must be upheld, not just in Haiti, but elsewhere around the world. The welfare of citizens should be the preeminent objective of any government. This can only happen with full participation by the people in the development process. Through democracy, the preservation of peace, and with the occasional help of international cooperation, a nation can be given the opportunity to experience the benefits of democracy -- freedom, justice, peace, and development. The soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, and civilians who were part of the PSYOP effort in Haiti were proud and thankful to have contributed, and stand ready to do so whenever called.

Using techniques learned on both the battlefield and in peace operations around the world, PSYOP soldiers in Haiti continue to work tirelessly to maintain an information environment conducive to peace, cooperation, and political development. They also continue to give of themselves -- their time and their energy to the poorest of the poor, to give hope, to save lives and, by their very example, to teach what America is all about. PSYOP soldiers -- truly, the "imagineers" of Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY.



Haitians celebrating the return of democracy to Haiti

SELECTED QUOTES

COL ANDY BIRDY, Commander, 1st Bde Combat Team, 10th Mountain Division

“Psychological operations ... have proven to be indispensable ... it allowed us to apply a type of power without necessarily having to shoot bullets.”

STAN SCHRAGER, Director, United States Information Service, US Embassy

“The role that PSYOP has played has been extremely positive.”

COL JIM DUBIK, Commander, 2nd Bde Combat Team, 10th Mountain Division

“We used them [PSYOP] almost like artillery. We prepped the battlefield before we sent in maneuver forces. We used them to inform the public of what we were doing ... and ... to prepare the public for actions that were going to happen.”

BG DICK POTTER, Commander, Task Force Raleigh

“I’ve been a great believer in PSYOP ... it is a tremendous force multiplier. I think that PSYOP is absolutely fundamental.”

“This has been a classic PSYOP effort.”

COL MIKE SULLIVAN, Commander, 16th Military Police Brigade

“PSYOP helped my brigade every single day ... in every situation ...”

“This was the best use of PSYOP that I’ve seen. ...their loudspeaker capability ... their ability to understand the culture of the Haitian people and their ability to speak in terms that the Haitian people could understand and would react to. PSYOP ... was certainly a combat multiplier.”

MG DAVE MEADE, Commander, 10th Mountain Division/Joint Task Force 190

“PSYOP specifically gave us an opportunity to tell the people of Haiti just what it was that we were [here] for and what our intentions were. It has been the Joint Psychological Operations Task Force that has gotten the word out.”

“I think the psychological operations campaign ... did save lives ... on the US side and ... on the Haitian side.”

LTG HUGH SHELTON, Commander, XVIII Airborne Corps/Joint Task Force 180

“... the unsung hero of UPHOLD DEMOCRACY was Psychological Operations.”

“Everyone who has participated here from my level on down I think has gained a new appreciation for what Psychological Operations does to help you set the conditions and help you win.”

COL JOSHUA CHAMBERLAIN quoted from *Killer Angels* by Michael Shaara

“We are an Army that sets men free.”

