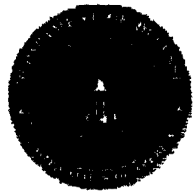


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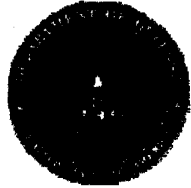
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**DRAFT**

*Declaratory Policy on Iraq:  
Organizing the USG*

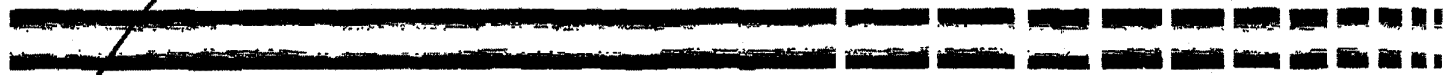
**DRAFT**

21 January 2003



*Incorrect use of the word and phrase*

# What is "Declaratory Policy"

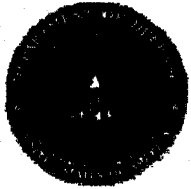


- "Declaratory policy" refers to *all* messages related to an Iraq operation that elements of the USG transmit --
  - Either publicly or privately --
  - To a government, an entire society, a segment of society or selected individuals.
- "Declaratory policy" refers only to truthful information.
- Declaratory policy is intended to
  - Inform: What is U.S. policy? What does the U.S. intend to do?
  - Persuade: Induce others to act in a manner conducive to U.S. interests.

*Then what are "unattributable" means" (p.6) and "blacklist strategy" p. 9?*

**A successful declaratory policy saves lives.**

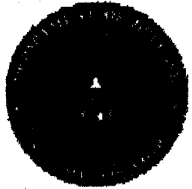
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*29 notes critical context of Iraq*  
**Major Objectives of Declaratory Policy**

- **Deter Iraqi use of WMD.**
  - Deter other Iraqi actions such as destruction of oil fields.
- **Undermine Iraqi regime (to cause it to collapse, or to degrade its ability to resist in case of war).**
  - Create fissures among elements of the ruling elite.
  - Persuade military officers, other officials to abandon the Iraqi regime.
  - Persuade Iraqi populace to welcome coalition forces.
- **International support: Build and maintain international support.**
  - Strengthen the coalition, to gain material and diplomatic support.
  - Dampen violent opposition in Muslim countries.
- **Domestic support: Build and maintain domestic support.**
  - Project image of national unity.
- **Legitimacy: Demonstrate legitimacy of our actions to the international community, especially post-war.**
  - NOTE: This objective relates less to saving lives than to bolstering U.S. international standing post-war.

*as part of GWOT.*



## *Global War on Terror: Strategy*

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**Expose** key audiences to complete picture:

- Combat, humanitarian/civil and coalition operations; thus demonstrating commitment to long-term security and care to avoid civilian casualties.
- Case against Hussein - intent to develop and use WMD; record of torture and oppression.

**Preempt** Iraqi tactics by demonstrating past behavior.

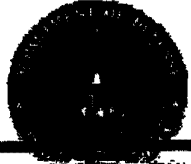
**Rapidly** respond and refute Iraqi charges.

**Facilitate** robust media access to counter likely Iraqi lies/disinformation and highlight the professionalism of U.S. forces.

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# Global War on Terror/Iraq

(General Objectives and Tactics)



Phase I -  
Pre-Hostilities

Phase II -  
Commencement  
of hostilities

Phase III -  
Engagement

Phase IV -  
Post Hostilities

**Build case against regime:**  
- Daily brief case against regime  
- Update Defend America  
- (Hot tip and launch grassroots)

**Encourage dissent/defection:**  
- Demonstrate capabilities  
- Engage foreign/Arab media  
- Regime change inevitable  
- Post-Saddam economy  
- Hope for Iraqi people  
- Direct appeal to Iraqi people

**Preempt disinformation:**  
- Denial/denigrate regime  
- Embeds by SD on  
- Roles of key constituencies  
- Human shield brief  
- Avoid new responsibility of  
- environment/air or

**Build case against regime:**  
- Brief case against regime  
- Continue grassroots

**Encourage dissent/defection:**  
- Demonstrate capabilities  
- Engage foreign/Arab media  
- Regime change inevitable  
- Post-Saddam economy  
- Hope for Iraqi people  
- PIR training  
- Reach out to potential  
- refugees

**Preempt disinformation:**  
- Embeds  
- Frequent contact with  
- anal. analysts

**Humanitarian  
Civil Ops planning:**  
- Engage and support ops

**Define success/ manage  
expectations:**  
- OJUS sets long-term goals  
- State sets mid goals

**Establish info dominance:**  
- Start multiple coalition  
- asymmetrical briefs to  
- the press and Pentagon  
- Step up HA/Civil briefs

**Encourage dissent/  
defection:**  
- Demonstrate liberation of  
- people/cities  
- Briefing with Iraqi  
- opposition leaders

**Preempt disinformation:**  
- respond/refute to disinfo

**Demonstrate Success:**  
- Embeds reporting  
- briefing

**Manage expectations:**  
- cont. briefs in theater  
- Present info deamanged  
- Cont. HA/Civil briefs

**Find and destroy WMD:**  
- brief int'l community  
- demonstrate nexus if  
- possible

**Preempt disinformation:**  
- respond/refute to disinfo

**Demonstrate Success:**  
- Embeds reporting  
- briefing

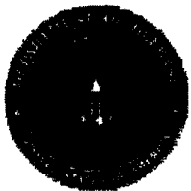
**Manage expectations:**  
- Patched down briefs  
- Embeds to HA/Civil ops  
- Engage multi-national

**Engage to stability ops:**  
- Brief with Iraqi leaders  
- Media Ops with NGOs/DoS

**Find and destroy  
WMD:**  
- brief int'l community  
- demonstrate nexus if possible

**Preempt disinformation:**  
- respond/refute to disinfo

Outreach to former IV analysts/key constituencies

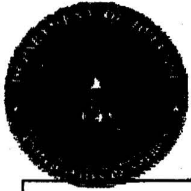


## Methods of Conveying Messages

- Speeches by high officials.
  - Key tool is the presidential “bully pulpit.”
- Media appearances.
- Diplomatic contacts.
  - UN Security Council presentations.
- USG-supported radio and television broadcasts.
- Psychological operations techniques:
  - Radio and television broadcasts.
  - Leaflets.
  - Direct contacts.
- Unattributable means.

*Simplistic*

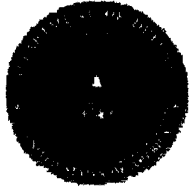
*what are  
these?*



# *Illustrative Matrix (for each Phase)*

	Deter WMD use	Undermine regime	International Support	Domestic Support	Legitimate Actions
Speeches by high level officials					
Media appearances					
Diplomatic contacts					
USG-supported broadcasting					
Psyops					
(b)(1)					

Each cell would contain the themes to be emphasized.



## *Organizing to Implement Declaratory Policy*

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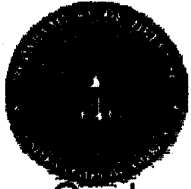
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Already exists

We need an organizational structure that can:

- **Coordinate** messages across the government.
  - Prevent messages from interfering with each other:
    - For example, “we are providing good-faith support to inspections” *and*
    - “Saddam’s days are numbered, so join us.”
- **Be Active:** Not just reactive.
  - Convey *now* messages that will influence behavior *later*.
    - For example, we should encourage Iraqi military leaders to consider *now* whether they would fight in case of war.
  - “Inoculate” ourselves against future accusations.
    - For example, by stressing Iraq’s pattern of hiding military equipment near civilian and religious facilities.
- **Respond Quickly:** Be able to respond to events and Iraqi accusations *quickly*.





# Where Improvement is Needed

Our Iraq-related declaratory policy work can be divided into three parts:

1. "Eternal verities," i.e., unchanging themes, e.g., Saddam's Iraq is a tyranny.
  - Many of these themes were dealt with in the "Strategic Information" paper approved by the Deputies on 17 July.
2. Quick reaction to specific events or accusations, e.g., reacting to Iraqi accusations of civilian deaths due to no-fly zone enforcement actions.
  - The public affairs apparatus is structured to deal with issues of this sort on a rapid basis.
3. Declaratory policy in support of specific policy initiatives, or undertaken to advance a specific policy (e.g., implementing a "black list" strategy).

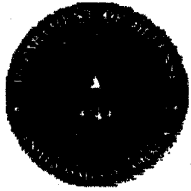
**The major difficulty seems to involve the third category.**

- This type of declaratory policy requires that the initiative come from the policy community.
- It requires that policy initiatives be transmitted quickly and clearly to the public affairs, public diplomacy, international broadcasting, and information operations apparatus.

*what's a "black list" strategy?*

*To what are you referring when you say intl broadcasting?*

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No more  
bureaucracy!!  
**Proposed Structure**



- Establish a PCC-level coordinating group to tighten the linkage between policy and the government's information apparatus.

- Chaired by a senior director at the NSC directly involved in Iraq policy (e.g., Frank Miller or Elliott Abrams).

- DoD, State and CIA represented by ASD/DASD level officials directly involved in Iraq policy.

- Supported by appropriate representatives from Public Affairs, public diplomacy, international broadcasting, information operations, etc.

- Meets frequently: twice-weekly major meetings (1 hour in length); shorter sessions on the other days.

- Establish a cell in the NSC staff to support this PCC-level group.

- Detailees from State, DoD, CIA, both policy and public affairs specialists.

- Able to operate 24/7 when necessary.

- Devote 15 minutes at the end of every PC to declaratory policy.

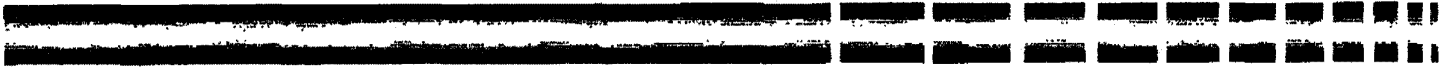
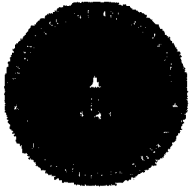
- Chair of PCC-level group would report on group's work and receive guidance.

do  
report  
to  
people  
IPA  
not  
people

Office  
Global  
Communications  
already  
performs  
that  
function.

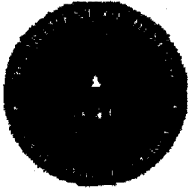
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*Back Up Slides*

*Timing/Objectives/Messages*  
*Pre-Phase I: Preparation*



**Objectives:**

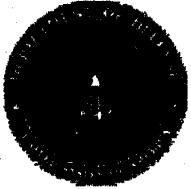
- Build case against Hussein
- Encourage Iraqi leadership dissent/detection
- Inoculate against disinformation

**Messages:**

- International community united: Hussein must disarm
- Hussein regime brutally oppresses and tortures Iraqi-people
- Iraqi regime has clear record of intent to develop and use WMD
- Coalition military operations – if initiated—will be overwhelmingly successful
- Those who use WMD accountable

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***Timing/Objectives/Messages***  
***Phase I: Pre-Hostilities***



**Objectives:**

- Build case against Hussein
- Encourage Iraqi leadership dissent/detection
- Inoculate against disinformation
- Underscore that force is the last resort
- Demonstrate that Saddam was not prepared to show the world that he doesn't have WMD
- Begin to focus on Humanitarian Assistance

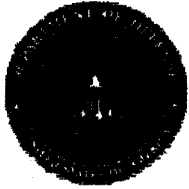
**Messages:**

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- Iraqi regime has clear record of intent to develop and use WMD
- Coalition military operations – if initiated—will be overwhelmingly successful
- Those who use WMD accountable

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## *Timing/Objectives/Messages* *Phase II: Commencement of Hostilities*

### Objectives:

- Demonstrate success of coalition military operations
- Encourage continued Iraqi leadership dissent/defection
- Focus on Humanitarian Operations
- Find and destroy WMD
- Establish Information Dominance

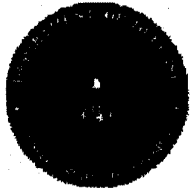
### Messages:

- Coalition military operations overwhelmingly successful; downfall of regime inevitable
- About Hussein, not Iraqi people
- Coalition forces committed to humanitarian/civil needs

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*Timing/Objectives/Messages*  
*Phase III: Engagement*



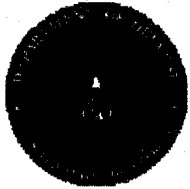
**Objectives:**

- Manage expectations
- Outcome of regime change is inevitable
- Find and destroy WMD
- Maintain focus on Humanitarian Operations

**Messages:**

- Hunt/destruction of WMD will take time
- Shift from military to stability operations will be gradual
- Iraqi people take lead in new government

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## *Timing/Objectives/Messages*

*Phase IV: Post Hostilities*

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### Objectives:

- Humanitarian reconstruction
- Transition to stability operations
- Transition to representative government in Iraq
- Find and destroy WMD

### Messages:

- Hunt/destruction of WMD will take time
- Shift from military to stability operations will be gradual
- Iraqi people take lead in new government

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