

Perception Management and Operation Iraqi Freedom

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Agenda – Perception Management challenges

- The pre-war search for a casus bellum
- The IO campaign, March 20 – April 15
- The PSYOP campaign
- The ‘Media War’
- Post-war challenges

Unfinished business?

- From Desert Storm: ‘why didn’t we finish the job in 1991?’
- From UN resolutions about WMD
- From 9/11, Enduring Freedom and the ‘war’ against terrorism
- Bush Doctrine of pre-emptive war and regime change
- The ‘axis of evil’ and the dangers of appeasement



I  NOT **EXON** ERATE
SADDAM HUSSEIN FROM
BLAME. I WILL **MOBIL**ISE
OUR TROOPS AND **JETS** TO
 AND THE PERSIAN .
I WILL **BP** REPAIRED FOR
TOTAL WAR. THE MESSAGE
IS  MING TO KICK
YOUR ASS, SADDAM

HOW CAN YOU GUESS WHY GEORGE W. BUSH
IS HELLBENT ON A WAR AGAINST IRAQ?

FORWARD TO: 0203 777 7777

Counter-themes

- Oil
- Israel
- Bush family revenge
- Project for the New American Century
- Link between Saddam and 9/11, Al Qaeda?
- More time needed for weapons inspectors

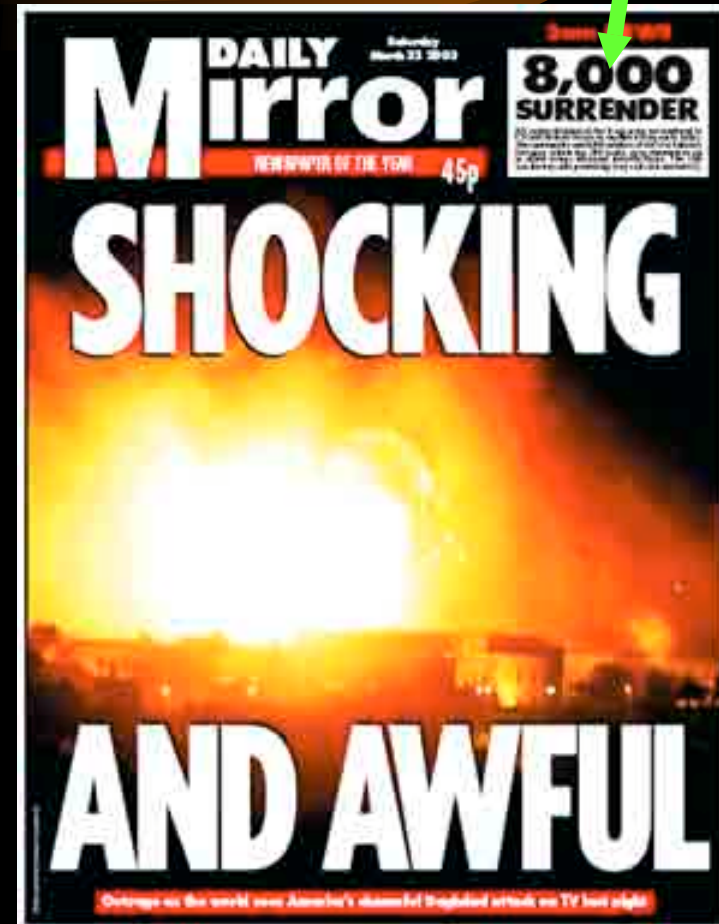
A world unconvinced

- Percentage drops in favourable views of US since start of year 2003 (Pew Centre, 18 March)
 - France: from 63% to 31%
 - Italy: from 70% to 34%
 - Russia: from 61% to 28%
 - Turkey: from 30% to 12%
 - UK: from 75% to 48%

'Shock and Awe'



AP



The Battle for Iraqi 'Hearts and Minds', 2003

- No mass surrenders on a scale similar to 1991 – why?
 - No wide-scale uprisings against SH, unlike 1991 – why?
 - Widely regarded in Arab world as 'invaders' not liberators – why?
- = a serious failure of perception management at tactical and strategic levels (except in USA. But for how long?)

White PSYOPS, 2003

- Go home/Stay at home campaign



This looks to have been a successful part of the campaign


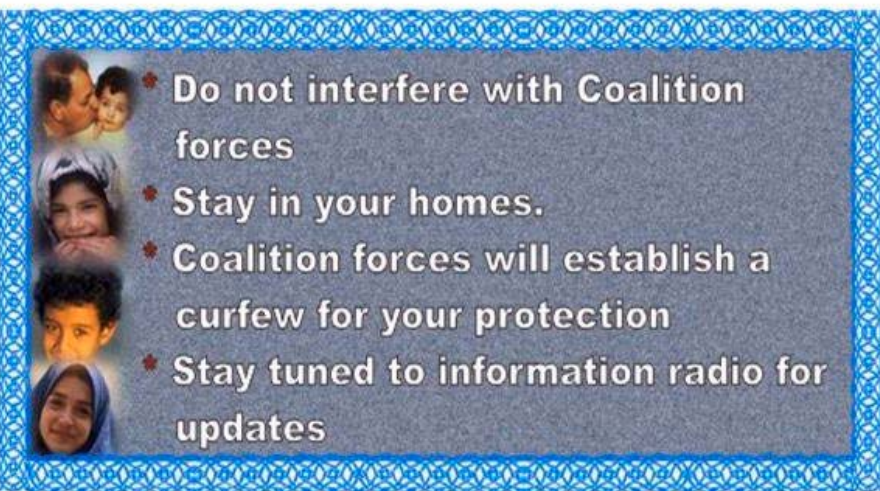
Regime change products



The noble people of Iraq are not the target of Coalition Military Operations!

The target of Coalition Military Operations is the ruthless regime!

IZ D060a



- Do not interfere with Coalition forces
- Stay in your homes.
- Coalition forces will establish a curfew for your protection
- Stay tuned to information radio for updates



القوات البريطانية تعمل
في منطقتكم

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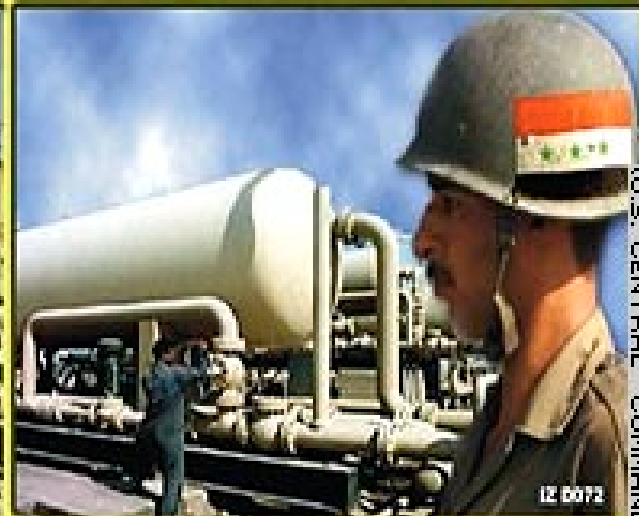
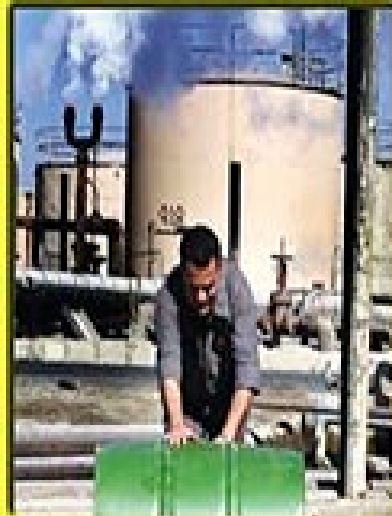
Other successes

Do not use weapons of mass destruction.



Attention Iraqi military

Do not destroy Iraqi oil wells or production facilities.



IO and PSYOPS

- Integration of Perception Management themes from top to bottom
- ‘I urge the Iraqi people being threatened in the cities to try to remember the faces and the names of the death squad enforcers. Their time will come, and we will need your help and your testimony.’ (Donald Rumsfeld, Pentagon news briefing, 28 March)
- Had a press conference become a psychological operation?



‘Towards Freedom TV’

- ‘The nightmare that Saddam Hussein has brought to your nation will soon be over. You are a good and gifted people – the heirs of a great civilisation that contributes to all humanity. You deserve better than tyranny and corruption and torture chambers. You deserve to live as free people. And I assure every citizen of Iraq: your nation will soon be free’ (President George W. Bush, 10 April 2003).





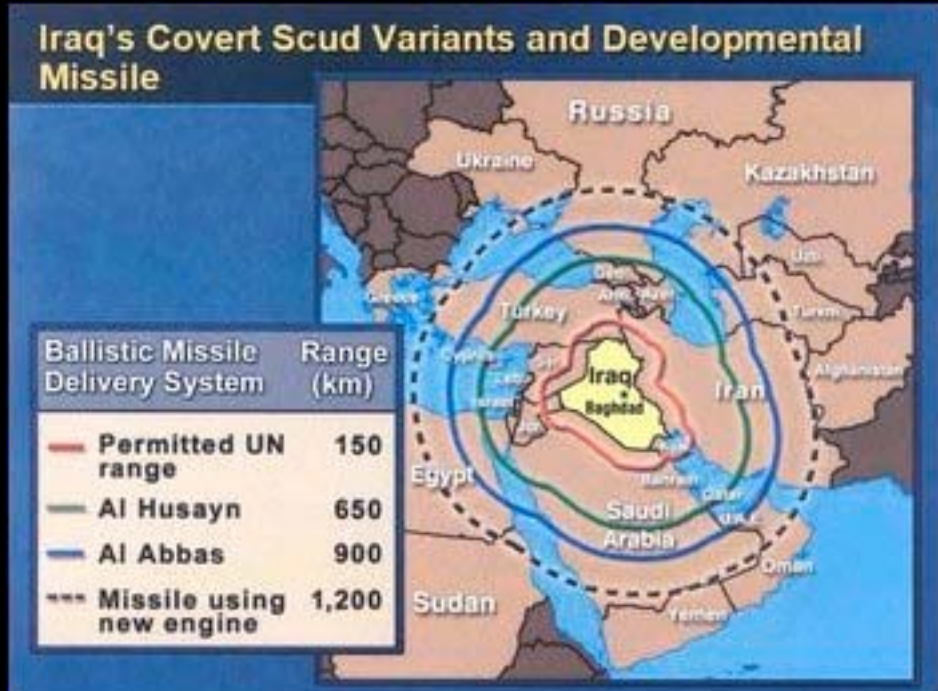
DAILY Mirror Monday March 24, 2003
 NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR 30p
 WAR LATEST
 FIGHT TO THE DEATH
 168 PAGES 2 & 4

STILL ANTI-WAR?

YES, BLOODY RIGHT WE ARE

VOICE OF THE MIRROR
 MIRROR'S EDITORIAL BOARD
 says we should immediately
 withdraw our troops from
 Iraq. (Daily Mirror, 24 March 2003)

TURN TO PAGE 8



The legacy of 1991's black campaign

- In 1991, covert propaganda strayed from official line about liberation of Kuwait
- No coalition help for Kurdish and Shi'ite uprisings
- Overt 2003 policy was about regime change in Iraq - but the white PSYOPS suffered from the legacy of black PSYOPS in 1991
- 'This time we won't let you down' (UK)
- Why should Iraqis trust 'coalition of the willing' now when no Arab military contributions?

→ Anglo-USA invasion/conquest rather than liberation

The Media War

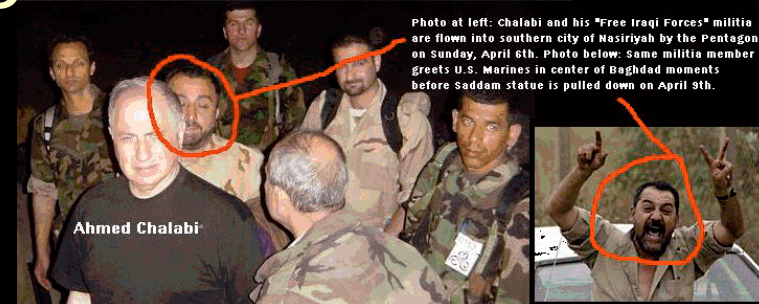
- Embedded journalists and the snowstorm of information
- Arab satellite channels as new players/alternative viewpoints (c.f. 1991 as the 'first CNN war')
- National media support/opposition reflected national governmental positions
- What about US/UK public's morale as casualties mount?

Media performance

- Umm Qsar reported fallen 8 times in first week
- Baghdad and elsewhere casualties (14 killed)
- Private Jessica
- Toppling of Saddam statue

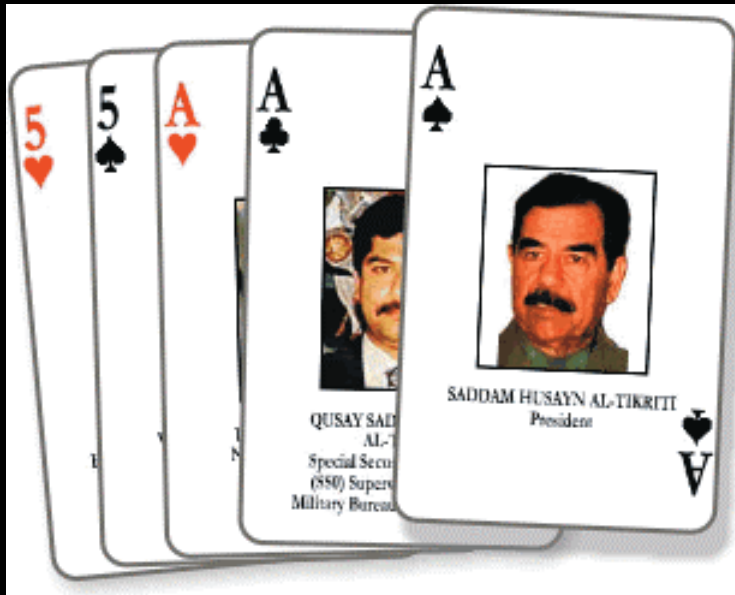


Does the scene at right look like the Fall of the Berlin Wall? The area circled in red is where U.S. Marines, the Press, and a small number of Iraqis gathered to pull down the statue of Saddam Hussein. No more than 150 people were involved. The plaza was empty and sealed off by the Marines. It all occurred just opposite the Palestine Hotel where the international media are based. This was a carefully staged media event. The pro-American Iraqis involved were members of Ahmed Chalabi's, Free Iraqi Forces Militia... recently flown into Iraq by the Pentagon. Chalabi is a Washington favorite to head the new government. The toppling of the statue was promoted as a massive uprising... does this event look massive to you?



The hunt for Saddam Hussein

.....and the WMD!



.... and bin Laden?

Conclusions

- The go-home campaign had only short-term military benefits, but long-term unconventional warfare consequences
- The ‘hearts and minds’ campaign had long-term roots of failure from 1991
- Publicised wartime stunts damaged credibility of ‘liberation’ themes
- Policy and presentation must go hand in hand but the presentation won’t sell the policy if the policy (‘product’) is incredible

Are we getting this right?

- ‘...in the wake of this conflict, we should ask ourselves whether we have made the mistake of believing our own propaganda, and whether we have been fighting the war on terror against the wrong enemies, in the wrong places, with the wrong weapons’.

(Rampton and Stauber, *Weapons of Mass Deception* – Centre for Media and Democracy, 2003).