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**ACTION MEMO**

I-02/014119

**FOR: PRINCIPAL DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (SOLIC)**

**FROM:** (b)(6) Director, Information Activities Group

**SUBJECT: Approval for Distribution of Direct Broadcast Radios**

The purpose of this memorandum is to gain approval for the diversion of radios from the Pakistan Education Initiative to fill a USCENTCOM request.

This action was originally submitted to you on October 28 TAB A. You had questions about the action that were answered by a subsequent action at TAB B.

USCENTCOM has provided a CONOP (next under) to address your concerns.

**RECOMMENDATION:** Approve the radio distribution.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_

**COORDINATION:** Tab C

**Attachments:**

As Stated

Prepared by: LTC Giusti, OASD SO/LIC, (b)(6)

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR

Carol Haave, Deputy Assistant Secretary of  
Defense, C3I

FROM:

Marshall Billingslea, PDASD(SO/LIC)

9/17/02

SUBJECT:

Afghan Reconstruction

(U) This is to follow up on our conversation the other day. If you can fence the funding for your initiative and identify the right contractor, SO/LIC will provide day-to-day policy oversight for the action (within the parameters of your "vision" for this effort).

(U) My P.O.C. for this will be (b)(6) and his folks. I think that is the best place to house the endeavor, for obvious reasons.

(U) What I most am interested to obtain out of this project are the basic media materials that would enable multiple projects to be launched – all with the aim of showing the world what the United States has been doing in terms of Afghan reconstruction.

(U) There are a lot of people out there claiming that the U.S. is intent on waging a war against Islam, and against Muslim peoples. Our efforts in Afghanistan show how patently false those claims are. But pictures speak louder than words, and I think your idea to capture and disseminate U.S. efforts on multimedia is a good one.

All the best.

UNCLASSIFIED

**Department of Defense Appeal  
FY 2004 Defense Appropriations Bill**

Subject: Information Support to SO/LIC

Appropriations: O&M, DW; Office of the Secretary of Defense, Information & Detainee Operations

Summary: The Senate Appropriations committees reduced by \$13.0m funding for information activities citing concerns about duplicating capabilities resident elsewhere in the government and the acquisition of equipment for other departments and agencies of the government.

| <u>Item</u>                   | <u>Budget Authority</u><br><u>(Dollars in Millions)</u> |              |               |               |
|-------------------------------|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|
|                               | <u>Budget</u>   | <u>House</u> | <u>Senate</u> | <u>Appeal</u> |
| Information Support<br>SO/LIC | \$23.0  | \$10.0       | \$23.0        | \$13.0 to     |

DoD Position: The Department opposes the decision to eliminate support for strategic-level information programs critical to success in the Global War on Terrorism. Not funding would in effect eviscerate DoD's and the combatant commanders' anti-terrorist campaigns. Strategic information programs are predominantly composed of activities that the Senate deems important (e.g. psychological operations, international military information and related activities). This program was established through supplemental and DERF funding. Since FY 2002 SO/LIC has obligated approximately \$23.0 million dollars in support of this program. Funding will continue contract support in five key areas; (1) commercial-quality support for International Military Information activities. This enables SO/LIC to support the Strategic Communications PCC in developing strategic information campaigns to complement the combatant commander's tactical and operational level campaigns; improving target audience analysis and message development for interdiction of terrorist recruitment and to reinforce foreign support for the war on terrorism; (2) human factors analyses to develop sophisticated methodology to determine taxonomies of influence for key target audiences; (3) PSYOP dissemination for Terrorist Recruitment Interdiction supports access to commercial quality multimedia outlets and global public relation firms to ensure rapid distribution of US government products in support of combatant commanders for use in disrupting terrorist recruitment; (4) PSYOP support to Information Freedom Activities enables DoD to penetrate audiences in areas with insufficient telecommunications architectures by capitalizing on advance technologies; and (5) analyze and plan military campaigns, concepts and programs to expand support for the counter-propaganda programs being conducted in Middle East countries, with a view toward expanding the program to South East Asia. This last program builds conduits for strategic information campaigns that will enhance two combatant commanders' effectiveness. It identifies the threat's hostile propaganda against the U.S. and develops exacting messages at the nuance level to counter the threat's hostile themes. None of these activities duplicates capabilities resident elsewhere in the government or acquires equipment for other departments/ agencies of the government. These efforts will mutually support combatant commander efforts.

**Comptroller Internal Control Notes:**

Submitter: ASD (SOLIC)/COL Lawrence Giusti/(b)(2)

Page/Section References: House Report p. 78

Reviewing directorate/analyst:

Director's recommendation/rationale:

Strategic information programs are predominantly composed of military activities (e.g. psychological operations, international military information and related activities) that are essential to reconstruction efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan and the Global War on Terrorism. This enables SO/LIC to support the Department to continue and expand contract support in five key areas; (1) commercial-quality support for International Military Information activities. This enables SO/LIC to support the Strategic Communications PCC in developing strategic information campaigns to complement the combatant commander's tactical and operational level campaigns; improving target audience analysis and message development for interdiction of terrorist recruitment and to reinforce foreign support for the war on terrorism; (2) human factors analyses to develop sophisticated methodology to determine taxonomies of influence for key target audiences; (3) PSYOP dissemination for Terrorist Recruitment Interdiction supports access to commercial quality multimedia outlets and global public relation firms to ensure rapid distribution of US government products in support of combatant commanders for use in disrupting terrorist recruitment; (4) PSYOP support to Information Freedom Activities enables DoD to penetrate audiences in areas with insufficient telecommunications architectures by capitalizing on advance technologies; and (5) analyze and plan military campaigns, concepts and programs to expand support for the counter-propaganda programs being conducted in Middle East countries, with a view toward expanding the program to South East Asia. This last program builds conduits for strategic information campaigns critical for the effectiveness of two combatant commanders. It identifies the threat's hostile propaganda against the U.S. and develops exacting messages to counter hostile themes. These activities do not duplicate capabilities resident elsewhere in the government. They mutually support combatant commander efforts.

| <b>FUNDING</b> | <b>FY 02</b> | <b>FY03</b>           | <b>FY04</b> |
|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|-------------|
|                | \$17m DERF   | \$22m 1003v<br>6m sup | 23m         |

November 1, 2001

FOR: DIRECTOR, JOINT STAFF INFORMATION OPERATIONS TASK FORCE

FROM: Brig Gen Pete Worden, Director, Office of Strategic Influence

SUBJECT: Policy Guidance for Leaflet Development, Change 1

OSD had been remiss for not providing policy guidance for the development of leaflets. Future leaflets will adhere to these basic guidelines:

- Leaflets should focus on positive images and clear realistic options, not solely on death and destruction. Leaflets should be reviewed from a strategic perspective with the focus of preventing the Taliban and overseas media from using our leaflets to advance their information campaign while hurting ours. When leaflets must target military or terrorist forces, they must be clear that any overt or implied threats are focused on only those forces and not Afghan citizens.
- Leaflets require a full red team review to determine how they could be used by the Taliban to further their disinformation themes.
- Leaflets should be simple, uncluttered, and emphasize basic themes such as leaving the Taliban, humanitarian activities, and U.S. efforts to avoid civilian casualties. Leaflets should avoid excessive use of colors, graphics, and complex phrases.
- Leaflets should be sensitive to the unique Afghan cultural traits, including their complex ethnic structure and warrior culture.

Prepared by: Mr. Tom Timmes, OASD(SO/LIC), (b)(2)

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**INFO MEMO**

I-01/014316  
11/21/01 2:31 PM

FOR: DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: PRINCIPAL DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR  
SPECIAL OPERATIONS AND LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT, Robert Andrews

SUBJECT: Commando Solo Broadcasts

- You asked for our assessment of recent Commando Solo broadcasts (Tab A).
- We believe that the broadcasts are adequate and convey the intended message. All scripts were vetted with State Department, OSD's offices of the General Counsel, Near East South Asia, Strategic Influence, and the Joint Staff before delegation of script approval to the CINC on November 7.
- USCENTCOM conducts a vigorous target audience analysis and uses area experts to develop the radio scripts. OSD's native Afghan, Mustafa Popal, also reviewed the scripts.
- We are coordinating with the Joint Staff to modify current radio programming to include news updates on the military situation and peace initiatives in addition to the current format of PSYOP messages and music. (b)(6) indicated that the scripts were quite sophisticated and, perhaps, should be simplified in view of the intended audience.

COORDINATION (Tab B)

Attachment:  
As stated

Prepared By: Tom Timmes, OASD(SO/LIC)OSI, (b)(2)

USD/P \_\_\_\_\_

INFO MEMO

I-02/016241

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Marshall Billingslea, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict

SUBJECT: Publicizing Iraq's Atrocities

USDP is collaborating with NSC, State Department, CIA, and the White House Office of Global Communications (WH OGC) through the established USG Interagency process to produce an Iraq campaign that includes a series of Public Diplomacy products. These products address all of Saddam Hussein's transgressions and atrocities. Some products will address specific issues, such as use of chemical weapons against his own people.

Some of the products being developed for this campaign are:

- USDP's prototype pamphlet *Weapons of Mass Destruction in Saddam's Iraq* submitted to the CT Information Strategies PCC; adopted in State Department's product action matrix; staffed with the White House Office of Global Communications (WH OGC). Scheduled for use by the USG "Road Show" briefing teams.
- USDP's seven prototype WMD handbills/fact sheets *Saddam's Reign of Aggression, The Threat of Saddam Hussein, Since 1998, Master of Deception, Why Is Saddam Hussein Seeking Uranium from Africa, Ready and Dead in 45 Minutes, and Iraq: Nuclear and Radiological Weapons* submitted to State Department's Public Diplomacy Product Coordination Working Group sponsored by Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Jim Larocco. Scheduled for use by the USG "Road Show" briefing teams.
- USDP's prototype pamphlet, *Saddam Hussein: A Nightmare for Muslims* submitted to the CT Information Strategies PCC; adopted in State Department's product action matrix; staffed with WH OGC. Scheduled for use by the USG "Road Show" briefing teams.
- USDP's prototype poster *Saddam's Repression of Muslims*. This poster contrasts the freedom of religious expression for Muslims in U.S. versus oppression clerics suffer under Saddam. Poster submitted to State

Department's Public Diplomacy Product Coordination Working Group sponsored by Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Jim Larocco.

- USDP's prototype handbill *Saddam's Theft of Iraq Funds Puts His People Last* submitted to State Department's Public Diplomacy Product Coordination Working Group sponsored by Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Jim Larocco.
- State Department's International Information Programs (IIP) Bureau Web Site which contains the long booklet (albeit 1999 version) on *Saddam Hussein's Iraq*.
- State Department IIP Bureau's pamphlet, *From Fear to Freedom*. This is a 40-page booklet that updates the 1999 booklet above. Covers the full range of Saddam's WMD threat, oppression of his people and other Muslims, Human Rights atrocities, etc.

State Department IIP Bureau will disseminate the products via its embassy posts, Worldnet, Radio SAWA, foreign press centers, etc.

COORDINATION: None

Attachments: See accompanying binder

Prepared by: (b)(6) SO/LIC, (b)(7)



11/19/01 8:52 AM

SUBJECT: Thoughts for Future Influence Operations

Goal:

1. Discredit radical Islamic theology of hatred and violence
2. Foster moderate Islamic theology of peace, brotherhood, and non-violence

Methodology: Conduct a multimedia influence operation in selected Islamic countries using host country assets and U.S. funding to change attitudes toward terrorism and the use of violence

Organization: Establish small, funded interagency teams to focus on the following operations:

Operations:

1. TV/radio Advertisements. Contract with host country (HC) advertising firm to produce 10, 15, 20 second advertisements for airing on HC TV/radio narrated by respected mullah, journalists, or politicians that discredits terrorism, violence, and particularly suicide bombers.
2. Motion pictures. Contract with HC movie industry in several ME countries to produce full-length motion picture that describes a family with son that follows radical Islamic theology. Subsequent suicide-bomber's death leaves grieving family, friends, girl friend.
3. Journalists: Develop list of friendly and hostile in selected ME countries. Seek to promote friendly.
4. Seminars. Clerics, journalists, politicians host in HC. U.S. funded. Debate and discuss rise of radicalism, the role of Islam, and Western interests.
5. Pamphlets. U.S. funded and produced multi-language pamphlets that refute radical Islamic theology including suicide bombers.
6. Comic books. U.S. funded and produced, with HC advisors, for young audiences in selected ME countries. Protagonist turns his back on radical theology. End state: discredit radical Islamic theology including suicide bombers and violence.
7. ME TV soap operas and popular game programs. Encourage/fund local producers to include U.S. themes in their story lines and programs.
8. Newspapers. Purchase ads in local newspapers sponsored by friendly clerics that promote the concept that Islam is a religion of peace, goodwill, and non-violence and that discredits suicide bombers.
9. Newspapers. Purchase ads in local newspapers sponsored by U.S. embassy that touts U.S. contribution to HA worldwide particularly in Islamic countries. Include number of Muslims killed in WTC attack. Run essay contest for specific age group with financial reward and visit to USA for writing essay on why Radicalism does not reflect true Islamic theology, and other topics.

10. Bill Boards. Purchase space on HC billboards that promote the concept that Islam is religion of peace, goodwill, and non-violence.
11. Speakers. Interagency speaking team that tours ME colleges and universities to engage students on current topics.

Prepared by: Tom Timmes

## END OF SHORT TOUR REPORT

8 March 2002

Simon P. Worden, Brig Gen, USAF

### **Introduction:**

The Office of Strategic Influence (OSI) operated from 1 Nov 2001 through 26 Feb 2002. This report details my principal conclusions and recommendations as the head of OSI during this period. Our work suggests that future influence operations focus on two primary and related thrusts to defeat global terrorism. First, we should use all available tools of influence to interdict the terrorist recruitment process. Secondly, we must devise means to provide access to unbiased information to people in regions where it is currently denied. In both cases, key technologies such as direct broadcast satellites and Internet capabilities are our principle advantage.

### **Recruitment Interdiction:**

We should regard the current terrorist phenomenon as an infection that originates in the Islamic world, has nominally Islamic underpinning, but is not characteristic of most of the Islamic world. The sources of this infection are "clerics" who for the past century or so have developed an increasingly radical, extremist perspective within the heart of the Arab world—particularly Saudi Arabia and Egypt—as opposed to the larger Islamic world. These clerics promulgate their view that the Islamic world has lost out to the Western World over the past several centuries because they have been poisoned by Western ideas and mores. In response, they advocate a radical rejection of Western influences by violent means including terrorist acts against civilian targets and symbols of Western power around the world. As governments in the region have become increasingly alarmed by this violent trend, the radical intellectuals have hidden themselves by moving to enclaves in Europe and even the United States from which they can disseminate their violent philosophy largely unhindered.

From the radical intellectuals, the infection has been systematically spread to a large cadre of educated young activists drawn primarily from intellectual centers in the Arab world, within universities and certain Islamic religious schools. While most are located in places such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt, where they ascribe to the radical "Wahabbi" philosophy, similar centers exist in other regions outside the Arab world such as the "Deobandi" centers in Pakistan and India. Significantly, many of these terrorist intellectuals who form the leadership cadre of Al Qaeda are trained in technical disciplines such as engineering and medicine.

These leadership groups spread their infection to the fringes of the Islamic (albeit non-Arab) world to countries such as Afghanistan and Pakistan, locations with high illiteracy rates and few economic opportunities. As radical groups enter with significant fiscal resources, often from the Gulf States such as Saudi Arabia, they are able to establish terrorist training cells under the guise of religious schools and centers (i.e. Madrassas).

Our OSI strategy was to begin interdicting the terrorist development cycle in these fringes of the Islamic world, working with other government agencies to provide direct, unfettered access to global information. The only practical way to ensure such uncensored

access is to use emerging space communications circuits to feed direct radio and Internet access. Once these channels are in place they could be used first to provide access to existing, unbiased news such as VOA, the BBC, etc. They could also be used for distance learning to provide an alternative to radical, terrorist-oriented, "Islamic" education or to augment existing public education programs. Among other things, we had hoped to employ newly emerging automatic translation software to provide access to the vast English-language literature and data on the Worldwide Web as well as to teach English and increase interaction between Western and Islamic peoples. Due to the inherently controllable nature of these communications, they would provide future direct data channels for specific targeted messages local governments or anti-terrorist coalitions could use if faced with violent uprisings. Moreover, they could be configured to deny transmission of or access to terrorist information. The primary objective here is to decouple the masses and potential young recruits from the terrorists who prey on their misery and ignorance.

Our initial efforts focused on regions where the terrorist infection was already widespread—Pakistan and Afghanistan. We succeeded in gaining approval for the Pakistan Education Sector Reform Initiative in cooperation with USAID and State Department, with the Department of Defense providing the satellite direct broadcast radios, direct satellite Internet systems ("Internet in a Box"), and air for additional content, infrastructure, and technology development. For Afghanistan, we worked with the Voice of America (VOA) to supply U.S.-controlled transmitters to begin to give people throughout Afghanistan access to unbiased information. This was to be followed by an education reform initiative similar to the Pakistani program. This Afghan initiative, using similar direct access communications equipment, should be a top priority for follow-through by OSI successor offices.

The terrorist infection has already begun to spread to other regions fertile for growth, including Central Asia, Saharan Africa and South East Asia—particularly Indonesia and the Philippines. Our objective in each of these regions was to visit and work with the local governments to determine acceptable ways to provide people in remote regions both the information and education needed to stem the rise of radical, terrorist-oriented philosophies. Most urgent of these regions is Central Asia. We intended to visit the Central Asian nations in April and develop country-by-country approaches with interagency coordination and cooperation. I recommend this trip and development plan continue, followed by trips to the other regions noted.

Interdicting terrorist leadership development, mostly in the heart of the Arab world is more difficult, especially since the terrorist organizations have successfully used the Palestine issue as an irritant to polarize the populations. The Palestine situation is not the sole or probably even primary source of growing hostility toward the United States and our anti-terrorist war. This hostility has at its roots a multitude of cultural factors. However, a break in the Palestine conflict situation in the months ahead could give us an opportunity to make progress. We can most appropriately use this interim period to map the centers of Islamic extremism—universities and other cultural centers—including identifying the key intellectual leaders and proto-terrorist organizations which feed recruits into Al Qaeda and other such groups. Once some progress is realized in the current Palestine crisis, we would be in a much stronger position to convince the Islamic world that the United States and the West are not enemies of Islam. We could also

publicly expose the radical, and, indeed, anti-Islamic ideas of individual terrorists and extremist groups—successfully isolating them from the populations in which they operate.

#### **Information Access:**

In most parts of the Islamic world, free access to unfiltered information is rare, especially in those states that are officially most anti-Western: Iran; Iraq; Syria; and Libya. Ironically, the people in these nations often seem more inherently pro-Western. The second part of our strategy was, therefore, to provide unbiased information access using the same direct access technology tools we proposed to use to interdict terrorist recruitment. This equipment would naturally infiltrate from regions immediately surrounding the target states if it became widely distributed. If cheap enough, some items such as direct broadcast satellite radios could be directly imported into target areas by private commerce. Our first target regions were in Iran and to some extent Iraq. In both cases, we would use existing sources of broadcast content, while developing other emerging sources of such unbiased information. Existing anti-censorship radio stations in the US broadcasting in such languages as Farsi (Iran) would be one such source. Internet sites developed in the US or elsewhere could be another. Continued development of both the means of delivery and the content should continue.

#### **Summary:**

The progress made by OSI should continue. First, we should continue to explore the process by which an individual becomes a terrorist and recommend means to use information and influence tools to interdict this process. Second, work should proceed at high priority to make free access to global information available throughout the Islamic world—particularly in Iran and Iraq. Finally, significant attention must be paid to regions, such as Central Asia, which are fertile for future terrorist growth. Information tools can be particularly effective in preempting terrorist development in its early phases.

11/2/01 2:29 PM

SUBJECT: Imam Yahya Hendi-Brig Gen Worden Meeting

On November 1, Imam Yahya Hendi and Brig Gen Worden met to discuss the Islamic perspective of strategic influence operations in the war on terrorism. Imam Hendi is the Muslim chaplain at Georgetown University and active in the U.S. Muslim community. He offered the Muslim prayer at the WTC memorial. Present were Lt Col France and Mr. Timmes.

The Imam commented that the focus of the war needs to be diplomatic as well as military and that the current focus on the military aspect needs to be redirected. He stated that USG spokespersons need to learn how to talk to Muslim audiences. He suggested that a native Muslim review speeches before they are delivered to ensure the message is perceived as intended.

He noted that some countries and their clerics have been discredited in the Islamic world because they are seen as political allies of the U.S. He cited Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Pakistan. He remarked that we need "Unofficial Muslim scholars" to voice U.S. sentiments not "official scholars." The difference is that official scholars are recognized by the host country and, therefore, not seen as credible.

Imam Hendi discussed the concept of an International Interfaith Initiative as a way to improve Muslims' opinion of the U.S. The Imam strongly recommended the formation of a Presidential-appointed interfaith council to address international faith issues. The Council would sponsor conference in the Muslim world, (1) Egypt or (2) Jordan, be nongovernmental, but be supported by the U.S. with funding and media exposure. A U.S. Muslim cleric should be initial chair. Council would not be cheerleader for USA but would expose UBL and terrorist ideology through openly airing the issues. Radicals would be met head-on with moderate ideology. He has talked to Dept of Energy and White House connected, Randa Fahmi. Her Director is Spencer. [Note: Ms. Beers indicated that her POC Bemis is working this initiative.]

He urged the U.S. to become more involved in the Pal-Israel issue since UBL uses it as a backdrop for his ideology. He suggested that Israel withdraw from selected areas to show good faith and reduce the impact of this UBL theme.

He noted that the USG needs to be more instructive in the Muslim world about the role of democracy in the U.S. He commented that Muslims around the world do not understand our democracy particularly our first amendment rights. Muslims express surprise that U.S. Muslims are free to differ with U.S. policy.

He suggested that it is better to have a lower ranking native speaker on Muslim TV than a non-speaker of higher rank.

He suggested that the USG use mid-month Ramadan to announce a change of military strategy. He stated that there is more precedent to stopping military action in the three months following Ramadan than Ramadan itself. He recommended that U.S. military bases host highly publicized interfaith services during Ramadan.

Prepared by: Tom Timmes, (b)(2)

INFO MEMO

10/22/01 9:13 AM

FOR: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY AND RESOURCES

FROM: [REDACTED], Director, Special Operations Policy

SUBJECT: Policy Guidance Process for Information Campaigns

- DASD(P&R) requested information on the policy guidance process and specifics on the role of OSD, the Joint Staff, USCENTCOM, and the 4th PSYOP Group.
- There is no single DoD or interagency model for conducting an influence campaign. Several variations have been tried between 1991-2000 each with their strengths and weaknesses (Tab).
- Summary:
  - NSC routinely chaired an information coordinating committee comprised of State, CIA, OSD, and Joint Staff.
  - OSD and Joint Staff representatives were PSYOPers at the 0-6 level.
  - OSD established a Task Force that reported directly to the USD(P). SO/LIC PSYOP was not an integral part of the Task Force but maintained close coordination.
  - SO/LIC was solely responsible for the information campaign within OSD and kept the USD(P) and Task Force informed.
  - OSD or the Joint Staff did not routinely review leaflets and radio scripts.
  - The role of the Joint Staff was to review plans and programs, staff with OSD for approval, and provide the CINC with comments and approval.
  - During the 1999 air war over Serbia, ASD(ISA) routinely coordinated PSYOP with the J-39 and IPI with SO/LIC. There was no elaborate J-39 operating structure.
  - The 4th PSYOP Group established a JPOTF in the area of operations and reported to the CINC/JTF commander.

Attachment:  
As Stated

Prepared by: Tom Timmes, OASD(SO/LIC)P&R/SOP, [REDACTED]



## Attachment: Policy Guidance Process for Information Campaigns

- 1991 Persian Gulf War:

Sandy Charles, NSC, chaired an ad hoc interagency information coordinating committee called "3PD" (PSYOP, Propaganda, and Public Diplomacy) which was attended by representatives of State, CIA, USIA, the Joint Staff, and OSD. The OSD and Joint Staff reps were at the 0-6 level. The committee discussed themes, objectives, media, Iraqi disinformation, vulnerabilities, audiences, and timing. At the conclusion of the Gulf War, and because of the success of the 3PD committee, the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff proposed to the National Security Advisor that the NSC maintain a permanent, NSC-chaired information coordination committee. The Vice-Chairman's memo offered to provide two full-time military PSYOP officers to the committee. At the end of the war, 3PD stopped meeting without establishing a full-time committee.

The CINC's overarching PSYOP plan was comprised of information objectives, themes, and target audiences. The Joint Staff and OSD approved the plan and the CINC was granted product approval within the parameters of the plan. Leaflets and radio scripts were not reviewed in Washington.

The Joint Staff message to the CINC, which approved his PSYOP plan, constituted information policy guidance. There was no separate information policy guidance provided to the CINC.

The three-person PSYOP office within the DUSD(SP)'s office was the OSD focal point for the information campaign. The PSYOP Division on the Joint Staff was the JS's focal point. The 4th PSYOP Group established a combined JPOTF in Saudi Arabia, which reported to the CINC.

- 1992 Somalia:

The NSC did not chair an information coordinating committee. State Department chaired an information-sharing group that met irregularly.

Prior to deployment of U.S. forces, ASD(SO/LIC) provided interim PSYOP policy guidance to the Joint Staff. Shortly thereafter, the CINC submitted his PSYOP plan for approval.

The CINC's overarching PSYOP plan was comprised of information objectives, themes, and target audiences. The Joint Staff and OSD approved the plan and the CINC was granted product approval within the parameters of the plan. The Joint Staff message to the CINC, which approved his PSYOP plan, constituted additional PSYOP policy guidance. Leaflets and radio scripts were not reviewed in Washington.

The three-person PSYOP office within SO/LIC was the OSD focal point for the information campaign. The PSYOP Division on the Joint Staff was the JS's focal point. The 4th PSYOP Group established a JPOTF in Somalia, which reported to the JTF commander.

- 1993 Bosnia-Herzegovina:

In February 1993, ASD(SO/LIC) approved the dropping of leaflets and Commando Solo broadcasts in support of humanitarian food drops to B-H as described in the CINC's PSYOP concept of operations. SO/LIC reviewed the first leaflet but not the radio scripts. In May 1993, the CINC forwarded a generic PSYOP plan to support a variety of operations in B-H and the Balkans.

The CINC's overarching PSYOP plan was comprised of information objectives, themes, and target audiences. The Joint Staff and OSD approved the plan and the CINC was granted product approval within the parameters of the plan. The Joint Staff message to the CINC, which approved his PSYOP plan, constituted PSYOP policy guidance. Leaflets and radio scripts were not reviewed in Washington.

The three-person PSYOP office within SO/LIC was the OSD focal point for the information campaign. The PSYOP Division on the Joint Staff was the JS's focal point.

In October 1995, the NSC chaired a short-lived information coordinating committee attended by representatives of State, CIA, USIA, the Joint Staff, and OSD. The OSD and Joint Staff reps were at the 0-6 level.

In 1996, OSD created the Balkans Task Force (BTF), which reported to the USD(P). SO/LIC PSYOP was not a part of the BTF but maintained a close working relationship.

- 1994 Intervention in Haiti:

The NSC chaired an ad hoc "Foreign Information Sub-Group" composed of representatives of State, CIA, USIA, the Joint Staff, and OSD. The OSD and Joint Staff reps were at the 0-6 level. The Committee planned and orchestrated activities such as dropping leaflets on Haiti, conducting U.S. unilateral radio and TV broadcasting, air dropping radios for the Haitians, and broadcasting President Aristide's radio and TV messages. This committee also coordinated themes, objectives, media, audiences, and timing. As a result of the success of this information effort, in October 1994, the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy sent a memo to the NSC recommending that the NSC create a standing International Information Committee to ensure a more rapid and coordinated information effort in future crises. When U.S. Forces entered Haiti, the Group stopped meeting without establishing a full-time committee.

The CINC's overarching PSYOP plan was comprised of information objectives, themes, and target audiences. The Joint Staff and OSD approved the plan and the CINC was granted product approval within the parameters of the plan. State, USIA, OSD, and the Joint Staff reviewed President Aristide's pre-recorded radio and TV scripts to ensure they were not inflammatory, but did not review PSYOP leaflets and radio scripts.

The Joint Staff message to the CINC, which approved his PSYOP plan, constituted information policy guidance.

The three-person PSYOP office within SO/LIC was the OSD focal point for the information campaign. The PSYOP Branch on the Joint Staff was the JS's focal point. OSD created the Haiti Task Force (HTF), which reported to the USD(P). SO/LIC PSYOP was not a part of the HTF but maintained a close working relationship.

- PDD-68: PDD-68 established a USG international public information policy, structure, and process that incorporated the benefits of earlier coordinating committees and eliminated the shortfalls of ad hoc groups. State Department concurred in the PDD only when the IPI chair moved from the NSC to State. The U/S State for PD and PA is the current IPI chair. IPI was active during crises in Rwanda, Iraq, Sudan, Serbia, East Timor, and Sierra Leone.

INFO MEMO

I-03/001955

FOR: ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR OPERATIONS, J-39

FROM: Marshall Billingslea, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for  
Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict

SUBJECT: U.S. Plans to Spare Iraq's Infrastructure - Saddam Plans to Destroy It

While some in the U.S. military worry that our concern to spare Iraqi infrastructure may endanger ground forces, Saddam Hussein is making plans to destroy it to impede a coalition attack.

Saddam's callous disregard for the welfare of Iraq offers U.S. public diplomacy an opportunity to highlight to the people of Iraq and the Muslim world his lack of concern for Iraqi civilians and their economic future with U.S. intentions to spare the infrastructure and civilian hardships.

- New York Times February 13 article (Tab A) reports Iraq's preparations to destroy bridges, dams, and oil fields.
- Washington Times article (Tab B) reports CENTCOM's plan to avoid causing damage to infrastructure.

Recommend widest dissemination of this information.

(U) COORDINATION: None

Attachments:  
As stated

Cc:  
Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs  
Under Secretary of Defense for Policy  
Jeff Jones, Sr. Director, NSC

Prepared by: Tom Timmes, OASD(SO/LIC)IA, (b)(2)

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESPONSES TO

SENATOR CARL LEVIN  
CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

IN HIS LETTER OF 22 FEBRUARY 2002 TO THE SECRETARY OF  
DEFENSE REGARDING THE OFFICE OF STRATEGIC  
INFLUENCE

**1. Please provide all documents that describe the possibility of  
disinformation being part of the functions of the Office of Strategic  
Influence.**

The Office of the General Counsel reviewed three sets of documents generated by the Office of Strategic Influence in response to this request: (a) all documents proposing operations and campaigns that went forward for review and decision by the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict, the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and/or the Secretary of Defense (senior level); (b) documents that were staffed within the Department of Defense for policy and legal review prior to being submitted as proposals for senior level action (peer level); and (c) documents that remained internal to the Office. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel reviewed all possibly relevant e-mails.

A. Senior level review. The Office of the General Counsel reviewed all documents that involved Office of Strategic Influence proposals for campaigns, operations, and programs submitted for senior level review and approval. None of these proposals mentions the word "disinformation". Moreover, none of these proposals includes language that suggests, directly or indirectly, that the Office of Strategic Influence had engaged in, was planning to engage in, or was seeking approval to engage in disinformation activities. The October 30, 2001, memorandum issued by Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Feith, which announced the formation of the Office of Strategic Influence, also made no reference to disinformation activity.

B. Peer level staffing. The Office of the General Counsel also reviewed documents, including drafts, generated to develop and vet ideas for campaigns, operations, and programs, which were submitted for staffing to

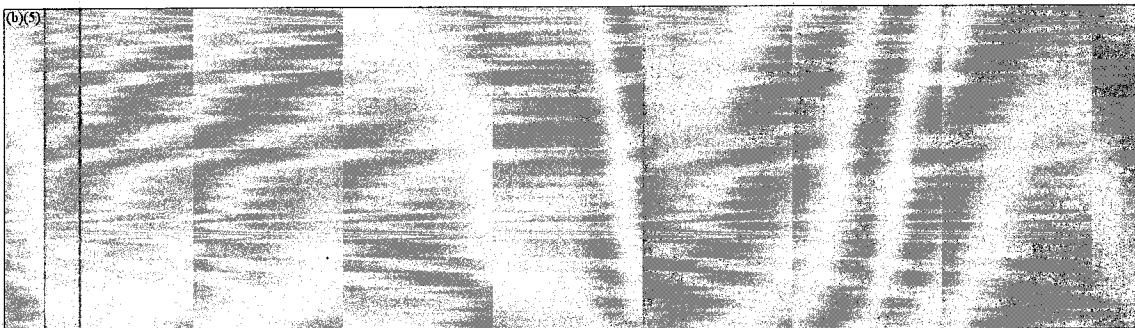
other policy offices within the Department of Defense prior to preparing final packages for senior-level review and approval. Although none of these documents used the word "disinformation," several did use words directly referencing or suggestive of "deception." These documents addressed potential Office of Strategic Influence support to the activities of other offices in the areas of operational security and military deception. None of these references to deception involved provision of false information to the public or news media.

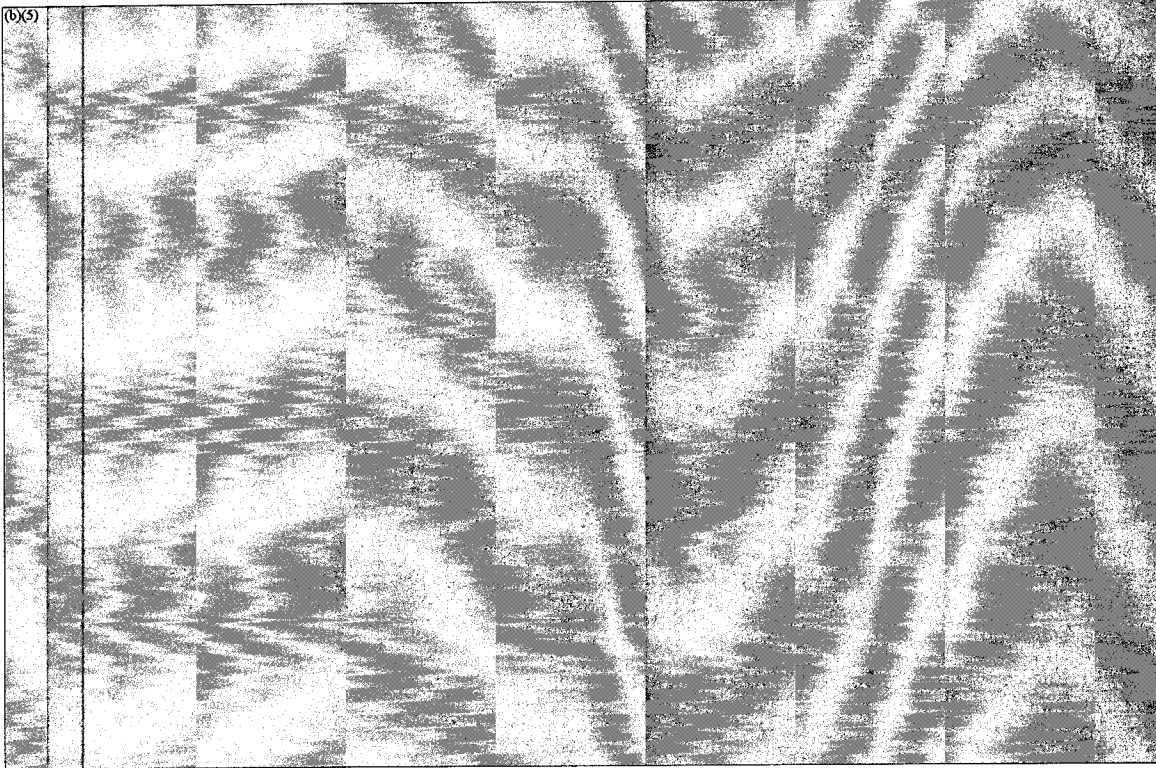
The term "deception" has an established military meaning. According to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Instruction on "Joint Policy for Military Deception (U), dated 19 February 2002, "military deception" is defined as:

Actions executed to deliberately mislead adversary military decision makers as to friendly military capabilities, intentions, and operations, thereby causing the adversary to take specific actions (or inaction) that will contribute to the accomplishment of the friendly mission.

There are, of course, well-known examples in military history of such deception, such as numerous amphibious invasions during World War II, including the Normandy invasion.

Finally, a reference to dissemination of gray and black psychological operations, as part of a larger plan, focused on the interdiction of recruitment efforts of terrorist organizations. There was, however, no specific concept associated with this reference. Gray psychological operations generally are understood to imply no attribution, whereas black psychological operations generally are understood to include false attribution. Subsequent versions of that plan did not include any reference to gray or black psychological operations.





**2. When was the Office of Strategic Influence created? Why was this office created, and what is the mission of this office?**

The Office of Strategic Influence was created on October 30, 2001, as part of the Department's response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, to provide the Office of the Secretary of Defense with a mechanism for policy oversight and guidance to the combatant commanders. In addition, the Office was responsible for representing the Department's views in the interagency arena in the area of influence operations pertaining to the war on terrorism.

The Office of Strategic Influence was established to serve as the Department of Defense focal point for all issues relating to the strategic influence and information campaign in support of the war on terrorism. The purpose of the information campaign was to develop a full spectrum strategic influence strategy that would result in greater foreign support of U.S. goals and repudiation of terrorists and their methods.

**3. To whom does this office report? Who heads this office, and how many staff members does it have?**

The Office of Strategic Influence reported to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict. Brigadier General Simon P. Worden, United States Air Force, was the Director. The office was staffed with 19 people, including uniformed military, DoD civil servants, and on-site contractors.

**4. Does the Office of Strategic Influence have an operational mission, or does it simply provide policy and oversight?**

The proposed functions of the Office of Strategic Influence included strategic concept development, policy oversight of military influence activities, and coordination of support for strategic influence and communications activities throughout the Department of Defense and with other U.S. Government agencies. Actual execution of any approved operational mission would have been the responsibility of a U.S. combatant command or other elements of the U.S. Government, not the responsibility of the Office of Strategic Influence.

**5. What is the relationship of the Office of Strategic Influence to the Joint Staff and to the public affairs offices of OSD and the military services?**

The Office of Strategic Influence provided policy guidance through the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to U.S. combatant commanders regarding the objectives and parameters of approved influence operations, for which the commands would normally be responsible for execution. After receiving such guidance, the command would normally then develop a proposed plan for execution of the operation, which would be submitted back to the Joint Staff and the Office of the Secretary of Defense for final approval.

The Office of Strategic Influence worked with the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs to ensure that influence activities were consistent with USG public diplomacy strategy. The Office of



Strategic Influence did not formally work directly with the public affairs offices of the military departments.

**6. What is the relationship of the Office of Strategic Influence to the global diplomacy and public information operations of the White House and the Department of State?**

The Office of Strategic Influence worked with the White House and the Department of State, both directly and through interagency groups. This coordination was intended to ensure both that Department of Defense views were represented in interagency deliberations pertaining to influence operations and that proposed Department of Defense influence activities in the war on terrorism were consistent with related activities elsewhere in the U.S. Government.

**7. What is the relationship of the Office of Strategic Influence to the Commander-in Chief, U.S. Special Operations Command, and to the psychological operations offices of the military services and the geographical combatant commanders?**

Formally, the Office of Strategic Influence worked with the U.S. Special Operations Command, the psychological operations offices of the military services, and the geographical combatant commands through the Joint Staff.

**8. Has the Office of Strategic Influence hired private firms to provide services? What services will these private firms provide?**

Yes, the Office of Strategic Influence contracted a private firm (SAIC) for on-site analytic support. This contractor provided a variety of analytic support services, which included threat and target analysis and assessment, political-military analysis, mission analysis and telecommunications analysis. This firm, however, did not develop or disseminate any influence products.

For a period of 60 days following its establishment, the Office of Strategic Influence provided a Contracting Office Technical Representative (COTR) to a Joint Staff contract with the Rendon Group. This Representative oversaw the deployment of two Rendon Group media advisors to Indonesia

to support the U.S. Ambassador and his country team at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta. That effort, which consisted of support to Embassy public diplomacy and opinion research efforts, has been completed.

**ACTION MEMO**

I-02/014455

**FOR: PRINCIPAL DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR  
SPECIAL OPERATIONS AND LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT**

**FROM:** (b)(6) (b)(2)

**SUBJECT: Mine Awareness Comic Book**

Request authorization to open exploratory talks with DC Comics on the production of a mine awareness comic book for Afghanistan.

- In 1996, SO/LIC initiated and completed a DoD-led project to sponsor a DoD-DC Comics collaborative effort to produce and distribute a mine awareness comic book for the children of Bosnia (Tab A).
- DoD provided DC Comics with \$110K to produce 125K comic books in the Cyrillic language, 125K in Serbo-Croatian, and 50K in English, as well as 75K wall posters. USTRANSCOM shipped the comics to Bosnia for \$125K. Other costs were borne by DC Comics.
- The Joint Staff and USEUCOM were key to the success of the project. PSYOP personnel played an important role in supporting DC Comics with photos, language, and cultural awareness issues.
- UNICEF, the Mine Awareness Center, NGOs, and PSYOP elements in Bosnia accomplished the distribution.
- Mrs. Clinton unveiled the cover page of the comic book at a publicized White House ceremony. Reaction around the world was favorable.
- At Tab B is a second DoD-DC comic book project that targeted Latin America with a mine awareness theme.
- Project would be funded with SO/LIC FY03 funds, if received.

**RECOMMENDATION:** Approve initiation of exploratory talks with DC Comics

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_

(U) COORDINATION: Tab C

Attachments:  
As Stated

Prepared by: Tom Timmes, (b)(6)



# Strategic Influence

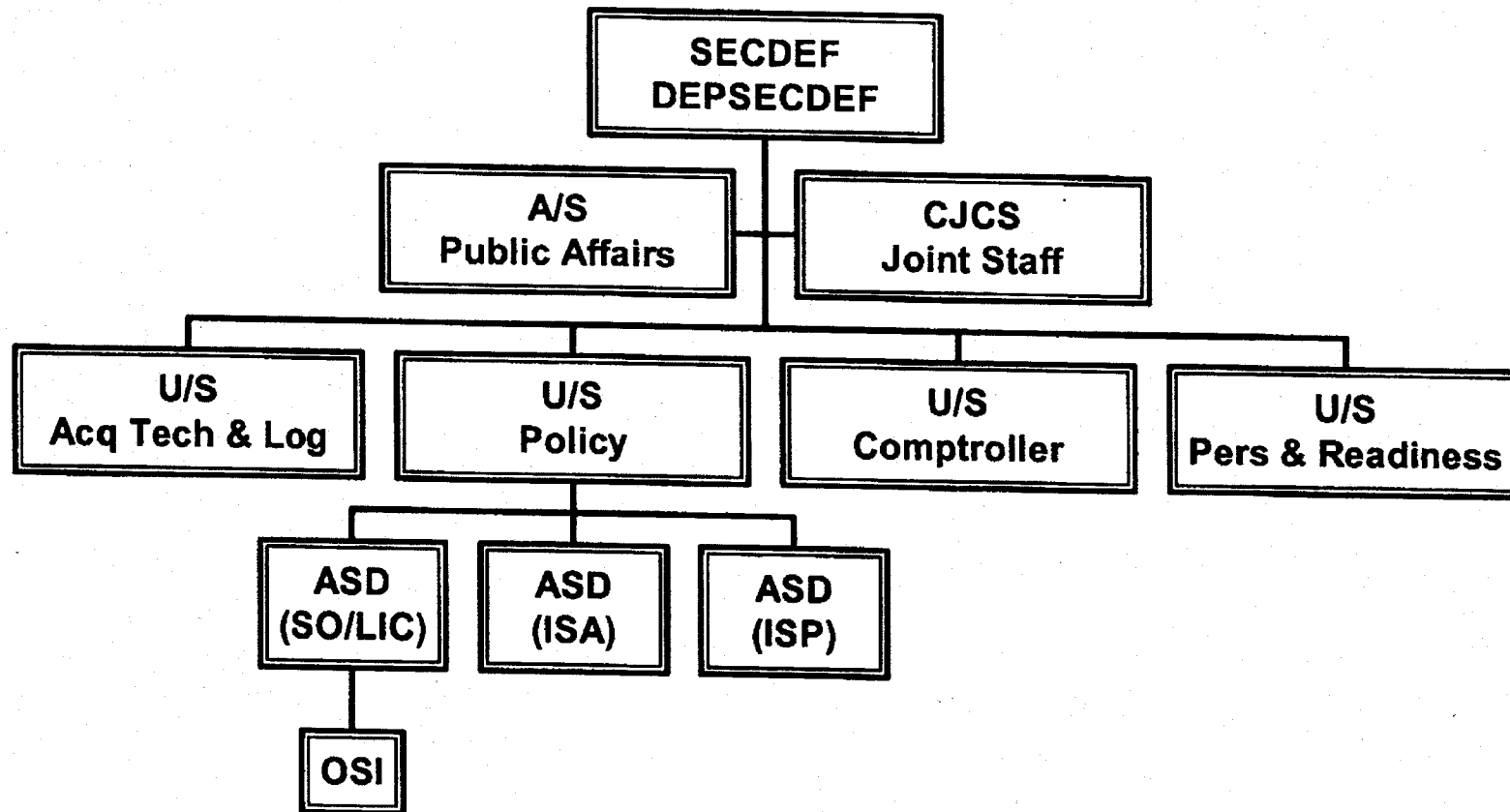
## "An OSD Perspective"

**Brig Gen Simon "Pete" Worden**  
**OASD (SO/LIC) OSI**

February 8, 2002



# Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD)



2/1/2005



# Office of Strategic Influence (OSI)



IAW national security strategy and policy,  
OASD(SO/LIC)/OSI:

- provides policy and programmatic oversight of DoD influence programs and activities, and coordinates requirements & integrates implementation for the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy.

Influence activities include, but are not limited to military support to public diplomacy, psychological operations, technical information operations, and other operations.

2/1/2005



# Influence Operations



Actions undertaken and messages disseminated with the objective of influencing foreign audiences.

The primary criterion to distinguish is the intent; if the objective is to influence, then the activity is an influence operation.

Other activities have influence impacts as a secondary effect and may be part of the overall influence campaign, but are not in themselves defined as influence operations.

2/1/2005

Doc 19  
Rev 1/11





# Measures of Effectiveness



By analogy with political campaigns, the most direct measures of effectiveness are based on tracking polls from a variety of sources:

- (1) open polls conducted by the State Department;
- (2) covert polls taken by intelligence agencies;
- (3) indigenous polling;
- (4) data provided by foreign governments; and
- (5) focus groups conducted by commercial agencies.

The effects of our actions on the intellectual elite – the opinion makers – can be measured by the ratio of positive or helpful stories to unhelpful ones in key newspapers and television media.

2/1/2005

October 16, 2001

SUBJECT: DoD Public Affairs (PA) and Psychological Operations (PSYOP)

ISSUE: Identify the differences and similarities between DoD PA and PSYOP

FACTS: The key difference between the two is intent and audience. The primary intent of PA is to inform DoD and domestic audiences. The primary intent of PSYOP is to inform and persuade only foreign audiences.

PA:

“Those public information and community relations activities directed toward the general public by the various elements of the Department of Defense.” Joint Pub 1-02

The principal purpose of PA is to make available timely and accurate information and news to and from the commanders and staff, DoD military and civilian members, their families and other internal audiences, and to the American people through the Congress, the news media, and personal contact. These efforts are performed under the provisions of the Secretary of Defense's "Principles of Information."

Public Affairs uses all traditional PA methods such as news releases, interviews, contact with civilian and civilian organizations, and contact with media representatives. PA also plays a key role in providing commanders with assessments of public reaction to DoD initiatives and contingency missions and to determine and evaluate the PA issues to which a theater or installation commander must be sensitive. PA officers use local contacts to assess public perceptions and effective PA communications' methods to disseminate information. PA is responsible for community relations' activities. The PA community also maintains effective internal information programs.

Additionally, PA officers provide advice to the Unified Combatant Commanders on matters of international media relations that apply to DoD relationships and missions with allied and friendly nations. Overseas PA organizations may also coordinate with U.S. Embassies on DoD matters that are a part of overall U.S. information objectives.

PSYOP:

“Planned operations to convey selected information and indicators to foreign audiences to influence their emotions, motives, objective reasoning, and ultimately the behavior of foreign governments, organizations, groups, and individuals. The purpose of PSYOP is to induce or reinforce attitudes and behavior favorable to the originators objectives.” Joint Pub 1-02

Despite its successful use by the U.S. armed forces since the earliest days of the Republic, PSYOP is viewed as a black art that employs falsehoods, half-truths, and deception. In fact, the opposite is true. To capture an audience, hold its attention, and foster a particular belief or behavior, PSYOP messages must be relevant, timely, and accurate. As an influence tool, however, PSYOP does not necessarily present balance news or attempt to meet journalistic

standards of impartiality. PSYOP may present only selected information, albeit truthful, to support a particular U.S. policy objective.

The highly successful use of PSYOP during military operations in Grenada (1983), Panama (1989), the Persian Gulf (1991), Somalia (1993-94), Haiti (1994-96), Bosnia (1993-01), and Kosovo (1998-01) has helped dispel the myths about PSYOP and demonstrate its utility and flexibility across a wide range of military activity.

The U.S. Army's PSYOP force structure, active and reserves, is relatively small when compared with their impact. The active force total no more than 1200 soldiers and civilians while the reserves total another 2700. The active force is regionally oriented, trained and recruited in terms of language, cultural awareness, and ethnicity. A core of highly qualified civilians at Ft. Bragg, NC provides the finely tuned cultural awareness so vital in the conduct of successful PSYOP. The Force possesses many qualified linguists but usually relies on local hires and native born speakers. PSYOP skills utilized include the ability to conduct systematic planning, detailed target audience analysis, and innovative dissemination techniques.

The U.S. Air Force's 193d Special Operations Wing, Pennsylvania Air National Guard maintains six EC-130E aircraft dedicated to broadcasting radio and TV in support of the Joint PSYOP Task Force's dissemination program.

#### Public Diplomacy

National Security Decision Directive -77, 1983, defined PD as those actions of the U.S. government designed to generate support among foreign audiences for our national security objectives. While State Department is the lead USG agency for PD, DoD conducts worldwide activities with a PD impact. DoD public diplomacy is comprised of strategic actions such as deployment of troops and ships for combined training or demonstration of resolve, official visits, and Defense and military contacts with foreign officials. However, there is no one within DoD specifically tasked to plan or conduct PD activities even though DoD possesses enormous potential to influence foreign audiences through an organized and coordinated PD program.

Timmes

INFO MEMO

01/015120

FOR: SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

FROM: Robert Andrews, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict

SUBJECT: Strategic Influence Update: Media Advisers

We are providing media advisers to our embassies in Indonesia and five Middle Eastern countries to conduct polling and focus group activities. This will give us feedback on our strategic influence campaign.

Two advisers arrived in Indonesia December 17. Advisers are cleared to arrive in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen January 2. Egypt and Jordan to follow shortly.

These advisers are contractors from SAIC and the Rendon Group. They competed and were selected based upon their unique skills in specific countries. The average monthly cost for seven advisers, four security personnel, and operations is \$650,000.

COORDINATION: Tab

Prepared by: Brig Gen Worden, OASD(SO/LIC)OSI, 614-0661

INFO MEMO

01/015120

FOR: UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY

FROM: Robert Andrews, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict

SUBJECT: Strategic Influence Update: Media Advisers

You expressed concern regarding the costs (Tab A) of providing media advisers to our embassies in Indonesia and five Middle Eastern countries to conduct polling and focus group activities.

- Pete Worden and I agree that such costs on an annualized basis are excessive.
- The current contractors, Rendon Group and Scientific Applications International Corporation (SAIC), were selected based upon their unique skills, qualifications, and quick availability to support our immediate need to influence target nation governments.
- We will be evaluating the effectiveness of this pilot program after 3 - 4 months. Competitive sourcing would be a part of any decision to continue the use of consultants in some or all of the target countries.
- Unless we include that there is real value added, in terms of the overall objective, we will terminate these two contracts or ask others (e.g., Department of State) to pay for them.

COORDINATION: None

Attachments:

As stated

Prepared by: LTC Lawrence Giusti, SOLIC (OSI), (b)(2)

**ACTION MEMO**

I-02/006388

**FOR: UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY**

**FROM: Robert Andrews, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict**

**SUBJECT: Initiatives for "Demartyrizing" Suicide Bombers**

You requested initiatives (Tab A) to de-romanticize suicide bombers. Proposed activities of an interagency effort are:

- Seek high-level United Nations and heads of state public pronouncements condemning suicide bombing.
- Opinion-editorials, fact sheets, information papers, and talking points forwarded through Department of State channels to appropriate Defense Attaches, Embassies, and Ambassadors (draft objectives/briefing Tab B).
- Sponsor symposiums in Asia, Europe and the Middle East to discuss the issue.
- Encourage Middle East opinion leaders such as clerics and journalists to speak out.
- Place U.S. and other spokespersons on Middle East media to discuss the issue.

The interagency Policy Coordinating Committee for Combating Terrorism Information can be used to ensure collaboration, consistency, and synchronization of the strategy. Additional concepts are at Tab C.

The Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs position on this action is:


- These are good objectives, but Department of State and the White House are already addressing them.
- Additional bureaucratic involvement (read; Combating Terrorism PCC) is not necessary.
- DoD should help find ways to track and measure progress.

RECOMMENDATION:

- Sign draft memo (next under) to the NSC suggesting this issue for Deputies Committee consideration. Issues include organization, themes, and activities to change foreign attitudes and behavior regarding suicide bombers.

COORDINATION: Tab D

Attachments:  
As Stated

Prepared by: LTC Giusti, OASD SOLIC, 

**ACTION MEMO**

EF1134  
I-02/006388

**FOR: UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY**

**FROM: Robert Andrews, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict**

**SUBJECT: Initiatives for "Demartyrizing" Suicide Bombers**

You requested changes to a memorandum for the Deputy National Security Advisor (Tab B) on this subject.

According to one of Charlotte Beer's deputies, Mr. Joe Johnson, Department of State has mentioned suicide bombers as part of its treatment of counter terrorism in general, but there have been no specific instructions or strategy papers aimed at discrediting this phenomenon. Mr. Johnson indicated that the Department of State would welcome such a strategy.

The Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs comments imply that Under Secretary Beer's office is directly addressing this subject. There is also no "additional bureaucracy" being created since The NSC's Combating Terrorism Information Working Group has been functioning – albeit informally – since December, and has produced an information strategy paper on Iraq, accepted by the Deputies Committee, as a basis for action.


The original action is at Tab C.

**RECOMMENDATION:**

- Sign draft memo (Tab A) to the NSC.

**COORDINATION: None**

**Attachments:**  
As Stated

Prepared by: LTC Giusti, OASD SOLIC, 



November 2, 2001

FOR: DIRECTOR, JOINT STAFF INFORMATION OPERATIONS TASK FORCE

FROM: Brig Gen Pete Worden, Director, Office of Strategic Influence

SUBJECT: Request for DoD Personnel

During my meeting yesterday with the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Ms. Beers made a compelling case for additional DoD personnel to support State Department's information effort in the war on terrorism. I concur with her request and respectfully solicit your support in filling State's urgent need for DoD expertise and liaison.

Ms. Beers requested two full-time DoD personnel to work with the International Public Information Operations' Center. In the coming weeks, I will endeavor to assign two full-time officers with the requisite skills. In the meantime, request your office immediately provide two part-time officers in the grade 04-05 with experience in media affairs and influence techniques.

As you know, the White House has initiated a program under Karen Hughes to place experienced media and regional personnel in Pakistan, London, and Washington to further our strategic influence objectives. Ms. Beers requested an officer in the grade of 04-06, a native Urdu speaker, with media experience to work with Amb Kenton Keith, who will be travelling to Pakistan in the near future.

I appreciate your support and personal attention to these important matters. My point of contact is Tom Timmes, who may be reached at (b)(2) [REDACTED]

11/27/01 10:03 AM

SUBJECT: PSYOP Approval Process: Programs and Products

FACTS

- DoDD 3321.1: Paragraph E.1.e. authorizes the USD(P) or his designee the responsibility to "Review and approve all PSYOP programs to be conducted during peacetime or in contingencies short of declared war."

Comment: Clearly, a PSYOP program requires some kind of PSYOP product and derives its relevance and policy sensitivity from the product. It may logically be concluded, therefore, that the USD(P) has authority to approve PSYOP products along with the program although the word "product" is not used in the Directive.

- CJCSI 3110.05B, 15 June 1999: Paragraph 2.b. (1). States "When a campaign plan is approved for execution, the Secretary of Defense normally delegates approval authority for PSYOP products and actions to the supported CINC...." Similarly, paragraph 2.c. states "...the Secretary of Defense will normally delegate PSYOP approval authority to the supported CINC in the execute order."

Comment: If the SECDEF does not delegate authority for product approval in the execute order, there may be several explanation:

- (1) Delegating product approval authority was inadvertently omitted, or
- (2) The Joint Staff or OSD did not want to grant product approval to the CINC at the time that the execute order was issued.

- FM 3-05.30, Psychological Operations, June 2000: Page 1-10 states:

- "The SecDef normally delegates PSYOP approval authority to the supported CINC in the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) execution order...."
- "...the geographic combatant commander retains PSYOP approval authority following approval of the PSYOP plan from the NCA."
- "...commanders need to be aware of two levels of product approval. The two types and differences are as follows: (1) Objectives and Themes: Approval of themes and messages is reserved by law [?] and the JSCP at a level (NCA, combatant command, joint forces command, and U.S. country teams) where the interagency process can invest PSYOP products with a broad range of considerations." (2) Products: Commanders can modify products within issued guidelines to suit local conditions.

Comment: FM 3-05.30 confuses rather than clarifies the issue. The FM is subordinate to DoDD and CJCSI and is not authoritative regarding PSYOP product approval.

- The second bullet above may be interpreted as implying that the CINC has product approval once the PSYOP plan is approved by the NCA for execution.
- The third bullet above refers to "law." It can be stated with a high degree of confidence that there is no applicable law regarding the approval of PSYOP products.
- The third bullet may also be interpreted to mean that the combatant commanders may approve PSYOP themes and messages as well as products.

#### COMMENTS

- DoDD and CJCSI are clear regarding the approval process for PSYOP plans and products. Bottom line: SECDEF owns it unless he delegates it to the CINC. If SECDEF does not delegate it, then by policy the USD(P) or his designee is invested with PSYOP product approval.

Prepared By: Tom Timmes, OASD(SO/LIC)OSI, (b)(2)

INFO MEMO

01/014287  
11/21/01 12:35 PM

FOR: SPECIAL ASSISTANT AND CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
FROM: PRINCIPAL DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR SPECIAL OPERATIONS AND LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT, Robert Andrews

SUBJECT: Suggestion from (b)(6) on Global Media Effort

- This responds to your attached query, "Where are we with this" concerning (b)(6) (b)(6) suggestion to the SECDEF to portray Bin Laden as a ruthless killer and outside the teachings of Islam (Tab A).
- (b)(6) suggestions constitute a core component of our attempt to discredit and de-link Bin Laden and Al-Qa'ida from Islam in order to diminish the terrorist threat.
- We are currently in the midst of a global campaign to provide factual information to the media throughout the Middle East reinforcing the fact that Bin Laden and Al Qa'ida's terrorist actions are a violation of the teachings of Islam. Leading Muslim clerics in several Islamic countries are reinforcing this theme.

COORDINATION TAB B

Attachment:  
As stated

Prepared By: Tom Timmes, OASD(SO/LIC) OSA, (b)(6)

March 18, 2002

SUBJECT: Activities for a PSYOP and Strategic Information Programs (PSIP)  
Directorate

Overarching

- Serve as the OSD Policy focal point for policy and oversight responsibilities related to military strategic communications (NSC definition) and psychological operations.
- Serve as OSD Policy focal point for interagency information related activities.
- Serve as the OSD Policy representative to the Strategic Communication Policy Coordinating Committee
- Establish a working group co-chaired by SO/LIC and Policy Support to coordinate and manage full-spectrum information activities as they relate to the GWOT.
- Provide policy oversight of the PSYOP community: active and reserve components (attend meeting, provide periodic updates on policy and related issues)

Immediate

- In coordination with State Department and USAID, support the Pakistan education reform initiative including the purchase and distribution of satellite radios and remote access Internet systems. (Justify program to retain \$13M.)
- Continue working with Voice of America and the Broadcasting Board of Governors to purchase transmitters for Afghanistan (\$2.2M).
- In coordination with State Department, expand the use of satellite radios and remote access Internet systems into Afghanistan and Central Asia, which requires coordination similar to Pakistan.
  - Develop and focused Measures of Effectiveness for these areas, including Pakistan
- Continue to staff the PSYOP plans and programs of the unified commands
- Provide policy oversight within OSD regarding the NSC's Strategic Communication concept.

- Attend and reenergize the interagency Measures of Effectiveness (MOE) concept meeting.
  - Continue to support the media advisor program.
- Attend interagency public diplomacy meetings on Iraq.
- Advocate that State host International Public Information (IPI) meetings focused on the GWOT.
- Monitor terrorists and state-sponsored propaganda and disinformation activities.

#### Mid-Term

- Encourage the NSC to re-energize the IPI concept contained in PDD-68 as a strategic communications PCC.
- Encourage and support State Department's efforts to publish a National Information Strategy. (A 40-page draft was provided by SO/LIC to State in 2001.)
- Develop a Military Information Strategy.
- Restaff DoD Directive 3321.1. "Overt Psychological Operations Conducted by the Military Services in Peacetime and in Contingencies Short of Declared War (U)," (It was staffed twice in June and August 2000 and forwarded to ASD(SO/LIC), who said to hold it for the new ASD(SO/LIC). It must now be staffed again.
- Advocate a Joint PSYOP Center in the Washington area made up of military and civilian personnel IAW the outline in the 1985 DoD PSYOP Master Plan.
- Restart SO/LIC monthly FORUM (meeting among PSYOPers of the JS and Services) and monthly IPI (interagency IPI participants) meetings in the Pentagon. This was done for five + years until we were insufficiently staffed (one person) to continue.
- Advocate PSYOP personnel and equipment issues with OSD and SOCOM.
- Advocate that SOCOM publish a Joint PSYOP vision, equipment architecture, and other plans to enhance PSYOP in accordance with the USASOC 2001 Study and the 2000 and 2001 Defense Science Board reports.
- In cooperation with State, develop an IPI training program including exercises, doctrine, templates, a web site, etc., to better support the GWOT.

- In coordination with State Department, develop IPI plans for the GWOT and other crises.
- Identify discrete funding for the Overt Peacetime PSYOP Program (OP3) to enable the program to do more than CN and mine awareness.
- Serve as SO/LIC focal point for DoD Directive 3600.1 (Information Operation (IO)) and all IO related authoritative documents and activities.

#### Long-Term

- Take a more direct role in the annual Worldwide PSYOP conference. Since 1999, the Joint Staff J-39 (COL Summe's office) has served as SO/LIC's executive agent to sponsor the conference because of inadequate staffing at SO/LIC. Each year, we provide the J-39 with a written request to serve as our executive agent.
- Promulgate a new DoD PSYOP Master Plan
- Restart OSD-level PSYOP guest speaking at Hurlburt, the AWC, AFSC, Ft. Bragg, NWC, NPGS.
- Publish articles on PSYOP.
- Participate in the USDP studies program. SO/LIC funded PSYOP studies since 1998.

Prepared by: Tom Timmes

General Ralph E. Eberhart  
Commander in Chief  
United States Space Command  
250 S. Peterson Blvd, Suite 116  
Peterson Air Force Base, Colorado 80915-3040

Dear General Eberhart,

With the assistance of the Office of the General Counsel and my staff, I have conducted a thorough review of facts surrounding the activities of the now disestablished Office of Strategic Influence, and its director, Brigadier General Pete Worden. Not only were the allegations made by the media concerning the Office of Strategic Influence false, we've reviewed the Office's proposals and briefings and found them all to be legitimate national security information functions. In particular, none of them contained any proposal to promulgate false information to the media, foreign or domestic.

While I regret closing the Office of Strategic Influence, the level of adverse attention focused on it by the media made that decision inevitable. The Office was, however, doing very important work endorsed by the Secretary and me and I will ensure that its critical missions and functions will be continued within the Department in the appropriate offices.

The inspired leadership and vision of General Worden are primarily responsible for the remarkable progress made by the Office of Strategic Influence and the Department. He and his people energized the entire Interagency, courageously tackling issues head-on that we must address if we are to win the War on Terrorism. I trust that you have equally weighty challenges in store for him at Space Command and join you in wishing him every success in the future.

With best wishes, I am

Yours truly,

Douglas J. Feith



11/2/01 12:36 PM

SUBJECT: Memo for Record: U/S Beers-Brig Gen Worden Meeting

On November 1, U/S Beers and Brig Gen Worden met to discuss strategic influence operations in the war on terrorism. Present were Messrs. Johnson, Parker, and Timmes.

MS. Beers commented that she is organizing an interfaith Council along the lines described earlier to Brig Gen Worden by Imam Yahya Hendi. State's Mr. Bemis is the POC.

TASK: She asked that a DoD rep be appointed to the Council.

Ms. Beers indicated a need for an influence campaign that focuses on Taliban treatment of women. She envisioned influence products and particularly pictures of before and after the Taliban.

She noted that she has an ad agency working to debunk UBL.


Ms. Beers stated that State Department needs DoD expertise and liaison personnel to work at State on a full-time basis. She is looking for writers, philosophers, and psychologists.

TASK: She requested two part-time officers in the grade 04-05 with experience in media affairs and influence techniques to work with Joe Johnson's IPI Operations Center

TASK: Ms. Beers requested an officer in the grade of 04-06, a native Urdu speaker, with media experience to work with Amb Kenton Keith, who will be travelling to Pakistan in the near future. The officer would participate in the White House program under Karen Hughes to place experienced media and regional personnel in Pakistan, London, and Washington to further our strategic influence objectives.

TASK: Mr. Johnson added that he would like a part-time DoD public affairs representative to the IPI Ops Center.

TASK: Ms. Beers asked for hard data indicated that the Arab "street" does not support UBL. She also asked for proof - statements, picture - that UBL is hiding in caves while all others are exposed.

Prepared by: Tom Timmes, 

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November 12, 2001

FOR: DIRECTOR, JOINT STAFF INFORMATION OPERATIONS TASK FORCE

FROM: Brig Gen Pete Worden, Director, Office of Strategic Influence

SUBJECT: Influence Campaign Guidance

- As we continue to make progress in our effort to influence foreign audiences, the recent capture of Mazar-e- Sharif, and other areas formerly held by the Taliban, provides us an opportunity to graphically document the negative impact of Taliban rule.
- Request you obtain materials that graphically document the positive attitude of the people recently liberated from Taliban control. Similarly, atrocities committed by the Taliban should be recorded for release to the public.
- Please inform me of your progress on this initiative by Wednesday, November 14, so I may advise DoD leadership. I appreciate your support.

Cc: Brig Gen Shelton, Deputy Director for Operations, Information Operations

Prepared by: Mr. Tom Timmes, OASD(SO/LIC)OSI, (b)(2)

November 18, 2002

SUBJECT: War on Terrorism: Information Activities Status Report (U)

This report provides information on the impact of USG strategic information activities in four areas:

- Usama bin Laden's popularity .....Popularity rising
- War on terrorism not Islam .....U.S. failing to communicate
- Opinion of the United States .....Low in the Middle East
- Responsibility for attacks on 9/11.....U.S. failing to communicate

In February 2002, State Department polling in four Muslim countries showed bin Laden's popularity soaring in the wake of 9/11. In October 1998 and 1999, bin Laden's popularity stood at 25%. In October 2001, it rose to 75%. In December 2001, Pew polling showed 62% of Muslim support UBL and in January 2002, it jumped to 85%. In September 2002, Reuters polled Kuwait and found that 75% considered bin Laden a hero. In October 2002, bin Laden was favorably featured on the cover of three Middle East magazines.

State Department polling in December 2001, showed 56% of the Pakistanis believe the U.S. is engaged in a war against all Muslims. In December 2001, Pew polling in Muslims countries showed 41% of believe there is a major conflict between the West and Islam. In February 2002, State Department polling in four Muslim countries showed 90% believed the U.S. is in a war against Islam.

State Department polling in December 2001, showed 53% in China have an unfavorable opinion of the U.S. In December 2001, Pew polling showed 81% of Europeans had a favorable opinion of the U.S. compared to 49% in Islamic countries. In February 2002, Gallup polling in nine Muslim countries showed 53% has an unfavorable opinion of the U.S. Also, in February 2002, State Department polling in four Muslim countries showed 96% have a low opinion of the U.S.

State Department polling in October 2001 showed that 70% in Saudi Arabia and 85% in Jordan believe bin Laden was not involved in the 9/11 attacks. In December, State Department polling in Pakistan showed only 3% named bin Laden responsible for the attacks and only 24% in China blamed bin Laden. In February 2002, Gallup polling in nine Muslim countries showed only 18% believed Arabs carried out the attacks.

Timmes