

*Megan found that this  
had fallen through  
the cracks -*

UNCLASSIFIED  
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SUBJECT: Communications Plan for the GC-CPA November 15 Agreement

1. Summary. CPA's Communications plan on the November 15 GC-CPA Agreement is divided into three phases and has several overarching themes. The plan targets key audiences, including women and Sunnis; we will maximize use of Iraqis in delivering a message promising future sovereignty and democracy. Rollout has started with distribution of over one million leaflets of a fact sheet through established CPA, Coalition Forces and Iraqi civilian networks. Preliminary feedback from focus groups and polling indicates general acceptance of the Nov 15 political agreement, but a need to overcome disinterest in politics. CPA hopes to fund the campaign's USD 3.5 million budget within existing resources. End summary.

2. Implementing an information campaign on the November 15 Agreement between the Iraqi Governing Council and CPA presents a number of challenges. Despite intense debate within the Governing Council (GC), most Iraqis are ignorant of even the basic framework of the November 15 Agreement. After decades of life under Saddam, they feel little connection to national politics, and what connection they have is primarily negative. Most do not know GC members except as members of prominent families or notable oppositionists. There is no one national "leader" on whom we can rely to convey our message. There are local/municipal and provincial councils throughout Iraq where debate and political engagement have begun, but they are focused on local issues such as electricity, water,

jobs and security. The national political process remains remote and unconnected to daily life.

3. Communications between Baghdad and the provinces remain slow and difficult in the absence of working phone connections. Only one-third of the population has access to satellite TV and less than 3% have access to the Internet. In some rural areas, even newspaper delivery is sparse and sporadic. Our first goals, therefore, are to educate the public on the Agreement and begin the process of engaging them on their political future. It will be critical that Al Iraqiyah is up to the task of delivering our message. We have divided our information campaign into phases that correspond to key dates in the Agreement but with overarching themes that cover the whole campaign. It is designed to be flexible to changing needs.

Themes

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4. Key themes underpin the whole campaign:

- empowerment of the Iraqi people in choosing their first representative government in decades;
- reassurance that the country will be secure from internal and external threat;
- guarantees that basic rights and freedoms will be protected;
- the rule of law will replace dictatorship, and;
- creation of the new government will trigger the return of the country to complete Iraqi control (sovereignty).

The capture of Saddam Hussein also presents an unparalleled opportunity to emphasize the theme of reconciliation, the closure of a dark chapter in Iraq's history and the start of a new brighter future

Phase I (December - 28 February)

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5. The first task is to explain the outline of the transitional process to the Iraqi people. The distribution of over one million leaflets, posters and advertisements of a fact sheet describing the process and its basic characteristics is already well under way with widespread distribution by Iraqi ministries, NGOs, Coalition Forces, CPA representatives, and local governing bodies. Other

conduits being used to explain the process are a regularly scheduled "Iraqiya" TV discussion show to explain and discuss both the importance and details of the process; television and radio interviews with Governing Council members, Amb Bremer, Ministers and other experts; and further television and radio political programming with a variety of participants. At the same time, we have also launched a civic education campaign to distribute materials on democracy building, human rights awareness, and the roles/responsibilities of citizens.

6. The participation and ownership of Iraqis, individually and communally, is critical to the success of the whole electoral process. A series of town hall dialogues involving local leaders and citizens is being organized across Iraq with the first meeting planned for Basra on 29 Dec 03. This will be followed by similar events in Mosul (12 Jan 04) and Baghdad (26 Jan 04). Planning is also underway to conduct subsequent meetings in Sunni and Kurdish areas (Diyala and Erbil). The aim is to hold town hall dialogues in all 18 governorates. The first three meetings will be filmed for a TV documentary but all of these events will be covered by local and national TV and regional/satellite TV when we can get them to do so. Aside from these events, local initiatives will be strongly encouraged all over the country.

Phase II (28 February - 31 May)  
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7. Phase II will cover the period to the election of the transition assembly. In this crucial phase the Iraqi people not only need to approve of the process but also must actively become engaged in it. Knowledge gained from the activities conducted earlier including the polls, focus groups and town hall meetings will allow us to identify areas of confusion or concern. Messaging in the form of clarifications and answers to previously raised questions will be delivered using the techniques most successfully employed in the first phase to stimulate discussion, debate, and participation, while media coverage will be used both to deliver such messaging and to highlight the ongoing caucus process. The civic education process will continue.

Phase III (31 May - 1 July) and beyond  
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8. In this phase the credibility of the process and of the new assembly needs to be reinforced and the engagement of the population sustained into the transition to Iraqi sovereignty. The reassurance theme will be very important in this phase, particularly if the security situation is still difficult. The requirement remains for the information campaign to continue beyond 1 July supported by post-CPA structures.

#### Interlocutors

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9. Above all, this is an Iraqi process and wherever possible it should be led by Iraqis. CPA has briefed the media plan to the Governing Council, which has provided helpful input to improve the plan. The CPA team in each governorate is forming an advisory council of Iraqis to provide input into the media campaign and enable us to better target local audiences. Focus groups will be conducted by Iraqis; the town halls will be run by Iraqi moderators for Iraqi audiences. GC members and Ministers are being encouraged to do public outreach in local offices. We are establishing GC Outreach Centers in all 18 governorates to provide an all-Iraqi conduit for information. We will also engage civil society organizations and NGOs, targeting, in particular, women's groups and civil society in the Sunni areas.

10. CPA/GC teams will take the message to provincial and town councils and engage citizens through smaller town hall events, debates on local TV and radio, and sustained interaction with their constituencies. CJTF-7 and its Major Subordinate Commands (MSCs) have been directed to conduct engagements of key leaders and the populace using provided themes, messages and talking points. Electronic versions of materials were included for MSCs to inject into local media. MSCs have now received the centrally produced CPA products and are currently disseminating these across the Iraqi theatre.

#### Al Iraqiyah

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11. Al Iraqiyah's ability to deliver our message will be integral in all phases of the campaign. Initial explanatory interview programs on radio and TV will describe the electoral process. Edited broadcasts of Town

Hall meetings should facilitate community dialogue and pique interest in political participation. Iraqi Governing Council members and ministers will be heavily involved by conducting 4-5 minute discussions on radio and through weekly columns in Al Sabah. We will establish a "countdown to sovereignty" graphic to be used as a backdrop on all relevant political programming. All Al Iraqiya media will broadcast or print public service announcements throughout the transition.

#### Focus Groups

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12. Two sets of focus groups (one for males and one for females each of 24 people) have been conducted in two cities with six more planned in December and January. Initial findings, which must be carefully caveated, indicate that the participants liked the idea of elections but were less concerned with the details of what they were voting for. There was concern for offending religious leaders, although women in particular said that they would defy their religious leaders in secret. Neither group mentioned any part of the Agreement that was prohibitively difficult to understand and felt that the GC should be given a chance. Both groups saw the Coalition Forces (CF) as an essential component to restoring security but the women transferred lawlessness to their perception of democracy. "We care about democracy, but there is nothing real" This is in reference to security - they saw the lack of security as evidence that democracy is not real in Iraq.

#### Polling

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13. Five reliable polls tell us that Iraqis want a democratic government, but (per November/December national survey by Oxford Research International) when asked to name three priorities the next 12 months, public security (84 percent), rebuilding the infrastructure (57 percent) and ensuring that most people in this country can make a decent living (39) all came in ahead of "regaining Iraqi control over governing this country" (28 percent), and only 40 percent described themselves as "very interested or somewhat interested" in politics. Other polls show similar priorities; security is always the first priority.

14. We plan to field 20-question polls twice monthly through June. Our next poll goes to the field before the end of the month and will be the first with questions related to Saddam's capture. Additionally, Oxford Research plans another national sample with results expected in mid-to-late February. Gallup International will begin multi-city polling within a few weeks.

15. We estimate the total cost of this campaign to be about \$3.5 million. CPA is exploring ways of funding this within existing resources.

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