

JS (14)

FOR: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR STABILITY OPERATIONS

FROM: (b)(6)

SUBJECT: Key Tasks—Iraqi Archives Project

MISSION STATEMENT

- The goal of the Iraqi Archives Project is to further expose the atrocities committed by Saddam Hussein and his regime by providing public access to Ba'ath regime documents. This will be done through the:
 - Creation of a digital archive of Ba'athist regime documents related to atrocities, *and the*
 - Establishment of a grant program to encourage research and discussion.

where is real archive

GENERAL RESPONSIBILITIES

- The Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) is the lead agency for this project. They are in charge of overall design and implementation of the project in coordination with the Iraqi Governing Council (CPA "think piece" at Tab A).
- The Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) will provide the CPA with policy guidance and work to resolve interagency policy disagreements.
- The National Defense University (NDU) will provide technical guidance in writing the contract, finding a home for the digital archive, and designing a grant program.

("live" documents)

Don't we want a doc archive in 18?

KEY TASKS

- Obtain access to documents collected by the Iraq Survey Group (ISG)—OSD
 - The CPA has made initial contact with the ISG, but lacks the authority to "direct" them to provide access.
 - OSD *who* is currently staffing a letter to DCI Tenet reminding him of the project and asking him to direct the ISG to provide the CPA with access to relevant documents. (Tab B)
 - OSD will work directly with the CPA and the ISG to ensure that the CPA has access to the documents that they need without unduly impairing the mission of the ISG.
- Secure funding—CPA (with support as needed from OSD)

- Near term funding possibilities (pre-2004) include the CPA, other USG agencies, and/or the German government.
- The CPA must ensure that they have exhausted all other funding possibilities before they submit a funding request.
- There is no appropriate funding source in the Defense Department.
- Longer-term options (post-2004) include the upcoming donor's conference and/or a supplemental appropriation.
- Contract out sorting and scanning of documents—**NDU**
 - NDU will write a request for proposals, which will be sent to the CPA for comments and review.
 - The Iraq Foundation led by Kannan Makiya is very interested in this project and has the support of many USG officials.
 - The Iraq Foundation may well win the eventual contract, but the CPA, OSD, and NDU all agree that the contract should be competitively bid.
 - The CPA in coordination with the Governing Council will award the final contract.
- Start information campaign—**CPA and OSD**
 - CPA will work with the Strategic Communications sub-PCC in Baghdad to develop and implement an information campaign once a contract is awarded.
 - OSD will do the same with the Strategic Communications sub-PCC in Washington.
- Find organization to house digital archive—**NDU**
 - NDU will identify universities and other institutions interested in housing the digital archive in partnership with an Iraqi university or institution
- Start grant program—**NDU**
 - NDU will design and implement a grant program for written, oral, and film histories to "tell the story."

2 ... they have the on-going facility

COORDINATION AND NON-DUPLICATION

- The CPA will ensure that this project is coordinated with and enhances existing efforts to:
 - Establish a permanent national archive in Baghdad as the center of series of monuments

- Develop cases against Ba'athist regime leaders for future criminal tribunals
- Preserve of mass grave sites
- Find and identify missing persons

PROJECTED END DATE

- Spring 2004???—Digital archive established and first set of documents available to public

Human Rights Atrocity Documentation Efforts

Goals:

- Assist Iraqi people in development of a record of atrocities committed by Sadaam Hussein's regime.
- Create Iraqi-run National Archive.
- Allow Access to Documents for criminal investigations and development of a future national museum.
- Allow public and educational access to documents.
- Ensure documents do not become private

Current Situation:

- Significant document looting, destruction and theft has raised international and Iraqi concerns that documents detailing past atrocities have been lost.
- Documents found have contained execution orders, specific information on torture and rape, and property records and forced displacements of great use for historical records.
- To date, the ISG has collected the majority of all documents in Iraq that were not destroyed. Most of these documents are not related to past atrocities.
- There are reports of selling of documents, and some political concerns if they are "privately" owned.
- CPA is currently performing an assessment of what atrocity documents political parties, NGOs and private individuals have. CPA will request from the ISG a list of identified atrocity documents.
- CPA will convene a CPA working group with Ministry Senior Advisors to determine how each Ministry desires handling of Ministry-related documents. This information will be communicated to the ISG.

Proposed Way Ahead:

- Through or with the endorsement of the Governing Council, CPA proposes creation of a National Archive to house all documents of past atrocities. This Archive will permit immediate investigative and longer-term public access. Non-atrocity documents should be returned to their respective Ministries.

- The ISG would turn documents over to the Archive, but would retain access.
- Kanaan Makiya has proposed the "Iraq Memory Foundation," with a long-term \$50-\$100 million endowment to develop an information center for documents and cultural artifacts, museum, oral/written histories, and library program. He seeks USG funding to start this foundation (\$9.45 million over 2 years). To date, no agency has offered funding.
- CPA recommends funding \$1 million for the IMF if Kanaan will agree to tailor its role to housing, categorizing and organizing these atrocity records and cultural artifacts. It must be clear that the documents are property of the Iraqi National Archive, and not the Foundation. This clause is in all contracts to support Iraqi NGOs, such as the Free Prisoners Association. If Kanaan does not agree, CPA recommends an RFP to request bids for an organization to begin assembling the Archive.
- NDU has proposed creating a digital archive and scholarly grants for future educational institutions programs. This would be an excellent complement to the Archive.
- CPA is currently working with USAID/OTI to develop ideas for, and fund, memorial and monument proposals. CPA believes it is premature to fund a museum at this time, but is assisting the Iraqis to develop this concept.
- CPA proposes an interagency dialogue on Documentation efforts, to include the ISG and NDU.
- CPA hopes to host a conference for Iraqis in Baghdad, with some international representation, from Germany, S. Africa, and the Holocaust Museum on Documentation.
- CPA recommends seeking official support for documentation efforts from the German government which has a demonstrated expertise in this field. The German Ambassador to Iraq and Heinrich Boll Foundation have expressed initial interest.

Key Issues for Interagency Dialogue:

- Who Funds and How Much?
- Need a comprehensive, non-duplicative approach.
- How soon should ISG turn over documents to the Archive?
- What security is necessary for the Archive?

INFORMATION MEMO

June 28, 2003
I-03/XXXXXX-STRAT

FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: Secretary of Defense

SUBJECT: Disposition of Iraqi Regime Records

1. The Department of Defense is moving forward with our agreed-upon plan for exposing the true character of the Saddam Hussein regime. As you remember, the intent is to expose the widest possible audience to the detailed history of Ba'athist Iraq through speedy access to Iraqi regime records (see attached information memo to Ambassador Bremer, "Establishing an Historical Record of Saddam Hussein's Tyranny," I-03/XXXX-STRAT, dated DDMMM 2003). As we discussed, the goal is to facilitate authoritative and compelling open-source historical accounts of the regime's abuses.
2. Logically, the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) should manage the disposition and opening of the permanent hard copy archive of records in Iraq and the site and memorial portions of the project. I have asked the National Defense University (NDU), however, to be my executive agent for the digital archive and research portions of the project. NDU will assist the CPA with expert advice and academic liaison, assist in the identification of the permanent home in Iraq for the hard copy archives, select a suitable U.S. location for the partner digital archives, and finally, facilitate the widest academic exploitation of recovered archival material.
3. Crucial to the plan is the swiftest transfer to representatives of the CPA of relevant materials currently in the possession of the Iraq Survey Group (ISG). The timing and process for this transfer is critical to the success of the project and would be impossible without the active assistance and cooperation of the ISG. Though the ISG is currently engaged in a number of high-priority missions, I ask that you communicate the urgency of this documentation project to your representatives in the field.
4. My office will contact the ISG to work out an arrangement whereby the CPA has access to the documents that they need without unduly impairing the mission of the ISG.
5. Dr. Stephen Flanagan, Director of the Institute for National Security Studies at NDU has assembled a capable team to advise both the CPA and ISG in the project. Dr. Flanagan's representatives will contact the ISG staff or your designated representative here in the United States to outline a proposed way forward at the earliest opportunity.

cc: USD(I)
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
Commander, USCENTCOM
Director, DIA
President, National Defense University

Prepared by: (b)(6) OUSD(P)/Strategy, (b)(6)