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Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
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Iraq: Overview

OVERVIEW: Return of basic needs trail popular expectations ... aspiring political groups trying to enforce order, provide services at local level. Coalition military presence seen by most Iraqis as a necessary but temporary requirement. Reporting of Saddam's "presence" continues to intimidate general population. Two more of Top 55 taken into Coalition custody over the weekend: Black List No. 46 and No. 55. CENTCOM reports 11 attacks against

JS 1.4 (A)

NORTH: Coalition intercepted 999 gold bars weighing 10 kg each near Kirkuk on 25 May; second intercept of gold shipment in a week. Despite initial Arab and Turkomen threats to boycott the Kirkuk mayoral election process all ethnic groups participated in selecting three assistant Mayors on 26 May ... Kurdish Mayor and Arab Deputy Mayor expected to be elected 28 May. Ansar al-Islam reportedly planning car bomb attacks against U.S. forces and PUK in Kirkuk. Local tribe planning possible attack on Bayji to Kirkuk pipeline. (S//NF)

BAGHDAD/CENTRAL REGION: NGOs and press report continued criminal activity and concerns about security. Coalition forces in al-Fallujah attacked with grenades 25 May and with small arms late 26 May. (S//NF)

WEST: Ambush of Coalition convoy using RPGs and machine guns near al-Hadithah on 26 May ... expect further targeting of light skinned Coalition vehicles to maximize casualties. (S//NF)

SOUTH: According to British forces, security situation in al-Basrah more stable than a month ago, but criminal activity continues to be a problem. (S)

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Iraq: Ba'ath Party Resurgence - Setting the Conditions

OVERVIEW: We have no direct intelligence but assess Saddam's regime may have developed a plan to allow key elements to survive and return to power. Began setting conditions prior to regime fall to facilitate implementation of plan.

CONDITIONS DESIRED BY REGIME

An intimidated population
A high threat environment for IIA
An anti-Coalition Coalition
Survival of Ba'ath seniors
Coalition discredited
Syria becomes base of operations

PRE-WAR BA'ATH PARTY

Members: 70,000
Affiliates: 700,000 to 1,500,000
Key leadership: 20 in top echelon, 300 in next tier

POST-REGIME PLAN

STAGE 1: Senior leadership survives. Reorganize, spread propoganda, intimidate, agitate the population, low-level activities that could not be traced to Ba'ath Party ... currently in this stage. (~~SECRET TO USA, AUS, CAN and GBR~~)

STAGE 2: Begin resistance operations, direct special groups to attack Iraqis and Coalition, assassination campaign, create "us versus them" mentality among Iraqis ... likely future stage ... some cells may be in this stage. (~~SECRET TO USA, AUS, CAN and GBR~~)

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Iraq: Ba'ath Party Resurgence: Implementing the Plan

Turki: Ba'ath Party members reportedly formed the al-Rasheed Party. al-Rasheed had reportedly distributed pro-Saddam propaganda and encouraging paramilitary activity against the Coalition. Other Ba'ath elements planned disruption operations. (S)

Baghdad: Reported daily meetings as of 8 May; organizing secret cells in Abu Ghariib; planning anti-Coalition attacks. (S)

Anbar Province: Reported regular meetings throughout province; discussing future paramilitary activities against Coalition. (S)

Fallujah: Former Ba'ath Party members in al-Fallujah have reportedly been encouraging aggressive demonstrations in order to provoke a Coalition response. (S)

Karbala-Majlis: Ba'ath Party in an-Majlis managing under name Continuing Organization (Furqan al-Jamhiyya al-Mu'tamarah). Planning to create tension, conduct Saddam Hussein style ops against Coalition, facilitate return of former regime. Spreading propaganda that Saddam to return. (S)

Sumer: Ba'ath Party members reportedly met and allegedly agreed to begin harassing Coalition forces. (S)

Mosul-Kirkuk: New political party (Front Vanguard Organization) was reportedly formed by Ba'ath Party loyalists early May. Other Ba'ath Party cells established in legitimate political parties. Cells reportedly planning anti-Coalition operations in Kirkuk. (S)

Hawijah: Ba'ath Party members reportedly planned to distribute small arms to loyalists. Instructed villagers to attack Coalition forces in Baghdad. Small Organization (Karkab al-Ahli) reportedly first of possibly three groups created by Saddam to identify, assess and target cooperating with U.S. Forces. (S)

Rayfi: Ba'ath Party members reportedly re-organizing to drive Coalition forces out using paramilitary tactics. (S)

al-Basrah: Ba'ath Party members reportedly attempting to blame Coalition for security problems; believed responsible for increase in crime and looting since late Apr. (S)

al-Zubayr: Ba'ath Party was believed to have distributed hundreds of leaflets urging violence against Coalition forces. (S)

CURRENT BA'ATH ACTIVITY: Not clear if Ba'ath activity coordinated nationally, or individual cells acting on their own. Most cells currently in Stage 1: Reorganizing, often under different names or as part of other groups; spreading propaganda; intimidating, agitating population; numerous anecdotal reporting calls preparing for Stage 2 attacks against Coalition. (S)

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Iraq: Ba'ath Resurgence Assessment

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ASSESSMENT OF CONDITIONS DESIRED BY REGIME

- An intimidated population
 - Elements of population feel regime return withholding cooperation with Coalition
- High threat environment for IIA
 - Paramilitary operations continue against Coalition but limited casualties
- An anti-Coalition Coalition
 - Regional governments largely supportive of Coalition, though Arab states opposed
 - International support for regime collapsed as the regime did its field anti-Coalition Coalition materialized
 - United Sunni/Shi'a anti-Coalition front failed to develop
- Survival of Ba'ath seniors
 - Saddam, sons, some senior leaders reported still at large
- Coalition discredited
 - No WMD used or found at this time - detained IWT's claim no recent WMD - but limited impact
 - Coalition actions gain credibility with growing accounts of regime atrocities and discrediting of mass atrocity
- Syria becomes base of operations
 - No success

CURRENT ACTIVITIES

- Reorganization of local level (Samarrah, Tikrit, Fallujah, Karbala, Mosul, al-Amarah, Baghdad, al-Basrah, Bayji, Kirkuk, Mosul, al-Najaf, al-Nasiriyah, al-Samarrah, Shuywahh, Sumar, Tikrit, az-Zubayr), Propaganda, Justice, Saddam posters seen
- (Samarrah, Tikrit, Baghdad, Mosul, Tikrit)
- Possible regional organization (Samarrah, Tikrit, al-Basrah, Tikrit, Kirkuk, and Hawilah)
- Intimidation of Iraqis cooperating with Coalition
- (Samarrah, Tikrit, Baghdad, Mosul, al-Amarah, Karbala, Mosul, al-Najaf, az-Zubayr)
- Indirection of overt political groups (Samarrah, Tikrit, al-Basrah, Mosul, az-Zubayr)
- Encouragement of violence against Coalition forces (Samarrah, Tikrit, Baghdad, Mosul, al-Amarah, Baghdad, al-Basrah, al-Fallujah, Kirkuk, al-Ramadi, Sumar, Tikrit, az-Zubayr)
- Reports of looting and increased crime planned on Ba'ath Party members - used looting to hide WMD (Samarrah, al-Basrah, Karbala)
- Distribution of arms to members to conduct attacks (Samarrah, Mosul, al-Ramadi, az-Zubayr)

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Iraq: Ba'ath Resurgence Outlook

POSSIBLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

- Nationwide coordination of Ba'ath Party activities
- Overt political activity using cover organizations
- Increased intimidation by Party thugs
- Rockets of paramilitary activities designed to create steady flow of Coalition casualties
- Creation of "us versus them" sentiment
- Establishment of Shi'a/Sunni extremist unity against common enemy (C/AF)

ASSESSMENT: Elements of this assessed plan appear to be unfolding. Ba'ath Party members and cells are enacting a phased response (both political and resistance actions) to drive Coalition out of Iraq and regain political prominence. ~~(S//REL TO USA, AOS, CAN and GB)~~

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