

OSD 1.4 (c)

XI 030530-11

~~SECRET-NOFORN~~

CIA
EO 13526 1.4(c)<25Yrs

MAY ³⁰~~20~~, 2003

MEMO TO: SECRETARY RUMSFELD

FROM: PAUL BREMER ^{6/5/30}

SUBJECT: MOVES TO COUNTER PRO-IRANIAN AND BA'THI
ELEMENTS IN NAJAF AND KARBALA

ON MAY 28, I SENT HUME HORAN TO NAJAF TO APPRAISE THE
SITUATION IN THE SHIITE HOLY CITIES OF NAJAF AND
KARBALA AND TO RECOMMEND ACTION. HE MET WITH LT.
GENERAL CONWAY, MG WALTERS AND OUR CIVILIAN EXPERTS
[REDACTED] HE DISCUSSED WITH THEM THE
ISSUES WE FACE WITH SCIRI, THE BADR BRIGADE, BA'TH
ACTIVISTS STILL AT LARGE, ARMS CACHES, AND PLANNED
GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS.

WE SHOULD MOVE FORCEFULLY AND SOON AGAINST THE
BADR CORPS AND KNOWN BA'THI LEADERS IN THE AREA.
WHEN WE HAVE FIRMLY SECURED NAJAF AND KARBALA,
LEADING SHIITE CLERICS WILL BE MORE FREE TO EXERT A
MODERATING INFLUENCE ON OUR BEHALF. AT PRESENT,
GRAND AYATOLLAH SISTANI FEARS HE WOULD BE KILLED BY

Office of the Secretary of Defense § U.S.C. 9552
Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS
Date: 26 APR 2016 Authority: EO 13526
Declassify: Deny in Full: _____
Declassify in Part: X
Reason: 1.4(C)
MDR: 11-M-2192

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 26 2016

11-M-2192

PRO-IRANIAN ELEMENTS WERE HE TO LEAVE HIS RESIDENCE. OTHER AYATOLLAHS ARE INTIMIDATED. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE LARGE MAJORITY OF IRAQ'S SHI'A DOES NOT SUPPORT THE GOALS OF SCIRI. IF WE CAN OFFER SECURITY TO THE MODERATE SHI'A LEADERS, WE'LL HAVE WON A BIG ROUND IN THE RELIGIOUS TUG OF WAR BETWEEN IRANIAN QUM AND THE CROWN JEWELS OF SHIISM, IRAQI NAJAF AND KARBALA.

TRIBAL LEADERS WITH BLOOD GRIEVANCES AGAINST THE BA'TH CHAFE AT WHAT THEY SEE AS A LACK OF U.S. ACTION AGAINST KNOWN VIOLATORS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. BA'THI SELF-ASSURANCE, MEANWHILE, IS INCHING UP FOR THE SAME REASON. IF THE TRIBES' PATIENCE RUNS OUT, THERE WOULD BE VIOLENCE THROUGHT THE GOVERNORATE.

YOU ARE RIGHT: THE USMC HAS DONE AN EXCELLENT JOB IN KARBALA. THEY HAVE DONE THE SAME IN NAJAF. WITH CREATIVITY, IMAGINATION, AND DRIVE, THEY HAVE INTRODUCED DEMOCRACY AND ITS PROCEDURES TO THE CITIZENS —WOMEN AND CLERGY INCLUDED. NEVERTHELESS, I HAVE DECIDED TO POSTPONE INDEFINTELY GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS IN NAJAF. BASED ON HUME'S REPORT, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT SCIRI MIGHT STEAL THEM WITH ITS ORGANIZATION, MONEY, AND A MILITIA JUST OFFSTAGE.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 26 2016

OSD 1.4 (C)

CIA 1.4 (C)

THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR U.S. TROOPS IN THESE SENSITIVE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS AREAS. OUR TROOPS IN NAJAF AND KARBALA SHOULD BE RETAINED AND NOT REDUCED. ONLY THEY HAVE THE RESPECT OF THE LOCALS. FOR SOME TIME TO COME, THEY WILL SEE OUR PRESENCE AS A KIND OF CHARM, EFFECTIVE IN WARDING OFF THE EVILS SUNNI DOMINATION. IT WILL BE LONG BEFORE MEMORIES OF THE NEAR-HOLOCAUST AT HILLA BEGIN TO FADE. FOREIGN REPLACEMENTS WOULD BE DISRESPECTED, AND SUNNI OCCUPATION TROOPS--IN THESE HOLIEST OF SHI'A TOWNS-- WILL PROVOKE RELIGIOUS STRIFE.

I SAW GENERAL CONWAY YESTERDAY IN BASRA AND UNDERSTAND THAT HE HAS HEARD FROM YOU THROUGH GENERAL FRANKS ABOUT MY CONCERNS IN THIS REGARD.

WE ARE COMPILING FROM ALL SOURCES INFORMATION ON BA'THIS AND THE BADR CORPS IN NAJAF. THIS WILL BE SENT BACK [REDACTED] ONCE WE HAVE VETTED IT. WE WILL WANT TO MONITOR IF AND HOW THE BADR CORPS COMPLIES WITH THE DISARMAMENT CAMPAIGN WHICH BEGINS SUNDAY.

ASSUMING THAT THEY DO NOT COMPLY, I WOULD RECOMMEND THAT COALITION FORCES UNDERTAKE EARLY ACTION AGAINST LOCAL BA'THIS AND THE BADR CORPS AND ITS STOCKPILED WEAPONS IN NAJAF AND KARBALA. THE GOVERNOR OF KARBALA, WE ARE TOLD IS EAGER TO HELP.

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: APR 26 2016