Extent

858 folders, approximately 22,777 pages

Summary

This collection consists of records regarding Iraq in 1998. The first segment of this collection includes reports to Congress, Congressional correspondence, as well as United Nations (UN) reports and resolutions. These records concern the use of force in Iraq, Iraqi deportees the passage of the Iraq Liberation Act, and the UN oil-for-food program. In addition, this collection also contains correspondence from the public, administrative paperwork, speech drafts, speeches, press materials and formal messages from the President.

Scope and Content Note

The materials in FOIA 2008-0730-F are a selective body of documents responsive to the topic of the FOIA. Researchers should also see 2009-1292-M; materials related to Operation Desert Fox. Researchers should consult the archivist about related materials. Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request 2008-0730-F was for all records related to Iraq from 1998. Though the FOIA request was for records related to 1998 this collection dates from 1983 to 2000. This reflects the nature of staff and office files. It was common for NSC staff to maintain records related to a topic regardless of year or to retain background information. That said the majority of records are from 1998 and every attempt was made to limit responsiveness to that year. Records include reports to Congress such as those required by the Iraq Liberation Act (P.L. 105-338), the Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (P.L. 102-1), and the bi-annual reports under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (P.L. 95-223). Correspondence from Congress to, or from, the White House or the National Security Advisor is also in this collection. Reports to the United Nations (UN) as well as resolutions to the UN or the United Nations Security Council are included in this collection. The collection also includes materials related to the

use of force in Iraq and the war powers resolution. It also includes unclassified and unsealed materials related to Iraqi deportees in In Re: Ali Jahjoh Saleh (A76-200-369), Ali Yasim Mohammed Karim (A76-200-431), Mohammed Jasim Tuma (A76-200-974), Mohammed Jwer Abboud Al-Ammary (A76-201-016), Safa Al-Din Al-Batat (A76-201-494), Adil Hadi Awadh (A76-201-533). Materials related to drafting and supporting the passage of the Iraq Liberation Act are included in this collection. The collection also includes records related to the United Nation's oil-for-food program under United Nations Security Council resolution (UNSCR) 968. Correspondence to and from the President from the public, including limited public correspondence to and from the National Security Advisor are contained in this FOIA case. Also, Statements of Administration Policy, administrative paperwork related to document routing, copies of newspaper stories and transcripts of White House press briefings, messages from the President, or other administration officials, to the public concerning Iraq are also included in this collection. Emails in the involve talking points, meeting scheduling arrangements, announcements, press releases and briefs, and speeches given by President Clinton concerning Iraq. The collection includes correspondence from citizens and religious groups opposed to armed conflict in general and confrontation with Iraq in particular. It also includes speech drafts and talking points related to the confrontation with Iraq in 1998 and meeting notes between administration officials and Arab-American affinity groups and correspondence between the President and members of Congress concerning economic sanctions, the "Oil for Food" program and the authorization of the use of force in Iraq. On the evening of December 16, 1998, President Clinton made a televised statement announcing that he had ordered military strikes in Iraq. The strikes were, "to attack Iraq's nuclear, chemical, and biological programs and its military capacity to threaten its neighbors." Drafting talking points on the morning after the December airstrikes began, Samuel Berger noted, "[Would the U.S.] Stop if [Saddam Hussein] says uncle?" The draft answer was simply "will complete the mission." The strikes carried out under Operation Desert Fox lasted for four days. The strikes were made, as the President has stated, because "Iraq…abused its last chance." The Clinton administration's relations with Iraq began auspiciously. Seventeen days after President Clinton took office, Iraqi military units turned their air defense radars on U.S. military aircraft in northern no-fly zones. The U.S. military responded by launching missile attacks on the radar sites. Warren Christopher, in his book In the Stream of History, notes that while Saddam Hussein and Iraq had been thoroughly defeated in the Gulf War, "Iraq continued to threaten stability in the

region.” In fact, only days before leaving office President George H. W. Bush ordered cruise missile attacks against Iraq. Clinton, it seems, was simply continuing American policy. However, Martin Indyk notes in his book, Innocent Abroad, that Clinton was reluctant to address the Iraq problem. It seemed that Clinton “had revealed an ambivalence…about using force to contain Saddam.” Indyk continues, “Clinton believed that no differences were so profound that reasonable people working together could not resolve them.” Clinton’s approach toward Iraq became one based on sanctions and inspections, “dual containment” as it is now well known. Nevertheless, throughout Clinton’s time in office, when Saddam refused to allow UN inspections or challenged the United States, Clinton responded with either the threat of force or with force. Though Indyk notes, “for most of the time, Clinton was content to keep Saddam contained.” Of course many people credit Indyk for the creation of the Clinton administration’s policy of dual containment. First presented at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy’s Soref Symposium, Indyk set forth the administration’s policy: “Our approach begins with a concept of interdependence between the eastern and western halves of the [Middle East] region: thus, containing the threats posed by Iraq and Iran in the east will impact on our ability to promote peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors in the west.” If dual containment succeeded, the belief was that the whole of the Middle East was improved; that peace promoted prosperity and growth more than violence. “A short-hand way of encapsulating the Clinton administration strategy is thus: ‘dual containment’ of Iraq and Iran in the east; promotion of Arab-Israeli peace in the west.” The goal of dual containment was to protect America’s vital interests: oil, alliances with friendly governments, security and survival of Israel, and just, lasting, and comprehensive settlement of ArabIsraeli peace. As presented by Indyk, the United States sought to reduce the threat of Iraq and Iran and to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction or the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Additionally the United States sought full Iraqi compliance with all UN resolutions, that Iraq would not threaten its neighbors, and that Saddam would not use chemical or biological weapons against the citizens of Iraq. Bruce Riedel, who succeeded Indyk as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director of Near East and South Asian Affairs, was asked to present a paper at the Soref Symposium and he revisited Indyk’s 1993 presentation. Riedel presented his paper “U.S. Policy in the Gulf: Five Years of Dual Containment,” in which he noted that while much had changed in the last five years, “much remains unchanged.” The United States continued “to face a very serious challenge to the stability of the Gulf from Saddam’s Iraq.” Consistent with the goals

of dual containment the United State's approach to Iraq was primarily manifest by working through the United Nations and the United Nations Security Council. Building on UN resolutions 687, 688, 701, 707, 712, and 715, among others, the administration attempted to implement containment of Iraq while maintaining international alliances. Martin Indyk explained that while developing Iraq options the interagency groups recommended three options. The last of the three, containment of Saddam through UN action, sanctions, and occasional use of force was the plan on which the NSC settled. Yet, Saddam consistently refused to accept full UN inspections under the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM). Riedel recognized that this pattern of behavior was unlikely to change. "Saddam Hussein's track record is all too clear. He will continue to challenge the international community because his goals remain regional domination and revenge for past defeats." At the time of Riedel's May 1998 speech Saddam's Iraq had already proven Riedel's point. The previous year had been a tumultuous with near monthly bickering with Iraq over weapons inspectors or responding to overt hostile actions. In late October 1997, Iraq threatened to shoot down American U2 aircraft flying surveillance missions for UNSCOM. In November 1997, Iraq refused to allow American weapons inspectors in-turn causing UNSCOM to remove their inspection teams from the country. Russian President Boris Yeltsin negotiated a last minute compromise to avert military action and yet in December Iraq still refused to allow UNSCOM full access. January and February of 1998 saw much of the same tit-for-tat gamesmanship. Iraq again refused UN inspectors full access particularly to Iraqi Presidential palaces. Military action was again narrowly avoided, in February 1998, by last minute diplomatic negotiations, led this time by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. In late April, Iraqi Foreign Minister Mohammed Saeed Sahhaf told the UN that the February agreement to allow inspections of presidential sites did not, in contradiction to what Annan understood, allow for inspection of all sites and for an indefinite period. Saddam was, seemingly, proving Riedel correct and earning the nickname Madeleine Albright gave him, "Migraine Hussein." Tensions built through the remainder of 1998. Iraq refused to cooperate with UN inspectors. The threat of military action grew as Iraq attempted to assert what it thought was its right as an independent state. Increasingly many people began to feel that some form of military action was inevitable. November 15, 1998, the United States was within an hour of military strikes when Saddam agreed to renewed inspections and better cooperation. Richard Butler, Chairman of UNSCOM, reported to Secretary General Annan on December 15 that Iraq was not complying with its November agreements

and still was now allowing inspections. UNSCOM inspectors withdrew from Iraq and military action against Iraq began on December 16. Operation Desert Fox consisted of four days of air and missile strikes against Iraq, beginning late on the 16th and ending before Ramadan on the 19th . On the 20th Saddam claimed that Iraq was victorious in its battle against coalition forces. The year ended much as it began with Iraq refusing to allow inspections by the UN. As Bruce Riedel said, “Saddam Hussein’s track record is all too clear.” As 1998 came to a close the tone for 1999 appeared to be more of the same. The Washington Post on December 30 quoted Iraqi Vice President Taha Yassin Ramadan who said that Iraqi fighters were flying and were ready to shoot down any American or British jet in any part of Iraq.

Record Type

Textual

System of Arrangement

Records that were responsive to this request were found in these collection areas — Clinton Presidential Records: White House Office of Records Management (WHORM) Alpha Project, Clinton Presidential Records: WHORM Subject Files, Clinton Presidential Records: White House Staff and Office Files, Clinton Presidential Records: Automated Records Management System, Clinton Presidential Records: Tape Restoration Project, and Clinton Presidential Records: NSC Cable, Email, and Records Management System. The White House Office of Records Management (WHORM) contains a variety of series created to organize and track documents and correspondence. The WHORM Subject File was compiled by the White House Office of Records Management and is a series of categories designated by a letter/number combination. In addition there are WHORM Alpha Project series. White House Staff and Office files were maintained at the folder level by staff members within their individual offices and document all levels of administration activity. WHORM files are processed at the document level; whereas, Staff and Office Files are processed at the folder level, that is, individual documents are not selected and removed from a folder for processing. While this method maintains folder integrity, it frequently results in the incidental processing of documents that are not wholly responsive to the subject area. The Automated Records Management System (ARMS) is a database

that contains email records of the Executive Office of the President. This system maintained unclassified Presidential email. The ARMS database is comprised of six sub-series of email records called "buckets." The buckets generally represent a specific White House office. The buckets are titled: NPR for National Performance Review, OPD for Office of Policy Development, POTUS for President of the United States, WHO for White House Office, CEA for Council of Economic Advisers, and Default for emails not associated with an office. The NPR bucket contains email created or received by an individual with a National Performance Review (NPR) White House user account. The OPD bucket contains email created or received by an individual with an Office of Policy Development (OPD) White House user account. The POTUS bucket was designated for email created and received by the President of the United States (POTUS). Please note that President Clinton never used his POTUS White House user account to send the few emails he wrote while in office. The WHO bucket contains email created or received by individual with an Executive Office of the President White House user account not identified as CEA, NPR, or OPD. The CEA bucket contains email created or received by an individual with a Council of Economic Advisors (CEA) White House user account. The Default bucket contains email created or received by unknown or un-recognized email accounts. Email found within the Default bucket often includes email created or received by offices or individuals outside the Executive Office of the President. ARMS email are arranged by topic, there-under by bucket, and there-under chronologically by creation date. The Tape Restoration Project (TRP) is a database consisting of restored emails from the Automated Records Management System (ARMS) from July 1994 through June of 2000. The TRP is a database that contains email records of the Executive Office of the President. This system maintained unclassified Presidential record email. The TRP database is comprised of the same six sub-series of email as in ARMS. TRP email are arranged by topic, there-under by bucket, and there-under chronologically by creation date. FOIA 2008-0730-F includes WHORM records from these subject codes: CO080 Countries - Iraq, Republic of CO082 Countries - Israel CO124 Countries - Nicaragua ED Education FG001 Federal Government – President of the United States FG006-06 Federal Government – National Security Council FO Foreign Affairs IT086 International Organizations – Secretariat, United Nations JL003 Judicial – Criminal Matters ND016 National Security, Defense – Wars-Conflicts ND017 National Security, Defense – Weapons-Ordnance-Munitions PR003 Public Relations – Administration Support (Incoming) PR013-08 Public Relations – Opinions-Statements-Questionnaires-Articles PU001-07 Publications – Clippings to the President SP

Speeches SP230-98 Speeches – State of the Union, 1998 WE Welfare.

Access

Collection is open to all researchers. Access to Clinton Presidential Records is governed by the Presidential Records Act (PRA) (44 U.S.C. Chapter 22, as amended) and the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (5 U.S.C. 552, as amended) and therefore records may be restricted in whole or in part in accordance with legal exemptions.

Copyright

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Provenance

Official records of William Jefferson Clinton’s presidency are housed at the Clinton Presidential Library and administered by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) under the provisions of the Presidential Records Act (PRA).

Processed by

Staff Archivist, 2014/2015. Previously restricted materials are added as they are released.

Last Modified Date

2016-01-21

Container List

The following is a list of documents and folders processed in response to 2008-0730-F:

Box 1

Clinton Presidential Records: (WHORM) Alpha Project Files

AF Folder #5 258902 [Crisis with Iraq] [OA/ID 11384]

Clinton Presidential Records: WHORM: Subject Files

Category Case Number

CO080 253101

CO080 253402SS

CO080 253463

CO080 253720

CO080 253730

CO080 253738

CO080 253953

CO080 254194

CO080 254207

CO080 254219

CO080 254220

CO080 254221

CO080 254222

CO080 254223

CO080 254447

Clinton Presidential Records: WHORM: Subject Files (continued)

Category Case Number

CO080 254619

CO080 254817

CO080 254825

CO080 254915

CO080 254920

CO080 254939

CO080 254944

CO080 254947

CO080 254950

CO080 254951

CO080 254955
CO080 255156
CO080 255183
CO080 255309
CO080 255312
CO080 255321
CO080 255393
CO080 255575
CO080 255576
CO080 255578
CO080 256506
CO080 256561
CO080 256610
CO080 256616
CO080 256620
CO080 256645
CO080 256654
CO080 256659
CO080 256663
CO080 256703
CO080 256706
CO080 256906
Box 2
CO080 257229
CO080 257395
CO080 257511
CO080 258034
CO080 258165
CO080 258734
CO080 261884
CO080 273156
CO080 276915SS
CO080 280697
CO080 281540
Clinton Presidential Records: WHORM: Subject Files (continued)
Category Case Number
CO080 283100

CO080 284647
CO080 284812SS
CO080 285359
CO080 285419
CO080 285541
CO080 285597
CO080 285659
CO080 285728
CO080 285916
CO080 285974
CO080 286338
CO080 286512
CO080 286737
CO080 286839
CO080 286912
CO080 288301
CO080 288893
CO080 288914
CO080 288918
CO080 289027
CO080 289319
CO080 289554
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CO080 289589
CO080 289693
CO080 290177
CO080 290714
CO080 291726
CO082 285388
CO124 286000
ED 252896SS
FG001 276464SS
FG006-06 253273SS
FO 292556
IT086 254921
JL003 285373SS

ND016 276703SS
Box 3
ND017 260135
PR003 253725
PR013-08 255031SS
PU001-07 286222SS
Clinton Presidential Records: WHORM: Subject Files (continued)
Category Case Number
SP 254344SS
SP230-98 251120
WE 249840
Clinton Presidential Records: White House Staff and Office Files
Counsel’s Office
Ruff, Charles
Iraq [OA/ID 17987]
Legislative Affairs
Maldon, Al
Iraq Resolution [1] [OA/ID 14163]
Iraq Resolution [2] [OA/ID 14163]
Subject Files
Iraqi Strikes [OA/ID 19222]
NS [National Security]: Iraq [OA/ID 17599]
National Economic Council
Holstein, Elgie
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National Security Council
Asian Affairs
Lieberthal, Kenneth
Iraq Attack [OA/ID 2425]
Defense Policy and Arms Control
Bell, Robert
Iraq Crisis, January-March 1998 [1] [OA/ID 3593]
Iraq Crisis, January-March 1998 [2] [OA/ID 3593]
Iraq – Nuclear Options, January-March 1998 [OA/ID 3593]
Box 4
Binnendjik, Hans
Iraq [1] [OA/ID 2576]

Iraq [2] [OA/ID 2576]
Iraq [3] [OA/ID 2576]
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Iraq [6] [OA/ID 2576]
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Iraq [8] [OA/ID 2676]
Box 5
Von Lipsey, Roderick
Iraq [1] [OA/ID 1274]
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Iraq [3] [OA/ID 1274]
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Iraq [5] [OA/ID 1274]
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Iraq: Persian Gulf/GAO Study [OA/ID 1274]
NEO – Iraq and Israel Political-Military Planning [1] [OA/ID 1695]
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NEO – Iraq and Israel Political-Military Planning [6] [OA/ID 1695]
NEO – Iraq and Israel Political-Military Planning [7] [OA/ID 1695]
European Affairs
Bandler, Donald
Iraq [1] [OA/ID 1507]
Iraq [2] [OA/ID 1507]
Intelligence Programs
McCarthy, Mary
Intelligence – Iraq Files 1998 [1] [OA/ID 2914]
Intelligence – Iraq Files 1998 [2] [OA/ID 2914]
Mitchell, Don
Iraq 1998 & 1999 [1] [OA/ID 3030]
Iraq 1998 & 1999 [2] [OA/ID 3030]
Iraq 1998 & 1999 [3] [OA/ID 3030]
Iraq 1998 & 1999 [4] [OA/ID 3030]

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International Health Affairs
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Box 7
Legal Advisor
Allen, Charles
Iraq [1] [OA/ID 2672]
Iraq [2] [OA/ID 2672]
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Iraq Deportees [3] [OA/ID 2672]
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Clinton Presidential Records: White House Staff and Office Files (continued)
National Security Council
Legal Advisor
Baker, James
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Box 9
DeRosa, Mary
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Iraq [9] [OA/ID 4057]
Iraq [10] [OA/ID 4057]
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Iraq Liberation Act [OA/ID 2599]
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Iraq [1] [OA/ID 1736]
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[Iraq] Brigade / Threats Location [1] [OA/ID 1824]
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Stromseth, Jane / Feldman, Daniel / Shea, Dorothy
Iraq – Christine Godsen Halabja Proposal [1] [OA/ID 2975]
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Iraq Policy: Foreign Policy Meeting [OA/ID 3832]
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[Iraq] Operation Desert Fox Battle Damage Assessment [OA/ID 1473]
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Iraq Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) [3] [OA/ID 2962]
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Nonproliferation and Export Controls

Samore, Gary
IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] Iraq [1] [OA/ID 3017]
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