Future of Iraq Project

Briefing Classification: Secret/Rel UK

November 1, 2002
Objectives

- Practical planning – what can be done between now and regime change, and in aftermath of transition.

- Taps into enormous talent pool of Iraqi-American, Iraqi-European and Iraqis from the region – successful engineers, business people, doctors, lawyers, others: They know Iraq, its problems, and possible solutions.

- Engages the non-political Iraqi opposition – most Iraqi professionals are not involved in Iraqi opposition politics.

- Integration into USG planning for future of Iraq: Ideas and people that can play a role in post-Saddam Iraq.

November 1, 2002
Why This Project Is Important: What We Expected Going In

- Expected a range of results – good, bad, in-between. However, we expected overall process to show:
  - Source of ideas.
  - Source of expertise.
  - Detailed public planning conveys USG seriousness.
  - Conveys message USG wants to learn from past regime change experiences.
  - Help Iraqis get their message out – why regime change is important.
  - Talent scouting.

November 1, 2002
16 Working Groups

- Transitional Justice
- Public Finance
- Public Outreach Development
- Democratic Principles
- Water, Agriculture & the Environment
- Public Health & Humanitarian Needs
- Defense Policy
- Local Government
- Economy & Infrastructure
- Civil Society Capacity-Building
- Anti-Corruption Measures
- Education
- Refugees & Internally Displaced Persons
- Building a Free Media
- Foreign Policy
- Oil & Energy
Mechanics of Each Working Group

- 10-20 Iraqis and 2-5 international experts.
- Recommended by opposition groups and individuals.
- Cleared by interagency steering group process.
- Start with reception the night before.
- Meet for 1 ½ days at the State Department or in Europe.
- Simultaneous translation in English & Arabic.
- Moderated by State Department official.
- Interagency observers important: OSD, JCS, OVP, Treasury, AID, HHS, Commerce, USGS, EPA.
- Follow-up work by 4-8 “sub-groups” on specialized subjects. Entirely self-selected – inclusion is key.
Project History

State Department planning on the transition began.

Outline of subjects submitted to Department principals.

Conference/work group proposals made public.

Planning meeting with Iraqis under auspices of Middle East Institute.

Program brought in-house at State.

Congress approves $5 million funding.

First Working Group (Transitional Justice) meets.

October 2001

Feb. 4, 2002

March 2002

April 9-10, 2002

Late April 2002

May-June 2002

July 7-8, 2002

November 1, 2002
Working Groups To Date

July 9-10    Transitional Justice
August 6-7   Public Finance
August 27-30 Public Outreach Development
September 4-5 Democratic Principles
Sept. 27-Oct. 1 Transitional Justice (2nd meeting)
October 5-6   Water, Agriculture & the Environment
October 10-11 Democratic Principles (2nd meeting)
October 16-17 Public Health & Humanitarian Issues
October 25-26 Economy & Infrastructure

November 1, 2002
Tentative Schedule for Future Working Groups

Nov. 12-13  Defense Policy
Nov. 14-15  Local Government
Nov. 15    Civil Society Capacity-Building
Nov. 19-20  Anti-Corruption
Nov. 21-22  Building a Free Media
Nov. 25-26  Education
Nov. 25-26  Refugees & Internally Displaced Persons
Dec. 3-4    Foreign Policy
Dec. 3-4    Oil & Energy
Dec. 10-11  Defense Policy (2nd meeting)
Dec. 12-13  Local Government (2nd meeting)

November 1, 2002
Transitional Justice

- Organize efforts to draft laws to bring Saddam Hussein and his top associates to justice.
- Draft a truth-and-reconciliation process with amnesties for the rest of Iraqi society.
- Plan for reforms to the criminal code and criminal procedure code to return to accepted norms prior to Saddam's rule.
- Plan for reforms of the courts, the police and the prison system.
- Promote the rule of law in Iraq.
- 4 subgroups:
  - Accountability, truth and reconciliation.
  - Legal reform.
  - Institutional reform.
  - Outreach to other bar associations and the public.
Public Finance

- Develop plans for restructuring Iraqi sovereign and commercial debt and reparations obligations.
  - "Positive sanctions" idea to tie forgiveness of debt and reparations to specific, tangible steps by Iraq towards democracy, rule of law, transparency, accountability, and demilitarization.
- Develop plans for job creation.
- Organize efforts to recapture assets controlled by Saddam Hussein and others that rightfully belong to the Iraqi people.
- Develop plans for transparency and accountability in public expenditures and to restore confidence in domestic finance.
- Plan for fundamental banking reforms.

November 1, 2002
Democratic Principles

- Began discussions on how to plan for political transition to an Iraq based on democracy and federalism – under the INC’s Salahuddin Principles.
- Plan for how to establish culture of respect for human rights and the rule of law.
- Plan for how civil society can be re-established in post-Saddam Iraq.
- Key transition ideas:
  - Kanan Makiya/Rend Rahim Francke plan.
  - Laith Kubba/Ghassan al-Attiyah plan.
- Participants said:
  - Iraq is not Afghanistan.
  - U.S. should make commitment to Iraq like Japan and Germany.
- Note military government idea did not go down well.

November 1, 2002
Water, Agriculture & Environment (1)

- Fundamental importance of clean water supplies for Iraqis immediately after transition. Key to coalition/community relations.
- Planning process underway for restoring the southern marshes of Iraq, 84% destroyed by the regime.
- Many Iraqi engineers willing to offer expertise to U.S. Army, DART, or new Iraqi government.
- Need for urgent environmental assessments in hours after regime change in Basra and Baghdad.
- Need in first weeks for comprehensive environmental assessments – air, water, soil, solid waste, and other specialized areas like oil field operations and biological/hospital waste.
Water, Agriculture & Environment

- Medium-term problems of declining water quality in the Euphrates – real political problems with Turkey and Syria coming. Engineers proposed win-win-win solutions.

- Key agricultural reforms could quickly increase productivity at low cost: Pest control equipment (sanctions restricted input of pesticide manufacturing and spraying technology), seed quality and spare parts for agricultural machinery.

- Replanting date palms in the south and fruit trees in the north will have important psychological value.

- Agricultural extension and training programs important in medium term.

- Based on Saddam’s Stalinist mindset, expect environmental nightmares throughout the country.
Public Health & Humanitarian Issues

- Stressed importance of restoring electricity and water immediately after liberation – vitally important for public health reasons.
- Many Iraqi-American doctors and public health professionals willing to offer expertise to U.S. Army, DART, AID or new Iraqi government.
- Subgroups developing detailed recommendations:
  - Immediate (up to one month after liberation).
  - Education (both of the Iraqi public and continuing education for Iraqi medical professionals).
  - Infrastructure (needs for sanitation and new hospitals and clinics).
  - Policy (to promote modern medical practice of preventive care).
  - Outreach (to non-Iraqi medical professionals and to Iraqi health service technical professionals).
Economy & Infrastructure

- Stressed importance of getting electrical grid up and running immediately – key to water systems, jobs. Could go a long way to determining Iraqis’ attitudes towards Coalition forces.
- Many Iraqi engineers willing to offer expertise to U.S. Army, DART, AID or new Iraqi government.
- Military government idea did not go down well.
- Subgroups:
  - Electricity: Two engineers estimated capacity from effective capacity of 3500 MW to 6200 MW estimated to cost $6.2 billion.
  - Oil-for-Food: What to do about it.
  - Conversion of the Military Industrialization Ministry, and providing priority job re-training and assistance to members of security services and military.
  - Communications infrastructure.
  - Job creation and training and opportunities for women.
  - Creating an “Iraq Development and Reconstruction Council” (IRDC).
  - Other infrastructure issues.
  - Economic policy and priorities – the Council of Economic Advisers of a free Iraq.

November 1, 2002  SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED
Defense Policy
(upcoming)

- Organize plans for restructuring the Iraqi armed forces to play a positive role in rebuilding Iraqi society, and to defend Iraq without threatening Iraq's citizens or Iraq's neighbors.

- Develop plans for building a defense structure that has no need of weapons of mass destruction.

- Possible ideas based on Nov. 1-2 and Dec. 7, 2001 MEI conferences:
  - Use rail transport rather than HET's.
  - Use towed rather than self-propelled artillery.
  - Use helicopters rather than aircraft.
  - Invest significant resources in a modern "Maginot Line" on the southern part of the Iran-Iraq border and on the northern border with Turkey.
  - Have a small military but rely on mutual defense treaties that would come to Iraq's defense if attacked.

November 1, 2002

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED
Local Government  
(upcoming)

• Prepare plans for helping local and regional governments respond more directly and responsively to the needs of the population, including minorities.

• Determine what essential services are performed by local governments that would require continuity in Iraqi government personnel.

• Develop training programs for local government officials to educate them on rule of law, anti-corruption and democratization initiatives.
Civil Society Capacity-Building
(upcoming)

- Develop plans for laws to promote the activities and autonomy of civil society groups.
- Recommend means for ensuring accountability of civil society groups for use of funds and facilities
- Develop projects for preparation of training materials to help organize civil society groups.
- Assess capacity building needs of Iraqi civil society groups, e.g. civic education, human rights, women's rights, youth, veterans, and survivors of chemical attacks.
Anti-Corruption Measures

- Prepare plans to build public support for principles of transparency, rule of law, openness in public contracts.
- Develop a constituency to serve as an outside advocate for transparency principles in post-Saddam Iraq.
- Develop plans for working with Transparency International and similar groups.
Building a Free Media
(upcoming)

- Develop a strategy for training Iraqi journalists, legislators, government officials and members of the judiciary involved in media-related matters on the role of the press in a free society.

- Develop laws that will promote a free and responsible press, consistent with international standards.

- Assess the roles of the public and private sectors in the media, including developing a plan for a transition to private ownership of Iraqi media.

- Develop a plan for how to provide widespread Internet access.

November 1, 2002
Education
(upcoming)

• Assess needs for a pedagogically sound education that teaches values of pluralism, tolerance, civic responsibility, and rule of law.

• Develop plans to improve standards of Iraqi primary, secondary and higher education.

• Assess current curricula, giving particular attention to history and civics texts.

• Materials that incite hatred and exclusiveness should be replaced by materials that promote tolerance of diversity.
Refugees & IDP’s
(upcoming)

- Develop plans to address the legal and humanitarian issues of returning refugees and internally displaced persons (IDP’s).
- Working with the Transitional Justice working group, develop plans for establishing citizenship and determining ownership of property.
Foreign Policy
(upcoming)

- This working group will consist primarily of former diplomats in Iraq’s foreign service who might serve in the foreign service of a free Iraq.

- Organize plans for a change in Iraqi foreign policy towards full compliance with its treaty commitments, including the U.N. Charter and the Non-Proliferation Treaty, U.N. Security Council resolutions.

- Develop plans to institutionalize compliance with international human rights norms.

- Develop plans to resolve outstanding foreign policy issues.
Oil & Energy
(upcoming)

- Prepare plans for restoring Iraq's oil and gas fields.
- Prepare plans for developing new oil and gas fields.
- Develop procedures for a "level playing field," using open and transparent procedures such as in the major democracies to evaluate proposals from energy companies and investors.
- Prepare plans for determining what oil and gas development and export policy is in the best long-term interests of the Iraqi people.
- Develop plans to phase out domestic energy subsidies.
What We Have Learned So Far
Why Does This Model Work? (1)
Why Does This Model Work? (2)
Why Does This Model Work? (3)
Implications for the Real Future of Iraq (1)
Implications for the Real Future of Iraq (2)