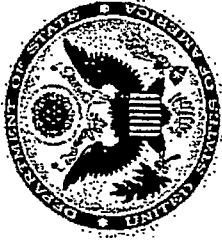


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Future of Iraq Project

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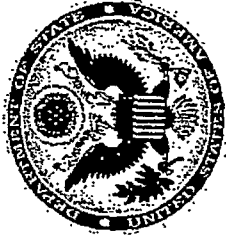
Briefing Classification: Secret/Rel UK

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: SHARON E AHMAD
DATE/CASE ID: 16 JUN 2005 200302373

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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.**

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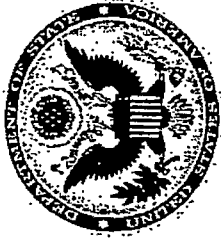


Why This Project Is Important: What We Expected Going In

- **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.**

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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**

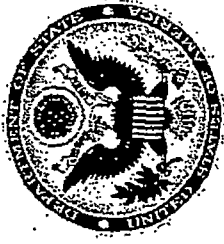
Mechanics of Each Working Group



- 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.

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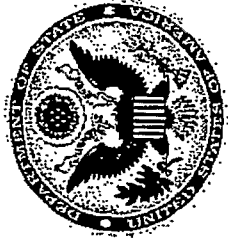


Project History

- October 2001**
State Department planning on the transition began
- Feb. 4, 2002**
Outline of subjects submitted to Department principals
- March 2002**
Conference/working group proposals made public
- April 9-10, 2002**
Planning meeting with Iraqis under auspices of Middle East Institute
- Late April 2002**
Program brought in-house at State
- May-June 2002**
Congress approves \$5 million funding
- July 7-8, 2002**
First Working Group (Transitional Justice) meets

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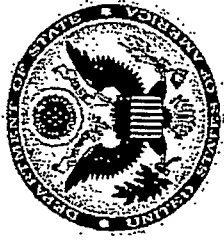


Working Groups To Date

- 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

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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)

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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.

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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.



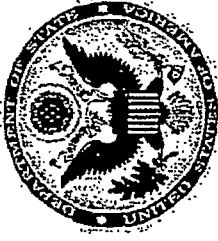
Democratic Principles

- 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.

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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.

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Water, Agriculture & Environment (2)



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

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Public Health & Humanitarian Issues



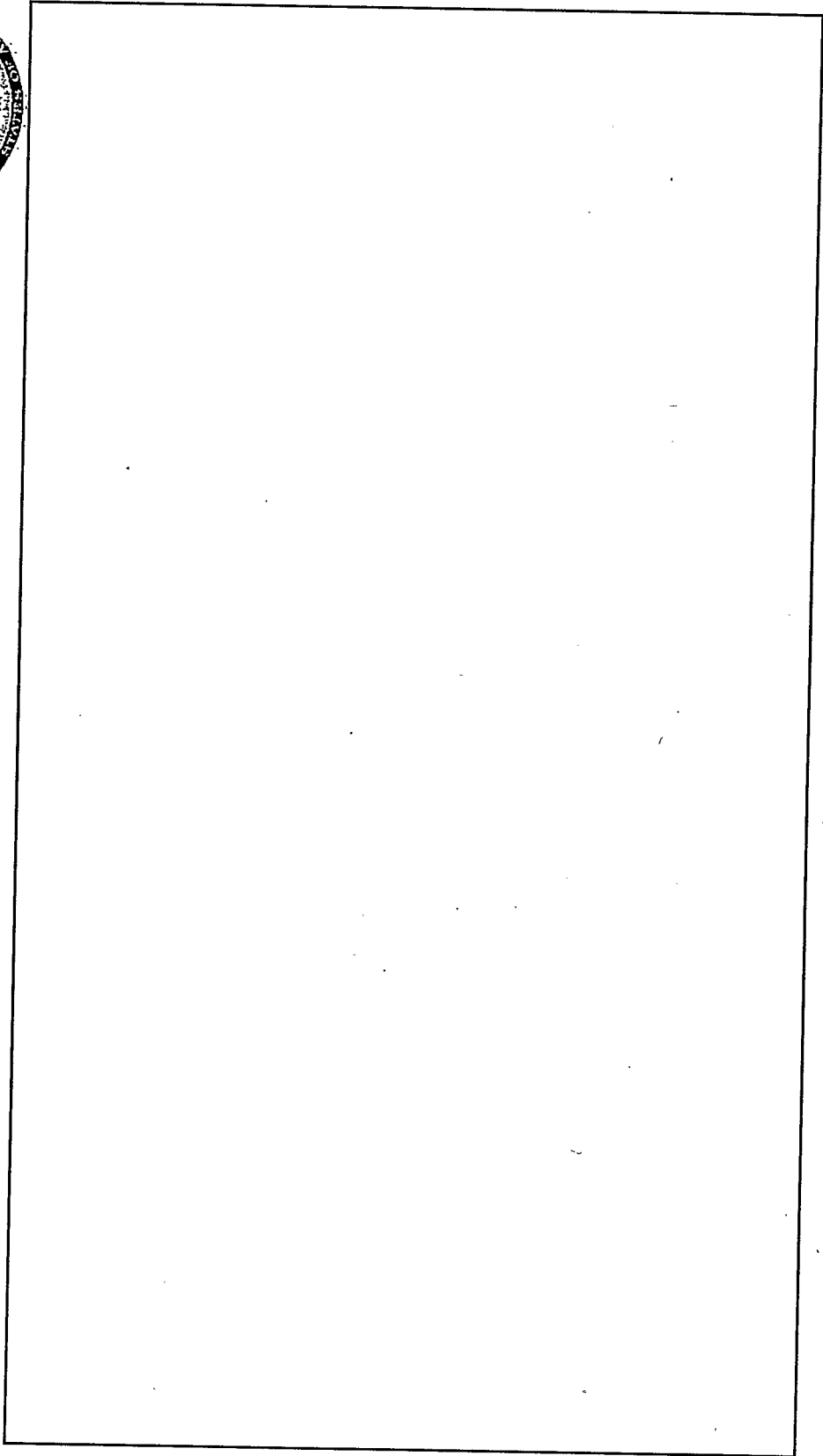
- Stressed importance of restoring electricity and water immediately after liberation – vitally important for public health reasons.
- Many Iraqi-American doctors and public health professionals willing to offer expertise to U.S. Army, DART, AID or new Iraqi government.
- Subgroups developing detailed 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).

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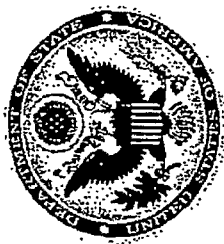
Public Outreach



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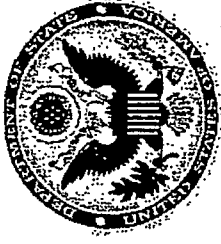
Economy & Infrastructure



- 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.

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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.**

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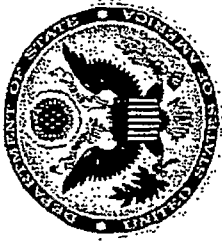
Local Government

(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.**

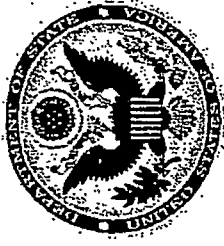
Civil Society Capacity-Building

(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



(upcoming)

- 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.**

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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.**

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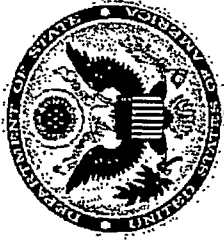
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Refugees & IDP's

(upcoming)

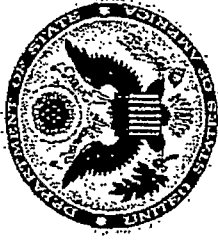
- **Develop plans to address the legal and humanitarian issues of returning refugees and internally displaced persons (IDP's).**
- **Working with the Transitional Justice working group, develop plans for establishing citizenship and determining ownership of property.**



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

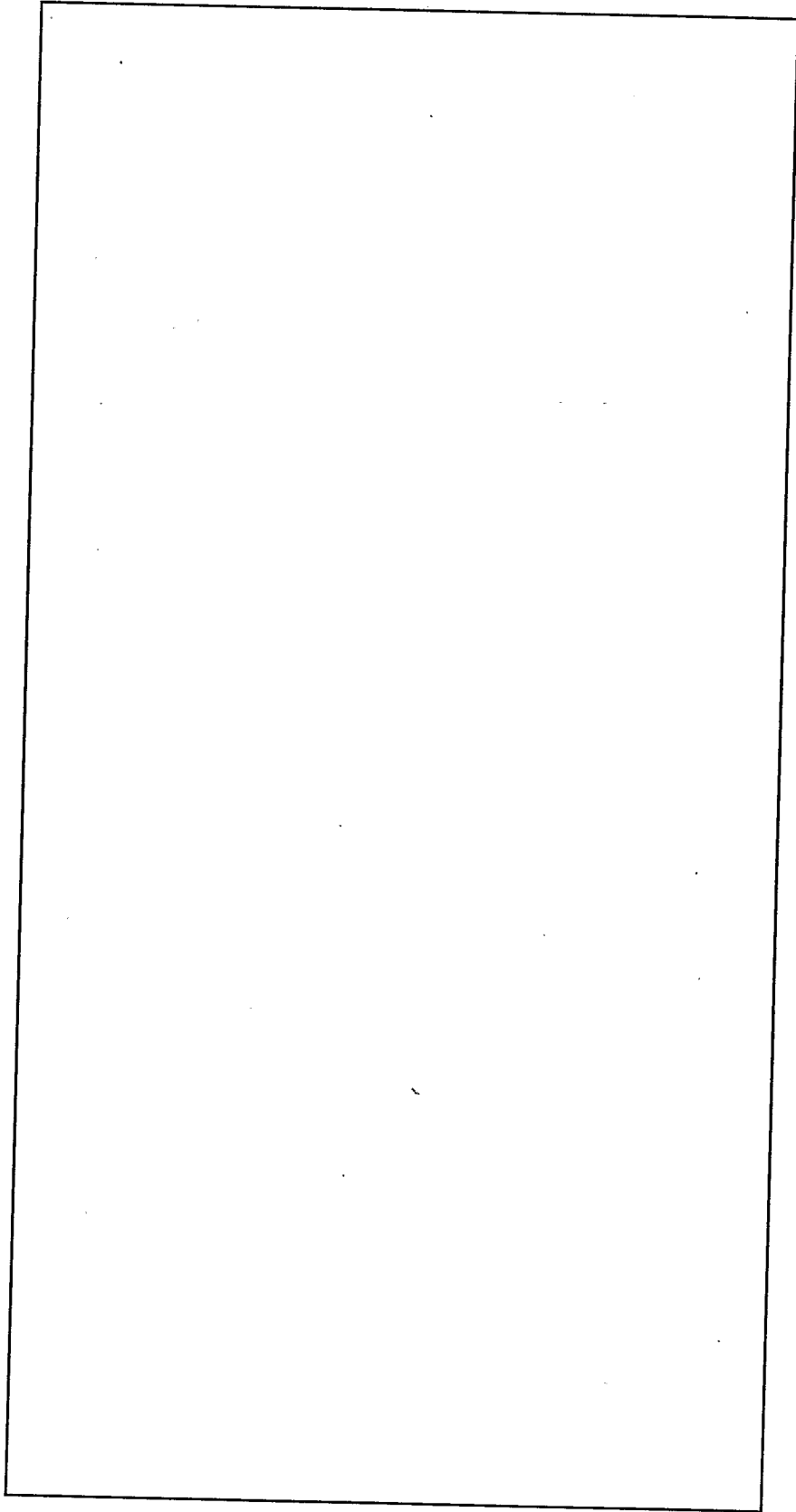
(upcoming)

- 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.

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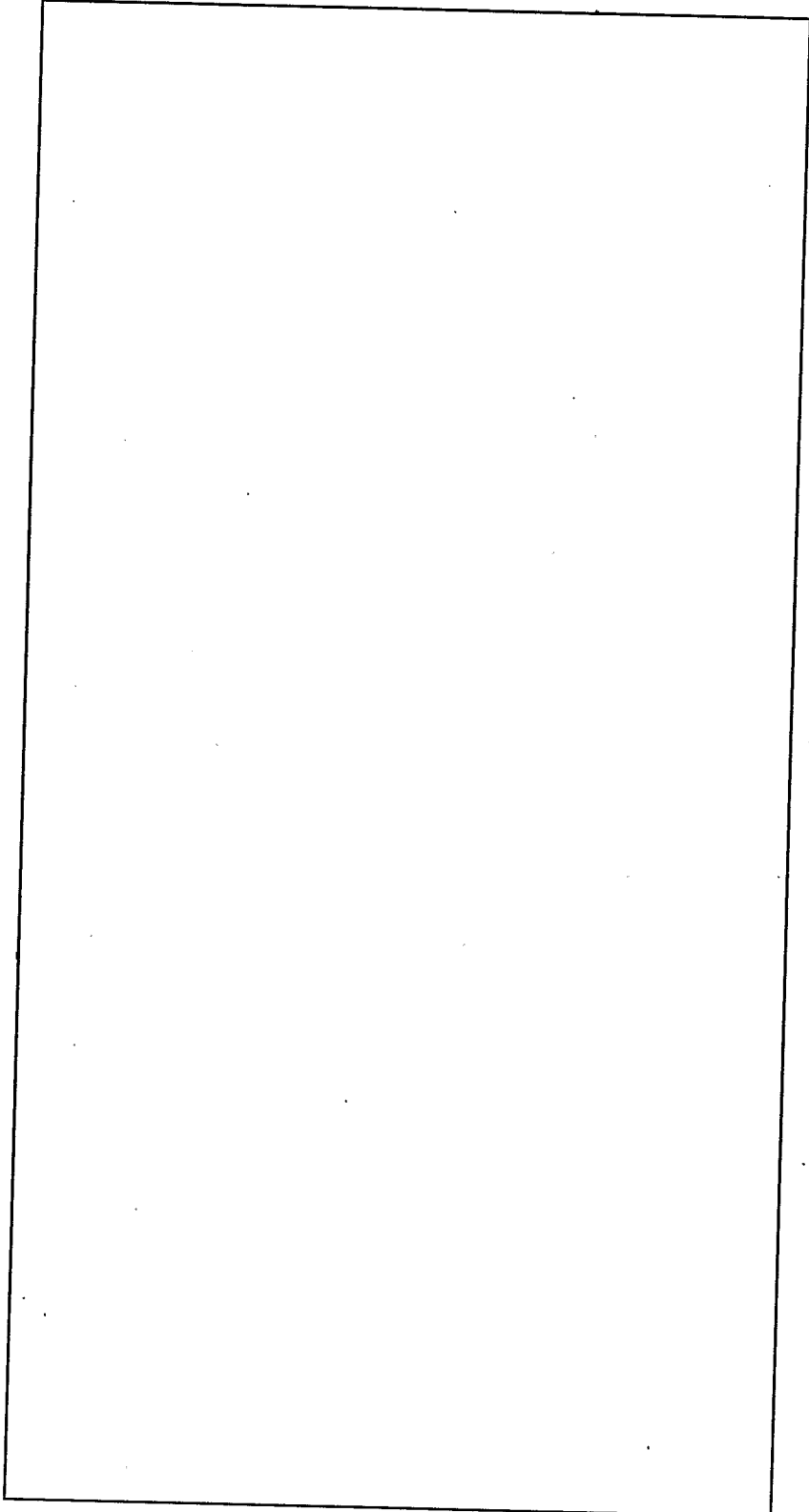
What We Have Learned So Far



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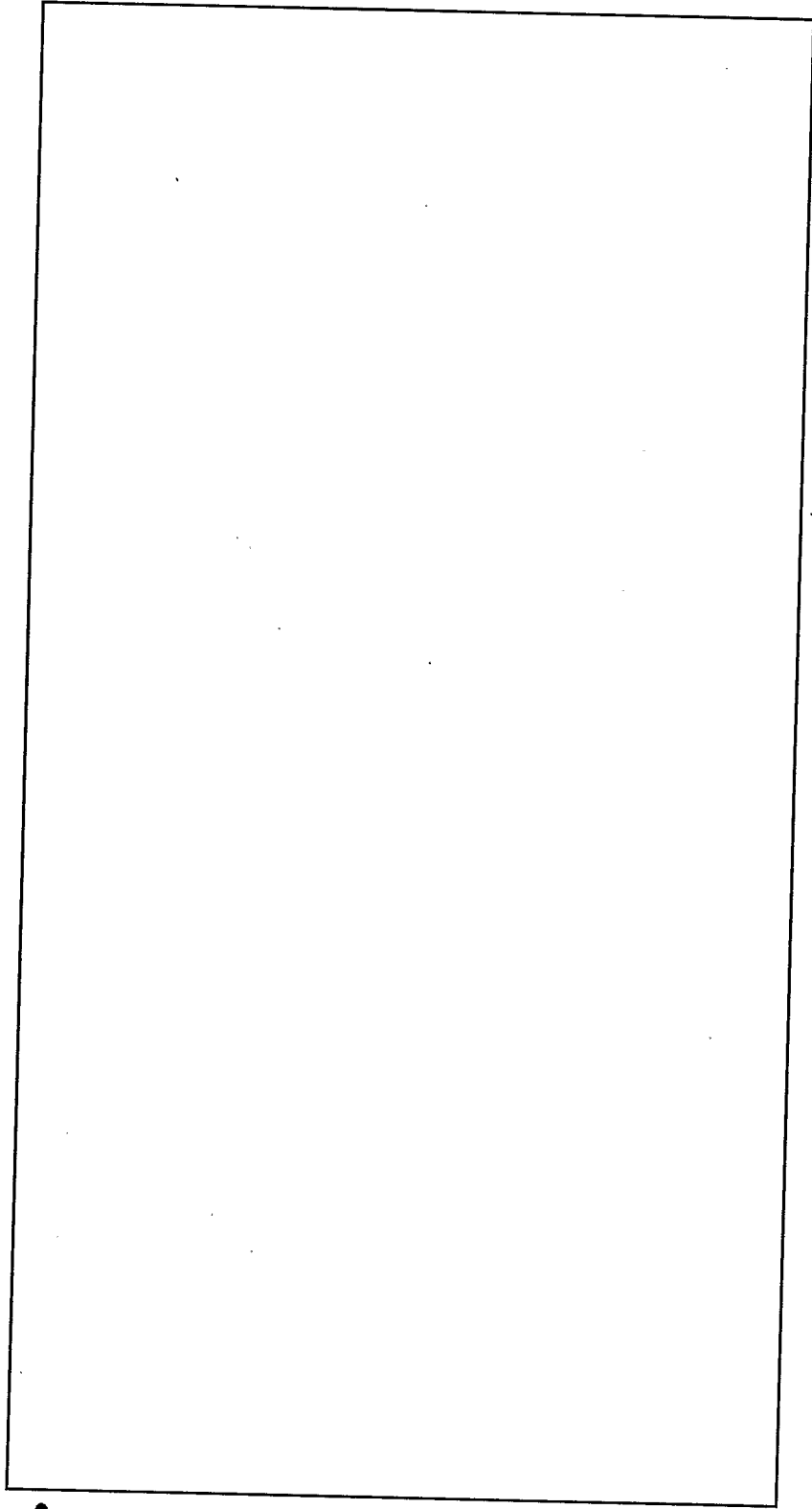
Why Does This Model Work? (1)



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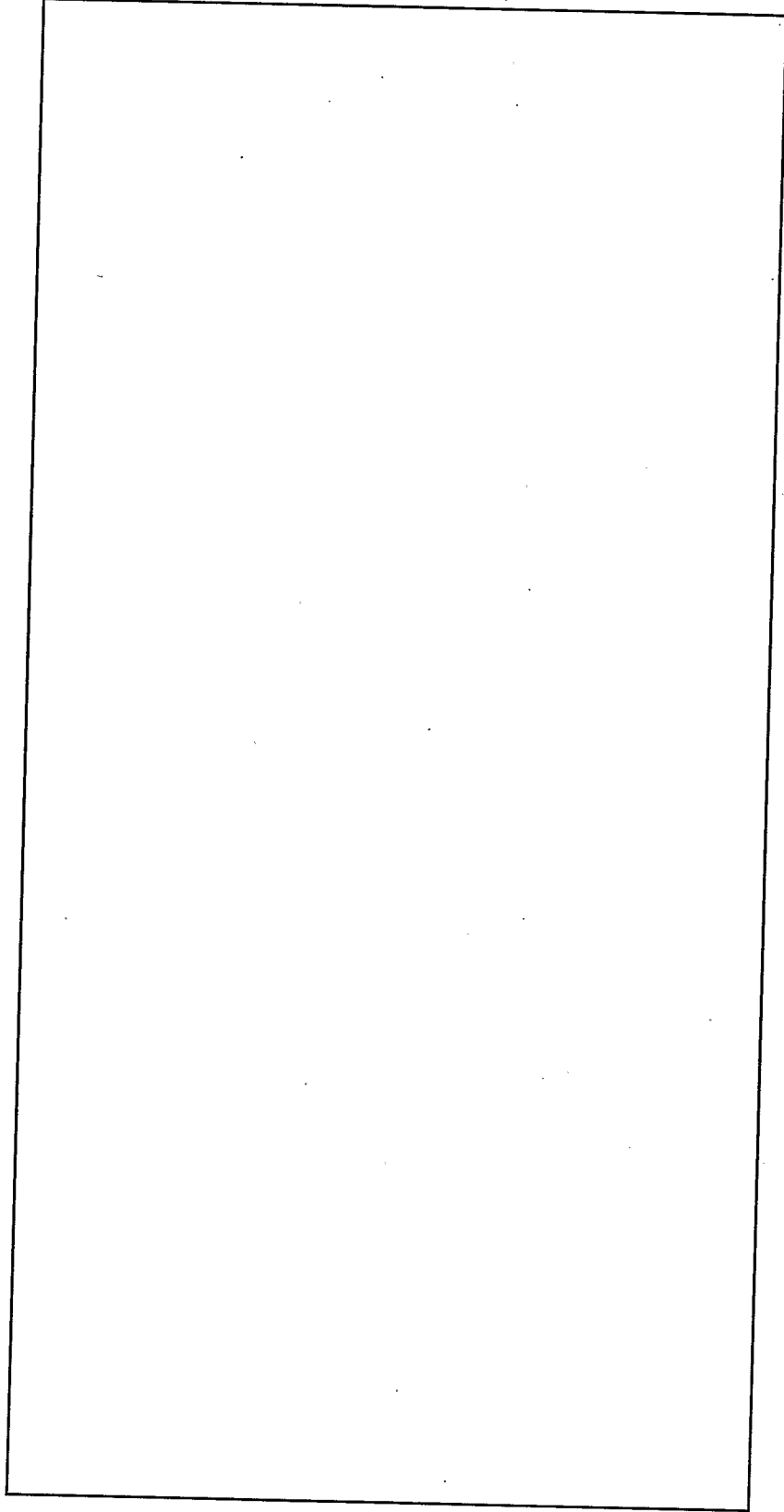
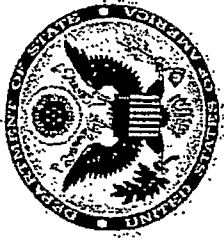
Why Does This Model Work? (2)



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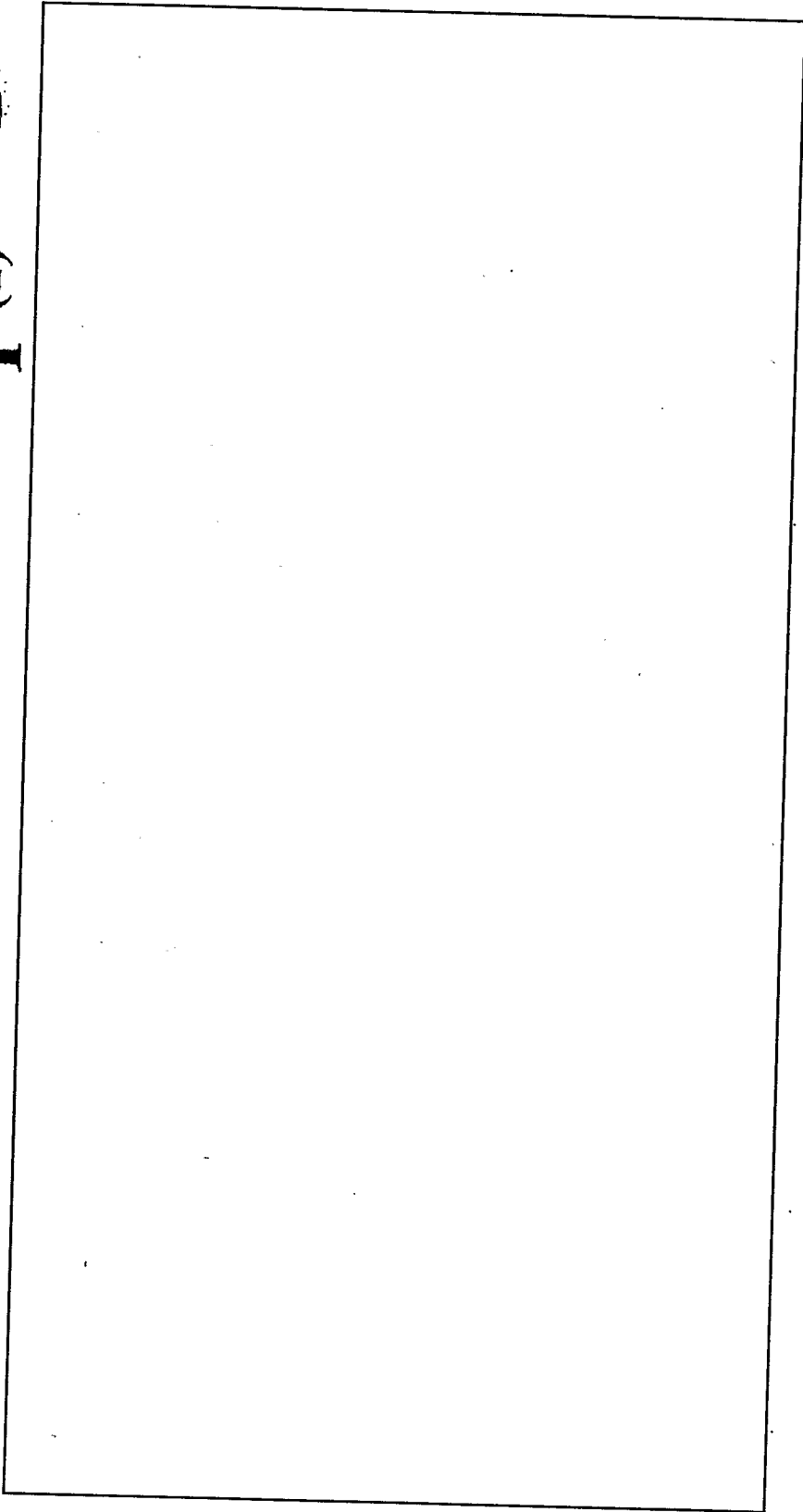
Why Does This Model Work? (3)



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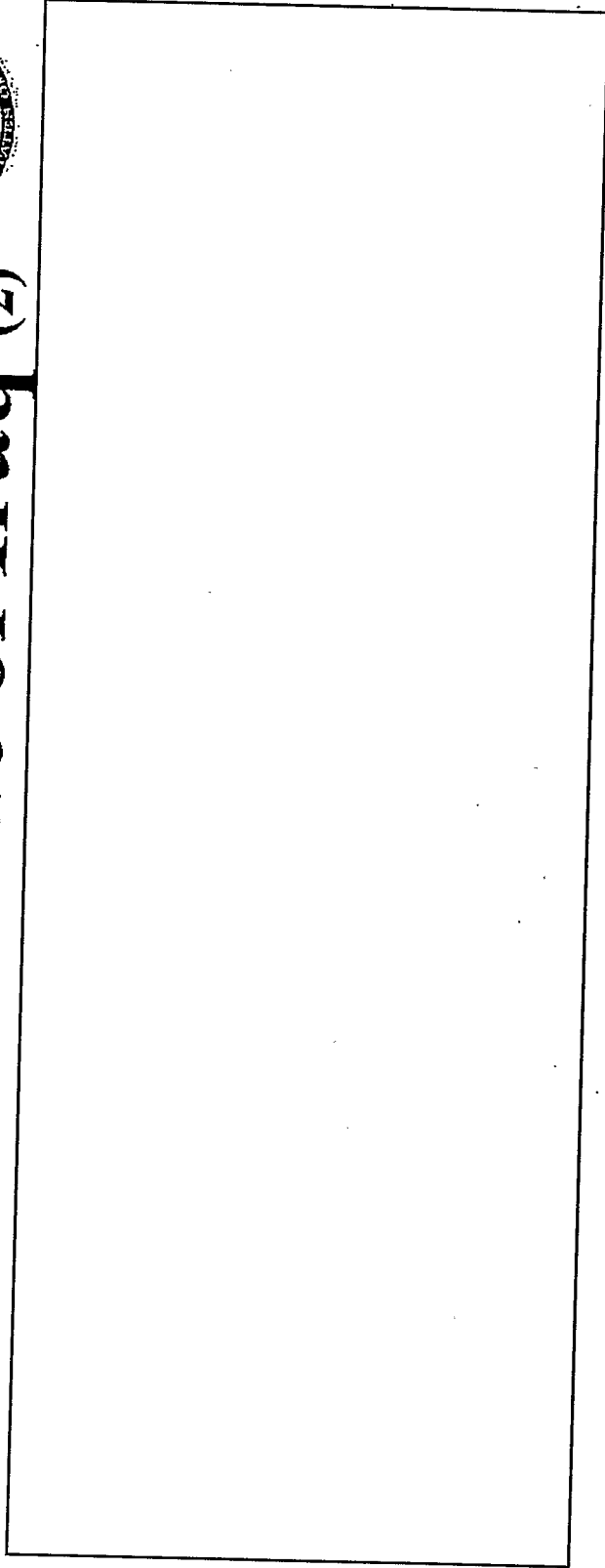
Implications for the Real Future of Iraq (1)



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Implications for the Real Future of Iraq (2)



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