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REL NL**Future of Iraq - Working Groups**

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*Provisional draft based on April 9-10 planning group meeting; subject to change.***1. Transitional Justice**

- To organize efforts to draft laws and decrees for bringing Saddam Hussein and top associates to trial, establishing a truth and reconciliation (amnesty) process for the rest of Iraqi society. To consider temporary, emergency measures to maintain law and order while institutions of public safety are dysfunctional. To find ways to promote reform of the police, the courts and the prison system; promote the rule of law and prevent corruption. To organize training of free Iraqi lawyers, prosecutors and judges. To map out areas for long-term legal reform in Iraq.

2. Public Health and Humanitarian Needs

- To plan for extensive, urgent expenditures in public health, such as clean water, doctors and clinics and hospital care throughout Iraq, particularly in poor areas. To assess any urgent needs of the Iraqi people for distribution of food and medicine, generation of electricity, and sanitation.
- To assess, on a longer-term basis, needs for treatment of catastrophic diseases of unusual frequency in Iraq, for providing drinking water and electricity, and for upgrading public sanitation systems.

3. Public Finance and Accounts

- To organize efforts in the immediate aftermath of a change of government to track down, freeze and recapture billions of dollars of assets of Saddam and his sons that rightfully belong to the Iraqi people. To develop programs to restore confidence to Iraq's domestic accounts and to return to the international credit markets within 6-9 months after regime change. To plan for fundamental banking reforms.

4. Foreign and National Security Policy of a Post-Saddam Iraq

- To organize plans for assuring full compliance with U.N. Security Council resolutions and the resulting benefits for Iraqi national interests. To establish general principles for Iraqi foreign policy, aiming at peace with Iraq's neighbors, institutionalization of compliance with international agreements, and steps to resolve outstanding international issues left over from Saddam Hussein's regime. To consider proposals for post-Saddam dismantling of economic sanctions and how to seek U.N. support for ameliorating burdens of the compensation fund and the U.N. escrow account.

5. Defense Institutions and Policy

- The goal is an armed forces that can defend Iraq but not be a threat to Iraq's neighbors. Using both former military officers and civilian representatives of the political and non-

political opposition, to develop plans for restructuring the Iraqi armed forces into playing a depoliticized, positive and unifying role to share in rebuilding Iraqi society. To develop plans for how the post-Saddam Iraqi military can make decisions in infrastructure, manpower, equipment, training and doctrine (e.g., no need to rely on WMD to defend the country). To assess how Iraq can enter into alliances to enhance its security without threatening the security of others.

6. Education

- To assess needs for a quality education that is pedagogically sound, up-to-date, and teaches values of tolerance, civic responsibility and the rule of law. To assess the state of teacher training and evaluation, and to develop plans to bring Iraqi teaching up to modern standards. To determine what texts require revision or replacement, including purging any inciteful material. To study Iraqi higher education and develop plans for improving it. Iraqi children deserve a state-run school system that will respect regional cultures while making Iraq's educational system a source of national pride.

7. Media

- To plan how to train Iraqi journalists on press freedoms and responsibilities in a free society. To frame laws to protect press freedoms while ensuring separation of ownership of media from politics and religion. To assess the roles of the public and private sectors in the media, including what infrastructure and capabilities are needed. To assess how to provide Iraqis with the widest possible access to the Internet.

8. Economy and Infrastructure

- The post-Saddam end of Oil-for-Food will transform the lives of ordinary Iraqis. Officials in the Gulf several years ago called for international support for a post-Saddam "Marshall Plan" that would improve the economic lives of the Iraqi people. Job creation will be an essential priority in shaping attitudes towards a post-Saddam Iraqi government.
- This working group (WG) should plan how the post-Saddam Iraqi government can use economic and financial incentives to rebuild the Iraqi economy, create jobs, restore neglected infrastructure, promote international investment and trade, and restore the Iraqi economy to sound, modern free-market principles. The WG should identify the most pressing needs in rebuilding electricity networks, water systems, transport and telecommunications; and could propose studies of areas where the Iraqi people would benefit from relationships with international firms or experts.

9. Anti-Corruption Measures

- The new Iraqi government and the Iraqi people would benefit in the long run by adhering to principles of transparency and openness, carrying out new international conventions against corruption, especially in public contracts, and in tracking down the assets of Saddam Hussein and his sons.

- To prepare plans to build public support among Iraqis for principles of transparency, the rule of law, and openness in public contracts, and to serve as outside advocates for those principles with a post-Saddam government. To develop plans for working with groups such as Transparency International and Common Cause.

10. Oil and Energy

- To prepare plans for restoring Iraq's oilfields and developing new ones, including developing ways to evaluate the numerous proposals that will come in from outside companies and investors, to determine what is in the best long-term interests of the Iraqi people. To develop plans for phasing out domestic energy subsidies. To develop strategies for short-term urgent needs, long-term plans, relations with OPEC and relations with foreign companies.

11. Water, Agriculture and the Environment

- To prepare plans for addressing water use and quality issues, including issues with Iraq's neighbors. To study issues relating to the regime's draining of the southern marshes to see if some or all of the marshes can be reflooded and restored, and what the consequences would be for water distribution and salinity. To prepare long-term plans for agricultural development balanced with the water needs of Iraq's urban environments. To prepare plans for cleaning up contamination from the regime's WMD plants and other factories allowed to operate without adequate environmental protections.

12. Refugees, Internally Displaced Persons, and Migration Policy

- Iraq has hundreds of thousands, if not millions of internally displaced persons (IDP's) and refugees. Many, especially the IDP's, will want to return, post-Saddam, to near their original homes. Experience in the Balkans and elsewhere shows this will raise practical, legal and humanitarian problems that will be difficult to solve in advance but for which plans must be announced shortly after the regime falls in order to prevent chaos and possible ethnic strife. This WG should develop plans to address legal and humanitarian issues of returning refugees/IDP's, including establishing citizenship, proving ownership of property, and determining a rate of absorption. A longer-term project would be to propose measures for stemming the brain drain and attracting back to Iraq talent and experience through sound policies for emigration and immigration.

13. Political Principles and Procedures

- To give a basis for the political opposition to express support for the core principles of the Salahudeen and New York conferences and to discuss such issues as ways to avoid violence in the aftermath of a change of government, reforms of government institutions, establishing the rule of law, constitutional principles, the relationship between civilian authority and the military, the role of political parties and reform of the civil service.

14. Civil Society

- Civil society was destroyed in central and southern Iraq by a totalitarian regime and must be rebuilt. Building on the experience of northern Iraq and internationally, this WG should focus on capacity-building (as opposed to specific issues). Attention should be paid to development of independent media, charitable associations, cultural and other private-sector activities, and efforts to advance the role of women in Iraqi government and society.
- To develop plans for laws to provide for and protect the autonomy of civil society groups within Iraq, while requiring them to be accountable in the use of funds and facilities. To develop training materials to help Iraqis organize civil society groups, starting with Iraqis outside Iraq but eventually to include helping Iraqis in central and southern Iraq. To assess any unique capacity-building needs of those groups Iraqis are most likely to organize, such as civic education groups, human rights groups, women's rights groups, veterans' groups, chemical weapons survivors' groups, or torture survivors' groups. The WG should prepare materials to assist international donors in evaluating which Iraqi civil society groups they should support.

15. Public Outreach

- To provide Iraqis with the opportunity to speak out to the international public about the Iraqi regime's crimes against humanity, human rights abuses, and mismanagement of Iraq's environment, economy and natural resources, and why the Iraqi people deserve a better government.