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Thomas Warrick 07/19/2002 11:08:20 AM From DB/Inbox: Thomas Warrick

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TELEGRAM

July 08, 2002

To: SPECIAL EMBASSY PROGRAM - PRIORITY

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AS, CI, JA, MP, NZ, SF, XF, XG, XI

Captions: None

Subject: FUTURE OF IRAQ" EXPERT WORKING GROUPS

Ref: None

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CLASSIFIED BY NEA DAS RYAN C. CROCKER FOR REASONS 1.5 (B)
AND (D)

1. (C) This is an action message for USEU BRUSSELS, EUMEM and EUINT posts, as well as Buenos Aires, Santiago, Canberra, Port Louis, Pretoria, Tokyo, and Wellington. See paras 7-11.

A. OVERVIEW

2. (U) Secretary Powell has stated, "We look forward to the day when a democratic, representative government at peace with its neighbors leads Iraq to rejoin the family

of nations." The United States seeks an Iraqi government that is broad-based, representative, and respects principles of justice, the rule of law and the rights of the Iraqi people; is at peace with its neighbors; obeys Security Council resolutions; and maintains Iraq's territorial integrity.

3. (C) To prepare for this transition, the U.S. Government is establishing the "Future of Iraq Project" working groups, each consisting of 10-20 Iraqis and a small number of international experts, to meet during the coming months on specific subjects such as transitional justice, public health and humanitarian needs, public finance and accounts, and political principles and procedures. The working groups are not an attempt to select an Iraqi government in exile, but rather to establish a process to allow Iraqis who live outside Iraq or in northern Iraq -- "free Iraqis" -- to do practical preliminary planning for what will be needed in the immediate aftermath of a change of government in Baghdad. The intention of the working group process is to give free Iraqis a way to come together and help set priorities for what needs to be done most urgently at a practical level to help build a better future for the Iraqi people. Follow-up work by Iraqi and

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international experts would help develop those plans to the level where they would be useful to post-Saddam Hussein Iraq to help build a better future for the Iraqi people.

B. WORKING GROUPS

4. (C) A planning meeting with Iraqis on April 9-10, convened by the Middle East Institute, identified subjects for 15 working groups. Phase I of the project will begin with six priority working groups that will identify priority projects to help plan for the transition and the "day after" regime change. The United States and, it is hoped, other governments or institutions, will then decide which specific projects to support. The work would be

carried out by Iraqi and international experts, as appropriate. As presently conceived, the working groups, along with illustrative subjects Iraqis have discussed as possible projects are:

(1) Transitional Justice

To organize efforts to draft laws to bring Saddam Hussein and his top associates to justice, and to draft an amnesty decree and a truth-and-reconciliation process for the rest of Iraqi society. To plan for the prompt documentation and investigation of human rights violations and crimes against humanity committed by the Saddam regime. To plan for the reform of the courts, judges, prosecutors, police, and prison system. To organize legal training of judges and lawyers, and to promote the rule of law.

(2) Public Health and Humanitarian Needs

To plan for any urgent humanitarian needs in the immediate aftermath of regime change. To plan for any extensive, urgent expenditures in public health, such as clean water, doctors, clinics, and hospitals throughout Iraq, particularly in poor areas. To assess on a longer-term basis needs for treatment of catastrophic diseases of unusual frequency in Iraq, for providing water and electricity, and for upgrading public sanitation systems.

(3) Water, Agriculture, and the Environment

To prepare plans for addressing water use and quality issues, including studying the feasibility of restoring the southern marshes, which the regime drained for security reasons. To prepare plans for modernization of agriculture, and the clean-up of contamination from WMD plants.

(4) Public Finance and Accounts

To organize efforts to recapture billions in Saddam's

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assets that rightfully belong to the Iraqi people; to develop plans for transparency and accountability in public expenditures and to restore confidence in domestic finance. To develop plans for restructuring Iraqi sovereign and commercial debt, and to return Iraq to normal financial relations with creditors as soon as possible. To plan for fundamental banking reforms.

(5) Public Outreach

To conduct outreach by Iraqis who live outside regime-controlled Iraq who are willing to speak out about the Iraqi regime's crimes against humanity, human rights abuses, and mismanagement of Iraq's environment, economy, and natural resources. To assist Iraqis in explaining to the international community why the Iraqi people deserve a better government.

(6) Political Principles and Procedures

To begin discussions by Iraqis about the future political framework for Iraq that reflects Iraq's domestic situation and its international, civil, and human rights obligations. This includes transitional issues such as security that relate to how to avoid violence in the aftermath of regime change, and on longer-term institutional issues of political structure, organization, process, and rights. This group is not to write a new constitution for Iraq -- that will have to be done after regime change when all Iraqis can have a voice. However, the group will bring together representatives of the political opposition with non-political Iraqi-American and Iraqi-European political and legal scholars.

5. (C) In subsequent phases, working groups will address subjects such as:

(7) Education

To assess needs for a pedagogically sound education that teaches values of pluralism, tolerance, civic responsibility, and rule of law. To develop plans to improve the standards of Iraqi primary, secondary, and higher education. To assess current curricula. Particular attention will be given to history and civics texts, where materials that incite hatred and exclusiveness should be replaced by ones that promote tolerance of diversity.

(8) Economy and Infrastructure

To plan how the post-Saddam government can use economic, legal and financial incentives to rebuild the Iraqi economy, create jobs, restore infrastructure, promote international trade and investment, and restore the Iraqi economy to sound, modern free-market principles. Job creation will be an essential priority in shaping Iraqis, attitudes towards a post-Saddam Iraqi government.

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(9) Refugees/IDP'S and Migration Policy

To develop plans to address the legal and humanitarian issues of returning refugees/internally displaced persons, including establishing citizenship and determining ownership of property.

(10) Foreign and National Security Policy

To organize plans for a change in Iraqi foreign policy towards full compliance with its treaty commitments including the United Nations Charter and the Non-Proliferation Treaty, as well as with U.N. Security Council resolutions, and to allow Iraq to develop policies

of peace with its neighbors, institutionalization of compliance with international human rights norms, and resolution of outstanding foreign policy issues.

(11) Defense and Security Issues

To organize plans for restructuring the Iraqi armed forces to play a positive role in rebuilding Iraqi society, so that it can defend Iraq, but not be a threat to Iraqi citizens or Iraq's neighbors. To develop plans for how a post-Saddam Iraqi government 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 external security without threatening the security of others.

(12) Media

To 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. To frame laws that promote a free but responsible press, consistent with international standards. To assess the roles of the public and private sectors in the media, including providing widespread Internet access.

(13) Civil Society Capacity-Building

This capacity-building group should develop plans for laws to promote the activities and autonomy of civil society groups. Recommend means for ensuring the accountability of such groups for the appropriate use of funds and facilities. To develop projects for the preparation of training materials to help organize civil society groups. To assess capacity building needs of Iraqi civil society groups, such as groups for civic education, human rights,

women's rights, youth, veterans, and survivors of chemical attacks.

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(14) Anti-Corruption Measures

To prepare plans to build public support for principles of transparency, rule of law, and openness in public contracts, and to develop a constituency that would serve as an outside advocate for these principles in a post-Saddam government. To develop plans for working with groups such as Transparency International and similar groups.

(15) 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.

C. DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE 16 MAY 2002
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT RESOLUTION ON IRAQ

6. (U) On May 16, the European Parliament adopted a strongly worded resolution on Iraq by a vote of 354 in favor, 29 against, with 31 abstentions (85 percent in favor), P5_TAPROV(2002)0248, regarding the situation in Iraq eleven years after the end of the Gulf War. (The text of the resolution is available as a PDF file through <http://www.europarl.eu.int> by accessing the links "Plenary sessions", Texts adopted by Parliament by Date, then selecting 2002 May 16.) Highlights include:

-- OP5 calls for the European Commission (EC) and member states to bring Iraqi regime officials before an international tribunal established by the Security Council or pursuant to a separate treaty. It calls on the EC and the EU to set up without delay an Office of Inquiry to gather evidence on the Iraqi regime's crimes against humanity.

-- OP9 says Iraq's prosperity and development "would be vastly facilitated by the establishment of democracy and the rule of law."

-- OP10 calls for assistance to media to reach out to the Iraqi people and the Iraqi diaspora.

-- OP12 calls for the EC and the European Council to set up a strategy (a) to track down and freeze illegal financial assets of the regime, (b) to enact a visa ban on leading Iraqi officials, (c) to monitor and denounce Iraqi human rights violations, and (d) to "strengthen democratization measures in cooperation with the Iraqi exiled community."

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-- OP13 urges the EC to explore a more active policy in favor of the Iraqi people.

-- OP14 says within the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights, to identify and finance projects and action "that make provision for human rights and democratic values."

-- OP25 demands urgent assessments of what is necessary for "a revival of civil society, democracy, rule of law and good governance in Iraq in the future," including "training and guidance" for "professional and skilled Iraqis in the creation of a system of democracy and civil society for Iraq, to prepare those in exile for their eventual return," and that this should "provide the blueprint for the rehabilitation of Iraq."

D. ACTION REQUESTED

7. (C) Action Request: USEU BRUSSELS, EUMEM, EUINT posts and Tokyo, Canberra, Wellington, Pretoria, Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Port Louis should draw upon the foregoing to brief appropriate host country officials and EC officials on the "Future of Iraq" project. Other posts may also draw upon the foregoing to brief host country officials as appropriate. Press guidance for responding to media inquiries will be sent septel.

8. (C) USEU and EUMEM posts should emphasize, and other European action posts may also, that the United States seeks European and other international support and participation as we work with Iraqis to help them prepare for a better future. With respect to specific projects that would benefit the Iraqi people after Saddam Hussein, the United States is interested in the possibility of parallel, coordinated, or joint efforts with the European Union and individual European and other states. The working group process is first and foremost a way of identifying priorities for projects to be undertaken now. Each working group is likely to generate a number of project ideas that can usefully be undertaken now that will benefit the Iraqi people after a change of government in Baghdad. European and other states may wish to support some of these projects on their own in parallel with USG efforts, or they may wish to coordinate with the USG in pursuing certain projects, or they may wish to pursue certain projects for the future of Iraq jointly.

9. (C) For Pretoria: Post should also convey that free Iraqis have impressed upon US officials the enormity of the transitional justice problems that post-Saddam Iraq will face. These contacts suggest that South Africa's experience in developing a process to promote truth and reconciliation would be particularly welcome in the working group on Transitional Justice.

10. (C) For Buenos Aires and Santiago: Post should also convey that free Iraqis have impressed upon United States officials that post-Saddam Iraq would benefit from

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learning about Argentina's and Chile's experiences in making the transition from a military regime to democracy. Several of the future working groups may be interested in their assistance and support.

11. (U) For additional guidance on US Iraq policy, UN controls, statements by US officials on regime change, or additional information about the abuses committed by the Iraqi government and Saddam Hussein, see the Internet at: <http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/iraq>. This website has a large list of Iraq related links.

Minimize considered.
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SUBJECT: "FUTURE OF IRAQ" EXPERT WORKING GROUPS

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