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The Future Of Iraq Project



Overview

The Future of Iraq Project - Overview

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(*) Reflects consensus of the participants in the working group. Other papers reflect the views of their authors.



Future of Iraq Project

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Objectives



- Practical planning what can be done prior to 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.

Why This Project Is Important: What We Expected Going In

- Expected a range of results, with 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.
- · Many Iraqis with expertise to help rebuild their country.

17 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
- Transparency & Anti-Corruption
- Education
- Return of Refugees
- Building a Free Media
- Foreign Policy
- · Oil & Energy
- Preserving Cultural Heritage

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 <u>inclusion</u> is key.

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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May 12, 2003

Working Groups To Date(1)



July 9-10	Transitional Justice	Oct. 25-26	Economy &
Aug. 6-7	Public Finance		Infrastructure
Aug. 27-30	Public Outreach	Dec. 2-3	Economy & Infrastructure 2
Sept. 4-5	Democratic Principles	Dec. 2-3	Public Outreach 2
Sept 27-Oct 1	Transitional Justice 2	Dec. 10-11	Defense Policy
Oct. 5-6	Water, Agriculture & the Environment	Dec. 18-19	Local Government
Oct. 10-11	Democratic Principles 2	Dec. 20-21	Oil & Energy
		Jan. 9-10	Transitional Justice 3
Oct. 16-17	Public Health & Humanitarian Issues	Jan. 24-25	Education
		Jan. 24-25	Civil Society

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Working Groups To Date (2)



Jan. 29-30	Economy &	Upcoming	
	Infrastructure 3	Mar. 17	Cultural Heritage Pre-
Jan 31-Feb 1	Oil & Energy 2		Meeting
Feb. 4-6	Public Outreach 3	Mar. 18-19	Transparency & Anti-Corruption 2
Feb. 19-20	Building a Free Media	Mar. 24-Apr. 5	Transitional Justice 4
Feb. 26-27	Defense Policy 2		(training for judges)
Mar. 10-11	Water, Agriculture & Environment 2	Apr. 4-5	Oil & Energy 4 (London)

Transitional Justice



- Drafted laws and plans to bring Saddam Hussein and top associates to trial.
 - Iraqi jurists want Saddam and top associates tried in an Iraqi court by Iraqi judges. Most want
 international assistance in investigation, prosecution, and defense.
- Drafted plans for a truth-and-reconciliation process through possible Office of Victim Complaints to address individual claims.
 - A truth-and-reconciliation commission would start several years from now.
 - Amnesty would not be granted initially, but there would be an official declaration after a time that further crimes would not be prosecuted.
- Drafted legislation and committee report language for reforms to the Criminal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, the Administrative Law, the Nationality Law, the Military Penal Code, and the Civil Code.
 - Most Iraqi oppositionists are no longer Iraqi citizens under current Iraqi law.
- Have draft plans for reforms of the courts, the police, the prison system, de-Ba'athification and legal education.
- More than 600 pages in draft laws, reports and legal analyses so far. One of most productive groups to date.

Public Finance



- Drafted 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.
- Drafted plans for job creation.
- Exploring efforts to recapture assets controlled by Saddam Hussein and others that rightfully belong to the Iraqi people.
- To develop plans for transparency and accountability in public expenditures and to restore confidence in domestic finance.
- Drafted plans 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.
- Developed proposals for how to establish culture of respect for human rights and the rule of law.
- Developed ideas for re-establishing civil society 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.

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.
- Expect 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 (2)



- 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).

Public Outreach



- Developed themes for use with Iraq, Middle Eastern and European audiences.
- Training for interacting with print, radio and television journalists.
- Developed campaign "Say No to Saddam" 95% of free Iraqis voted "No" to Saddam.
- Spontaneous non-violent conflict initiative.
 - "Bringing Down a Dictator" shown to Iraqi participants in Washington.
 - Immediate meetings with experts in non-violent conflict.
 - Follow-up training conducted in The Netherlands.
 - Demonstrations in Europe expected to follow this model to show Iraqis they can successfully protest the regime's repression.
 - Question whether Oct. 22 demonstrations in Baghdad knew they were following this model.

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: Developed plans to see program continued for several months.
 - Working on plans to convert the Military Industrialization Ministry to civilian purposes, and providing
 priority job re-training and assistance to members of security services and military.
 - Drafted plans to improve communications infrastructure.
 - Drafted plans for job creation and training and opportunities for women.
 - Drafted detailed plans for an "Iraq Development and Reconstruction Council" (IDRC).
 - Economic policy and priorities the Council of Economic Advisers of a free Iraq.

Defense Policy



Consensus among former officers:

- Iraqi armed forces need to be structured to be able to defend Iraq without threatening Iraq's citizens or Iraq's neighbors. Military will need to be down-sized considerably.
- · Mission of military is to defend the constitution, not individuals.
- Iraqi armed forces should stay out of politics. Serving officers should have to resign to hold public office.
- Officer corps must be chosen on merit, not ethnicity.
- DDR will be crucial to ensuring former soldiers are re-integrated into society and are not swept up in organized crime.
- Former officers willing to play role in encouraging current army not to resist Coalition forces. However, officers expect Coalition military presence to be very brief.
- Officers expect post-Saddam military will be a stabilizing role in the region.

Some interesting differences in views:

- · Some Arab participants favored a strong, centralized army. Kurdish officers wanted more decentralized role.
- Some favored a role for the national army in internal security; others felt internal security role should only be local or territorial forces.
- Younger participants called on army to be educated in human rights, rule of law. Older participants did not take up this idea.

Local Government



- Essential to develop quickly training programs for local government officials to educate them on rule of law, anti-corruption and democratization initiatives.
- Also will need civic education programs for ordinary citizens on their rights and responsibilities.
- After liberation, will need to replace local government leaders who flee, as many mid-level Ba'ath party officials are likely to do.
- Fiscal reform and transparency in local government budgeting and expenditure will be essential.
- Early, internationally run census will be important to prevent exaggerated claims to representation from some groups.
- Proposed restructuring of local government to meet needs of democracy: elected mayors, town councils, reducing number of administrative units.
- Local governments will need taxing authority, but this will help promote accountability—"no representation without taxation."
- Some proposed creating Vatican-like administrative structures for the Shi'a holy sites in Najaf and Karbala.
 - This idea is controversial among many Iraqis and many Shi'a.

Oil & Energy (1)



- Iraqis expect Iraq will be a leader in the international oil industry for the foreseeable future: Large reserves, talented people, return of Iraqis from diaspora.
- Iraqis look to Coalition to provide physical security in the aftermath of transition, but not to run the Iraqi oil industry. Nationalism in Iraqi oil industry is very strong.
- Iraqis believe experience shows they can handle challenges by themselves.
 - One Iraqi noted that, after the Gulf War, "we restored the oil sector for Iraq, not for Saddam" all expect same spirit to apply.
- Iraqis do believe Iraq will need outside capital and expertise from international oil companies (IOC's), and that Iraq must attract the IOC's to Iraq by offering:
 - Rule of law.
 - Security and stability.
 - Reasonable investment opportunities.

Oil & Energy (2)



- IOC's, for their part, must reciprocate:
 - Provide capital. Iraqis were unanimous Iraq could not meet development and humanitarian needs without foreign oil development capital.
 - Technology transfer.
 - Training and employment.
 - Social programs comparable to elsewhere.
- Iraqis want a "level playing field," using open and transparent procedures such as in the major democracies to evaluate proposals from energy companies and investors.

Oil & Energy (3)



- Prospect of increasing Iraqi oil production with falling oil prices may mean flat total Iraqi oil revenues for several years.
- Energy experts believed that current Iraqi opposition, if put into power, could not provide an environment to attract international oil investment into Iraq. IOC's would look at a chaotic internal political environment and could decide to invest elsewhere.
- Iraqi membership in OPEC will continue provided OPEC accommodates Iraqi production to meet reconstruction needs.
- Iraqis expect to end gas flaring and to use gas internally for power generation.
- · Privatization will be an issue for a future sovereign Iraqi government.

Oil & Energy (4)



- Group developed a 4-point plan for increasing Iraqi oil production:
 - Experts' committee of 7-9 internal Iraqi engineers (vetted for expertise and clean records), 3-5 external Iraqi engineers, 3-5 international experts, including Arabs and non-Arabs but not connected with major energy or consulting firms (to avoid appearance they're just trying to get business), and 2-3 Iraqis from the new government.
 - Note balance: Committee is majority Iraq, but also majority of engineers have current knowledge of latest international technology.
 - Mission: To do initial assessment, identify priorities for increasing production, establish networks, and set up monitoring and feedback systems.
 - Work plan: Committee goes to Baghdad, meet with Oil Ministry and INOC staff, then goes to field and meets with field managers. Asks Iraqis who know their fields best, "What do you need?"
 - Committee works with USG and other contractors for delivery of needed equipment, services. Key concept: Iraqis do not work for American contractors—Americans are seen assisting Iraqis.

Oil & Energy (5)



- In this plan, no need for new field development during stabilization and transition stages—Iraq can increase production significantly by repairs to existing wells, infill drilling, perforating new horizons in existing fields and other, simpler short-term measures.
 - Some fields are producing entire horizons from only 2 producing wells.
 - Many ways to increase production significantly from existing fields.
 - Decisions what methods to pursue best left to technical experts.
 - Group wants new field development decisions reserved to fully sovereign Iraqi government.

Education



- Iraq needs for a pedagogically sound education that teaches values of pluralism, tolerance, civic responsibility, and rule of law.
- Need to replace rote memorization with teaching independent thinking—retraining of teachers essential.
- Need overhaul current curricula, giving particular attention to history and civics texts—also repairs of school infrastructure.
- Paying teachers' salaries important—to show value of education.
- Materials that incite hatred and exclusiveness should be replaced by materials that promote tolerance of diversity.

Transparency and Anti-Corruption

- Introducing transparency and trying to reduce corruption will be one of the most important steps needed for Iraq to build the rule of law—essential to gain confidence of the people, attract foreign investment.
- Existing laws are not bad, but issue is always enforcement.
- · Group adapted a European code of conduct to an Iraqi context.
- · Group is developing training materials for short-term program.
- Key is an independent Anti-Corruption Task Force (an Iraqi Guiliani Commission) during stabilization and transition stages, leading to a permanent Anti-Corruption Commission.

Building a Free Media

- Keep Ministry of Information for the time being (needed to distribute financing for media), but phase out after transition.
- Iraq now has several hundred reporters and editors—consider taking them all out of the country for a month-long retraining session.
 - Those who "get it" go back in as reporters; others would be retired or re-assigned.
- Members of group have developed code of ethics.
- Look at various options for ownership—private, political parties (but newspapers only, not TV or radio), PBS or BBC models.

Civil Society Capacity-Building



- Need for plans for laws to promote the activities and autonomy of civil society groups.
- Must ensure accountability of civil society groups for use of funds and facilities
- Develop projects for preparation of training materials to help organize civil society groups—should be done early.
- Iraqi civil society will need many groups, e.g. civic education, human rights, women's rights, youth, veterans, and survivors of chemical attacks—seed money and technical assistance for startup important.

Refugees & IDP's



(preliminary discussions only)

- 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 (preliminary discussions only)



- 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.

What We Have Learned So Far



- Highest standards of professionalism, free and open exchange, and courtesy at all meetings.
 - Iraqis have sometimes expressed surprise meetings have gone so well.
- USG objectives of developing project priorities have been met or exceeded in all meetings.
 - Our effort is shifting to supporting projects of the working groups.
- Initial Iraqi skepticism in some groups has been dispelled by their seeing that the USG approach is to facilitate their work.
- Iraqis want to do further work on their own and in conjunction with USG.

Why Does This Model Work?



- Strict enforcement of the "round table" and the "level playing field."
 - No one, no matter how good, is allowed to "hijack" agenda or outcome.
 - We watch carefully for signs that participants are silently rejecting others' ideas.
- Iraqis are willing to look to us for a procedural lead, and will listen to our good ideas, but on the substance reach their own decisions and conclusions.
 - This is perhaps the most important consideration.
 - Iraqis will resist other Iraqis trying to take control suspicion, mistrust are often high.
- Iraqis decide their priorities, but then we decide ours.
 - Mutual respect for each other's independence and integrity.

FUTURE OF IRAQ PROJECT

Working Groups & Meeting Dates

1. TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE (TJWG)

→ Meeting Dates: July 9-10, 2002

September 27-October 1, 2002

January 9-10, 2003

March 23-April 4, 2003 (colloquium)

· 2. PUBLIC FINANCE (PFWG)

(meets with EIWG)

 ✓ Meeting Dates: August 6-7, 2002

October 25-26, 2002 December 2-3, 2002 January 29-30, 2003

3. DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURES (DPPNG)

▼ Meeting Dates: September 4-5, 2002

October 10-11, 2002

4. WATER, AGRICULTURE AND THE ENVIRONMENT (WAEWG)

→ Meeting Dates: October 3-5, 2002

March 10-11, 2003

5. PUBLIC OUTREACH (POWG)

December 2-3, 2002 February 5-7, 2003 April 3-5, 2003

6. PUBLIC HEALTH AND HUMANITARIAN NEEDS (PHHNWG)

▼ Meeting Dates: October 16-17, 2002

7. ECONOMY AND INFRASTRUCTURE (BING)

(meets with Public Finance)

▼ Meeting Dates: October 25-26, 2002

December 2-3, 2002 January 29-30, 2003

8. DEPENSE POLICY AND INSTITUTIONS (DPIWG)

→ Meeting Dates: December 10-11, 2002

February 26-27, 2003

9. LOCAL GOVERNMENT (LGWG)

▼ Meeting Dates: December 18-19, 2002

February 12-13, 2003

10. OIL AND ENERGY (OEWG).

▼ Meeting Dates: December 20-21, 2002

January 31-February 01, 2003 February 28-March 1, 2003

April 4-5, 2003

11. EDUCATION (EWG)

▼ Meeting Dates: January 24-25, 2003

12. FREE MEDIA (FMWG)

▼ Meeting Dates: February 19-20, 2003

13. TRANSPARENCY AND ANTI-CORRUPTION MEASURES (TACWG)

▼ Meeting Dates: February 14-15, 2003

March 18-19, 2003

14. CIVIL SOCIETY CAPACITY BUILDING (CSCWG)

▼ Meeting Dates: February 24-25, 2003

Working groups that did not meet:

15. REFUGEES AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (RIDPWG)

16. POREIGN AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY (FNSWG)

17. PRESERVING IRAQ'S CULTURAL HERITAGE (PICHWG)

WORKING GROUPS: 17 WORKING GROUPS MET: 14

MEETINGS: 33

Future of Iraq

Civil Society Capacity Building Working Group

Press Release

February 25, 2003

Washington, DC

On February 24-25, 2003 a group of free Iraqis met in Washington, DC for the first session of the Civil Society Capacity Building working group. The meeting was hosted by the US Department of State, Future of Iraq Office.

The Iraqi participants discussed the challenges of building a civil society centered around democratic principles and focused on critical issues including civic education, human rights, women's rights, youth, veterans, and survivors afflicted by the current regime. It was the consensus of the group that Saddam's tyrannical regime had stripped Iraqis of their basic human rights and eroded Iraq's civil society over the past thirty years. It is natural for Iraq, as the historic cradle of civilization, to have a civil society that respects, protects, and empowers Iraqis to prosper in a democratic government. The main points agreed to were:

- > Rebuilding the civil society on democratic principles that protect the rights of all Iraqis
- > Promoting safeguarding and protecting the principles of democracy
- > Bridging the gap of dictatorship to democracy by establishing an action plan for communicating and educating the Iraqi people to their rights and responsibilities in a democratic society.
- > Enforce and enhance the access to information for the Iraqi people
- > Engage Iraqi organizations (NGO's) inside and outside Iraq, as well as international organizations to aid in the rebuilding and funding of critical projects
- > Utilize various sectors of society including engaging respected and trusted educational, religious, tribal and civil leaders to serve as catalysts for change in rural and urban areas
- > Recommended basic principles for a "Bill of Rights" reflecting the rights and responsibilities guaranteed to each Iraqi, valuing the individual and fostering religious and minority tolerance
- > The working group outlined practical steps to carry out its immediate and future efforts

The working group looks forward to the day when Iraqis enjoy the rights and responsibilities of a democratic society that is treasured by many in the international community. A strong civil society serves as a solid foundation in the creation of a strong, free and democratic Iraq where pride and patriotism prevail.

For further information contact:

Dr. Mohammed Ahmad	44-702-860-1000	msulaivani@aol.com
Mr. Sami Alaskary	44-796-135-8746	alaskary@hotmail.com
Mr. Rahman Alljebouri	202-347-3519	aljebouri@iraqfoundation.org
Dr. Sargon Dadesho	209-522-3229	kbsv@aol.com
Mr. Muhannad Eshaiker	714-609-5069	eshaiker@yahoo.com
Dr. Ala Fa'ik	734-260-1380	alafaik@yahoo.com
Ms. Maha Al-Shibib Joudi	510-305-2447	joudi@pacbell.net
Mr. Kato Saadlla	703-283-3664	katol@chef.net
Mr. Hussain Sinjari	32-2-537-3989 (Erbil, Iraq)	hussain.sinjari@iraq-democracy.org
. •	F: 32-2-538-2466	

Future of Iraq

Defense Policy and Institutions Working Group

Press Release

December 11, 2002

Washington, DC

On December 10-11, 2002, a group of Free Iraqi officers and civilians representing various groups of the Iraqi opposition, met in Washington, DC for the first session of the Defense Policy and Institutions Working Group. The meeting was hosted by the U.S. Department of State, Future of Iraq office.

A key objective of the working group was to determine priorities for issues that can be dealt with now, before a change of government in Baghdad, and will help improve prospects for a secure, stable, and free Iraq after the departure from power of Saddam Hussein. The vision of the working group is a unified Iraq in which the military can play a responsible and constructive role in a democratic nation in which the rights of all citizens are guaranteed and protected.

An overall theme agreed to by all members of the working group is that the Iraqi military should not participate in political matters. One future role of the Iraqi military will be the defense and protection of Iraq's sovereign territorial integrity and unity under a civilian government.

The working group stressed the importance for a professional and capable military that will defend democracy and federalism in a multiparty system, which respects human rights in a post Saddam Iraq. It was noted that military educational and training programs will have to be redesigned.

As a practical matter, the working group began to address how best to reintegrate Iraqi soldiers into civilian life, and the need for various employment programs.

Mr. Mohammed Al-Faour	4-55-577-5770	mrm 1958@stofanet.dk
General Hassan Al-Nakib	202-223-3123	tnakib@msn.com
General Najeb Al-Salhi	202-345-2691	iraqfirst@aol.com
Mr. Arsan Khayralleh	609-344-3356	
Mr. Waria Nameek	703-392-5958	warial@aol.com
Mr. Albert Yelda	44-208-566-3635	yeldaalbert@hotmail.com
	or 07748-578610	

Future of Iraq

Defense Policy and Institutions Working Group

Press Release

February 27, 2003

Washington, DC

On February 26-27, 2003, a group of Free Iraqi officers and civilians representing various groups of the Iraqi opposition, met in Washington, DC for the second session of the Defense Policy and Institutions Working Group. The meeting was hosted by the U.S. Department of State, Future of Iraq office.

A key objective of the working group was to determine priorities for issues that can be dealt with now, before a change of government in Baghdad, and will help improve prospects for a peaceful, secure, stable, and free Iraq after the removal from power of Saddam Hussein. The participants support the struggle of the Iraqi people to overthrow dictatorship and establish the rule of law within a democratic, pluralistic, united and federal state of Iraq.

Several member of the working group presented studies on Civil-Military Relations, Defense Policy in a Regional Setting, and Education for Defense. Specific issues related to the demobilization, demilitarization and retraining were also discussed. A key factor throughout the meeting was how best to promote the integration of all ethnic factions and unity of Iraq.

All members agreed to the following points with regards to the role of the Iraqi military in a post Saddam Iraq:

- > The Iraqi military should not intervene in political activities
- > The Iraqi military will be subject to an elected, civilian government. Loyalties to any one man or region will no longer be acceptable
- > The Iraqi military should be defensive in nature, and forswear the acquisition or development of weapons of mass destruction
- > The importance to develop a professional military in a democratic society that respects human rights
- > The need to revise military education and training programs along democratic lines, and will include modern practices and procedures
- The importance of integrating Iraq's military into the international community, including entering into new alliances that adhere to democratic principles

All members agreed that Saddam and his regime should be removed from power, by force if necessary, and to continue their work for a common destiny of democracy, unity, dignity, and freedom for all Iraqis.

Mr. Mohammed Al-Faour	4-55-577-5770	mrm1958@stofanet.dk
Mr. Jamal Hama Hama Karim	31-10-470-5574	peshraw@kabelfoon.nl
Mr. Waria Nameek	703-392-5958	warial@aol.com
Mr. Faysal Karim Khan Mahmod	963-93-443-379	bradosti@hotmail.com
Mr. Aziz Kiadir Fathalla Samanchi	44-207-252-2253	azizsamanchi@hotmail.com
Mr. Bruska Shaways	32-2473-0024	bruska@ajeeb.com
Mr. Albert Yelda	44-208-566-3635	yeldaalbert@hotmail.com
	от 07748-578610	
Mr. Babakir Zebari	32-24-73-0024	bruska@aieeb.com

Iraqi Economic Experts Meet and Develop Ideas for the Future

Washington DC

26 October 2002

On October 25-26, a group of Iraqi Experts met to discuss a post Saddam Hussein economy and Infrastructure of Iraq. This group is comprised of Iraqis who specialize in economics and who have experienced the tyranny of the Saddam Hussein Regime.

In order for Iraq to start on the road to recovery, it is essential to provide electricity and communications to the general population and specifically to hospitals, schools, water and sanitation facilities. Therefore, chief among the topics discussed were the repair and modernization of the electrical grid and communications network.

Also discussed, were long-term issues such as the restoration and modernization of the business sector, direct investment, and stimulation of small business.

For further information contact:

.1:	Salah Al-Shaikhly	Sashaikhiy@aol.com
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2: Emad Dhia Emad.dhia@pfizer.com

3: Nasreen Sideek Nasreensid@aol.com

4: John Kanno Johnk7@msn.com

Home: 209-523-4443 Cell: 209-649-7018

Cell: 209-049-7016

5: Rubar Sandi Sandir@usiraqbc.com

202-452-8561

Future of Iraq

Economy and Infrastructure Working Group

Press Release

January 30, 2003

Washington, DC

On January 29-30, 2003, a group of Iraqi experts met in Washington, DC for a third time to discuss the economy and infrastructure in a post Saddam Hussein Iraq. These free Iraqis specialize in economic policy, entrepreneurial and technical fields, infrastructure, and have directly experienced the brutality of the Saddam Hussein regime. They have come together from inside and outside Iraq to develop ideas and plans that can be implemented for the betterment of the Iraqi people. Iraq's road to recovery will begin, in part, with the revitalization of the public and private sectors, as well as rebuilding of the infrastructure itself. Several members put forth detailed proposals regarding the following issues:

- Currency situation, fiscal and monetary policy guidelines for the transitional government of Iraq: This situation should be dealt with by paying due regard to pricing and inflation policy.
- Private sector and privatization.
- A review of the banking system in Iraq was presented. Although some of it has been performing
 below the actual capacity, there are real possibilities and challenges for improvement. An
 economic policy of accelerated growth of potential of banks by allowing the accumulation of their
 own capitals. Banks should be free from government interference. Effective legislation and
 regulatory rules should be created to ensure a protection against risk, and assist to achieve
 stability.
- The working group also discussed tax policy and guidelines for the transitional government of lraq. There was a consensus that taxing is neither economically viable nor politically advisable during the transition period. Taxing should be part of effective fiscal and monetary policies.
 Proposals were also put forward to keep the present tax regime in place during the transitional period, while giving some tax holdings as political incentives.
- Further plans were put forth for the development and upgrading of the telecommunication and transportation infrastructure, as well as policies to stimulate economic growth.
- Modalities for addressing government obligations and reparations were presented. An "Iraq Reconstruction and Development Bank" was proposed to deal with these issues. Some suggestions were also put forth regarding restructuring debt operations, which included interest and principal repayment, as well as rescheduling interest or principal arrears, debt forgiveness and buybacks, swaps and other options.
- The working group will release a detailed statement on government economic policies and entrepreneurial visions for a new Iraq.

613-851-0213	aal@sympatico.com
408-828-4772	halkhatib@pdynamics.com
44-208-543-9282	baghdadpages@aol.com
202-452-8561	sandir@usiraqbc.com
not available	nasreensid@aol.com
734-622-2011	edhia2000@yahoo.com
	408-828-4772 44-208-543-9282 202-452-8561 not available

Future of Iraq

Education Working Group

Press Release

January 25, 2003

Washington, DC

On January 24-25, 2003, a group of free Iraqi scholars and experts met in Washington, DC for the first session of the Education Working Group. The meeting was hosted by the U.S. Department of State, Future of Iraq office.

The working group discussed plans for what can be done now, and after removal of the regime and installation of a democratic government in Iraq to improve the education system from preschool through university. It was noted that three generations have been educated under Saddam Hussein, and all levels of society have been affected by his propaganda and dogmatic way of life. It was agreed that key values such as critical thinking, democracy, freedom, learning to care and tolerate others will need to be integrated into new curriculum.

Ms. Zainab al-Suwaij noted, "A critical role will be played by Iraqi parents and grandparents who can assist in the transition. These Iraqis were raised before Saddam rose to power. As such, they will be able to assist in the development of "free" thinking skills. They were brought up in a time when all Iraqis, regardless of ethnic or religious backgrounds, lived in peace and tolerance as a way of life."

Another member of the working group, Dr. Hind Rassam also noted the importance of "genocide education." An education that openly discusses the human rights and war crimes abuses of the Saddam regime. This will assist in the truth and reconciliation process which will allow the Iraqi people to grieve for those unjustly killed. It is the hope of the working group that this aspect will help prevent a repeat of these atrocities.

Specific attention will be paid to:

- > Restructuring the Iraqi curriculum
- > The integration of civil society and multicultural studies
- > Transforming the attitude of teachers, parents and students towards greater participation
- > Establishment of a teacher training program
- > Teaching tolerance and understanding
- > Special education needs and mental health programs
- > Providing a statement of principles and a bill of rights for students and teachers
- > Budget and infrastructure needs

Ms. Zainab al-Suwaij	617-621-1511	zainab@aicongress.org
Dr. Edward Odisho	773-442-5363	e-odisho@neiu.edu
Dr. Hind Rassam	914-674-7376	rhapsojohn@aol.com

Future of Iraq

Free Media Working Group

Press Release

February 20, 2003

Washington, DC

On February 19-20, 2003 a group of free Iraqis met in Washington, DC for the first session of the Free Media working group. The meeting was hosted by the US Department of State, Future of Iraq Office.

The Iraqi participants discussed the challenges of building a democratic, professional, and responsible media after Saddam. It was the consensus of the group that the Iraqi people have suffered under Saddam and the Ba'ath Party for over 30 years. During this time, he used the media to brutalize the collective mind of the Iraqi people, and build a cult of personality that has infused every aspect of every day life. It is time that the media is used to educate, inform, accurately report the issues of the country and allow the Iraqi people to make free choices for a better future. The main points agreed to were:

- > Rebuilding the national media on a democratic basis and provide opportunities for all Iraqis, regardless of their religious and ethnic identity, to express their views and opinions freely.
- Restructure the current Iraqi Ministry of Information during the transition stage, and eventually replace it with an independent institution which will provide regulation, standards and practices.
- > The media will act as a "watch dog" on the new Iraqi government to prevent the abuses of the past.
- The De-Ba'athification of the media outlets, and a law that will protect journalists from any reprisals.
- Implementation of the existing Code of Ethics through the establishment of a "Code of Conduct" for media executives and journalists.
- > The establishment of multiple centers of information, so local and regional districts can have their own media outlets covering issues important to them.
- > The need to establish journalist training centers and institutes and the reformation of the current curriculum.
- Incorporate media techniques in the education system which will broaden the horizons for Iraqi children.
- Provide internet access to all Iraqis, as soon as possible, which will allow for a wide variety of views and opinions from outside the country.

The working group looks forward to the day when Iraq is integrated into the international community, with the media playing a critical role in bringing a global perspective to issues affecting the Iraqi people. For further information, please contact:

Mr. Hamid Ali Alkifaey	44-774-062-7065	alkifacy@hotmail.com
Mr. Abdul Halim Al-Ruhaimi	44-208-810-6474	alruhaimi43@hotmail.com
Dr. Ala Fa'ik	734-260-1380	alafaik@yahoo.com
Ms. Tanya Gilly	240-988-4770	tanya.puk@verizon.net
Mr. Dara Reshid	44-208-799-7417	darayara@inc.org.uk
Mr. Mahdi Saaid	44-207-371-3488	krguk@aol.com
Mr. Ismail Zayer	31-70-399-7234	iaz@xs4all.nl

Future of Iraq

Local Government Working Group

Press Release

December 19, 2002

Washington, DC

On December 18-19, 2002, a group of free Iraqis met in Washington, DC for the first session of the Local Government Working Group. The meeting was hosted by the U.S. Department of State, Future of Iraq office.

lraqis of diverse ethnic backgrounds participated in the meeting to outline an initial vision of how local governments in Iraq can be reformed to serve the Iraqi people. Participants discussed a variety of ways to develop a better system. Subjects that were specifically addressed and directly affect the daily life of Iraqi people are:

- > Transition of local governments
 - The basic responsibilities of a local governments such as utilities, security, law enforcement, development of legislation, coordination with other local governments and the central government
- > Taxation procedures, accountability, transparency, financial and administrative oversight
- > Educational programs and training of local government employees
- > Structure and laws guiding the development of local governments
- > Organization of provincial legislations and local councils
- > Administrations of elections
- ➤ Welfare and social services
- > Development of a civil society and promotion of cooperation with social and cultural institutions

The meeting was conducted in a practical and serious manner reflecting the spirit of cooperation that will best serve the needs of the Iraqi people. The working group hopes that a modern, vibrant system will emerge where democratically elected officials will be responsible to the people, and a renewed sense of trust between citizen and official will flourish. In addition, it was agreed that future local governments would need to end the practice of discrimination and isolation that has long plagued minority groups. The group reaffirmed the necessity of local governments fulfilling their responsibility by providing the best services possible to the people under their care.

The participants reaffirmed the need to respect the ethnic, religious, and sectarian backgrounds of all Iraqi people. This should be done by the development of new educational, cultural, social programs and policies. All the while, reaffirming a unified sense of what it means to be an Iraqi.

In conclusion, the participants agreed to adopt democratic principles that will guide the reorganization of local governments that will be accountable to the people.

For further information contact:

Dr. Talib Alhamdani

310-869-8693

talhamdani@hotmail.com

Mr. Nijyar Shemdin

202-776-7196

kr64usa@aol.com

Future of Iraq Local Government Working Group Press Release

February 13, 2003

Washington, DC

On February 12-13, 2003, a group of free Iraqis met in Washington, DC for the second session of the Local Government Working Group. The meeting was hosted by the U.S. Department of State, Future of Iraq office.

Building on the progress made at their first meeting, Iraqis of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds continued their discussions related to the reform of local government. Several Iraqi members made presentations and debated the following issues:

- Short Term Local Government Plan (1-2 month period)
- Structure and Authority for Iraqi Local Government
- Procedures for Accountability, Taxation, Budgeting, and Transparency
- Education and Training Programs for Local Government Officials
- Plans for Reorganizing Provincial Legislators and Local Councils
- Administration of Democratic Elections
- Administration of Welfare and Social Services
- Civic Education
- Administrative Arrangements for Holy Sites

Meetings were conducted in an open and realistic manner translating the collaborative spirit that will best serve the people of Iraq, their desires and expectations. All agreed that Iraq's territorial integrity was paramount and any changes made should be executed with that principle in mind. Of specific note, members discussed the changes needed for each of the three stages that will follow regime change: immediate, transitional, and permanent. The main concern expressed centered on the introduction of changes without creating disorder and chaos.

Participants reaffirmed their respect for all Iraqis regardless of their ethnic, religious and sectarian backgrounds. Once again, all expressed their aspiration to see Iraq free, democratic, progressing towards modernization, and becoming a valued member of the international community.

In conclusion, participants agreed to produce a set of recommendations regarding reforms in the local government system, which will be presented to the new government in Iraq after regime change.

For further information, please contact:

Talib Al-Hamdani Sayyed Abdul Majid Al-Khoe'i Suhair Al-Mousully Jamal Fuad Mohammad Abdul Jabber Joseph Markhay Nijyar Shemdin	617-320-4953 703-256-2985 44-796-115-0153 773-447-9097 202-776-7196	talhamdani@hotmail.com smkhoei@alkhoei.org suhairalmosully@alum.mit.edu jfuad@aol.com makimohammad@aol.com markhayj@hotmail.com krg4us@aol.com
Hoshyar Siwaily	not available	krg4us@aol.com hoshyars@hotmail.com

Future of Iraq Oil and Energy Working Group

Press Release

December 21, 2002

A group of Free Iraqi oil and gas experts met in Washington DC on December 20-21 2002 for the first session of the Oil and Energy Working Group. The meeting was hosted by the US Department of State, Future of Iraq office.

A key objective of the working group was to identify short and medium term priorities for the Iraqi oil and gas sector after a change of government in Baghdad and to determine the necessary components for a restructuring of the industry. The aspiration of the group is a rehabilitated, globally, connected oil and gas sector.

Oil will remain the primary source of revenue and will play a pivotal role in the country's economic reconstruction. The group recognized the need to establish a favorable investment climate and attract international and inward capital in the reconstruction and growth of the industry. It saw the importance of introducing modern technology, know-how and management skills.

As a practical matter the group discussed the priority first steps in re-establishing historic capacity.

Future of Iraq

Oil and Energy Working Group

Press Release

February 1, 2003

Washington, DC

On January 31 – February 1, 2003, a group of 11 independent free Iraqi oil professionals met in Washington, DC for the second session of the Oil and Energy working group. The meeting was hosted by the U.S. Department of State, Future of Iraq office.

The group discussed the concerns that a future Iraqi government is likely to face in rehabilitating and modernizing the oil sector, and examining the various directions energy policy may take. The import of modern technology and the transfer of professional skills are seen as pre-requisites for a fully integrated and globalized oil sector. Discussions focused on immediate concerns whilst taking into account medium and long-term projections of future production.

Strategies and goals for energy development and alternative industry structures that could be conducive to foreign direct investment into the oil industry were extensively discussed.

The group agreed that investment in the upstream sector is key to generating much needed revenue. A stable political environment with attractive investment opportunities, that are in line with international norms and practices, are needed in a post-Saddam Iraq. This will allow for revenue generation of the under-explored and under-developed oil reserves.

Presentations were also made regarding other areas of reconstruction such as natural gas and refining. Participants emphasized the fact that the Iraqi energy sector will continue to be managed by Iraqis for the benefit of the Iraqi people. The working group will continue its efforts, and plans on a third meeting in the near future.

Future of Iraq

Oil and Energy Working Group

Press Release

March 1, 2003

Washington, DC

On February 28 – March 1, 2003, a group of independent free Iraqi oil professionals met in Washington, DC for the third session of the Oil and Energy working group. The meeting was hosted by the U.S. Department of State, Future of Iraq office.

The group continued their discussions regarding the concerns that a future Iraqi government is likely to face in rehabilitating and modernizing the oil sector, and examining the various directions energy policy may take. The importance of a fully integrated and globalized oil sector was an overarching theme throughout the meeting.

Several working group participants made presentations on:

- > History of Oil Exploration in Iraq
- > Policies and Principles of Oil Production
- > Short Term Rehabilitation of Oil Well and Pipelines
- > Exploration and Production of Oil
- Downstream Sector including Refining, Gas Processing Storage Distribution

The working group came to a consensus on the following issues:

- > No new field development without political stability
- > Iraqi oil, natural gas, and other resources should be managed by the Iraqi people and are for their benefit
- > The revenues generated from this sector should be used for the reconstruction and development of Iraq, with special attention paid to the impoverished oil field regions
- > Although oil is the main component in Iraq's economy, economic diversity is key to Iraq's long term stability
- ➤ Modern technology, domestic and foreign experts will be crucial to the rapid development of the oil sector
- > The country should develop the right economic environment to allow investment in and utilization of its oil and gas resources in the most efficient manner for the benefit of the Iraqi people
- > The working group has initiated discussion on plans to meet a variety of scenarios to suit the changing conditions ahead

All agreed that the oil and energy sector will be the driving force that allows Iraqis to prosper once the despotic regime of Saddam Hussein is removed. To that end, participants provided a number of recommendations and pledged to continue their work for the benefit of the Iraqi people.

Future of Iraq

Oil and Energy Working Group

Press Release

April 5, 2003

Iraqi Oil for Iraqi People

London, U.K.

A group of Free Iraqi oil and gas experts met on three previous occasions and, for the fourth time, on April 4-5, 2003. With the Saddam regime coming to an end, this meeting took place in London. The meeting was held under the auspices of the U.S. Department of State, Future of Iraq Project.

The terms of reference for the group were to identify short and medium term priorities for the Iraqi oil and gas sector and make suggestions and recommendations regarding how to rehabilitate the oil and gas sectors and make the best use of this vital resource for the development of Iraq.

The group continued their discussions regarding concerns that a future Iraqi government is likely to face in rehabilitating and modernizing the oil sector, and examining the various directions energy policy may take. The importance of a fully integrated and globalized oil sector was an overarching theme throughout the meeting.

Several working group participants made presentations on:

- Oil Exploration in Iraq
- Policies and Principles of Oil Production
- Short Term Rehabilitation of Oil Wells and Pipelines
- Exploration and Production of Oil, Natural Gas
- Downstream Sector including Refining, Gas Processing Storage Distribution
- Marketing of Iraqi Oil

The working group came to a consensus on the following issues:

- 1. Iraqi oil, natural gas, and other resources should be exploited for the benefit of the Iraqi people.
- 2. The revenues generated from this sector should be used for the reconstruction and development of Iraq, with special attention paid to the impoverished regions.
- 3. While oil remains relatively the most important source of funding for the development, Iraq should aim at diversifying its economic base.
- 4. There is urgent need to inject modern technology, management, and organization into the sector to develop and upgrade production.
- The country should establish a conducive business environment to attract investment and utilization of oil and gas resources in the most efficient manner for the benefit of the Iraqi people.
- 6. The working group has initiated discussion on plans to meet a variety of scenarios to suit the changing conditions ahead.
- 7. There are ample indications of the existence of great potential for developing gas in Iraq. Serious considerations should be given to establishing the viability for exploring and marketing this important resource in Iraq.
- 8. In rehabilitating the energy sector in Iraq, every effort should be made to correct the Saddam regime's regional biases and its discriminatory policy against competent Iraqis because of ethnic and political affiliation.

All agreed that the oil and energy sector will be the driving force that allows Iraqis to prosper once the despotic regime of Saddam Hussein is removed. To that end, participants provided a number of recommendations and pledged to continue their work for the benefit of the Iraqi people.

Future of Iraq

Transparency and Anti-Corruption Working Group

Press Release

February 15, 2003

Washington, DC

On February 14-15, 2003 a group of free Iraqis met in Washington, DC for the first session of the Transparency and Anti-Corruption working group. The meeting was hosted by the US Department of State, Future of Iraq Office.

Iraqis of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds began discussions on creating a transparent, democratic country based on the rule of law and universal values of ethics and morality. For over 30 years, Saddam has fostered a culture of corruption that has caused the absence of morality, uprooted the role of the family, and decimated individual integrity and pride. A critical factor in achieving a free, democratic Iraq is eliminating and preventing corruption so that preexisting laws and newly enacted legislation can be implemented and enforced to promote principles of freedom and democracy. Creating such transparency is an important pillar in fostering the welfare of the Iraqi people as well as the peace and stability of the entire Middle East region.

The following are the issues discussed by the participants:

- Defining corruption in Iraq; its root causes, extent and cost to Iraqi society
- Consideration is to be given to a code of ethics for Iraqi society
- Establishing a methodology to eradicate corruption from Iraqi society
- Drafting a short and long term strategy to deal with corruption in a post-Saddam Iraq
- Specific attention was paid to issues such as cultural norms, diversity, government contracting, privatization, banking, money laundering, wages of government officials and amnesty for corrupt officials
- Fostering civic education for the Iraqi people through both public and private institutions, as well as media organizations
- Legal and institutional reforms

The meetings were conducted in an open and collaborative spirit that reflected the group's desire to help the people of Iraq. Participants affirmed their respect for all Iraqis and the suffering they have endured under Saddam's regime. Once again, all expressed their anticipation to see a pluralistic, federal, democratic, and modernized Iraq.

703-786-7110	ialjawahiry@yahoo.com
32-2-657-7977	suzan388@yahoo.com
202-637-2496	tanya.puk@verizon.net
44-(0)7961-150153	makimohammad@aol.com
not available	ketene@superonline.com
202-776-7196	krg4usa@aol.com
	32-2-657-7977 202-637-2496 44-(0)7961-150153 not available

Future of Iraq

Transparency and Anti-Corruption Working Group

Press Release

March 19, 2003

Washington, DC

On March 18-19, 2003 a group of free Iraqis met in Washington, DC for the second session of the Transparency and Anti-Corruption working group. The meeting was hosted by the US Department of State, Future of Iraq Office. The participants agreed to the following statement.

Description of Anti-Corruption Compliance Program

There is a need to reinvigorate the pre-existing Iraqi Anti-Corruption Laws for public officials, employees and representatives. This can be achieved through an Anti-Corruption Compliance Program. A program such as this is a necessary and fundamental way to reshape the perceptions the Iraqi people have towards their government. This requires instilling transparency and integrity throughout government. The Transparency and Anti-Corruption Working Group proposes the following:

- 1. Creation of standards and anti-corruption procedures for public officials based on the following:
 - a. A "code of conduct" for government employees
 - b. A "code of conduct for conducting business" with the Iraqi government
 - c. The existing penal code
- 2. Create an oversight group entitled, "Anti-Corruption Task Force" to oversee the Anti-Corruption Compliance Program. The Task Force shall be authorized by the interim government to:
 - a. Select members known for integrity and honesty to serve on the Anti-Corruption Task
 - b. Create a communications and training program for all public officials, employees and representatives that includes a "hotline", a video presentation and a trainer guide;
 - c. Implement procedures for monitoring and investigating "hotline complaints", as well as a procedure for reporting, monitoring, and auditing complaints to the Anti-Corruption Task Force;
 - d. Consistent enforcement of recommendations made by the Anti-Corruption Task Force through investigations. Cases will be referred to an investigating judge who in turn can refer cases to an appropriate court or close the file;
 - e. Continuous improvement to the compliance program through monitoring and feedback
- 3. Formulate a message regarding anti-corruption to the Iraqi people to be broadcast via the media

The meeting was conducted in an open and collaborative spirit that reflected the group's desire to help the people of Iraq. Participants reaffirmed their respect for all Iraqis and the suffering they have endured under Saddam's regime. Once again, all expressed their anticipation to see a pluralistic, federal, democratic, and modernized Iraq.

Suzan Ali	not available	suzan388@yahoo.com
Ilham Sahib	703-786-7110	i jawa@hotmail.com
Reyadh Abdul Majeed Al-Kabban	97-14-221-2900	drkabban@hotmail.com
Tanya Gilly	240-988-4770	vze2qd5n@verizon.net
Pnoel Hermis	773-338-7188	not available
Mohammad Abdul Jabbar	44-208-900-9432	mohammadmaki@hotmail.com
Ercan Ketene	not available	ketene@superonline.com
Farouk Ridha	44-208-830-1473	fi1939@hotmail.com
Hoshyar Siwaily	651-846-6051	hoshyars@hotmail.com

Future of Iraq

Transitional Justice Working Group

Iraqi Lawyers Agree: Saddam Can Be Tried in Iraqi Courts

Siracusa, Italy 30 September 2002

More than forty Iraqi judges, law professors and legal experts, meeting in the first conference of Iraqi lawyers devoted to discussion of law and the transition to democracy in the post-Saddam period, agreed that Saddam Hussein can be tried for war crimes and crimes against humanity by an Iraqi court.

The lawyers, members of the Working Group on Transitional Justice in Iraq and the Iraqi Jurists Association, agreed that the Iraqi people should respect the rule of law and subject Saddam to a trial, rather than taking the law into their own hands. Dr. Mohamed al-Jabiri, one of the legal experts said "When Saddam is removed from power, he and the other top officials of the regime can be tried under international law and Iraqi laws from the pre-Saddam period in Iraq."

"Iraq had one of the most advanced legal systems in the region before Saddam's regime came to power" said Moniem al-Khatib, another Iraqi legal expert. "We are keeping this tradition alive, and we hope to restore it when Saddam is removed from power."

The group discussed a range of legal problems that could arise in the immediate aftermath of the overthrow of Saddam's regime and established committees to draft proposed new laws and study issues such as amnesty and reform of the judiciary.

"This is the beginning of a process that we hope will allow Iraq to restore the rule of law and deal with the crimes committed by the regime," said Sermid al-Sarraf, an Iraqi-American attorney who also attended the session. "The group calls on Iraqis – inside and outside Iraq – to start to discuss these important issues."

The Transitional Justice Working Group, which includes jurists from different ethnic groups and regions in Iraq, plans to meet again in December.

For more information contact:

Iraqi Jurists Association (London) ~ 020-8-741-6217

Dr. Mohamed al-Jabiri (Sydney) - 61-2-9723-3111

Moniem al-Khatib (London) - 020-7-603-4431

Sermid al-Sarraf (Los Angeles) - 213-384-8500

Future of Iraq

Transitional Justice Working Group

Press Release

January 10, 2003

Washington, DC

On January 9-10, 2003, a group of Iraqi lawyers and judges met in Washington, DC for the third session of the Transitional Justice Working Group. The meeting was hosted by the U.S. Department of State, Future of Iraq office. All agreed that the Iraqi courts are the appropriate forum for prosecuting war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by Saddam Hussein and top Iraqi officials in his regime. The Iraqi jurists met with experts on international criminal law and post-conflict justice to discuss the legal framework for conducting such prosecutions.

"The Iraqi Military Penal Code and the fact that Iraq is a signatory to international covenants and treaties on human rights provide a sound basis for war crimes trials to be held in Iraq," said Moniem Al-Khatib, a prominent Iraqi lawyer.

The courts would be provided with state-of-the-art international technical assistance for investigation, prosecution and defense counsel.

"We believe that only an Iraqi court, established under Iraqi law, will have legitimacy in the eyes of the Iraqi people" said Dr. Rakiah Al-Kayssi, Research Analyst, member of the Iraqi Jurist Association. "We have studied the lessons of the International Tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda and we are confident that Iraqis can deal with these crimes themselves, with the necessary technical assistance from the international community."

The legal experts also reviewed and discussed a 600-page report prepared by sub-committees of the Working Group and members of the Iraqi Jurists Association. The report provides detailed recommendations for reforming the legal system in Iraq and includes draft laws to replace laws imposed by Saddam that violate human rights and the rule of law.

The report is divided into three main sections:

- > Legal Reform
- > Institutional Reform
- > Truth, Accountability and Reconciliation

Reform of the legal system and specific institutions such as the judiciary, police, prisons, and military is viewed as the key to re-establishing the rule of law and a transition to democracy in Iraq. The jurists agreed to establish a special committee to develop a plan to begin training judges, lawyers, and prosecutors who will initiate the implementation of transitional justice after regime change.

Implementing a Truth, Accountability and Reconciliation process in Iraq is crucial for Iraqis to deal with the horrors of the past 34 years of Saddam Hussein's brutality. The report details specific recommendations and a legal framework for truth telling, amnesty programs and victims compensation.

Dr. Tariq Al-Saleh	011-44-208-741-6217
Mr. Fuad Jawad Ridha	708-482-8962
Mr. Moniem Al-Khatib	001-44-207-603-4431
Dr. Mohamed Al-Jabiri	001-612-9723-3111
Mr. Feisal Istrabadi	219-477-1880
Mr. Sermid Al-Sarraf	213-384-8500

Future of Iraq

Water, Agriculture and Environment Working Group

Press Release

March 11, 2003

Washington, DC

On March 10 – 11, 2003, a diverse group of Iraqi scientists and engineers met in Washington DC, as part of the Water, Agriculture and Environment Working Group. The meeting was hosted by the State Department, Future of Iraq project.

The working group developed plans for short and long-term projects regarding water, agriculture and environment issues in a post-Saddam Iraq. Short-term projects address the immediate aftermath of a change of regime. Long-term projects focus on the gradual rebuilding of Iraq.

Regarding the water issues, the group identified four immediate projects to be undertaken after regime change, these include: securing water supplies and purification plants; distributing residential filters; disinfectant iodine tablets for the purification of water; and educating the Iraqi people about the hazards of water collected from shallow wells and streams. Attention was paid to the fact that there is an immediate need to secure the dams that are under the control of the regime to prevent deliberate flooding downstream which may harm the people of Iraq. Longer-term projects include the restoration of the marshes of southern Iraq, studying basin wide resource management strategies, and recommending a moratorium on dam construction, which in some cases the regime has used to displace local communities by diverting water supply.

As for agriculture, short-term projects include plans for providing spare parts for agricultural machinery, irrigation pumps and delivery systems. As well as, supplying vaccines and nutritional supplements for livestock and seeds. There is also an immediate need to initiating programs to attract and keep farmers, establishing model projects, and the revival of the apple orchards of the north and palm trees of the south that were systemically destroyed by the regime over the past 30 years.

The group discussed key areas of environmental monitoring and risk assessment to be conducted immediately after change of regime. Issues discussed including mapping sites of battlefield contamination, determining quarantine areas for disposal of equipment and contaminated materials, creating a public awareness program and handling of hazardous equipment and materials, and providing mobile labs for water, air and soil testing and training lraqis to operate them.

Participants agreed that the current regime has committed grave environmental, ecological and agricultural destruction, and look forward to the day when their expertise and knowledge will be used to help Iraqis rebuild their homeland.

Dr. Azzam Alwash	714-730-2122	azzam, alwash@verizon.net
Mr. Peter BetBasoo	773-575-5863	keepa@ninevehsoft.com
Dr. Ramsey Jiddou	734-834-2284	ryoujiddou@sol.com
Mr. Mehmet Sait Ketene	416-239-0488	Not available
Mr. Shimon Khamo	209-549-1895	skhamo@aol.com
Mr. Saad Rashid	44-161-281-7535	saad_rashid@hotmail.com

CONTACT INFORMATION

The following information pertains to those Iraqi participants that have provided permission for their names, telephone numbers and email addresses to be released to the public. This information was gathered during the Future of Iraq Project. Some of these individuals may have relocated to Iraq or elsewhere since the removal of Saddam Hussein.

Future of Iraq

Iraqi Spokespersons

Civil Society Capacity Building Working Group

Dr. Mohammed Ahmd	44-702-860-1000	msulaivani@aol.com
Mr. Sami Alaskary	44-796-153-8746	alaskary@hotmail.com
Mr. Rahman Alljebouri	202-347-3519	aljebouri@iraqfoundation.org
Dr. Sargon Dadesho	209-522-3229	kbsv@aol.com
Mr. Muhannad Eshaiker	714-609-5069	eshaiker@yahoo.com
Dr. Ala Fa'ik	734-971-2211	alafaik@yahoo.com
Ms. Maha Al-Shibib Joudi	510-305-2447	joudi@pacbell.net
Mr. Kato Saadlla	703-283-3664	katol@chef.net
Mr. Hussain Sinjari	32-2-537-3989	Hussain.sinjari@iraq-democracy.org

Defense Policy and Institutions Working Group

Mr. Mohammed Al Faour	00-45-5577-5770 or	
	00-45-2061-6837	mrm1958@stofanet.dk
Gen. Najib Al-Salhi	202-345-2691 or	
•	703-392-5958	iraqfirst@aol.com
Mr. Jamal Hama Hama	31-10-470-5574	
Karim	L	peshraw@kabelfoon.nk.
Mr. Waria Nameek	703-392-5958	warial@aol.com
Mr. Faysal Karim Khan	963-93-443-379	
Mahmod		bradosti@hotmail.com
Mr. Aziz Kiadir Fathalla	44-207-252-2253	
Samanchi		azizsamanchi@hotmail.com
Mr. Bruska Shaways	32-24-73-0024	bruska@ajeeb.com
Mr. Albert Yelda	44-208-566-3635	yeldaalbert@hotmail.com
Mr. Babakir Zebari	32-24-73-0024	bruska@ajeeb.com

Democratic Principles and Procedures Working Group

Mr. Aiham Al-Sammarae	630-515-2650	aalsammarae@kciconsultants.com
Mr. Muhannd Eshaiker	714-939-6300	eshaiker@usa.net
Mr. Laith Kubba	202-588-5925	laith@ned.org
Mr. Emanuel Kambar	616-387-4944	kamber@wmich.edu
Mr. Hatem Mukhlis	607-327-2794	hmukhlis@stny.rr.com

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Economy and Infrastructure Working Group

Mr. Aiham Al-Sammarae	630-515-2650	aalsammarae@kciconsultants.com
Mr. Saleh Al-Shaikhly	44-208-543-9282	sashaikhly@aol.com
Mr. John Kanno	209-523-4443	johnk7@msn.com
Mr. Rubar Sandi	202-452-8561	sandir@usiraqbc.com
Ms. Nasreen Sideek	not available	nasreensid@aol.com
Mr. Ahmed Al-Hayderi	613-851-0213	aal@sympatico.com
Mr. Hasan Alkhatib	408-828-4772	halkhatib@pdynamics.com
Mr. Emad Dhia	734-622-2011	edhia2000@yahoo.com

Education Working Group

Ms. Zainab Al-Suwaij	617-621-1511	zainab@aicongress.org
	773-442-5363 or	e-odisho@neiu.edu
Mr. Edward Odisho	874-966-8041	
	914-674-7376 or	rhapsojohn@aol.com
Ms. Hind Rassam	914-693-5417	

Foreign and National Security Policy Working Group

1 3 7 4 4	
N/A	
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Free Media Working Group

Mr. Hamid Ali Alkifaey	44-774-062-7065	alkifaey@hotmail.com	
Mr. Abdul Halim Al-Ruhaimi	44-208-810-6474	alruhaimi43@hotmail.com	
Dr. Ala Fa'ik	734-971-2211	alafaik@yahoo.com	
Ms. Tanya Gilly	240-988-4770	tanya.puk@verizon.net	
Mr. Dara Reshid	44-208-799-7417	darayara@inc.org.uk	
Mr. Mahdi Saaid	44-207-371-3488	krguk@aol.com	
Mr. Ismail Zayer	31-70-399-7234	iaz@xs4all.nl	

- 3 -

Local Government Working Group

Mr. Talib Alhamdani	310-869-8693	talhamdani@hotmail.com
Mr. Sayyed Abdul Majid Al-Khoe'i	44-207-372-4049	amkhoei@alkhoei.org
Ms. Suhair Al-Mousully	617-320-4953	suhairalmosully@alum.mit.edu
Mr. Jamal Fuad	703-256-2985	jfuad@aol.com
Mr. Mohammad Abdul Jabbar	44-796-115-0153	makimohammad@aol.com
Mr. Joseph Markhay	773-447-9097	markhayj@hotmail.com
Mr. Nijyar Shermdin	202-776-7196	not available
Mr. Hoshyar Siwaily	not available	hoshyars@hotmail.com

Oil and Energy Working Group

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Press Release Only	

Preserving Iraq's Cultural Heritage Working Group

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Public Finance Working Group

Mr. Aiharn Al-Sammarae	630-515-2650	aalsammarae@kciconsultants.com
Mr. Saleh Al-Shaikhly	44-13-0687-7299	sashaikhly@aol.com
Mr. John Kanno	209-523-4443	johnk7@msn.com
Mr. Rubar Sandi	202-452-8561	sandir@usiraqbc.com
Ms. Nasreen Sideek	not available	nasreensid@aol.com
Mr. Ahmed Al-Hayderi	613-851-0213	aal@sympatico.com
Mr. Hasan Alkhatib	408-828-4772	halkhatib@pdynamics.com
Mr. Emad Dhia	734-622-2011	edhia2000@yahoo.com

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Public Health and Humanitarian Needs

Dr. Ali Al-Attar	703-577-0007 (cell) or	dimaleena@aol.com
Ę.	703-847-477 (home) or	ļ
	703-578-8888 (office)	
Ms. Ghida Al-Juburi	703-652-1367	aljuburi@hotmail.com
Dr. Ilham Heather Al-Sarraf	626-799-4765	not available
Dr. Maha Hussain	734-665-3359	alsarrafm@aol.com
Dr. Mahoud Thamer	410-592-6687	not available

Public Outreach Working Group

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Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons Working Group

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Transitional Justice Working Group

Mr. Mohamed Al-Jabiri	612-972-3111	not Available
Mr. Moniem Al-Khatib	44-207-603-4431	not Available
Mr. Tariq Al-Saleh	44-208-741-6217 or	ijal75@aol.com
	02-08-741-9452 or	
	07-74-711-0303	
Mr. Sermid Al-Sarraf	213-384-8500	sermid@pacificnet.net
Mr. Mohamad Hanon	703-989-5807	hanon7@cox.net
Mr. Feisal Istrabidi	219-477-7880	not Available
Mr. Fuad Jawad Ridha	708-482-8962	not Available

Transparency and Anti-Corruption Working Group

Ms. Suzan Ali	32-2-657-7977	suzan388@yahoo.com
Mr. Reyadh Abdul Majeed	97-14-221-2900	
Al-Kabban		drkabban@hotmail.com
Ms. Tanya Gilly	240-988-4770	vze2qd5n@verizon.net
Mr. Pnoel Hermis	773-338-7188	not available
Mr. Mohammed Abdul	44-796-115-0153	
Jabber		makimohammad@aol.com
Mr. Ercan Ketene	not available	ketene@superonline.com

Mr. Farouk Ridha	44-208-830-1473	fi1939@hotmail.com
Ms. Ilham Sahib	703-786-7110	i_jawa@hotmail.com
Mr. Nijar Shemdin	202-776-7196	krg4usa@aol.com
Mr. Hoshyar Siwaily	651-846-6051	hoshyars@hotmail.com

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Water, Agriculture and Environment Working Group

	949-733-2525 (h) or	
Mr. Issam Ali Hariri	714-751-7373	sali@psomas.com
Mr. Kasim Al-Khatib	785-532-5155	khatib@ksu.edu
Mr. Azzam J. Alwash	714-423-2826	azzam.alwash@verizon.net
Mr. Peter BetBasoo	773-575-5863	keepa@ninevehsoft.com
Dr. Ramsey Jiddou	734-834-2284	ryoujiddou@aol.com
Ms. Sorkel Kadir	785-537-2926	skadir@oznet.ksu.edu
Mr. Mehrnet Sait Ketene	416-239-0488	not available
Mr. Shimon Khamo	209-549-1895	skhamo@aol.com
Mr. Saad Rashid	44-161-281-7535	Saad_rashid@hotmail.com