

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
004	Presentation	[Report]	20	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
005	Report	[Report]	9	08/07/2002	P1/b1;
007	Handwritten Note	[Handwritten Note]	1	N.D.	P1/b1;
008	Briefing	[Briefing]	17	09/24/2002	P1/b1; P5;

COLLECTION TITLE:

National Security Council - National Security Advisor, Office of the

SERIES:

Rice, Condoleezza

FOLDER TITLE:

Future of Iraq [2]

FRC ID:

34579

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

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TP's for AFI.org

**National Security Council
Southwest Asia, Near East & North
African Affairs Directorate**

**The White House
Phone 202-456-9121
Fax 202-456-9120**

Date: 10/01/02 Fax#: 69490
To: Sen Koch

From: **SOUTHWEST ASIA, NEAR EAST AND NORTH AFRICAN AFFAIRS
OFFICE (NENA)**

☒ Dr. Zalmay Khalilzad, Special Assistant to the President
& Senior Director for Southwest Asia, Near East &
North Africa

☐ Flynt Leverett, Director Arab-Israeli Affairs

☐ Hillary Mann, Director Afghanistan, Iran & Iraqi
Opposition

☐ Ben Miller, Director for Iraq & the Persian Gulf

☐ Rebecca Hanson, Associate Director, Afghanistan Affairs

☐ Michele Dunne, Director, Middle East Regional & North
African Affairs

☐ Peggy Lee Young, Executive Assistant

☐ JaWuana L. Lindsey, Administrative Assistant

Subject: _____

Comments: Info you requested

Number of Pages (Including Cover): _____

UNCLASSIFIED**Future of Iraq**

Proposed points for NEA/NGA Director David D. Pearce
to use at American Enterprise Institute Conference
"The Day After: Planning for a Post-Saddam Iraq"
October 3, 2002, 9:30 a.m. session: "Ambitions for Iraq"

Presenter: Kanan Makiya, Harvard University
Discussants: Michael O'Hanlon, Brookings Institution
Richard Perle, AEI
Ahmad Chalabi, Iraqi National Congress
Siyamend Othman, independent Iraq analyst
Rend Rahim Francke, Iraq Foundation

- Like to give you an idea of some of the work this administration has been engaged in with free Iraqis over the past year regarding the future of their country.
- Policy of US government is regime change.
- In February, 2002 Secretary Powell told Congress that "We look forward to the day when a democratic, representative government at peace with its neighbors leads Iraq to rejoin the family of nations."
- And just three weeks ago, President Bush told the UN General Assembly: "Liberty for the Iraqi people is a great moral cause and a great strategic goal. The people of Iraq deserve it and the security of all nations requires it."
- We think a change of government in Iraq is inevitable, regardless of what decision the President takes or doesn't take, and regardless of what happens or doesn't happen at the UN.
- We would like to see a democratic, pluralistic Iraq whose government is broad-based and representative; that respects principles of justice, the rule of law and the rights of the Iraqi people; that is at peace with its neighbors; that complies with Security Council resolutions; and that maintains Iraq's territorial integrity.

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- These goals are shared by millions of free Iraqis - Iraqis who live outside Iraq or in the northern, protected part of Iraq not subject to Saddam Hussein's dictatorship.
- So we've thinking for some time now about practical planning for the possibility that we all actually get what we want.
- We call the coordinated interagency effort we have developed in this regard The Future of Iraq Project.
- It germinated in the fall of 2001, and was announced in March 2002.
- The goal was to bring together Free Iraqis with international experts to do practical planning for what can be done prior to and in the immediate aftermath of a change of government in Baghdad.
- In April, we held an initial planning session with a small group of Iraqis.
- Together, we identified subjects for 16 possible working groups, each consisting of 10-20 Iraqi experts and a small group of international specialists.
- Each is designed to focus on a specific key area, such as transitional justice, the economy, or urgent public health needs.
- The Iraqis in the working groups determine their priorities of what can best be done between now and a change of government in Baghdad, and in the immediate post-transition environment.
- Typically, they develop tasks and specific projects to accomplish those goals.
- The United States government can then determine which projects should be funded most urgently, and work with Iraqis to make those priorities into plans that can be put into place when the time comes.
- The working group meetings held thus far have taken place in an atmosphere of professionalism, mutual respect and tolerance, and free and open exchange.
- These are mixed groups, drawn from the rich variety of the Iraqi diaspora - Sunni, Shia, Kurd, Turcoman, Assyrian, secular liberal, Islamist, military and civilian, writers, academics, intellectuals, electrical engineers, doctors, judges, and lawyers.
- But they are united by their obvious desire to help their country toward a better future.

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- I should emphasize that this Project is not aimed at establishing an Iraqi government in exile. It is aimed at assisting Iraqis to anticipate and prepare for the many complex problems a post-Saddam Hussein government will face.
- So Phase I of the project is under way. Several of the groups have had initial meetings and identified priorities for further work.
- Here is a sampler of some of the themes that have emerged.
- **Democratic Principles and Procedures**
 - Group began focused discussions about how to plan for a transition to an Iraq based on principles of democracy and federalism, as outlined in the 1992 statement of the Iraqi National Congress in Salahuddin.
 - Planned for how to establish a culture of respect for human rights and the rule of law in Iraq.
 - Planned for how civil society can be re-established in post-Saddam Iraq.
 - They established task forces to develop papers in all these areas, papers they will consider submitting for the reference of a larger Iraqi opposition political conference.
- **Transitional justice:**
 - First group to meet, and has held two sessions now. Lots of good work.
 - Started organized efforts to draft laws to bring Saddam Hussein and his top associates to justice, and draft a truth-and-reconciliation process with amnesties for the rest of Iraqi society;
 - Discussed how to promote the rule of law in Iraq.
 - Planned for reforms to the criminal code and criminal procedure code to return to norms accepted before Saddam's rule;
 - Planned for reforms of the courts and prison system.
- **Public Finance and Accounts**
 - Group of banking and finance professionals.
 - Discussed how best to organize efforts to recapture assets controlled by Saddam Hussein and

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others that rightfully belong to the Iraqi state and its people.

- o Also: developing plans for transparency and accountability in public expenditures and to restore confidence in domestic finance.
- o And: developing plans for restructuring Iraqi sovereign and commercial debt, and to return Iraq to normal financial relations with creditors as soon as possible.
- o And: the planning for fundamental banking reforms.

■ In this first phase, we also conducted a Public Outreach working group, and in the next few weeks we hope to convene sessions that will deal with Water, Agriculture, and the environment, as well as public health and humanitarian needs.

■ In the next phase, we expect working groups to tackle such subjects as: education; local governance; economy and infrastructure; refugees, internally displaced peoples and migration policy; foreign and national security policy; defense policy issues; building a free media; civil society capacity-building, anti-corruption measures; and oil and energy.

■ It is an ambitious menu, but we have found no shortage of talented and energetic Iraqis willing to take the work on.

■ In closing, like to note that the rebuilding of Iraq is first and foremost the responsibility of Iraqis. But, however dedicated, and however talented they may be, they will need continued support and assistance from the international community, and especially of the world's democracies.

■ And that's where we all come in.

■ Thank you.

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American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

AEI Invitation

CONFERENCE

The Day After: Planning for a Post-Saddam Iraq

Thursday, October 3, 2002

9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

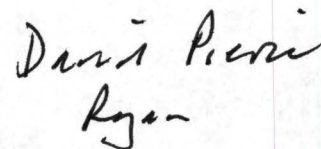
Wohlstetter Conference Center, Twelfth Floor, AEI
1150 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

The stakes for a successful transition to a democratic regime in Iraq have never been higher. The post-war requirements to replace Saddam Hussein with a representative democracy and assure long-term stability and democratic peace in the region are significant. Policymakers, defense analysts, and foreign policy specialists must consider a host of critical questions to ensure that Iraq's totalitarian system is not reborn under different leadership. A functional democracy in Iraq could serve as a model for other Middle Eastern nations.

How high should the United States set the bar for a post-Saddam Iraq? Are Iraq and the Arab world ready for democracy? How can Saddam Hussein and others be brought to justice for their crimes? How can we minimize the impact of military action in Iraq on the global energy market? What role can Iraq play in regional and international relations? These and other policy challenges will be addressed in a full day conference with some of the world's leading experts on human rights, international law, petroleum economics, and foreign policy.

In the months to follow, AEI will convene a monthly seminar on a specific topic crucial to a smooth and democratic transition for the people of Iraq, including the following topics: demilitarization, de-Ba'athification, education reform, judicial reform, constitutional and federal issues, debt and reparations, environmental rehabilitation, health and social services, and the diaspora population.

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 8:30 a.m. | Registration, coffee and continental breakfast |
| 9:00 | Introduction: Ambassador Ryszard Krystosik, chief of United States Interest Section, Baghdad |
| 9:30 | Ambitions for Iraq? |
| | Presenter: Kanan Makiya, Harvard University |
| | Discussants: Michael O'Hanlon, Brookings Institution |
| | Richard Perle, AEI |
| | Ahmad Chalabi, Iraqi National Congress |
| | Siyamend Othman, independent Iraq analyst |
| | Rend Rahim Francke, Iraq Foundation |
| 11:05 | War Crimes |
| | Presenter: Feisal Istrabadi, trial lawyer and Iraqi activist |
| | Discussants: Hania Mufti, Human Rights Watch, London |
| | Munther al Fadhl, human rights author and legal scholar |



Ruth Wedgwood, Yale University

12:30 p.m. Luncheon Keynote Address

2:00 **Oil and the Iraqi Economy**

Presenter: Patrick Clawson, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Discussants: Rob Sobhani, Georgetown University
Fadhil Chalabi, former Minister of Oil in Iraq, head of OPEC;
currently director of Center for Global Energy Studies (London)
Sinan al Shabibi, United Nations Institute for Teaching and
Research

3:35 **A Post-Saddam Foreign Policy and Iraq's International Obligations, U.N.
Resolutions, and Regional Relations**

Presenter: Bernard Lewis, Princeton University

Discussants: Serif Egeli, Turkish-USA Business Council

Nawaf Obaid, Saudi oil and security analyst

Olivier Roy, Centre National des Recherches Scientifiques

5:00 Adjournment

Thursday, October 3, 2002

9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

Wohlstetter Conference Center, Twelfth Floor, AEI

	Name
	Title
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	City, State, and Zip
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Comments:

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American Enterprise Institute
1150 Seventeenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

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