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FIRST DRAFT

IRAQ

The Day After

When the War starts and the US lead Coalition moves to take control of Iraq it will also move into unknown socio political territory.

Iraq's socio-political environment is a mystery to most people.

This includes:

- The nature of religious, tribal and ethnic groupings.
- The competing political ideologies.
- The various alliances between different social and ethnic groups and the nations class structure **all remain unknown.**

In the absence of knowledge of these key contextual factors, the removal of the Baath Regime and the presence of large numbers of American troops will unleash an unknown dynamic in Iraq.

It is not known whether this new dynamic will also have violent manifestations.

The Day After: Anticipated Scenario

The US lead Coalition is the new occupying power in Iraq. Also present is the exiled Opposition and there is the Iraqi Diaspora.

The international community will need to come to terms with the surviving institutional realities shaped by the ousted Baath Regime. The surviving elements of the old regime become an important part of the effort to administer Iraq the Day After.

To date most, if not all of the global discussion has referred to security requirements and some of the longer-term institutional arrangements. There has also been a tendency to propose ready-made solutions on who will take over the reins of power after the collapse or defeat of the Baath Regime.

Questions that Need Answers

1. Who (and under what international authority) will name an Interim Iraqi Executive Council?
2. What powers will the Executive Council hold?
3. Will the successor Regime be a Republic or a Monarchy?
4. Will there be a federal structure and if yes, what kind of structure.

We know that:

- The US will impose rule by an American military administrator, assisted by a civilian administrator and some form of Iraqi Consultative Council.
- The exiled Iraqi opposition and the Iraqi Kurds have asked the US to deal with security issues and to allow Iraqis to begin establishing an interim legislative arrangement.
- The US led coalition and the international community are not taking over a vacuous state.
- There is a bureaucracy that will be called to assist with the administration of the country.
- There are also tribal and kinship loyalties.
- There is the once powerful middle class, now pauperized, businessmen and a large poor and volatile urban underclass.
- It is certain that the realities from within Iraq will impress themselves upon the day after plans. We should not expect all the social, religious and political forces that sustained the Baath Regime to collapse all at once. There will be considerable maneuvering by them to position themselves in the new order.

No one knows how the Iraqi interlocutor recognized by the US and the international community will be appointed. We also know very little of the Iraqi preferences, inside Iraq, on how the new ruling structure should be chosen.

We know that members of the exiled opposition have staked their claim. We also know that they have limited contacts and knowledge of current Iraqi society. They also do not genuinely represent the Iraqis inside Iraq. Tribal and social classes will come forward to claim their position once the dust has settled.

The danger here is that those who come forward will be represented by people who were “compromised” during the rule of the Baath regime.

It is important that the majority of the Iraqis living in Iraq, be it Sunni or Shiite, Arab or Kurd, who were brutally pushed aside for the last 30 years do not remain voiceless.

It is also important that those Shiites that are more liberal and secular and not strongly affiliated with Iran are not pushed aside by those strongly identifying with Tehran.

For a very long time the Baath Regime exploited and promoted the division between Sunnis and Shiites as well as Arabs and Kurds. This cannot be repeated.

Proposed Model

What needs to emerge is:

- A pluralistic model within possibly a Federal system that will select representative leaders over the coming months.

- A period of international community rule before national elections are called. This should be under UN auspices and of a short duration. It is important to minimize the perception of a foreign occupation and domination by outside forces operating with the assistance of the remnants of the Baath Regime.
- A large number of public servants playing a role in rebuilding Iraq.
- A process of comprehensive “de-Baathification”. The international community should not solely focus on the leadership that surrounded Saddam Hussein.
- Those regional and communal players should not be forgotten – they cannot be allowed to play a role in the post-Saddam Iraq.

What Can the EU do The Day After?

1. The EU to promote a UN auspiced interim rule of post-Saddam Iraq.
2. The EU to assist in developing the mechanics of administering Iraq and choosing its future leadership.
3. Through a UN process the EU can guarantee the legitimacy and transparency of the selection procedure in electing a future Iraqi Government.
4. The EU can assist with the vetting of serious human rights abusers.

The Day After will only succeed if the international community understands the realities and dynamics of the Iraqi society of 30 years of Baath Regime Rule.

It must not appoint a pretender to the throne but assist in building the democratic structure of a post Saddam Iraq.

The Greek Presidency and the EU can assist in navigating competing claims and to give a voice to the large numbers of Iraqis that were disenfranchised by the Baath Regime.

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