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Coalition Provisional Authority
Baghdad, Iraq

A Vision to Empower Iraqis

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Introduction

Now that Saddam Hussein's regime has been removed, the opportunity exists for the Iraqi people to create the conditions for a stable, prosperous and democratic Iraq. The Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), in close partnership with the Iraqi Interim Administration, the United Nations, and the international community, has a key role to play in the next stage of rebuilding Iraq so that it is once again able to take its rightful place as a proud nation of the international community.

The aim of this document is to describe the CPA's role in this historic process. It also seeks to outline both the way ahead and also the approach I wish to take so that everyone in the organization is clear on their part in the process. While initially, the CPA has and will have a dominant role in the first stages of establishing the transformation of Iraq, we should all be clear that shortly we will have a significant partner in the Governing Council (GC) of the Interim Administration that will represent the voice of the Iraqi people to the CPA. Together the CPA and the GC will forge a strong partnership that will guide the nation forward in its transformation. The GC and the CPA will expand its partnership not only to the Iraqi people but also to the region and the rest of the world.

This document is designed therefore to direct the work of the CPA, and the JTF in a flexible manner that recognizes the critical need to retain the support of the Iraqi people in all that we do, knowing that without their support we will fail. In so doing it is also aimed at the international community whose political and financial backing will be essential if the overall objectives that the Iraqis set for themselves are to be achieved. Furthermore the intention of this plan is to provide a guide for the direction for the Coalition. In addition, since time is pressing and Iraqi expectations are high, I envisage this plan as laying down the principal components which will form a basis for further planning in coordination with the GC as the process of rebuilding Iraq evolves. Finally, while full economic recovery will take years, the economic reform program provides a hope for a future of freedom and prosperity that we will work diligently with the GC to implement in the very short term.

At the heart of the plan, I have articulated my vision, and my views of our mission and end-state which I request every member of CPA to be familiar with and to work towards. The plan then describes the six core elements that will need to be weaved together to rebuild Iraq. From these core elements flow a series of key tasks, milestones and targets. None the less, we should consider this plan as a dynamic document, suitable to a dynamic reality that will require flexibility and innovation.

The plan should describe a critical path within the various core elements that should direct the CPA's priorities in the short, medium and long-term. From this, we should be in a position to review what we have achieved and where we need to readjust as necessary. Finally the plan will assist us and the Governing Council not only to allocate our resources and those of Iraq but also to attract critical resources and capabilities from the international community.

L. Paul Bremer, Administrator
Coalition Provisional Authority

Operating Environment

Ultimately the Coalition's achievements in Iraq will be judged not by the success of the military campaign to remove Saddam Hussein's regime but rather by the foundations that it lays together with the Iraqi people in the post-conflict phase.

The environment in which the Coalition finds itself is complex. It entails the combination of military combat and security operations to establish the peace alongside expanding political, reconstruction and economic activities which will set the conditions for rebuilding Iraq. This requires a truly integrated civil-military approach that will have an additional nexus in the Governing Council. In addition, an inherent flexibility of approach, based upon a firm understanding of the overall mission and end-state, is critical to attack whatever challenges the prevailing circumstances might pose.

Opportunities and Challenges/Critical Paths

There is wide approval, both within Iraq and also the region, for the removal of Saddam Hussein's regime. This provides a unique opportunity for the Iraqi people to create the conditions for a stable, prosperous and democratic Iraq with our help. The vast majority of Iraqis want us to succeed, knowing that our success is their success. At the same time, expectations are high and this window of opportunity will not be indefinite. Hence a careful balance is being struck between the measured consideration of a wide range of options in consultation with the Iraqi people against a requirement to make continual and tangible progress. This process will be facilitated once the Interim Administration is established.

Central to this ability to demonstrate evidence of lasting progress in the short-term is the early creation of a *secure and safe environment* in order to allow the civil authorities fully to take the lead in all aspects of the CPA mission. The potential for instability is likely to exist for some time following the end of the warfighting. At the extremes, the threat is manifested in residual pockets of fanatics, terrorists and externally-supported elements seeking to undermine the CPA's authority. At the same time, reprisal killings, and organized crime is present in the immediate post-conflict period. These factors will constrain the early development of Iraq's capacity to manage and maintain a safe and secure environment for itself. They also require a holistic approach to security sector reform, including the integration of the military, police, judicial, penal systems and border control elements of future Iraqi society.

The most fragile countries are those in the early phases of *democratization*. Only mature democracies and totally authoritarian regimes are stable. Iraq, then, is vulnerable to internal strife as the country transitions from an institutionalized dictatorship to an open society and ultimately to democratic elections for a representative government. This is why I have made it a high priority to establish the Interim Administration, to give voice to the Iraqi people and the real sense that they have authority over their future.

Nurturing the environment for a *responsible civil society* has a significant role in the path to transforming Iraq from an authoritarian regime to a democracy. This is why I made de-Ba'athification my highest priority. Without eradicating the strucutures of the Ba'ath Party and its instruments of terror, true civil society could not emerge. The next stage in de-Ba'athification will need to be done in close partnership with the Iraqi Interim Administration, as will a lot of the remaining work to establish the conditions for a vibrant civil society including the desirability of some process of reconciliation.

The creation of *transparent government financial management institutions* requires a significant effort in a country where secrecy, use of public resources for private use and indiscriminate punishment were the standard practices. This includes working with Iraqis and Iraqi institutions to build new budgeting, banking and accounting practices. The new practices need to be pervasive, not only at the national government, ministry and municipal levels but also in civil society organizations and even in the private sector, where appropriate. Modern information systems technology can be an important part of this institution-building process.

Finally *economic regeneration* is the key driver in the overall process of rebuilding Iraq and will provide the most tangible evidence of progress being made by both the CPA and the Interim Administration. Iraq's enormous assets, both in terms of its physical resources and its skilled, energetic people, creates significant opportunities for Iraq as a nation. Clearly, the potential benefits to the Iraqi people are huge. Attracting the emerging Iraqi leadership to partner with the CPA to put in place the economic governance mechanisms which can result in the maximum gains is a high priority. The benefit to the international community of a responsible, democratic Iraq in the region is also significant.

As a result, *Iraqi political-economic leadership, the achievement of prosperity and growth, and the management of a free market economy* will require significant attention and accelerated training programs. The conventional practice of learning on-the-job takes years, but time may be a luxury in the Iraq recovery program. Success will require governance transformation practices different in important ways from conventional practices. Responsible Iraqi leadership will be achieved by a careful selection process, highly innovative training, and a commitment by these leaders to rapidly learn new behavior.

The Path to Transformation; End State or Next State

Expectations are a serious matter. Iraqis, legislators, press, taxpayers, home offices, think tanks and international citizens all develop expectations of the future. Perhaps the most important function that planning documents and processes can do is to satiate the need for information on plans, increase the cooperative efficiency of the many entities that contribute directly or indirectly to planning, encourage contributions in critical areas from those who wish to invest, and improve the productivity of all operational entities in Iraq.

The value of setting realistic, interim targets toward an end state is that expectations can be more effectively managed. If a post-conflict reconstruction program will indeed take years to achieve, then the "Next State" which can be achieved over a shorter time period

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en route to an End State may be important to define. A planning process can focus on achieving certain important milestones along the way to an End State.

Political transformation will naturally take the leading role. Stages of this transformation, some of which have already been alluded to are as follows:

- Establishing a Governance Council to begin to take management responsibility in the ministries and a process leading to a new constitution;
- National consensus on a constitution; and
- National elections to elect a national government.

A matrix of corresponding measures of progress in each "core element" will be created for each stage. The objectives listed for each "core element" will be used as a guide to develop the priority measures in each. Special attention will be paid to the "transformation" objectives, as the most critical path is likely to be centered in this area.

The CPA Vision

After decades of a ruthless dictatorship, the Iraqi people can at last control their destiny and establish the conditions for a free and stable future. The CPA with the international community will help the Iraqi people to achieve the President's and Prime Minister's vision for Iraq. Our foundation of authority is firmly embedded in international law and in accord with United Nations Resolution 1483. This recognizes legitimacy by granting a mandate to the "Authority" [CPA] to "assist the people of Iraq in their efforts to reform their institutions and rebuild their country...and to establish an Interim Administration" At the core of this new Iraq will be the development of a democratic, accountable, and self-governing civil society respectful of human rights and freedom of expression. So the CPA succeeds when Iraq succeeds. The future prosperity of its citizens depends on the use of Iraqi resources to foster the development and establishment of a market-based economy for and by them. Furthermore our goal is an Iraq at peace with itself and its neighbors, once again able to play a responsible role in the international community. The Coalition is firmly committed to the future of Iraq. Hence we will stay as long as necessary, and not a day longer. But we will not leave until we have succeeded in carrying out the President's and Prime Minister's vision of a free Iraq governed by a representative government chosen through a democratic election on the basis of a new constitution.

The Mission

The CPA will work with the Iraqi people and the Iraqi Interim Administration to establish the conditions for the creation of a free, sovereign, democratically-elected representative government in an Iraq that is stable, united, prosperous, at peace with its neighbors and able to take its rightful place as a responsible member of the region and the international community that uses its resources for the benefit of its people.

The End-State

The ultimate goal is a durable peace for a unified and stable, democratic Iraq that: provides effective and representative government for and by the Iraqi people; is underpinned by new and protected freedoms and a growing market economy; and no longer poses a threat to its neighbors or international security and is able to defend itself.

➤ **General:**

-   International law and UNSCR 1483 provide the necessary mandate for CPA to achieve its mission.
-   The International Community and the UN will be positively engaged in helping the CPA achieve its mission. Their relationships with the CPA may change over time.
-   The Coalition will stay as long as necessary and leave as soon as its job is done.
-   The Coalition will work closely with the Interim Iraqi Administration to establish the process for success for a future Iraq and will do so cooperatively in each of the following areas.

➤ **Security:**

-   An atmosphere of security is the 'sine qua non' of all Coalition and Iraqi efforts to rebuild Iraq.
-   The Coalition and International Community will provide sufficient forces for the appropriate duration to establish and maintain a safe and secure and environment.
-   The International Community will assist in building the Iraqi capacity to manage their own security sector, but the major burden will fall on American and British forces for the foreseeable future.
-   Real, continuing and well-organized security threats (crime, extremists, terrorists) as well as the potential of external aggression and subversion will undermine Coalition progress.
-   The transformation of the economy from a highly protected and controlled command economy to a market system will be very painful for many and even if successful in economic terms will produce fresh security problems.
-   Resources of money, people and integrity needed for the new military, police and security services will be limited. Yet meeting the security challenges will require a substantial Coalition commitment of resources and political will.
-   Iraqi police will be trained rapidly and soon begin to contribute importantly to establishing security and law and order. A full police force trained in community policing methods necessary to gain community support in law enforcement will take considerably longer.
-   Selected Iraqi military will participate constructively in the security sector.
-   The effects of this effort will allow Iraq to provide adequate protection for its citizens both internally and externally without posing a threat to its neighbors. Timely accomplishment of this will require a conscious, planned effort.

- Oversight mechanisms to maintain accountability of the security, police, justice, and custodial sectors will be a long-term requirement which must be built into the Iraqi democratic institutions.

➢ **Essential Services and Civil Society:**

- Reconstruction efforts to restore essential public services will proceed aggressively to improve the quality of life and to enable progress in other sectors.
- An Iraqi capacity to manage any new humanitarian emergencies, with some international assistance, will evolve.
- Free market economic transition will increase unemployment in the short run which will need to be mitigated by a social safety net.
- Encourage Iraqi people to support and remain engaged in the process of reform and promote an active role for women in society.
- The policy of Deba'athification and the evolving guidelines for its implementation will remain a priority for achieving the CPA mission.

➢ **Economy:**

- Full transition to open market economy is beyond the scope of the Coalition mission. But we can set the Iraqi economy on the path for sustainable growth and establish strong momentum toward a full open market economy.
- There will be continued economic and financial resources from both Iraq and the international community including the United States to accomplish the mission.
- The early provision of employment opportunities will be a critical requirement if the Iraqi people are to remain engaged.
- The CPA will engage the private sector, both domestic and international, in reconstruction and support the return of talent.

➢ **Preparing for Democracy:**

- Little Iraqi experience exists among Iraqi leaders and the population for managing and supporting a participative democracy (the same was argued in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Indonesia, Mongolia, most of Latin America.).
- Equally, little Iraqi experience exists to manage a free market economy.
- Democratic institutions, e.g., responsible political parties, independent representative organizations, public interest groups or electoral bodies or systems have little pre-existing traditions or roots upon which to build, thus will require substantial assistance to develop.
- Efforts to instill an understanding of democratic principles, what they do and do not mean, and a grasp of the responsibilities that go with freedom will be a critical requirement
- Educational institutions at all levels will require extensive curriculum reform to support a democratic system and a free market economy.

- Nurturing the growth of vigorous and responsible civil society organizations to hold governments accountable at all levels is essential.
- Extensive and accelerated education, training, and focused experience activities will be essential to support a rapid transformation in politics and economics.

➢ Governance and Sovereignty:

- Iraqi people will accept legitimacy of the Interim Administration.
- The election of an accountable and representative government will be based upon a Constitution borne of a popular participative process.
- The Iraqi people will embrace and remain committed to electoral reform.
- The Iraqi people will support a united national government structure.
- The neighboring states will ultimately:
  - Accept the CPA as a legitimate authority and;
  - Recognize the new Iraq as a legitimate sovereign state;
  - Support the emerging Iraqi governance structure as a legitimate part of the regional community, and;
- Efforts by some neighbors to disrupt the CPA mission will not succeed.

➢ Information:

- A coherent and coordinated information campaign will be an essential pre-requisite for integrating the various strands of the CPA and ultimately achieving its mission.
- CPA will successfully overcome the perception, internally within Iraq and externally within much of the international community that the Coalition prosecuted the war for Western gain of Iraq's natural resources.
- CPA will establish an accepted, effective and transparent information exchange with the Iraqi people.

Core Foundations and Sub-Objectives

- *Security...addresses all aspects of the establishment of a safe and secure environment. The objective is to create an Iraqi capacity to manage and resolve any and all potential conflict situations in both the civil and military sectors.*

  - Creation of a safe and secure environment by CPA/CJTF-7.
  - Create Iraqi capacity to maintain structural stability.
  - Develop Iraqi security forces which are effective in protecting the society and the constitutional order as well as respect for human rights.
  - Iraqi military formation/training; with full oversight mechanisms to ensure civilian control of the military.
  - Assist Iraq develop a constructive security relationship with its friends in the region and with the Coalition.
  - Transforming the police/guards as accountable to the community.
  - Reform of the criminal justice system, penal code, prisons.
  - Reform of the intelligence service and oversight mechanisms.
  - Anti-corruption measures in all security organizations.
  - Elimination of the threat of violence as a means to secure political goals.

- *Essential Services and Civil Society... restore essential services to acceptable standards, reconstruct infrastructure necessary to return to normal, and begin to create a vigorous and responsible civil society which participates in improving social and physical infrastructure for the benefit of the population.*

  - Restore physical and social infrastructure and public utilities including:
    - Water, power and health infrastructure.
    - Management of continued outbreaks of water-borne and other diseases.
    - Health education.
    - Vaccination of children.
    - Local resources to support the communities.
    - Reform and restore education, including school infrastructure repairs, curriculum reform, and training of teachers.
  - Provide knowledgeable contribution to public expenditure management and civil service reform.
  - Encourage participation of responsible NGOs.
  - Develop effective women's organizations.
  - Develop and implement trade unions.
  - Develop an independent judiciary.
  - Develop and regulate a free and professional print and broadcast media.
  - Develop professional associations.
  - Help create law enforcement and corrections system respectful of human rights.
  - Encourage impartial, open and accountable governmental institutions.

o Contribute as requested by the Iraqis to a fair constitution and body of law.
o Help establish mechanisms for monitoring human rights.

- *Economy ... initiate processes leading to robust economic policy reform and effective free market economy management, including a focus on regulatory change, training and routing out corruption.*

  o Generate the growth of small and medium-sized private enterprises. Effectively manage the transition, as quickly as possible, from value-destroying public enterprises to value-creating private ones.
  o Encourage foreign and domestic investment as essential to fundamental economic transformation.
  o Reform the management of agriculture and other resources for the benefit of the Iraqi people.
  o Insure that the legal system facilitates property ownership by domestic and foreign investors, privatization, contract management, taxation, trade, and other measures essential to the creation of a free market.
  o Restructure the banking system and find ways to introduce competition, technology, service and quality that will move towards the international standard.
  o Strengthen the Central Bank; make it independent, and assure that Iraq has sound and stable currency to sustain growth.
  o Put in place a national budget system to allow Iraq to muster its resources effectively for economic growth.
  o Encourage initiatives to diversify the economy.
  o Develop open market trade policy priorities for level playing field with regional trade partners.
  o Encourage the private sector to lead in reconstruction.
  o Develop accelerated training programs for business managers, management best practices, and business ethics.

- *The Path to Transformation ... the empowerment of the Iraqi people to learn and manage a free market democracy requires an intensive, cross-sectoral, multidisciplinary approach.*

  o Design and conduct innovative and accelerated training and education programs in the complexities of democratic government and a free market economy.
  o Engage the Iraqi managers selected to be leaders as early, as often and as substantively as possible in educational programs on the workings of democratic institutions, organizing political parties and the fundamental principles of democratic society.
  o Engage the Iraqi managers selected to be leaders as early, as often and as substantively as possible in working with CPA advisers and experts to address and resolve reconstruction problems and restoring the Iraqi economy.
  o Identify specific policy reform requirements, project implementation problems, assessment needs, and management issues which can serve as

experience-based, on-the-job training vehicles to facilitate learning new behaviors and techniques in functioning effectively in a democratic society and in managing a free market economy.
- o Introduce and provide training in the use of information systems technology which facilitates the learning process and increases the efficiency of the transformation. Use simulations as appropriate.

- *Governance and Sovereignty...transform governance to a participative democratic system which balances local and national governance, builds a new constitutional process, and transfers responsibility for governance to the population.*

  - o Transfer responsibility for De-Baáthification to an Iraqi De-Baáthification Council.
  - o Encourage the Iraqis to write as quickly as possible a modern constitution embodying democratic and individual rights and the rule of law. Seek immediate ratification of the constitution immediately thereafter. Hold election for a sovereign Iraqi government, at which point the coalition relinquishes sovereignty.
  - o Immediately establish a Governing Council to give Iraqis substantial responsibility for running the government.
  - o Encourage a process of reconciliation among the Iraqi people.
  - o Nurture civil society actors to progressively marginalize spoilers.
  - o Build effective administration and political bodies at the local, governorate and national levels.
  - o Strengthen the rule of law and respect for human rights.
  - o Create a government system responsive to a healthy and responsible civil society.
  - o Develop transparency and accountability in all governmental institutions.
  - o Set conditions for an Iraq "deserving" of economic assistance.
  - o Develop beneficial regional economic relationship

- *Information ...provides a disciplined application of coordinated themes and messages to inform local, regional and other international audiences of CPA actions and intentions on behalf of the Iraqi people. It installs for Iraqis the mechanisms to share thoughts and ideas necessary to reach decisions based on a common understanding..*

  - o Develop a coherent and coordinated Information Campaign to the principal Iraqi, regional, and international audiences, in order to:
    - Communicate the CPA's intent and program of action.
    - Explain the increasing role of the Iraqi people to be players in setting the conditions for a new Iraq.
  - o Establish and maintain the support of the significant majority of the Iraqi people for a new Iraq.