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108th Congress, 1st Session - - - - - - - - - - - - - - House Document 108–85

A REPORT CONSISTENT WITH THE AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF MILITARY FORCE AGAINST IRAQ RESOLUTION

COMMUNICATION

FROM

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

TRANSMITTING

A REPORT INCLUDING MATTERS RELATING TO POST-LIBERATION IRAQ AS CONSISTENT WITH THE AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF MILITARY FORCE AGAINST IRAQ RESOLUTION OF 2002 (PUBLIC LAW 107–243)

PURDUE UNIVERSITY
JUL 22 2003
U.S. DEPOSITORY

JUNE 16, 2003.—Referred to the Committee on International Relations and ordered to be printed

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THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 13, 2003.

Hon. J. DENNIS HASTERT,
Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002 (Public Law 107–243), the Authorization for the Use of Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102–1), and in order to keep the Congress fully informed, I am providing a report prepared by my Administration. This report includes matters relating to post-liberation Iraq under section 7 of the Iraq Liberation Act of 1998 (Public Law 105–338).

Sincerely,

GEORGE W. BUSH.

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REPORT TO CONGRESS

Submitted Consistent With PL 107–243: "Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002", June 13, 2003

I. Executive Summary

This report covers approximately the period from April 1, 2003 to June 4, 2003. During this period, the United States-led Coalition removed Saddam Hussein and his regime from power, liberating Iraq from tyranny. The Coalition, in coordination with international and nongovernmental organizations, acted quickly to provide humanitarian relief to the Iraqi people, began the task of rebuilding Iraq's government, and began the process of rebuilding a country that had been isolated, oppressed and mismanaged for decades under Ba'ath rule. On May 9, 2003, the United States, United Kingdom and Spain introduced a United Nations Security Council Resolution, subsequently adopted on May 22, to lift the sanctions burden on the Iraqi people, define the U.N.'s vital role in Iraq's reconstruction, and encourage the support of the international community.

Relief and reconstruction efforts are summarized in section II. Democracy building and governance issues are described in section III. Military operations are covered in section IV.

II. Relief and Reconstruction

A. MISSION AND ORGANIZATION

The American people have made a significant investment to liberate Iraq, and stand ready to contribute to the rebuilding efforts. Our policy goals for the recovery of Iraq are to:

- Establish a secure environment for the Iraqi people and the conduct of relief and recovery activities;
- Demonstrate rapid improvement in the lives of the Iraqi people;
- Maximize contributions from other countries and organizations; and
- Prepare the Iraqis for self-government.

The Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA) was established on January 20, 2003. Its mission was to administer Iraq for a limited period of time, with the objective of the immediate stabilization of post-heavy combat Iraq. A Defense Department effort under the direction of Jay Garner, ORHA was organized around three core functions: humanitarian assistance, reconstruction, and civil administration. Originally, ORHA was under the operational control of Commander, U.S. Central Command (USCENTCOM).

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On May 6, President Bush announced the appointment of Ambassador L. Paul Bremer III, as Presidential Envoy to Iraq. He reports to the President through the Secretary of Defense. The President authorized Ambassador Bremer to oversee, direct, and coordinate all United States Government (USG) programs and activities in Iraq, except those under the command of the Commander, U.S. Central Command. This responsibility includes overseeing the use of USG appropriations in Iraq, as well as Iraqi state- or regime-owned property that is properly under U.S. possession and made available for use in Iraq to assist the Iraqi people and support the recovery of Iraq.

The Secretary of Defense appointed Ambassador Bremer as the Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) on May 13, 2003. As Administrator of the CPA, Ambassador Bremer is responsible for the temporary governance of Iraq, and shall oversee, direct and coordinate all executive, legislative, and judicial functions necessary to carry out this responsibility, including humanitarian relief and reconstruction and assisting in the formation of an Iraqi interim administration. The Secretary of Defense stated in his memorandum of May 13 that the Commander, U.S. Central Command, acting as Commander of Coalition Forces, shall directly support the CPA by deterring hostilities; maintaining Iraq's territorial integrity and security; searching for, securing and destroying weapons of mass destruction; and assisting in carrying out U.S. policy generally.

Subsequent to Ambassador Bremer's appointment as Administrator of the CPA, ORHA has been dissolved and the CPA has assumed its functions and responsibilities.

The staff of the CPA includes personnel from all relevant U.S. agencies and departments, as well as representatives from Coalition countries. The CPA has been establishing lines of coordination with U.N. specialized agencies and other international institutions, our Coalition partners, bilateral donors, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

The CPA's mission is to help meet Iraq's reconstruction, governmental, and administrative challenges, acting as the nucleus of Iraq's administrative apparatus; involving the Iraqi people in administering their own country; and maximizing contributions from other governments and organizations. A key U.S. priority has been the re-establishment of civilian public services to effect improvements in the lives of the Iraqi people. To this end, the CPA has worked closely with USCENTCOM to re-establish security in Iraq and to provide basic water, sanitation, and electric power services for the Iraqi people.

To the extent possible, the CPA's civil administration of Iraq seeks to rely on existing Iraqi ministries and infrastructure under CPA direction. The CPA is focused on getting Iraqi ministries up and running. To facilitate this work, emergency payments have been disbursed to Iraqi civil servants, and actions have been taken to effect the re-establishment of regular salary payments and schedules for all approved Iraqi civil servants. The ultimate goal for the United States will be to support a process leading to an internationally recognized, representative government of Iraq.

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At the same time, the CPA has initiated a program to remove all Iraqi officials who had been senior members of the Ba'ath party. This process continues, along with efforts to identify and train, as needed, acceptable non-Ba'athist officials to manage the various ministries.

B. HUMANITARIAN RELIEF

The State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) has allocated an additional $39.9 million for pre-positioning and for international organizations (IOs) to meet early response requirements, including $21 million to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), $10 million to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), $3 million to the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), $2.63 million to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and $3 million for other IOs and NGOs. Additional funds are in the pipeline. The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has also provided contributions to U.N. agencies, including $13 million to UNICEF for emergency health, nutrition, and water/sanitation activities; $60 million to the World Food Program for food and logistics and $375 million worth of commodities; and $1.2 million to the U.N.'s Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) for NGO and donor coordination. Support to NGOs totals over $25 million for a variety of relief activities.

On March 28, 2003, after substantial negotiation, the United Nations Security Council adopted U.N. Security Council Resolution 1472. This resolution, cosponsored by the United States in recognition of the potential humanitarian crisis in Iraq, extended the Oil for Food (OFF) Program for 45 days with certain modifications.

On May 22, 2003, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 1483, which, among other provisions: recognizes the U.S. and U.K. roles under unified (U.S.) command; notes specifically the CPA's role in Iraq, as described in the U.S./U.K. letter to the President of the Security Council of May 8, 2003; encourages international involvement in the reconstruction effort in Iraq; calls on States to help meet the humanitarian needs of Iraq, including reconstruction and rehabilitation of Iraq's economic infrastructure; defines the U.N.'s role; calls on the Secretary General to appoint a Special Representative for Iraq and describes the role the Special Representative will play; lifts sanctions and specifically permits the sale of oil and the deposit of sales proceeds into the Development Fund for Iraq, with disbursements from the Fund at the direction of the CPA; leaves in place sanctions on arms, except as they pertain to the CPA; winds down the Oil for Food (OFF) Program; gives the Secretary General an additional 6 months to ensure the delivery of priority civilian goods under approved contracts; provides for the transfer of $1 billion in unallocated funds from the OFF escrow account to the Development Fund for Iraq to be used for the benefit of the Iraqi people; provides for restoration of $400 million of frozen Iraqi assets that was originally used to capitalize the OFF program; supports formation of an Iraqi Interim Administration (IIA), which will be a transitional administration run by Iraqis until an internationally recognized representative government is established in Iraq and assumes the responsibilities of the CPA; welcomes the

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readiness of creditors, including those of the Paris Club, to seek a solution to Iraq's sovereign debt problems; notes establishment of the Development Fund for Iraq, with disbursements at the direction of the CPA, in consultation with the IIA, to be used in a transparent manner to meet the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people, for the economic reconstruction and repair of Iraq's infrastructure, the continued disarmament of Iraq, the costs of Iraqi civilian administration, and for other purposes benefiting the people of Iraq, and with proceeds from, among other sources, oil sales, returned regime assets, and $1 billion in unallocated proceeds from the OFF escrow account.

The Development Fund for Iraq has already been established. On May 28, 2003, $1 billion was transferred into the account by the U.N. as contemplated in Resolution 1483. The Development Fund for Iraq will be financed from multiple Iraqi sources including oil revenues and blocked Iraqi assets held in foreign banks. We are working with the United Nations, the World Bank, other international organizations and governments on an informal preparatory meeting to discuss Iraq requirements and appropriate funding mechanisms.

The U.N., other international institutions, and the United States and its coalition partners continue to urge all nations to contribute to humanitarian relief and recovery in Iraq in any way they can. Offers of assistance from the international community exceed $1.9 billion. About $700 million of this has been in response to the U.N. Flash Appeal to meet urgent requirements in Iraq. We are also discussing a formal donors conference this summer.

C. RECONSTRUCTION

Concurrent with ongoing stability and security efforts, the process of rebuilding Iraq has begun in earnest. Among the early successes are the following:

- Emergency payments have been made to over $1,500,000 Iraqi civil servants to facilitate their return to work and put much-needed cash into the hands of the Iraqi people. The funds to make these payments came from blocked Iraqi assets that had been vested by the United States, and made available for humanitarian assistance and reconstruction purposes in Iraq.
- More than $300,000 has been invested in rebuilding and start-up costs for Iraqi ministries. More than $1,250,000 is planned for ministry telecommunications in the near future.
- The CPA has requested more than $12 million to implement a Humanitarian Mine Action plan.
- 10,000 Iraqi police officers have returned to their jobs, and some of Iraq's criminal courts have resumed legal proceedings.
- Several railway links with Baghdad have been restored, and the CPA is working to restore commercial air links with Baghdad and Basra. Efforts to revitalize the port of Umm Qasr have begun. The restoration of these vital commercial links and resumption of operations will benefit Iraq's economic recovery.
- Iraqi primary schools reopened on May 4th, and secondary schools re-opened on May 10th. Preparations are being made to resume university instruction in time to ensure students are able to graduate as scheduled. Universities have elected new deans and

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other officials. USAID worked with UNICEF and NGOs to provide new textbooks, with apolitical content, and other school materials.

• The CPA has invested more than $500,000 of vested assets in supplies and equipment for public services, including schools and hospitals. Iraqi cities have seen an improvement in the quality of water. Waste treatment has begun to improve, and electricity output is increasing to meet demand.

• Shipments of oil and Liquid Propane Gas (LPG) are coming in from Kuwait and Turkey to refineries in Basra, Baghdad, and Bajii. We are also progressing towards bringing domestic fuel production up to 400,000 barrels per day to meet domestic demand.

• More than 12,000 workers have already returned to work in the oil sector, many under interim pay arrangements facilitated by the Coalition.

United States and U.K. personnel have been working to restore port, rail, and airport facilities throughout Iraq. Restoring these facilities is a key prerequisite to expanding Iraqi trade and economic activity. United States and U.K. military engineers are directing a project to dredge the waterway leading to the port of Umm Qasr, which will allow large cargo ships including those carrying humanitarian cargos such as grain to reach the port. Railways are being repaired throughout the port and major cities in Iraq. United States military personnel and contractors under CPA supervision are working to restore commercial and civilian air service at Baghdad International Airport, restoring the runways, taxiways, and parking aprons.

In addition, USAID has provided assistance for reconstruction activities in Iraq in a broad range of sectors. The total amount obligated to date for the reconstruction effort is $96.7 million. USAID supports reconstruction projects in education, governance, health, infrastructure, and logistics.

Major USAID programs are as follows:

Restoring Essential Infrastructure

• All preparatory work has been done to improve the port in Umm Qasr to international standards while USAID has maintained close cooperation with World Food Program to unload 1 million tons of grain by September.

• All preparatory work has been done to improve Basrah and Baghdad international Airports to international standards. USAID private sector partners are working to operate, manage, construct a temporary passenger terminal and provide passenger and baggage security screening for the Baghdad international Airport (BIAP).

• A civil aviation conference is scheduled for June 14 to coordinate USG agencies in the restoration of commercial air traffic at international standards.

• Dredging of Umm Qasr port has been operating on a 24-hour shift and the channel now is 9 meters deep. Bulk grain carriers and container ships are not able to use the port. In addition, the survey of wrecks has been completed in the channel and the magnetometer has located four sunken vessels for removal.

Assessment and reconstruction plans have been completed for boilers at electrical generation plants, 400 kva and 135 kva trans-

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mission line repairs, schools and hospitals, irrigation works specifically at Ar Rutbah and Al Ramadi, west of Baghdad.

Reestablishing Social Services

• Procured a total of 22.3. million doses of vaccines to prevent measles, pediatric tuberculosis, hepatitis B, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, and polio, enough for an estimated 4.2 million children under the age of five years and 700,000 pregnant women.

• Established a water and sanitation coordination team in Amman and Kuwait comprising U.N. agencies, ICRC and international NGOs that are working (or plan to work) in the sector in Iraq.

• Developed reported documents as part of the health information systems (HIS) to be able to report and record illnesses and detect epidemic outbreaks early on. This system was implemented first in Basrah in collaboration with the Iraqi Director of Public Health.

• Finalized the details for various components of school and student kits that will be distributed to 1,100 schools in Basrah at the start of the school year, September 2003.

• Conducted assessments of schools in southern Iraq which showed that teachers and children are ready to resume classes and that schools have been looted and lack basic learning and teaching materials.

• Ordered 450 "schools-in-a-box" which will provide learning and teaching materials to 36,000 children in southern Iraq.

• Negotiations are complete for printing and distribution of 5 million math and science textbooks through UNESCO, evaluation of social science texts for bias, hate, historical inaccuracies and gender, and competitive procurement of interim instructional materials for participative politics, toleration of divergent views, and the role of civil society in governance.

• USAID education technical advisor joined the Ministry of Education (MOE) to work on preparing MOE payroll data in the salary format provided by the Office of the Coalition Provisional Authority (OCAP) to enable 300,000 employees to be paid nation-wide.

Participative, Transparent Government

• A total of $120,300 in grants have been approved to Iraqi organizations for small reconstruction activities such as the rehabilitation of 21 schools, transportation services to enable 13 teachers from rural areas to administer final exams to their students and for rehabilitation of a primary health care facility.

• Worked with city officials to develop a preliminary governance structure for Baghdad that will link citizens from neighborhood councils to an overall city council.

• Initial neighborhood councils were formed on May 19, in 16 of the 83 neighborhoods in the city. In Al-Rashid, which is one of the 9 municipalities in Baghdad City, all 14 of the neighborhood councils have been formed. The first meeting of representatives from each neighborhood was held on May 19.

• USAID recently made awards to five NGOs as part of USAID's Community Action Program (CAP) in Iraq to promote diverse and representative citizen participation in and among communities

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throughout Iraq as well as to identify, prioritize, and deliver critical reconstruction and development needs.

Essential Economic Institutions

• USAID is conducting a Marshland Initiative for Basrah, Dhi Qar, and Maysan provinces to evaluate hydrologic and ecologic studies and economic analyses while including the marsh Arabs into the planning for the restoration of the marshes

• A competitive procurement has been published for assistance in competitive crops, farming, and marketing; sustainable financing operations, and reduced water logging and soil salinity.

In addition to United States government activities, The World Bank and IMF have agreed to send needs assessment teams to Iraq and will be dispatching them shortly. Such assessments are helpful in providing the basis for a multilateral donor effort to assist in Iraqi reconstruction.

The United States supports an eventual comprehensive, multilateral treatment of Iraq's debt. We and other G–8 countries recognize that it would be unrealistic to expect Iraq to make service payments on its debt at least through the end of 2004. The Paris Club has already begun work on collecting data on Iraqi debt from Paris Club creditor countries. The IMF has agreed to poll non-Paris Club countries on what Iraq owes them.

III. Transition to Democracy

A. IRAQI INTERIM ADMINISTRATION

The President supports the establishment of an Iraqi Interim Administration (IIA) as quickly as practicable by the people of Iraq, with the help of the CPA working with the U.N. Special Representative. The principles that will guide the formation of the IIA are as follows:

• We support the formation of an IIA, a transitional administration run by Iraqis, until an internationally recognized, representative government is established by the people of Iraq and assumes the responsibility of the CPA;

• The IIA will be broad-based and fully representative, with members from all of Iraq's ethnic groups and regions, including its diaspora.

• Civilian Iraqi leaders will emerge who can be part of such an IIA.

• The IIA will provide a means for Iraqis to participate in the economic and political reconstruction of their country from the outset.

These principles continue to inform our ongoing discussions on the IIA. The Coalition has organized meetings in Nassiriya and Baghdad to discuss Iraq's political future. The highly constructive dialogue that began in those meetings is continuing, and will culminate in an IA that reflects the above principles.

B. NASSIRIYA AND BAGHDAD CONFERENCES

In support of our commitment to assist the Iraqi people in establishing a representative, participatory government, U.S. officials convened conferences in Nassiriya, on April 15, and Baghdad, on

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April 28, to discuss Iraq's future. Invitees included representatives from Iraq's exiled opposition and internal Iraqi notables, including intellectuals, tribal shaykhs, Iraqi technocrats, and clerics. Observers from several coalition members also attended the meetings, which were presided over by then ORHA director, Jay Garner, and Special Envoy to Free Iraqis, Zalmay Khalizad. The meetings provided U.S. officials with the opportunity to hear the ideas and concerns of the Iraqi people. Conference attendees issued declarations expressing support for a democratic, representative form of government, establishing rule of law, and respect for all Iraqi religious and ethnic groups. For many, it was the first time they were able to express their political views freely.

C. MOSUL AND KIRKUK MUNICIPAL COUNCILS

United States Army Civil Affairs units, working with ORHA North, helped the residents of the northern cities of Kirkuk and Mosul establish municipal councils. On May 5, over two hundred notables from Mosul gathered to elect a multi-ethnic council, which in turn selected a mayor and deputy mayors to liaise with U.S. officials concerning the administration of Iraq's third largest city. On May 25, a 24-member council in Kirkuk was formed with representatives from the city's three prominent ethnic groups—Kurds, Arabs, and Turkomen. Civil affairs personnel have worked closely with the council to establish a multi-ethnic police force to restore order to the city. These councils are a vivid illustration of the United States' commitment to fulfill its promise to return control of Iraq to the Iraqi people as soon as possible. The coalition will be seeking to achieve similar success in cities and towns around Iraq as soon as it is feasible.

IV. MILITARY OPERATIONS

During the period of this report U.S. and Coalition military forces completed the destruction of the Saddam regime and transitioned from decisive combat operations to stability and security operations. On May 1, the President announced that major combat operations in Iraq have ended and that now the Coalition is engaged in securing and reconstructing that country. Despite the conclusion of major combat operations, dangerous threats remain to both military forces and the Iraqi populace. Coalition forces established control over most major Iraqi cities and engaged in sustained operations to locate and destroy regime diehards, bring looting under control, and secure vital infrastructure from criminal elements. As a result, stability has returned to much of Iraq. Problem areas, particularly in Baghdad, continue to exist, and additional forces and resources have been deployed to that city to establish greater control. As an example of how these security concerns are being addressed, on May 28 more than 30,000 U.S. personnel in Baghdad were engaged in security patrols, operation of checkpoints, protection of humanitarian convoys, and security of vital infrastructure and cultural sites. As the President has indicated previously, it is not possible to know at this time either the duration of active military operations or the scope and duration of the de-

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ployment of United States Armed Forces necessary for the full accomplishment of our goals.

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