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Iraq: political and security issues at the handover

On 28 June 2004 the Coalition occupation of Iraq came to an end, and the Coalition Provisional Authority, which had administered Iraq since the fall of the Saddam Hussein regime, was dissolved. An Iraqi Interim Government assumed authority for governing the country.

This paper provides an overview of political and security developments at the handover and examines the structures and powers of the Interim Government. It also provides an overview of the insurgency and the composition and role of the multinational military force, which is deployed in Iraq to assist the Interim Government with security.

Various legal issues relating to the handover are covered in a companion paper, *Iraq: legal issues at the handover*, to be published shortly.

Standard Note SN/IA/3115, *Iraq at the Transition: key agreements and documents*, provides the full text of selected key agreements relating to the transition.

Tim Youngs & Claire Taylor

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Summary of main points

- On 28 June 2004 the Coalition occupation of Iraq came to an end, and the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), which had administered Iraq since the fall of the Saddam Hussein regime, was dissolved. An appointed Iraqi Interim Government assumed authority for governing the country.
- The handover marked the start of the first phase in a two-step transition. The Interim Government will govern Iraq during the first phase between June 2004 and January 2005. It consists of a President, two Deputy Presidents and a Prime Minister leading a Council of Ministers. A 100-member Interim National Council is to advise on and monitor the work of the Government. A National Conference will be held during July 2004 to select the National Council.
- The Interim Government has identified several priorities, including stabilising the security situation, promoting economic development, providing basic services and preparing for elections to a Transitional National Assembly in January 2005.
- The second phase of the transition will begin once a Transitional Government has been formed after the elections. During this phase a permanent constitution is to be adopted and a new government elected. The transition will be completed by 31 December 2005.
- The violent insurgency against the Coalition presence and the Interim Government has continued since the handover on 28 June 2004. A series of bombings have been carried out against Iraqi security forces and a number of leading Iraqi officials have been assassinated.
- A multinational force, authorised by the UN and under US national command, is operating in Iraq to assist the Interim Government with security. British forces operate in the south of the country, around the city of Basra.
- This paper provides an overview of the new governing structures in Iraq and the timetable for the transition. It examines the groups behind the insurgency and the measures adopted by the Interim Government to reduce the violence. It also looks at the mandate and composition of the multinational force and its relationship with the new Government.

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I Political Issues

A. Timetable for the Transition

On 28 June 2004 the Coalition occupation of Iraq came to an end, two days ahead of the planned deadline for the handover of control.¹ The Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), which had administered Iraq since the fall of the Saddam Hussein regime, was dissolved, and an Iraqi Interim Government assumed authority for governing the country.

The handover was seen by many observers as a symbolic milestone in the transition from Coalition occupation to Iraqi control. With the ending of the occupation, Iraq has entered the first phase of a two-stage process that will lead to the formation of an elected Iraqi Government under a new permanent constitution by the end of 2005:

- The first, *interim*, phase began on 28 June 2004 and will draw to a close by the end of January 2005. During that period, an unelected Interim Government will hold power.
- The second, *transitional*, phase will follow after elections for a Transitional National Assembly by the end of January 2005.² At that point, the Interim Government will dissolve and a Transitional Government will be formed. A key task during the transitional phase will be the drafting of a permanent constitution, which is to be submitted to a referendum by the end of October 2005. Elections under the permanent constitution will then be held and a new government elected. The transitional phase will cease by the end of December 2005 when the new government, elected under the permanent constitution, takes office.³

The current timetable is the product of three key documents that were negotiated during late 2003 and the first half of 2004. The first of these documents, the ‘Agreement on Political Process’ of 15 November 2003, established the broad timetable for the transition. This timetable was elaborated upon, and amended by, the second document, the ‘Transitional Administrative Law’ of 8 March 2004. A third document, which was agreed on 1 June 2004 and took the form of an Annex to the Transitional Administrative

¹ The handover was brought forward because the Interim Government was ready to assume responsibility. There were also concerns within the Coalition about a possible surge in violent attacks by the resistance on 30 June aimed at undermining the authority of the new Government.

² The Transitional Administrative Law of March 2004, which will act as the supreme law of Iraq during the transition, states that the elections for the National Assembly “shall take place by 31 December 2004 if possible, and in any case no later than by 31 January 2005.” Article 30 (D), Transitional Administrative Law, 8 March 2004

³ Provisions have been made in the TAL to cover various eventualities, such as a rejection of the draft constitution in the referendum. Details on these can be found in a letter from the US General Accounting Office to the House and Senate Committees on International and Foreign Relations, 25 May 2004, online at <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d04746r.pdf>

Law, filled a gap in the other documents by setting out the structures of government for the first, interim phase.⁴

The first document, the Agreement on Political Process, was negotiated by the Iraqi interim Governing Council (IGC)⁵ and the CPA. It foresaw a single phase to the transition after the handover from Coalition control at the end of June 2004. Country-wide caucus-style elections⁶ were to be used to select a Transitional National Assembly, which would, in turn, select a government. The plan encountered resistance from some Iraqis, most notably the leading Shi'a religious authority in Iraq, Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, who feared that the permanent constitution and the resulting government elected at the end of 2005 would be based on unelected, illegitimate foundations.

The suggested alternative was for direct elections to be held to select a transitional government before the handover, but the CPA and others expressed doubts about the feasibility of holding elections within a matter of months, given the poor security situation⁷ and the absence of a legal and institutional framework for elections.

The UN was asked to assist in the search for a solution and a fact-finding mission was despatched to Iraq in February 2004, led by Under-Secretary-General Lakhdar Brahimi, the Special Advisor on Iraq to the Secretary-General.⁸ One element of the terms of reference was to assess whether elections would be feasible before the handover.⁹ On this, it concluded that:

1. ...a consensus exists in Iraq that elections are a necessary step in the process of building democratic governance and reconstruction. No one doubts the importance of holding elections. The caucus-style system as it now stands is not practical and is not a substitute for elections.
2. Credible elections cannot take place by 30 June 2004. Substantial preparations are needed. Elections should be prepared well and should take place in the best possible conditions. Discussions held by the mission at both the political and

⁴ The text of these agreements can be found in Library Standard Note SN/IA/3115, *Iraq at the Transition: key agreements and documents*, of 28 June 2004.

⁵ The IGC was formed in July 2003. Its membership was selected after consultations between the CPA, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, and representatives of seven leading Iraqi political parties.

⁶ The Agreement on Political Process specified that each of Iraq's 18 Governorates would select a caucus of regional notables who would in turn elect representatives to represent the Governorate in the Transitional Assembly.

⁷ For background on the security situation and suicide bomb attacks during the early part of 2004, see Library Standard Note SN/IA/3004, *Iraq: Political and Security Issues and the adoption of the Transitional Administrative Law*, of 8 April 2004.

⁸ The mission consulted with Iraqi political parties, professional associations, trade unions, religious and tribal leaders, women's group and youth movements, intellectuals and academics, among others.

⁹ For the full terms of reference, see 'Letter dated 23 February 2004 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council', *S/2004/140*.

technical levels have established that preparations will need at least eight months after a legal and institutional framework has been established.¹⁰

The solution was to split the transition into two phases. During the first phase, Iraq is to be governed by appointed institutions, which will be prevented from making significant changes affecting the country's longer-term development. At the same time, preparations are to be made for full elections at the beginning of 2005 to appoint the transitional national assembly and government. The resulting elected institutions will have responsibility for drafting the permanent constitution and paving the way for the election of a permanent government by the end of 2005.

The two-phase approach was incorporated in the Transitional Administrative Law (TAL) of March 2004, which will act as the supreme law for Iraq until the entry into force of the permanent constitution at the end of 2005.¹¹ The TAL includes a bill of rights and provides for checks and balances and the separation of powers. At the time it was approved, there was a consensus on the detailed arrangements for the second, transitional, phase during 2005, but agreement remained elusive on the structures of government for the first, interim, phase between June 2004 and January 2005. On this, the TAL was silent.

Mr Brahimi was invited by the CPA and the Governing Council to return for further consultations during April and May, with the twin aims of concluding an annex to the TAL on the structure and powers of the Interim Government, and of drawing up a list of candidates for the presidency, prime ministership and cabinet.

Mr Brahimi cautioned that members of the appointed Interim Government should not abuse their position to advance their own political interests prior to the January 2005 elections and thereby undermine the legitimacy of the resulting elected institutions. He suggested that such an impression could be avoided if the members of the Interim Government announced they would not stand in the 2005 election. Consequently, some commentators concluded that he favoured a caretaker government composed primarily of technocrats to lead the country during the interim phase, although this was refuted by Mr Brahimi's spokesperson.¹²

¹⁰ Letter dated 23 February 2004 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (The political transition in Iraq: report of the fact-finding mission, 6 to 13 February 2004), S/2004/140, 23 February 2004, online via http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_presandsg_letters04.html

¹¹ More detail on the main elements of the TAL is provided in Library Standard Note SN/IA/3004, *Iraq: Political and Security Issues and the adoption of the Transitional Administrative Law*, of 8 April 2004.

¹² According to a UN press release, the spokesman, Ahmed Fawzi, "stressed that contrary to the impression given by some media reports, Mr. Brahimi did not propose a caretaker government composed of technocrats. "What he did suggest was that the next Government that takes over sovereignty on July 1 should consist of men and women known for their honesty, integrity and competence in the first instance," Mr. Fawzi said. "They should have the professional capacity and competence to run the affairs of this country for the limited period of seven or eight months leading up to elections when a fully representative government will be elected." Quoted in 'UN envoy continues consultations with wide spectrum of Iraqi society', *UN Press Release*, 10 May 2004

B. Structures during the Interim Period

a. Formation of the Interim Government

The discussions during April and May made progress on both the structure and powers of the interim institutions and the composition of the Interim Government.

An Annex to the TAL was approved by the Governing Council on 1 June 2004.¹³ The document covers the structure and powers of the Interim Government and sets out the broad parameters for its actions.

The Interim Government has full exercise of sovereign powers, subject to certain conditions set out in the Annex to the TAL and endorsed by the Security Council. These include the power to conclude international agreements, but only in the areas of diplomatic relations, international loans and assistance, and Iraq's sovereign debt.¹⁴ As an interim government, it is restricted from amending the supreme law set out in the TAL. The Annex states that it should

refrain from taking any actions affecting Iraq's destiny beyond the limited interim period. Such actions should be reserved to future governments democratically elected by the Iraqi people.¹⁵

The Annex also provides for the formation of an Interim National Council to advise the Interim Government. The National Council will be chosen by a National Conference during July 2004.¹⁶

The adoption of the Annex constituted the final act of the Iraqi Governing Council before it dissolved itself with immediate effect on 1 June 2004. The members of the Interim Government, whose names had been announced in the days before,¹⁷ were sworn in and assumed control of the 12 ministries that had already been transferred from CPA control.

¹³ Annex to the Law on the Law for the Administration of Iraq in the Transitional Period, 1 June 2004, http://www.cpa-iraq.org/government/TAL_Annex.html

¹⁴ Examples of treaties to which Iraq is currently party can be found in the companion Library Paper, *Iraq: legal issues at the handover*, which will be published shortly.

¹⁵ Annex to the Law on the Law for the Administration of Iraq in the Transitional Period, 1 June 2004, http://www.cpa-iraq.org/government/TAL_Annex.html

¹⁶ The full text of the Annex is online at http://www.cpa-iraq.org/government/TAL_Annex.html and in Library Standard Note SN/IA/3115, *Iraq at the Transition: key agreements and documents*, of 28 June 2004.

¹⁷ The process of choosing the Prime Minister did not proceed as expected. In late May the Iraqi Governing Council made an early announcement that Ayad Allawi was to fill the post, apparently catching the UN by surprise. Mr Brahimi said he "respected" the decision.

US President George W Bush welcomed the formation of the Interim Government, saying that Mr Brahimi had “recommended a team that possesses the talent, commitment and resolve to guide Iraq through the challenges that lie ahead.” He added:

The new 33-member cabinet announced today reflects new leadership, drawn from a broad cross section of Iraqis. Five are regional officials, six are women, and the vast majority of government ministries will have new ministers. The foremost tasks of this new interim government will be to prepare Iraq for a national election no later than January of next year, and to work with our coalition to provide the security that will make that election possible. That election will choose a transitional national assembly, the first freely elected, truly representative national governing body in Iraq's history.¹⁸

The Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, also expressed his support for the Interim Government, saying its formation reflected “another significant step forward for the Iraqi people in rebuilding their country after the ravages of Saddam's regime.” He said he hoped the international community, through the Security Council, would “give an early signal of its strong support for the new leadership of Iraq in their crucial task of guiding their country along the pathway to peace and prosperity.”¹⁹

Grand Ayatollah Sistani offered a conditional welcome to the Interim Government. He said that, although it lacked “electoral legitimacy”, it was a step in the right direction. In a statement issued on 3 June 2004, he named four key tasks for the new government: restoring security; providing basic services; winning approval for a UN resolution granting Iraq full political, economic, military, and security sovereignty; and holding free and fair elections in early 2005. He said it would be judged on how well it could “erase the consequences of occupation.”²⁰

Some observers were critical of the process by which the final nominations for the Interim Government had been made, claiming that the members of the outgoing Governing Council had effectively sidelined Mr Brahimi and ensured the top posts were allocated among themselves. A *New York Times* editorial commented:

the most critical appointments were made by the outgoing Iraqi Governing Council, an American-appointed body heavy with exile politicians that has limited public support and a dismal record of nonperformance. [...] The ability of the Governing Council to essentially seize control of the selections left Mr. Brahimi looking ineffective.²¹

¹⁸ ‘President Bush Discusses the Iraqi Interim Government’, *White House Press Release*, 1 June 2004

¹⁹ *FCO Press Release*, 1 June 2004

²⁰ ‘Iraqi Government Wins Vital Backing from Shi'ite Cleric’, *Reuters*, 3 June 2004

²¹ ‘Iraq's Interim Government’, *New York Times*, 2 June 2004

It is argued that the CPA chose short term expediency over longer-term stability by allowing Governing Council members to secure dominant positions within the Interim Government. Some believe that the Coalition had little choice and that it could not afford to confront the Governing Council at the time, against a background of widespread violence, which hit a peak during April, and declining support among Iraqis for the occupation. Some contend that the decision could have negative repercussions in the future and damage the credibility of the whole transition, especially if senior figures in the Interim Government resort to patronage to secure a power base and to boost their support in the build up to the January elections.

b. Structures of Interim Government

The interim structures of government consist of a President, two Deputy Presidents and a Prime Minister leading a Council of Ministers. A full list of the members of the Interim Government is included as Appendix 1. A 100-member Interim National Council is to advise on and monitor the work of the Government. All the interim structures operate under the legal framework set out in the TAL. An independent Judicial Authority with a Supreme Court is tasked with ensuring all laws are in accordance with the TAL.

Presidency

The President and two Deputy Presidents collectively form the Presidency of the State. The post of **President** is held by **Ghazi Yawer**, a businessmen and Sunni Arab tribal leader.²² Mr Yawer has close ties with Washington, although he became an increasingly vocal critic of Coalition policy during early 2004.

The two posts of **Deputy President** are held by **Ibrahim Jaafari**, the spokesman for the Islamic Daawa Party, one of the two main Shia parties in Iraq, and **Rowsh Shaways**, the President of the Kurdish National Assembly in the north of the country and a member of the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP).²³

The Presidency represents the sovereignty of Iraq and oversees the higher affairs of the country. In addition to ceremonial functions, it must unanimously approve orders issued by the Council of Minister before they can become law.

²² According to estimates from 2001 the population of Iraq stands at around 23.5 million. There are two main ethnic groupings: Arabs form around 80 per cent and Kurds around 15 per cent. There is also a small Turcoman-speaking minority. The Kurds inhabit mainly the northern and north-eastern areas of the country, along the borders with Turkey and Iran. Approximately 95 per cent of Iraqis are Muslim, of whom more than 50 per cent adhere to the Shi'a branch of Islam. The remainder belong to the Sunni branch. The Shi'a population is situated predominantly in the south and south-centre of the country. The two main cities in Iraq, the capital Baghdad and Basra in the south, are predominantly Shi'a. The Sunni population is located mainly in the central region to the north of Baghdad.

²³ Kurdish representatives expressed their dismay that neither the Prime Minister nor the President was a Kurd. They argued that, as one of Iraq's two main nationalities the Kurds should have been given one of the two top posts. See the letter from the leaders of the PUK and KDP to President George Bush, cited in *IWPR Iraqi Crisis Report*, No.66, 7 June 2004.

In an interview with the *Financial Times*, Mr Yawer indicated his view that the role of presidency should not be purely ceremonial. He said that:

Any major army decision or movement has to be approved by the president. The president and the vice-presidents will be doing most of the 'macro' aspects of the executive's activities. We draw the foreign relations strategies, with consultation with the prime minister. Then they [the ministers] will follow up and execute the job.²⁴

He said the Presidency would be involved in formulating strategic policy and would leave planning issues, such as running of the economy, the oil sector and industry, to the Council of Ministers.

Council of Ministers

The 28-member Council of Ministers,²⁵ which is presided over by the Prime Minister, has responsibility for overseeing the day-to-day management of the government. It has identified a number of urgent tasks, including taking action to improve security, promoting economic development and preparing for the elections in January 2005.

The Council of Ministers, with the unanimous approval of the Presidency, has the power to “issue orders with the force of law that will remain in effect until rescinded or amended by future Iraqi governments.”²⁶ It has the power to amend or rescind the laws, regulations, orders and directives issued by the CPA, although these will remain in force until so rescinded or amended.²⁷

The post of Prime Minister is held by Iyad Allawi. A former member of the Iraqi Baath Party, Mr Allawi was forced into exile in the 1970s. He returned to Iraq in 2003 and became a member of the Governing Council, with responsibility for building up Iraq’s security and police forces.

Mr Allawi is the Shi’a leader of the former exile group, the Iraqi National Accord (INA), which drew support from former security and military figures within the Saddam Hussein regime. The INA established close ties with Western intelligence agencies during the 1990s and operated a number of sources within the regime.

²⁴ ‘Iraqi interim leader offers olive branch to insurgents’, *Financial Times*, 12 July 2004

²⁵ Six of whom are women.

²⁶ Annex to the Law on the Law for the Administration of Iraq in the Transitional Period, 1 June 2004, http://www.cpa-iraq.org/government/TAL_Annex.html

²⁷ Article 26 (c) of the Transitional Administrative Law of March 2004 states that “The laws, regulations, orders and directives issued by the Coalition Provisional Authority pursuant to its authority under international law shall remain in force until rescinded or amended by legislation duly enacted and having the force of law.”

The Coalition continues to provide assistance to the Interim Government after the handover, not only in the security sphere, but also through technical assistance to Iraq's ministries. President Bush said on 24 May that:

America and other countries will continue to provide technical experts to help Iraq's ministries of government, but these ministries will report to Iraq's new prime minister.²⁸

The United States is maintaining a large embassy in Baghdad to assist during the transition. Ambassador John D Negroponte said that:

The goal of the U.S. Embassy is to support the fully sovereign government of Iraq as it seeks to build a strong and free society. Three mutually reinforcing objectives underpin this goal:

- Helping the Iraqis defeat the terrorists and criminal elements who oppose a free Iraq,
- Promoting reconstruction and economic development,
- And supporting Iraq's democratization and the rule of law.²⁹

National Council

A 1,000-strong National Conference is to be held in July to select members for a 100-member Interim National Council. Responsibility for organising the Conference falls to a 60-member High Commission comprised of “members of the Governing Council without other governmental positions, representatives from the regions and governorates, and other distinguished Iraqis known for their capability and integrity.”³⁰

The role of the National Council is set out in the Annex to the TAL:

The Interim National Council will meet periodically to promote constructive dialogue and create national consensus, and to advise the Presidency Council and Council of Ministers. It will have the authority to monitor the implementation of laws, to follow up the work of the executive bodies, to appoint replacements to the Presidency Council in cases of resignation or death, to interpellate the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers, and to veto executive orders by a 2/3 majority vote of its members within 10 days of being informed of such orders which have been approved by the Presidency Council. The Interim National Council will also

²⁸ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040524-10.html>

²⁹ ‘Statement on the Occasion of the Presentation of Credentials’ by Ambassador Negroponte, Baghdad, 29 June 2004, http://iraq.usembassy.gov/iraq/credentials_presentation.html

³⁰ Annex to the Law on the Law for the Administration of Iraq in the Transitional Period, 1 June 2004, http://www.cpa-iraq.org/government/TAL_Annex.html

have the right to approve the 2005 Iraqi national budget proposed by the Council of Ministers, and to set its Internal Regulations.³¹

c. *International Endorsement of the Interim Government (UN Security Council Resolution 1546)*

On 8 June 2004 the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1546, in which it, among other things, endorsed the formation of the Iraqi Interim Government and the proposed timetable for the political transition.

The Council also welcomed the ending of the Coalition occupation by 30 June and extended the mandate for multinational force for a further 12 months, with a proviso that the mandate could be terminated earlier at the request of the Iraqi government. Two letters from the US Secretary of State and the Iraqi Prime Minister were appended to the Resolution. These addressed the question of political and operational control over security matters and the relationship between Iraqi security forces and Coalition forces.

Furthermore, the Council decided that the UN Special Representative and the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), as requested by the Iraqi Government, should play a leading role in the electoral process, the development of effective civil and social services, and coordination and delivery of reconstruction, development, and humanitarian assistance.

The Resolution was adopted after several weeks of consultations and negotiations among Security Council members. Early drafts were rejected by France and Russia because they contained insufficient guarantees that the Interim Government would have full exercise of sovereignty.

Criticisms of the Resolution were offered by the two main Kurdish political parties in Iraq, the KDP and the PUK. The Kurdish region in northern Iraq succeeded in developing significant autonomy during the final years of the Saddam Hussein regime and the KDP and PUK have sought to protect these gains for the future. Guarantees on the federal structure of the country were written into the Transitional Administrative Law of March 2004 and Kurdish leaders expressed concern that the TAL was not mentioned in the Resolution. They stressed their view that the permanent constitution to be adopted during 2005 must be federal in structure and must protect their rights to self-determination.³²

³¹ Annex to the Law on the Law for the Administration of Iraq in the Transitional Period, 1 June 2004, http://www.cpa-iraq.org/government/TAL_Annex.html

³² See 'Angry Kurdish leaders demand federal state: Battle lies ahead over group's status', *Guardian*, 30 June 2004

C. Handover from Coalition to Iraqi Control

The Interim Government assumed authority for governing Iraq on 28 June 2004, two days ahead of the planned handover. The date was brought forward by the CPA following consultations with the new Iraqi leadership so as to forestall possible attempts by the resistance to mark the transition with a wave of violence.

A low-key ceremony to mark the event was attended by the chief administrator of the CPA, Paul Bremer, Prime Minister Allawi, President Yawar and a judge from the Iraqi Court of Cassation, Medhat al Mahmood. Before departing the country, Mr Bremer passed a letter to Judge Mahmood, which read:

As recognized in U.N. Security Council Resolution 1546 (2004), the Coalition Provisional Authority will cease to exist on June 28, at which point the occupation will end, and the Iraqi Interim Government will assume and exercise full sovereign authority on behalf of the Iraqi people. We welcome Iraq's steps to take its rightful place of equality and honor among the nations of the world.³³

President Bush welcomed the decision to bring forward the handover:

Earlier today, 15 months after the liberation of Iraq, and two days ahead of schedule, the world witnessed the arrival of a free and sovereign Iraqi government. Iraqi officials informed us that they are ready to assume power, and Prime Minister Allawi believes that making this transition now is best for his country. After decades of brutal rule by a terror regime, the Iraqi people have their country back.

This is a day of great hope for Iraqis, and a day that terrorist enemies hoped never to see. The terrorists are doing all they can to stop the rise of a free Iraq. But their bombs and attacks have not prevented Iraqi sovereignty, and they will not prevent Iraqi democracy. Iraqi sovereignty is a tribute to the will of the Iraqi people and the courage of Iraqi leaders.

This day also marks a proud moral achievement for members of our coalition. We pledged to end a dangerous regime, to free the oppressed, and to restore sovereignty. We have kept our word.³⁴

³³ 'Allawi Confirms Establishment of U.S.-Iraqi Diplomatic Relations', US Information Agency web site, 28 June 2004, <http://usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2004/Jun/28-257043.html>

³⁴ 'President Bush Discusses Early Transfer of Iraqi Sovereignty', *White House Press Release*, 28 June 2004

Prime Minister Tony Blair said the handover represented an “important staging post” for the future of the country.³⁵ He told the House of Commons on 30 June that:

Politically, Iraq now has a broad-based and representative Government; a timetable and a process for its first democratic elections; a new constitution guaranteeing basic freedoms and the rule of law; a devolved system of government - almost all towns now have municipal councils and those that have been elected are largely secular; and guaranteed protection of minority rights. That is in place of a dictatorship that brutalised the people and ransacked the country.

Economically, Iraq now has an open economy with an independent central bank, a real budgetary process, and a new and stable currency. A start has been made to rebuild Iraq's hugely damaged and underinvested infrastructure - a process that will now continue under the guidance of the new Iraqi Government. That is in place of an economy where a country rich in resources had, under Saddam, 60 per cent of its population dependent on food vouchers.³⁶

D. Preparations for the January 2005 elections

In addition to the involvement of the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, Mr Brahimi,³⁷ the UN has a leading role in helping the Interim Government prepare for the elections in early 2005. An electoral team, headed by the Director of the UN Electoral Assistance Division, Carina Perelli, arrived in Iraq in mid-May 2004. On 4 June Ms Perelli announced the formation of an Iraqi Independent Electoral Commission, which she said was “well balanced and [represented] the rich diversity of Iraq and its people.”³⁸ She also announced that the January 2005 elections would use a one-time system of proportional representation, with one electoral district covering the entire country. In mid-June she expressed optimism that the elections would work,

as long as Iraqis start to trust that this is a serious process, that it's going to be a secret process, that the possibilities of retaliation against them are going to be minimized [and] that the electoral authority is going to play a fair game. There is a silent majority that is more than eager to express their opinion if only they had a channel, and they are certain there is not going to be retribution or retaliation because of that.³⁹

³⁵ *Financial Times*, 29 June 2004

³⁶ HC Deb 30 June 2004, c287

³⁷ Mr Brahimi is standing down as Special Representative. His replacement is Ambassador Ashraf Qazi.

³⁸ ‘UN announces establishment of Iraq's Independent Electoral Commission’, *UN News Service*, 4 June 2004,

<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/c7ca0eaf6c79faae852567af003c69ca/c9d627bb6f3a7aeb85256ea9006561f5?OpenDocument>

³⁹ ‘Success of Iraqi elections hinge on fairness, secrecy -- UN official’, *UN News Service*, 16 June 2004,

<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/c7ca0eaf6c79faae852567af003c69ca/16b5baea6c9f455685256eb6001bca38?OpenDocument>

II Security Issues

A. The state of the insurgency

a. Groups and tactics

The period since the fall of the Saddam Hussein regime in April 2003 has been marked by sustained, low-level violence, with sporadic outbreaks of heavier fighting. A variety of groups have carried out frequent attacks against the Coalition, the international civilian presence, and the new Iraqi political and security structures. Coalition forces and emerging Iraqi security forces have mounted security sweeps and strikes against suspected centres of resistance.

The sources of resistance are difficult to identify precisely, partly because the various groups involved remain comparatively fragmented. The dominant elements appear to be drawn from inside Iraq, primarily from the institutions of the former regime of Saddam Hussein. Former members of the Iraqi Republican Guard, the regular army (which was disbanded by the CPA in mid-2003), the Saddam Fedayeen militia and the various Baathist security and intelligence organisations are believed to have contributed to the resistance. Some remain loyal to the Baathist cause, while others cite Iraqi nationalism or religious reasons for their opposition to the Coalition presence and what they perceive to be a puppet Interim Government.

There has been much debate on the presence of foreign fighters, some of them drawn from the ranks of professional *jihadis* across the Middle East, and others believed to be affiliated to the al-Qaeda terrorist network. Circumstantial evidence suggests that foreign fighters have entered Iraq to fight the Coalition, and most of those involved in suicide car bomb attacks appear to be foreigners. However, the numbers involved might be lower than originally estimated by US officials. US forces have detained only a few dozen foreigners over the past year, compared to several thousand Iraqis.

Violence has been concentrated in certain areas of the country, most notably in the area known as the ‘Sunni Triangle’ stretching north and west of the capital Baghdad. In the predominantly Shi’a south of the country the ‘Mehdi Army’ militia loyal to the militant cleric, Moqtada al-Sadr, has fought the Coalition in and around the holy cities of Najaf and Karbala. The Kurdish north of the country has remained more stable, although some violent attacks have taken place.

The tactics used by the various groups differ widely. Many of the former regime elements seem to rely on classic guerrilla methods, using improvised explosive devices or rocket propelled grenades to hit passing Coalition convoys. Ammunition depots, left unguarded after the regime fell, provide fighters with a ready source of munitions and explosives.

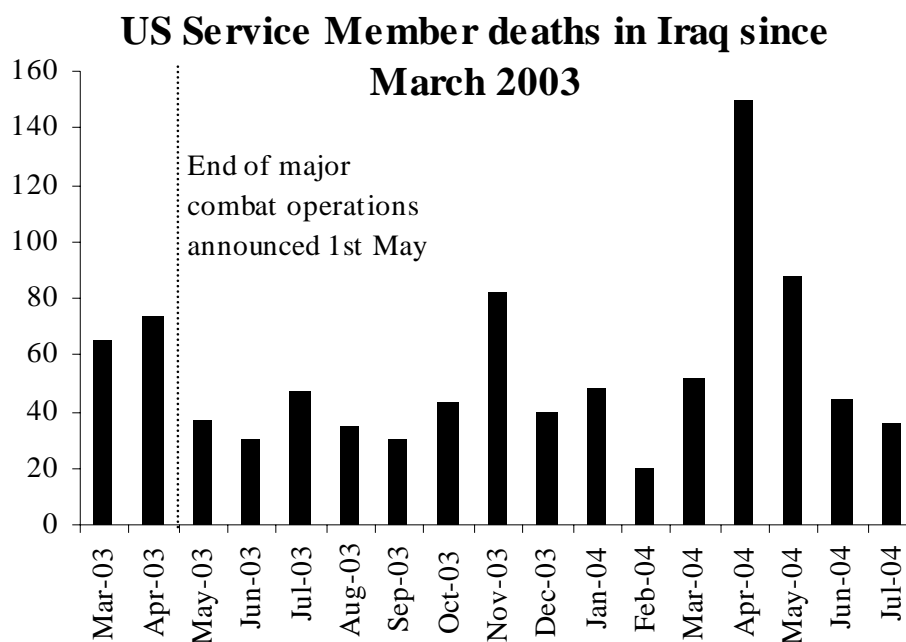
The resistance has also targeted the Interim Government and assassinated a number of key officials. Some have been killed in ambushes, others in car bombings.

Suicide car bomb attacks against civilians and Iraqi political and security targets appear to be the method favoured by militants who have entered Iraq from abroad. Hundreds of Iraqis have been killed in these attacks. The network of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi,⁴⁰ which may be an affiliate or rival to the al-Qaeda network of Osama bin Laden, claims to be responsible for several of the more spectacular bombings. Attempts by US forces to kill Mr Zarqawi in a series of airstrikes in and around Fallujah appear to have been unsuccessful. Several dozen people, some of them civilians and children, are believed to have died in the strikes.

Another tactic involves the kidnapping of foreigners from countries that are participating in the Coalition. Several civilian workers have been seized and killed, including the US journalist, Nick Berg, who was beheaded by the Zarqawi network. Some groups threaten to kill those kidnapped unless the country involved withdraws its presence from Iraq. In some instances, such as the Philippines, the country has complied. In other cases, the kidnap victim has been executed.

Violence against the Coalition peaked during April 2004 when US forces found themselves engaged on a number of fronts simultaneously. The graph below shows the fluctuation in the number of US service deaths since March 2003.

Table 1: US Service Deaths in Iraq



Source: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/iraq_casualties.htm⁴¹

⁴⁰ His real name is reported to be Fadel al-Khalayleh. The US is offering a \$25 million reward for his capture.

⁴¹ Table compiled by David Knott in the Library's Social and General Statistics Section.

During April 2004 US forces mounted a major attack on the town of Fallujah to the west of Baghdad in an attempt to reclaim control from the resistance. Press reports suggest that as many as 900 people were killed in the fighting, including many civilians.

The Coalition operations in Fallujah coincided with an upsurge in fighting with the Shi'a Mehdi Army militia in Najaf and Karbala. For a period, the security deteriorated sharply and sections of the country's transport network were cut. Coalition supply convoys and civilian contractors came under daily attack, and several companies involved in reconstruction withdrew from Iraq on security grounds.

b. *Response of the Interim Government*

The operations in Fallujah appeared to mark a turning point in the approach adopted by US forces. The fighting prompted expressions of considerable unease from members of the Iraqi Governing Council, who favoured negotiations with the resistance to find a political solution. The result was an agreement to withdraw US forces from the town and to form a 600-strong force composed of former Iraqi soldiers and headed by a general from the disbanded Iraqi Army.

Attempts to defuse the tension in Najaf and Karbala ensued, although hopes that Mr Sadr would instruct his militia to withdraw and halt its resistance in exchange for greater involvement on the political front have yet to be fully realised. Clashes have continued across the country but at a lower level than in April.

Since assuming power at the end of June 2004, the Interim Government has taken several steps to co-opt more moderate elements of the resistance into the political process and to isolate the more extreme elements.

On the one hand, attempts have been made to reach out to former Baathists by loosening the restrictions on employment put in place by the CPA. Furthermore, discussions are underway on an amnesty for those involved in the resistance, although this is unlikely to extend to those accused of killing or kidnapping.⁴² Interim President Ghazi al-Yawar said in an interview with the *Financial Times* on 12 July that:

We are offering an amnesty definitely, for people who have not committed too many atrocious acts; everybody except murderers, rapists and kidnappers. We are offering a silky hand to law-abiding people, and we are offering a sharp sword to anybody who wants to be above the law.⁴³

⁴² The US Ambassador said on 17 July that an amnesty had a political logic, but said it should not extend to those involved in deadly attacks on Coalition forces. BBC News web site, 17 July 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3903669.stm

⁴³ 'Iraqi interim leader offers olive branch to insurgents', *Financial Times*, 12 July 2004

On the other hand, Mr Allawi has said he will strengthen Iraq's security forces to enable it to tackle the insurgency. Disbanded Iraqi Army units have been recalled and a domestic intelligence agency, the General Security Directorate, which will be used to gather intelligence on the insurgency, has been established.

On 7 July 2004 the Interim Government approved a 12-point 'National Security Law', which allows it to impose martial law for up to 60 days. The BBC summarised the main points as follows:

- The government can impose curfews in violence-hit areas, but only in individual areas of the country and not nationwide.
- It can conduct cordon and search operations and arrest individuals, particularly those found to be in possession of weapons.
- It can intercept mail and eavesdrop on telephone conversations.
- The government should state its reasons for declaring an emergency and specify the area where it is to be applied. It should also make the public aware of when the measures start and their duration.
- The period of the emergency should not exceed 60 days, and should be terminated if the reason for imposing it ceases to exist. The emergency will be subject to renewal after 30 days.
- The prime minister is given the right to assign governors, including military leaders, to be in charge of specific areas.⁴⁴

Some observers note that, despite the rhetoric, the Interim Government has few indigenous tools at its disposal for combating the insurgency. Iraqi security forces remain few in number and will require extensive training. In the short-term at least, larger-scale operations against the rebels will continue to rely on the US-led multinational force.

⁴⁴ 'Iraq brings in tough security law', BBC News web site, 7 July 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3872455.stm The full text of the National Security Law is online at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3874375.stm

B. The Multinational Force

1. Authorisation

a. UN Security Council Resolution 1511 (2003) and 1546 (2004)

On 16 October 2003 the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1511 (2003) mandating the presence of a multinational force (MNF) in the country. The Resolution stated:

The Security Council [...]

13. *Determines* that the provision of security and stability is essential to the successful completion of the political process [...] and to the ability of the United Nations to contribute effectively to that process and the implementation of resolution 1483 (2003), and *authorizes* a multinational force under unified command to take all necessary measures to contribute to the maintenance of security and stability in Iraq, including for the purpose of ensuring necessary conditions for the implementation of the timetable and programme as well as to contribute to the security of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, the Governing Council of Iraq and other institutions of the Iraqi interim administration, and key humanitarian and economic infrastructure;

14. *Urges* Member States to contribute assistance under this United Nations mandate, including military forces, to the multinational force referred to in paragraph 13 above;

15. *Decides* that the Council shall review the requirements and mission of the multinational force referred to in paragraph 13 above not later than one year from the date of this resolution, and that in any case the mandate of the force shall expire upon the completion of the political process [...], and *expresses* readiness to consider on that occasion any future need for the continuation of the multinational force, taking into account the views of an internationally recognized, representative government of Iraq;

16. *Emphasizes* the importance of establishing effective Iraqi police and security forces in maintaining law, order, and security and combating terrorism consistent with paragraph 4 of resolution 1483 (2003), and *calls upon* Member States and international and regional organizations to contribute to the training and equipping of Iraqi police and security forces.⁴⁵

On 8 June 2004 the UN Security Council unanimously adopted a second resolution on Iraq, authorising the handover of sovereignty to an interim Iraqi government and endorsing the timetable for the political transition to a constitutionally elected government by 31 December 2005. Building on the provisions of UNSCR 1511, Resolution 1546 also set out the future status of the Multinational Force and its

⁴⁵ S/RES/1511 (2003), 16 October 2003

relationship with the Iraqi government. Paragraphs 9-15 and the letters from US Secretary of State Colin Powell and Prime Minister Allawi annexed to the Resolution contained the main provisions of the MNF. In summary, those provisions are as follows:

- The continued presence of the MNF under unified command is at the request of the Interim Government of Iraq and under the mandate originally established in UNSCR 1511 (2003).
- The MNF “shall have the authority to take all necessary measures to contribute to the maintenance of security and stability in Iraq”⁴⁶. Those tasks include the prevention and deterrence of terrorism, protection of the territory of Iraq, the provision of help to the Iraqi people in completing the political transition and in facilitating reconstruction of the country, and in the recruitment, training and equipping of Iraqi security forces.
- A Ministerial Committee for National Security will be established to set the broad framework for Iraqi security policy. The MNF Commander, designated MNF representatives and other appropriate officials will attend in order to discuss mechanisms of coordination and cooperation between the MNF and Iraqi security forces. Iraqi security forces would be responsible to the appropriate Iraqi ministers and would be assigned to the MNF in order to engage in operations with it.

In addition, further bodies for cooperation with the MNF will be developed at national, regional and local levels involving Iraqi security forces, MNF commanders and civilian leadership to ensure that “Iraqi security forces will coordinate with the MNF on all security policy and operations issues in order to achieve unity of command of military operations in which Iraqi forces are engaged with MNF”.⁴⁷ Iraqi government leaders and MNF commanders will also keep each other informed of their activities, consult regularly to ensure effective allocation and use of personnel, resources and facilities and to share intelligence.

These structures are intended to serve as the fora through which the MNF and the Iraqi Government reach agreement on “the full range of fundamental security and policy issues, including policy on sensitive offensive operations...”⁴⁸

- The mandate of the MNF will be reviewed either at the request of the Government of Iraq or twelve months from the date of adoption of the Resolution. The MNF mandate will expire upon completion of the political process in December 2005 or could be terminated earlier at the request of the Iraqi Government.

⁴⁶ UN Security Council Resolution 1546, 8 June 2004, paragraph 10

⁴⁷ Letter from Prime Minister of the Interim Government of Iraq Dr Ayad Allawi to the President of the UN Security Council, 5 June 2004

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

- A brigade-size force within the MNF will be established to provide security for the personnel and facilities of the UN. This force will be under the command and control of the MNF commander, and its missions will include static and perimeter security at UN facilities and convoy escort duties for the UN mission's travel requirements.

Although the Resolution and its annexed letters set down arrangements for coordination on the full range of operations, it stopped short of providing the Iraqi Government with a veto over MNF operations. This has led many analysts to question where responsibility and jurisdiction would lie in the event of Iraqi opposition to any operations, particularly those considered to be of a sensitive nature.

Following adoption of the Resolution, Jean-Marc de la Sablière, the French Permanent Representative to the UN Security Council, commented:

Regarding the implementation of the mandate of the force, in particular the conditions of the engagement in the event of sensitive offensive operations, the resolution stated that the interim government and the force would have to reach an agreement. But it did not spell out what would happen in the event of disagreement. That was why France would have preferred the text to mention that the final say in that case would fall to the Iraqi government. [However] that provision was not explicitly requested by the Iraqi leaders...⁴⁹

On the issue of ultimate responsibility an article in *Jane's Defence Weekly* reported the Director of Strategic Plans and Policy for the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, Lt General Walter Sharp, as stating that "It is clear that the coalition is in command"⁵⁰.

An article in *The Washington Post* highlighted:

The most controversial aspect of the lengthy resolution has been the "security partnership" arrangements between Iraq and the U.S.-led multinational force of about 160,000 troops.

The resolution now pledges "close coordination" between Baghdad and U.S. commanders and incorporates security arrangements unveiled Sunday in two letters by Secretary of State Colin L. Powell and Prime Minister-designate Ayad Allawi.

At the same time, however, the draft allows the multinational force to take "all necessary measures" to provide security and reserves the right to detain Iraqis

⁴⁹ UN Press Release, *SC/8117*, 8 June 2004

⁵⁰ "Iraq handover puts US forces in unclear position", *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 23 June 2004

viewed as a security threat. The latter remains a sensitive issue because of prisoner abuse by U.S. troops at Abu Ghraib and other Iraqi prisons.⁵¹

b. Coalition Provisional Authority Order No. 17

A revised version of CPA Order No.17 was approved by the Iraqi Government on 27 June 2004. This includes the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) for the Multinational Force following the transfer of sovereignty.

In a Written Answer on 8 July 2004 the Secretary of State for Defence, Geoff Hoon, stated:

The Iraqi government has approved a new version of Coalition Provisional Authority Order 17 to cover Status of Forces issues for Multinational Forces in Iraq. The order's provisions are similar to the provisions of the status offerees arrangements for the multinational forces deployed in Afghanistan and the Balkans, which are closer parallels than the NATO arrangements implemented by the Visiting Forces Act of 1952.⁵²

One of the main elements of the SOFA⁵³, is the establishment of legal jurisdiction over foreign military personnel. Under CPA Order No.17 MNF personnel would continue to be immune from the Iraqi legal process. However, the Order states that all MNF personnel shall respect Iraqi law, including the Regulations, Orders, Memoranda and Public Notices issued by the administrator of the CPA, and shall also be subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of their Sending States. The Sending States of MNF personnel also have the right to exercise within Iraq criminal and disciplinary jurisdiction over all persons subject to the military law of that Sending State.⁵⁴ Under Section 5 of CPA Order 17, however, requests to waive the immunity of MNF personnel can be made to their respective Sending States.

The SOFA also addresses issues such as the wearing of uniforms and the carrying of arms; tax and customs relief for military personnel; entry and exit rights of military personnel and cost arrangements for MNF facilities.

2. Composition of the MNF

Following the conclusion of major combat operations on 1 May 2003, the level of Coalition forces in the Gulf region fell to reflect the move into civil-military operations. However, the shape and nature of the US-led stabilisation operation in Iraq has remained

⁵¹ "US bends to France and Russia on UN Iraq resolution", *The Washington Post*, 8 June 2004

⁵² HC Deb 8 July 2004, c827W

⁵³ CPA Order No. 17 is available online at:

http://www.iraqcoalition.org/regulations/20040627_CPAORD_17_Status_of_Coalition_Rev_with_Annex_A.pdf

⁵⁴ Coalition Provisional Authority Order Number 17 (revised), Section 2, 27 June 2004

in a constant state of flux as a consequence of continued instability in the country and difficulties in either securing or retaining international commitments on the deployment of troops to the region.

The Multinational Force is divided into four divisions, each with responsibility for a designated area of the country. The UK is leading the multinational division in the south east of the country, while a Polish-led division, with NATO support, took command of the 'Centre South' zone on 1 September 2003. Forces in and around Baghdad are predominantly American. Attempts by the US to establish and deploy a multinational force to the 'Centre North' zone have been unsuccessful. Consequently the 'Centre North' zone has remained under the command of US forces, although a number of troops on the ground are from other Coalition countries.

A map depicting the demarcation of multinational zones is available in Appendix 3.

a. *Multinational Division (South East)*

The Multinational Division (South East) (MND SE) was formed in July 2003 and placed under the command of British forces. MND SE is responsible for the southern provinces of Basra, Maysan, Dhi Qar and Al Muthanna. Approximately 11,000 UK personnel were initially assigned to MND SE, along with 5,500 troops from nine other Coalition countries.⁵⁵

Since MND SE was formed there have been several adjustments to UK force levels to reflect changes in the security situation in Iraq. Additional troops were deployed in September 2003 to meet the increasing number of military tasks arising out of reconstruction of the country, and again in January 2004⁵⁶ to augment existing personnel involved in the training of Iraqi security forces.

Formal force rotations of UK personnel were also undertaken in October-November 2003 and April-May 2004.⁵⁷

Following the withdrawal of Spanish coalition troops from MND (Centre South) in April 2004⁵⁸ and the increasingly unstable security situation in Iraq, the possibility of up to 3,000 additional British forces being deployed to the region as part of the May 2004 force rotation received increasing attention. The extension of the British zone of responsibility

⁵⁵ Italy, the Netherlands, Denmark, Lithuania, Romania, Czech Republic, Norway, Portugal and New Zealand.

⁵⁶ HC Deb 8 September 2003, c2-3WS and HC Deb 15 December 2003, c1302

⁵⁷ Background information on UK force rotations is available in the following Library Standard Notes: SN/IA/2241 *Post Conflict Iraq*, SN/IA/2909 *Iraq: Political and Security Issues*, SN/IA/3066 *Coalition Forces in Iraq*. A detailed summary of the forces deployed in Iraq between June 2003 and March 2004 is also available online at: <http://www.operations.mod.uk/telic/forces.htm>

⁵⁸ This issue is covered in Section B 2b below.

northwards to cover the provinces in MND (CS), previously under the command of the Spanish, had also been mooted as a possibility by some observers.

The proposals for additional troops were initially reported to have met with considerable opposition from UK military chiefs. An article in *The Guardian* commented:

Senior military chiefs have strongly resisted proposals to send more British troops to Iraq or any extension of their area of command until clearer signals are given about their legal status after the June 30 handover of sovereignty to an interim Iraqi government.

Britain has been under pressure to increase its military presence in the wake of the pullout of previous coalition troops, especially the Spanish [...] But senior levels of the military are dubious that extra troops, rather than more sophisticated policing and a clearer political context, will provide the long term solution.⁵⁹

During a Commons debate on 17 May 2004 Mr Hoon outlined the Government's position with regard to the deployment of additional troops and the expansion of the UK's zone of responsibility. He stated:

There has been speculation in recent weeks that more UK forces may be on their way to Iraq, either to replace Spanish troops who have recently left or to provide more command capability. In fact, US forces have replaced the Spanish contingent. As far as our own area is concerned, we judge that we have sufficient forces in Iraq, although we always keep that under close review.⁶⁰

However, on 27 May 2004 Mr Hoon announced that an additional 370 troops would be deployed to Iraq, bringing the UK contingent on the ground to just over 8,900 troops.

In a Statement to the House Mr Hoon outlined:

As a result of the latest advice from the General Officer Commanding, we plan a number of [...] adjustments within MND (south east). The two surge battalions, currently the 1st Battalion The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the 1st Battalion The Royal Highland Fusiliers have made excellent progress in their work with local Iraqi forces, who are increasingly taking on responsibility for basic security functions in MND (SE). We therefore judge that it is unlikely that we shall need two battalions to perform this role beyond this Summer, but again we will keep this under review. As a sensible precaution we are reducing the Notice to Move of 40 Commando The Royal Marines, in order to keep open the option of deploying it to continue its work when the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the Royal Highland Fusiliers reach the end of their tours. In the meantime 40 Commando will continue with its current activities.

⁵⁹ "Army chiefs resist call for more Iraq troops", *The Guardian*, 29 April 2004

⁶⁰ HC Deb 17 May 2004, c691

In January 2004 we deployed two additional platoons of Royal Military Police from 110 Provost Company to assist in the provision of specialised training for the Iraqi Police Service. They will come to the end of their tour in June, having performed an invaluable role. We judge that this work should continue, and therefore plan to deploy two platoons of the RMP from 160 Provost Company to replace those returning next month.

In addition, the House will be aware that the security situation in Iraq remains difficult, even in parts of MND (SE) which on the whole continues to be one of the more stable areas of Iraq [...] the General Officer Commanding, Major General Stewart, judges that with the planned withdrawal of 1 Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, a light infantry battalion, at the end of its six-month tour in July, it would be advisable to take this opportunity to deploy a Warrior trained infantry battalion. This will provide General Stewart with a well-protected and mobile reserve which will give him greater operational flexibility. We therefore plan to deploy the 1st Battalion The Black Watch with a small number of logistics enablers. This will involve around 600 personnel, a net increase of about 200 when the withdrawal of 1 Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders is taken into account.

Finally, in view of the nature of the threat posed by violent groups around Al Amarah in particular, which has involved both mortar and rocket attacks on UK bases, General Stewart has requested, and I have agreed, the deployment of 69 Squadron from 36 Regiment Royal Engineers, some 170 personnel, for a period of around three months. These engineers will carry out force protection work, including the construction of additional physical defences in British bases, to reduce the threat posed by the kinds of attacks we have seen in recent weeks.

I would emphasise to the House that these are sensible adjustments, at the request of the General Officer Commanding, to UK forces in MND (SE). It remains the case that we, with our coalition partners, are considering the levels and dispositions of forces required in the months ahead, to support the sovereign Interim Government of Iraq through the process leading to the election of a Transitional Assembly and Government early in 2005. If we judge that further changes to the UK military contribution in Iraq would be appropriate to support this process, we will of course inform the House at the earliest opportunity. At present, however, no such decision has been made.⁶¹

On 17 June 2004 the deployment of 600 Royal Marines from 40 Commando to replace the 1st Battalion Royal Highland Fusiliers whose tour of duty ended at the beginning of July 2004, was also announced. This deployment resulted in an overall increase of British troops currently on the ground in Iraq to approximately 9,200 personnel.⁶²

⁶¹ Ministry of Defence, Statement by Secretary of State for Defence Geoff Hoon, 27 May 2004. A copy of this statement is available online at: http://www.operations.mod.uk/telic/statement_sofs_27may04.htm

⁶² HC Deb 17 June 2004, c48-9WS

The following UK land forces are currently deployed.⁶³

HQ Multi-national Division (SE):

- 16 Signals Regiment
- Elements from:
 - 14 Signal Regiment
 - 30 Signal Regiment (strategic communications)
 - The London Regiment (TA)

I Mechanised Brigade:

- Headquarters and Signal Squadron
- Queen's Royal Lancers
- 1st Battalion, Princess of Wales' Royal Regiment
- 1st Battalion, Royal Welch Fusiliers
- 1st Battalion, Cheshire Regiment
- 40 Commando The Royal Marines
- 1st Battalion, The Black Watch
- 1st Regiment Royal Horse Artillery
- 22 Engineer Regiment
- Elements from:
 - The Household Cavalry Regiment
 - The Rifle Volunteers (TA)

National Support Element:

- 8 Transport Regiment, Royal Logistics Corp
- 207 (V) Field Hospital
- Elements from:
 - 33 Engineer Regiment (Explosive Ordnance Disposal)
 - Royal Military Police
 - 6 Supply Regiment, Royal Logistics Corp
 - 11 Explosive Ordnance Disposal Regiment, Royal Logistics Corp
 - 24 Regiment, Royal Logistics Corp
 - 29 Regiment, Royal Logistics Corp
 - 1 Close Support Medical Regiment, Royal Army Medical Corps

⁶³ <http://www.operations.mod.uk/telic/forces.htm>

- 104 (V) Regiment, Royal Artillery
- 6 Battalion, Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers.

Other Units:

- Lynx and Gazelle helicopters, Army Air Corps
- Elements from:
 - 21 Signal Regiment
 - 23 Engineer Regiment
 - 36 Engineer Regiment
 - 42 Engineer Regiment (Geographic)
 - Military Works Force and Specialist Teams Royal Engineers.

The UK air component currently deployed in support of ground forces includes:

- Six Tornado GR4 aircraft
- Two VC-10 tanker/ transport aircraft (from 10 and 101 Squadrons)
- Tristar tanker/ transport aircraft (from 216 Squadron)
- C-17 transport aircraft (from 99 Squadron)
- Two Hercules transport aircraft (from 24, 30, 47 and 70 Squadrons)
- Three Nimrod maritime patrol aircraft (from 120, 201 and 206 Squadrons)
- Puma helicopters (from 33 Squadron)
- Chinook helicopters (from 7, 18 and 27 Squadrons)
- One HS-125 transport aircraft (from 32 (The Royal) Squadron).⁶⁴

An RAF Regiment unit from RAF Boulmer provides ground defence for the air assets deployed.

The Royal Navy also currently has the Type 23 frigate HMS *Grafton* and the Hydrographic Survey Vessel HMS *Echo* on duty in the Persian Gulf along with RFA *Bayleaf*.

The average tour length for both TA and Regular Army personnel in Iraq is currently five to seven months.⁶⁵

At present approximately 5,750 multinational personnel are assigned to MND (SE) under British command:

⁶⁴ HC Deb 5 January 2004, c30W

⁶⁵ HC Deb 12 May 2004, c328-9W

- **Italy** (2,500 troops):
Mechanised Brigade (responsible for Dhi Qar Province)
Marine Company
Carabinieri detachment⁶⁶
- **Netherlands/ Japan** (1,200 and 550 troops respectively):
Mechanised Battalion Group, incorporating Japanese contingent (at As Samawah, responsible for Al Muthanna Province)
Chinook helicopter detachment (Tallil)
- **Denmark/ Lithuania** (400 and 100 troops respectively):
Infantry Battalion Group, incorporating Lithuanian detachment (based at Al Qurnah)
- **Romania** (750 troops):
Mechanised Infantry Battalion (attached to Italian Mechanised Brigade)
Military Police Company
- **Czech Republic** (100 troops):
Military Police Company (attached to HQ MND (SE) at Basra)
Field Hospital (attached to HQ MND (SE) at Basra)
Transport and Civil Affairs personnel
- **Portugal** (100 troops):
Military Police Company (attached to Italian Mechanised Brigade)
- **New Zealand** (50 troops):
Engineer detachment⁶⁷

On 18 June 2004 the Japanese government approved the continued deployment of its troops in Iraq following the transfer of sovereignty. In line with the Japanese constitution those troops will continue to operate in a strictly non-combat capacity, although critics have expressed concern that the Japanese force may inadvertently be drawn into a conflict situation should insurgency in the country continue at its current level.

On 30 June 2004 the Norwegian engineer company (150 troops) serving in MND (SE) in Iraq concluded its mission after its planned 12-month deployment. However the 10 staff officers serving in the UK and Polish sectors are expected to remain in theatre for the foreseeable future.

⁶⁶ Italian Military Police

⁶⁷ HC Deb 10 June 2004, c599-600W

In a Written Statement on 17 June 2004 Mr Hoon announced that a further rotation of UK forces in Iraq would take place in October-November 2004. The lead UK formation, currently 1 Mechanised Brigade, would be replaced by 4 Armoured Brigade HQ and Signal Squadron, while plans also envisage the replacement of the following major units in Iraq:

Unit currently in theatre:

The Household Cavalry Regiment

The Queen's Royal Lancers

1st Regiment Royal Horse Artillery

1st Battalion The Princess of Wales' Royal Regiment

1st Battalion The Royal Welch Fusiliers

1st Battalion The Cheshire Regiment

22 Engineer Regiment

Replaced by:

1st The Queens Dragoon Guards

The Royal Dragoon Guards

4th Regiment The Royal Artillery

1st Battalion The Scots Guards

1st Battalion The Welsh Guards

1st Battalion The Duke of Wellington's Regiment

21 Engineer Regiment

A further tranche of 750 reservists are expected to be mobilised as part of these changes.

b. *Multinational Division (Centre South)*

The Multinational Division (MND) Centre South (CS) became operational on 1 September 2003 and took command of the provinces of An Najaf, Karbala, Babil, Al Qadisiyah and Wasit, which had previously been under the control of the US 1st Marine Expeditionary Force. Under the leadership of Poland the multinational force in MND (CS) initially comprised approximately 9,200 troops from 18 countries.⁶⁸ Logistics, communication, force generation and intelligence support was also provided by NATO.⁶⁹

Following the surprise outcome of the Spanish elections in March 2004 one of the first acts of the newly elected Socialist Prime Minister, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, was to announce the withdrawal of Spanish troops from the country unless Coalition operations were put fully under UN control. Despite the absence of finalised agreements Spain began withdrawing its troops at the end of April 2004.

⁶⁸ Poland, Spain, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Hungary, Lithuania, Honduras, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Kazakhstan, the Philippines, Latvia, Slovakia, Mongolia, Thailand, Romania, Slovenia and El Salvador. Background information on Coalition forces in MND (CS) is available in the following Library Standard Notes: SN/IA/2241 *Post Conflict Iraq*, SN/IA/2909 *Iraq: Political and Security Issues*, SN/IA/3066 *Coalition Forces in Iraq*.

⁶⁹ The North Atlantic Council (NAC) agreed on 21 May 2003 to provide support to the Polish-led contingent in Iraq. A copy of the NAC statement is available online at: <http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2003/05-may/e0521b.htm>

The decision to withdraw Spanish troops was met with a mixture of criticism and support. A report from *BBC News Online* reported the US President, George W. Bush, as “voicing regret at the abrupt Spanish action”.⁷⁰

Although Spanish troops accounted for less than 1% of Coalition forces on the ground in Iraq, the implications of Spain’s withdrawal were considered by many analysts to be far-reaching. In particular concerns were raised over the political impact the decision would have for presenting a unified stance on a military presence in Iraq and the potential domino effect, particularly for other Coalition countries facing widespread domestic opposition.

Indeed, as a consequence of the Spanish withdrawal, Honduras and the Dominican Republic pulled their troops out in May 2004. El Salvador agreed to keep its troops in Iraq until their scheduled return in August 2004, although it has, to date, refused to confirm whether they are expected to be replaced.

The Nicaraguan contingent of 110 troops left Iraq in February 2004 as part of a rotation. However the Nicaraguan government announced, following the Spanish decision, that it would only re-deploy troops back to Iraq as part of a UN peacekeeping mission.⁷¹

In contrast, at the beginning of May 2004 Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski reaffirmed his country’s commitment to retaining its contingent in Iraq for the foreseeable future, while the Ukrainian government confirmed its intention to keep its 1,600 troops deployed in the country.

US troops have taken responsibility for the provinces previously under Spanish control, including the holy city of Najaf. However, possible scenarios for sustaining long-term operations in MND (CS) have included the extension of the UK’s zone of responsibility northwards or a greater role for NATO, which a number of Alliance Member States have been calling for since December 2003.

An article in *The Independent* on 5 December 2003 reported:

The United States abruptly changed course over Iraq yesterday, urging NATO to prepare for a key role in the country next year, as Washington turned to its European allies to share the burden of the troubled military occupation [...]

The Secretary of State, Colin Powell, suggested that the transatlantic alliance make a start by taking over one of four military zones now led by Poland, possibly next summer.

⁷⁰ “US chides Spain for Iraq pull-out”, *BBC News Online*, 20 April 2004

⁷¹ “Honduran troops start Iraq pullout”, *Reuters News*, 11 May 2004

General Powell's appeal is another gambit in Washington's efforts to spread responsibility for the operation in Iraq – at the modest price of ceding some control to an organisation of which the US is effectively in charge [...]

US allies, facing growing casualties in Iraq, are increasingly reluctant to commit more troops without a greater say in the conduct of operations. But that alone is unlikely to reduce the risks. Iraqi resistance fighters are unlikely to distinguish between coalition forces from a NATO member country fighting under US command, and ones deployed under a NATO mandate.

Although there was no formal proposal from the Americans at a meeting of NATO foreign ministers in Brussels yesterday, the idea of a great NATO role in Iraq was welcomed by six countries, including Spain, Italy, Poland and Turkey.⁷²

However, a number of NATO countries, including France and Germany, have continued to oppose the commitment of troops to Iraq under the NATO banner. The inability of NATO to raise enough forces to expand the Alliance's role in Afghanistan has also led many analysts to question the willingness and ability of NATO Member States to provide forces for a broader Iraq operation.

Following a request to NATO from the Iraqi Interim Government on 23 June 2004 Alliance Heads of State and Government agreed at the Istanbul Summit on 28-29 June 2004 to provide assistance to Iraq for the training of its security forces.⁷³

The means of providing this assistance remains, as of yet, under discussion. France and Germany have called for any training to take place outside of Iraq, a move that has met with opposition from other NATO Member States. The Istanbul summit agreement also fell far short of the US hope that the Alliance would commit troops on the ground.

An article in *Strategic Comments* stated:

NATO leaders agreed to provide training for Iraqi forces, but, in accordance with the 'red lines' set by Germany and France, this will take place outside Iraq, setting practical limits on numbers. The US has virtually abandoned hope of getting more countries to contribute significant troop reinforcements for Iraq. But the administration had nonetheless hoped to come out of the summit with NATO assuming a formal role in the country [...] At Sea Island [2004 G8 summit], however, French President Jacques Chirac made clear that Paris would block the necessary consensus for a NATO role in the country. The French position is that NATO's formal entry into Iraq would associate the Alliance with an unpopular occupation, which would be bad for NATO and would in any case not really help

⁷² 'US backs down over NATO force for Iraq', *The Independent*, 5 December 2003

⁷³ A copy of the Istanbul Communiqué is available online at: <http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/p04-096e.htm>

the forces in Iraq. German officials, while insisting that they would not formally block the rest of NATO from going forward, were also opposed in principle.⁷⁴

The British American Security Information Council (BASIC) commented:

Because of current NATO mission requirements, the danger of the Iraq situation, and continuing transatlantic tensions over US-led policies toward Iraq, NATO will not play a major role in Iraq in the short-term. From the US perspective, it may appear that because NATO is not becoming more involved in Iraq, that it is shirking its responsibility and in turn is undermining the alliance's credibility. On the other hand, NATO could undermine its credibility by becoming heavily engaged in Iraq while it continues to have a difficult time fulfilling its other commitments. The alliance could stretch itself far beyond its capacities. Therefore, NATO does not appear to have great options as it faces the Iraq issue.⁷⁵

A proposal on training is expected to be presented to Member States by the NATO Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, at the end of July 2004. The proposal is also expected to address additional issues, including Iraqi requests for military equipment, help in protecting its borders and security for the future UN mission.⁷⁶

As of 16 June 2004 there were approximately 6,200 troops from 16 nations in MND (CS). Troop contributions are as follows:

Poland 2350
 Bulgaria 420
 Denmark 8
 Hungary 290
 Latvia 110
 Lithuania 50
 Mongolia 140
 Netherlands 6
 Norway 5
 Philippines 90
 Romania 200
 El Salvador 360 (until August 2004)
 Slovakia 110
 Thailand 450
 Ukraine 1550
 USA 10.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ "NATO's Istanbul Summit", *Strategic Comments*, June 2004

⁷⁵ "The problems preventing NATO from taking on a larger role in Iraq", *BASIC Notes*, 28 June 2004

⁷⁶ "Iraq plea for NATO military help", *BBC News Online*, 13 July 2004

⁷⁷ Multinational Division Center-South Headquarters, Press Kit, 16 June 2004

c. Multinational Division (Baghdad) and Multinational Division (Centre North)

The number of US forces in the Gulf region decreased from a peak of approximately 200,000 in May 2003 to around 135,000 personnel by November 2003. Initially, there was speculation that US force numbers would be significantly decreased beyond November 2003 to approximately 105,000 personnel by May 2004. However, the over-estimation of the number of Iraqi security forces that would be in place, the increasing instability of the security situation in Iraq and the rise of insurgent activity in key towns such as Fallujah and Najaf forced the US military to revise its rotation plan and its estimate of the level of forces required on the ground.⁷⁸

Under current force planning assumptions 138,000 US troops are now expected to remain in Iraq until the end of 2005. On 17 May 2004 the Pentagon also announced that, as part of its current rotation plans, approximately 3,600 troops from the US 2nd Brigade of the 2nd Infantry Division in South Korea would be re-located to Iraq in summer 2004. The decision to divert the troops has been taken in line with the review by the Department of Defense (DoD) into its global alignment of forces. It is unclear at present whether this drawdown of troops in South Korea is expected to be permanent. At a press briefing in May 2004 a senior official from the DoD commented:

The 3600 are rotating to Iraq. They're on rotational assignment. The decision of whether they will come back to Korea or whether a brigade in rotation would come back to Korea will be made during the period of time they're in Iraq [...] a decision has yet to be made.⁷⁹

In his speech to the Army War College on 24 May 2004 President George W. Bush suggested that, if necessary, further US troops could be deployed to Iraq. He stated:

Our commanders had estimated that a troop level below 115,000 would be sufficient at this point in the conflict. Given the recent increase in violence, we'll maintain our troop level at the current 138,000 as long as necessary [...]

General Abizaid and other commanders in Iraq are constantly assessing the level of troops they need to fulfil the mission. If they need more troops, I will send them.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Background information on US attempts to secure Coalition forces for MND (CN) is available in the following Library Standard Notes: SN/IA/2241 *Post Conflict Iraq*, SN/IA/2909 *Iraq: Political and Security Issues*, SN/IA/3066 *Coalition Forces in Iraq*.

⁷⁹ Department of Defense Press Briefing, 17 May 2004. The transcript is available online at: <http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2004/tr20040517-0762.html>

⁸⁰ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040524-10.html>

The force rotation plan for Operation *Iraqi Freedom 3* (OIF 3), which will largely begin in November 2004⁸¹, was outlined during a hearing of the House Armed Services Committee (HASC) on 7 July 2004. The plan envisages a slight decrease in the number of deployed US troops to approximately 130-135,000, although 43 per cent of those forces are expected to come from the Reserves. The use of the Reserves in OIF 1 and OIF 2 was approximately 25 per cent and 39 per cent respectively.⁸² The number of Army National Guard brigades deployed as part of this rotation will increase from three to five, while 5,674 members of the Individual Ready Reserve⁸³ are also expected to be deployed.

More than half of the troops involved in the OIF 3 rotation will also be serving a second tour of duty in Iraq after less than a year, including the 3rd Infantry Division, which was involved in the taking of Baghdad in April 2003, and the 3rd Armoured Cavalry Regiment.

Giving evidence to the HASC the Director of Operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Lieutenant General Schwartz, outlined the forthcoming rotation. He stated:

[At present] we have a Stryker Brigade in the north. We have a division, the 1st Infantry Division with four brigades in the north-central region. In the Western sector are the Marines, likewise with four brigade equivalents.

The 1st Cavalry Division is responsible for Baghdad at the moment. There is one brigade of the 1st Armoured Division currently attached to the Polish division in the south-central sector. And then, in addition, there are two brigades which work what we call theater security missions; that is, both static security, convoy security and the like throughout the region.

The transition will move to – from about 140,000 to about 130,000 US. It will retain a Stryker Brigade in the north, a division, the 42nd Infantry Division, in the north-central sector; 2 MEF will succeed 1 MEF in the west. The 2nd Brigade of the 10th will succeed the 1st Armoured Brigade in south-central. And significantly [...] the 3rd Infantry Division will succeed the 1st Cav [Cavalry Division] in Baghdad.⁸⁴

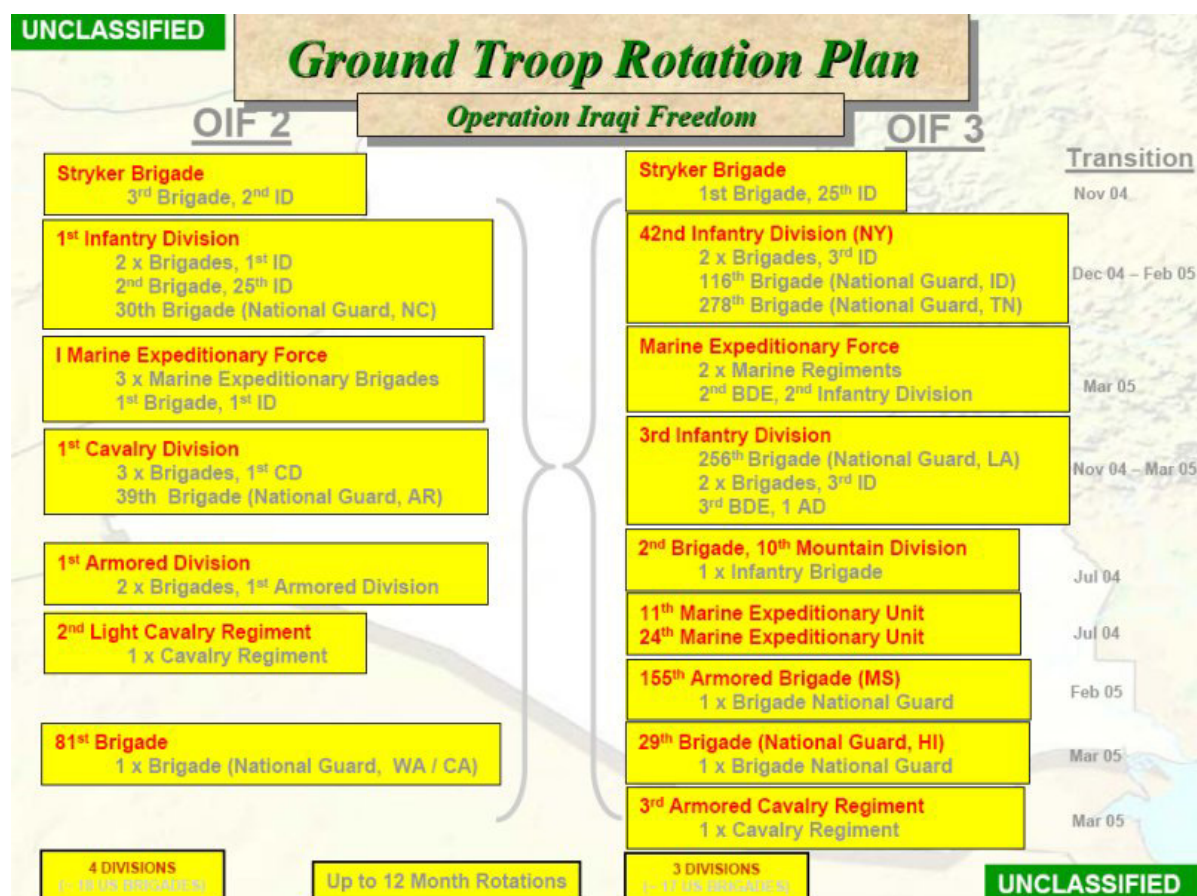
⁸¹ The 2nd Brigade, 10th Mountain Division and the 11th and 24th Marine Expeditionary Units began to deploy in July 2004.

⁸² Globalsecurity.org, *US Forces Order of Battle: 13 July 2004*. This is available online at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/iraq_orbat.htm

⁸³ Former US military personnel with a reserve liability.

⁸⁴ Hearing of the House Armed Services Committee, 7 July 2004

The OIF 3 troop rotation plan is as follows:



Source: US Department of Defense, July 2004, posted on the Global Security website: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/congress/2004_hr/040707-schwartz.pdf

The extensive use of the Reserves and the second tour of duty for many units in OIF 3 have renewed criticisms of overstretch in the US Army. During the first US troop rotation in July 2003 questions were raised over the ability of the US to fulfil both its commitments in Iraq and elsewhere without causing overstretch after the US failed to secure an international peacekeeping force for MND (CN).

An article in *Jane's Defence Weekly* reported at the time:

Gen Keane acknowledged that without the help of a broader international coalition, the rotation plan could be difficult to fulfil. "The steady state that we have, we can sustain. If the coalition divisions did not materialise and we had to go back to army divisions, then clearly that would stress this force" he said.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ 'US commits to long-term force rotation plans', *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 30 July 2003

During the HASC hearing on 7 July 2004 Congressman Ike Skelton stated “we’re managing this conflict with stop-gap measures as if the end is near”. On the issue of the Reserves in Iraq Congressman John Kline also commented that “when you have a number that’s in the 40 percent-plus range in-theater, that is just too high”.⁸⁶

An article in the *Los Angeles Times* commented:

The Pentagon is planning for the “worst-case” scenario in Iraq over the next year, preparing to send in more armoured units to battle an unrelenting insurgency [...] the proportion of reservists in Iraq will increase [...] as commanders try to bolster critical specialties where they are short and where civilian contractors can no longer be used because of the dangers. Other gaps will be plugged with the call-up of more than 5,600 recent military retirees [...]

Overall, of troops going to Iraq beginning this fall, a majority – 55% – will be serving a second time. Taken together, the plans presented to members of the House Armed Services Committee portrayed a military scrambling to meet future troop needs for the conflict in Iraq and confronting the recurring criticism that they are trying to do too much with too little.⁸⁷

d. Other Coalition Forces

Other Coalition countries serving in various locations in Iraq as part of the MNF include:

Australia – 400⁸⁸
 Albania – 70
 Azerbaijan – 150
 Estonia – 30
 Georgia – 150
 South Korea – 660
 Macedonia – 30
 Moldova – 12
 Philippines – 50

In June 2004 South Korea confirmed that it still intended to deploy an additional 3,600 troops to the northern town of Irbil in August 2004, despite the execution of a South Korean national by militants calling for the South Korean government to withdraw its troops.

⁸⁶ Hearing of the House Armed Services Committee, 7 July 2004

⁸⁷ “Pentagon outlines troop rotation plan for Iraq”, *Los Angeles Times*, 8 July 2004

⁸⁸ Overall there are approximately 800 Australian troops in the Gulf region including a naval component of 175 personnel, an RAAF attachment of 150 personnel and a Combined Air Operations Staff of 65 personnel. More details are available online at: <http://www.defence.gov.au/opcatalyst/>

Following domestic pressure, the Government of the Philippines announced on 13 July 2004 that it would, however, withdraw its military contingent from Iraq after a Filipino man was taken hostage in the country at the beginning of July. Filipino troops are expected to withdraw by the end of the month. The decision met with criticism from other Coalition countries, concerned that the decision to withdraw troops “sends the wrong message” and that Manila had “given in to terrorism”.⁸⁹

Australia’s participation in the MNF has also continued to attract domestic criticism. The opposition Labor Party Leader, Mark Latham, has pledged to withdraw Australian troops by the end of 2004 should his party win the next election which is expected to take place by November 2004. According to *BBC News Online* “recent opinion polls have put Mr Latham’s centre-left Labor Party ahead of Mr Howard’s conservative coalition”.⁹⁰

At the beginning of July 2004 the Iraqi Prime Minister, Mr Allawi, rejected an offer from Jordan, Bahrain and Yemen for the deployment of peacekeeping troops as part of the MNF. In an interview with Al Arabiya television Mr Allawi commented that:

We decided that it would be better to avoid raising sensitivities we don’t need right now [...] our neighbours, however, can help us more by protecting their borders and curbing infiltrations.⁹¹

The Iraqi Foreign Minister, Hoshiyar Zebari is reported to have stated that “his country would welcome troops from Arab countries that do not share its [Iraq’s] borders”.⁹²

⁸⁹ “Manila ‘has given in to terrorism’”, *The Daily Telegraph*, 15 July 2004

⁹⁰ “Iraq soldiers row hits Australia”, *BBC News Online*, 25 March 2004

⁹¹ “Allawi: no need for troops from Iraq’s neighbours”, *Reuters*, 5 July 2004

⁹² *ibid.*

Appendix 1 – Membership of the Interim Government

Executive

1	President	Sheik Ghazi al-Yawwer
2	Deputy President	Dr. Ebrahim Jaafari al-Eshaiker
3	Deputy President	Dr. Rowsch Shaways

Cabinet of Ministers

No.	Ministry	Minister
1	Prime Minister	Dr. Ayad Allawi
2	Deputy PM, Nat'l Security Affairs	Dr. Barham Salih
3	Ministry of Agriculture	Dr. Sawsan Ali Magid al-Sharifi
4	Ministry of Communication	Dr. Mohammad Ali al-Hakim
5	Ministry of Construction & Housing	Dr. Omar al-Farouq Salim al-Damluji
6	Ministry of Culture	Mr. Mufid Muhammad Juwad al-Jaza'iri
7	Ministry of Defense	Mr. Hazem Sha'alan
8	Ministry of Education	Dr. Sami al-Mudhaffar
9	Ministry of Electricity	Dr. Aiham Alsammarae
10	Ministry of Environment	Ms. Mishkat Moumin
11	Ministry of Displacement and Migration	Ms. Pascale Isho Warda
12	Ministry of Finance	Dr. Adil Abdul Mahdi
13	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Mr. Hoshiyar Mahmud Muhammad al-Zibari
14	Ministry of Health	Dr. Ala'din Abdul Sahib Alwan
15	Ministry of Higher Education	Dr. Taher Khalaf Jabur al-Bakaa
16	Ministry of Human Rights	Dr. Baktiar Amin
17	Ministry of Industry & Minerals	Dr. Hachem M. Al-Hassani
18	Ministry of Interior	Mr. Falah al-Nakib

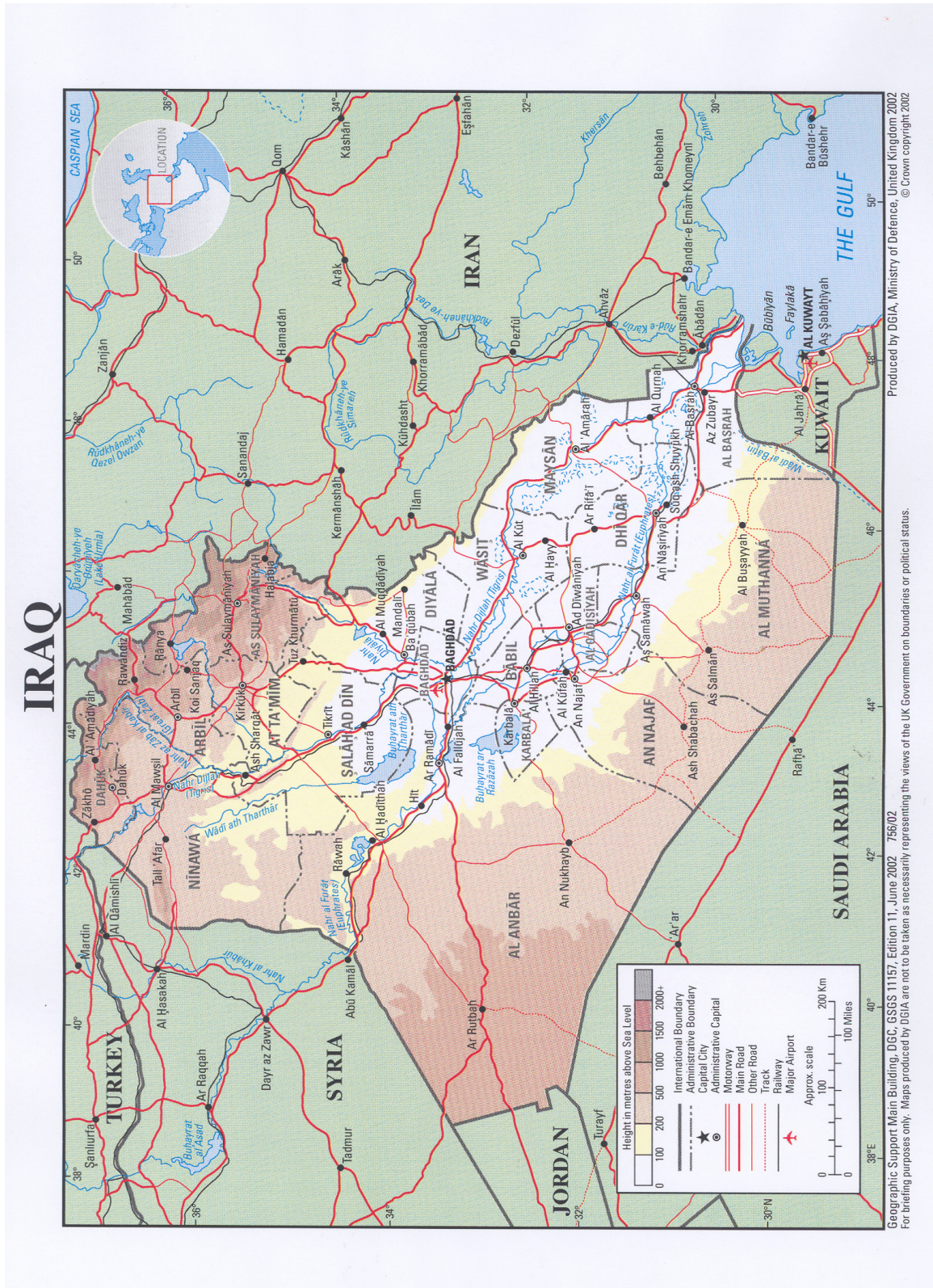
19	Ministry of Water Resources	Dr. Latif Rashid
20	Ministry of Justice	Dr. Maik Dohan al-Hassan
21	Ministry of Labor & Social Affairs	Ms. Leyla Abdul Latif
22	Ministry of Oil	Mr. Thamir Abbas Ghadban
23	Ministry of Planning	Dr. Mehdi al-Hafidh
24	Ministry of Public Works	Mrs. Nasreen Mustafa Sadiq Barwari
25	Ministry of Science & Technology	Rashad Omar Mindan
26	Ministry of Trade	Mr. Mohammed al-Jibouri
27	Ministry of Transportation	Mr. Louay Hatem Sultan al-Erris
28	Ministry of Youth & Sports	Ali Fa'iq al-Ghabban
29	Minister of State, Provinces	Judge Wael Abdulfatif
30	Minister of State, Women	Ms. Narmin Othman
31	Minister of State	Dr. Kasim Daoud
32	Minister of State	Dr. Mamu Farham Othman Pirali
33	Minister of State	Mr. Adnan al-Janabi

Source: CPA Press Release, 2 June 2004

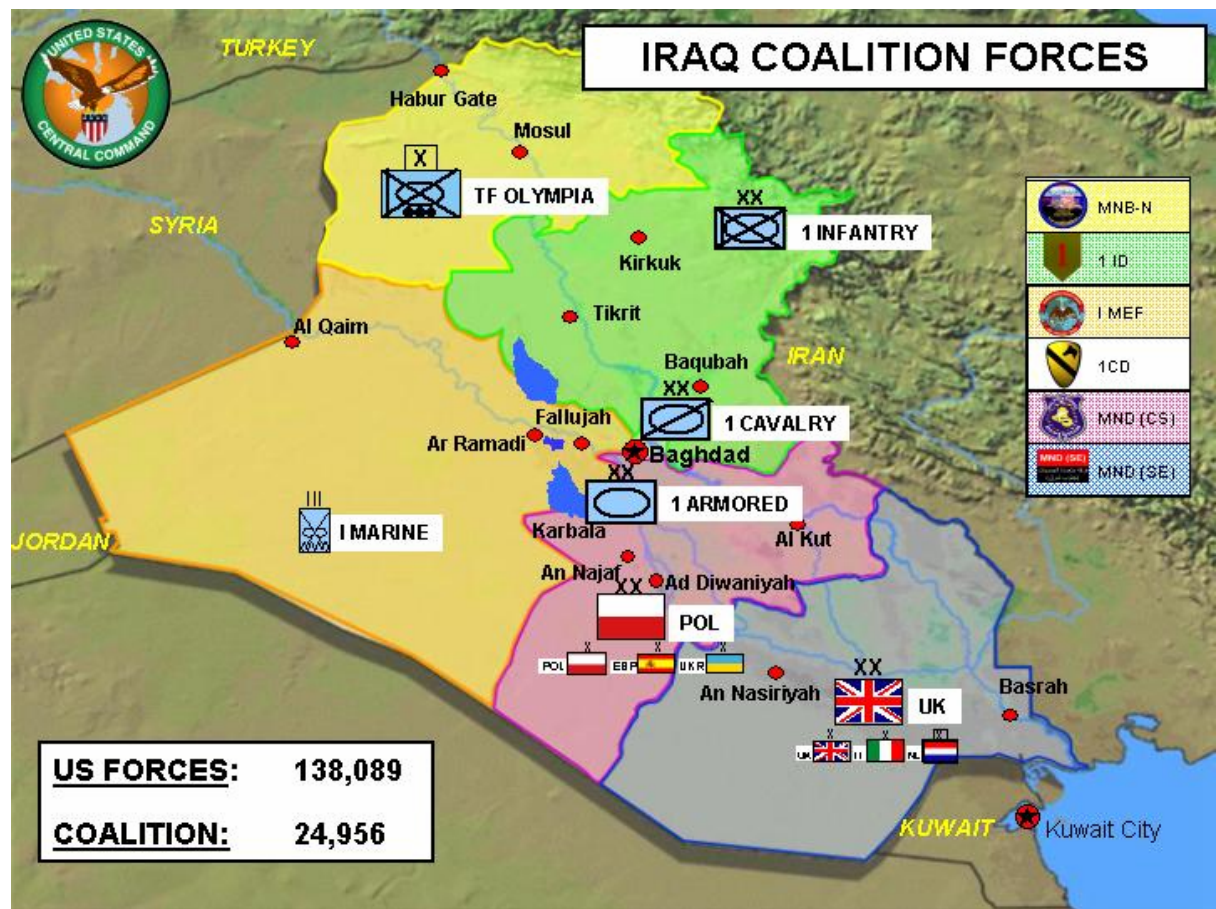
http://www.cpa-iraq.org/pressreleases/20040602_government_list.html

Appendix 2 – Map of Iraq

(Reproduced by kind permission of the Ministry of Defence)



Appendix 3 – Map outlining the Demarcation of Multinational Divisions



Source: US Department of Defense. This map was correct as of April 2004. Although forthcoming Coalition force rotations will alter the forces deployed on the ground, the geographical boundaries of the Multinational Divisions will remain the same.