

REPORT CONSISTENT WITH THE AUTHORIZATION FOR
USE OF MILITARY FORCE AGAINST IRAQ RESOLU-
TION OF 2002

COMMUNICATION

FROM

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

TRANSMITTING

A REPORT CONSISTENT WITH PUBLIC LAW 107-243, "AUTHORIZA-
TION FOR USE OF MILITARY FORCE AGAINST IRAQ RESOLUTION
OF 2002"



APRIL 29, 2003.—Referred to the Committee on International Relations
and ordered to be printed

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, April 14, 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 planning for post-liberation Iraq under section 7 of the Iraq Liberation Act of 1998 (Public Law 105-338).

Sincerely,

GEORGE W. BUSH.

REPORT TO CONGRESS

Submitted consistent with Public Law 107-243: "Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002", April 14, 2003

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report covers approximately the period from February 11, 2003 to April 1, 2003. During this period, the President concluded that the United States had exhausted diplomatic efforts to bring about the disarmament of the Iraqi regime. On March 18, he made available to Congress his determination in connection with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002 (Public Law 107-243). On March 19, after Saddam Hussein and his sons rejected a final opportunity to leave Iraq peacefully, the President directed U.S. Armed Forces, operating with other Coalition forces, to commence combat operations against Iraq. The President took this action pursuant to his authority as Commander-in-Chief and consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102-1) and the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002 (Public Law 107-243) to disarm the Iraqi regime by force. This military action was designated "Operation Iraqi Freedom" on March 20.

II. TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY PLANNING

A. IRAQI INTERIM AUTHORITY

The President supports the establishment of an "Iraqi Interim Authority" (IIA) as quickly as practical after the liberation of Iraq. While the precise structure of the IIA has yet to be determined, certain principles with respect to its role and authority have been agreed upon.

- As early as possible, we support the formation of an IIA, a transitional administration, run by Iraqis, until a permanent government is established by the people of Iraq.
- The IIA will be broad-based and fully representative, with members from all of Iraq's ethnic groups, regions, and diaspora.
- The IIA will be established first and foremost by the Iraqi people, with the help of the members of the Coalition, and working with the Secretary General of the United Nations.
- Civilian Iraqi leaders will emerge who can be part of such an IIA.
- The IIA will progressively assume more of the functions of government.
- It will provide a means for Iraqis to participate in the economic and political reconstruction of their country from the outset.

B. FUTURE OF IRAQ PROJECT

Background. Planning for post-Saddam Hussein Iraq has been ongoing for nearly a year through the State Department's Future of Iraq project. The project, announced in March 2002, brings together experts from the Iraqi exile community, free Iraqis living in northern Iraq, and international experts, in order to address practical planning issues of concern after regime change. Drawing on the resources of a community uniquely positioned to understand the underlying complexity of Iraqi society, the Future of Iraq project has better prepared not only United States Government planners, but also the Iraqi exiles themselves, to deal with the challenges Iraq faces after regime change. We expect that the Iraqi population, as it debates the nation's future, will be able to draw upon the work done by this small group which, being outside the country, has had the opportunity to meet and think freely about the nation's future.

Recent Developments. The Future of Iraq project continues to hold working group meetings and to undertake immediate, practical post-regime change planning projects, such as transitional justice, public health, democratic principles, public finance, education, environment and water, the economy and infrastructure, local government, oil and energy, the role of the military, free press, and civil society. The results of the working groups have been fed into several interagency planning groups and made available to the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA) for its postwar planning efforts.

C. ESF FUNDING OF IRAQI OPPOSITION

Background. Economic Support Funds (ESF) have been used to aid opposition groups, support efforts to hold regime leaders accountable for their crimes, provide humanitarian relief to the people of Iraq, and support planning for Iraq's transition to democracy. These activities are all critical elements in laying the foundation for a free and democratic Iraq.

Recent Developments. In February 2003, the State Department awarded a supplement of \$7 million to the Iraqi National Congress to continue support for a variety of activities, including its newspaper and satellite TV broadcasts through July. The State Department has also provided roughly \$2 million per year since FY 99 in support of war crimes investigation and documentation. In addition to the State Department's funding for war crimes investigations, the Defense Department will provide critical support to identify and prosecute Iraqi war criminals. The State Department further intends to provide up to \$3 million in additional emergency preparedness and response assistance to meet the humanitarian needs of Iraqis outside the control of the current regime. ESF support for the "Future of Iraq" project was \$5 million in FY 02 and an additional \$3.5 million is anticipated from the FY 03 appropriation.

III. RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION PLANNING

A. OFFICE OF RECONSTRUCTION AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

The Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance was established on January 20, 2003. Its mission is to plan for, and, in a post-hostilities environment, assist in administering Iraq for a limited period of time, with the objective of the immediate stabilization of post-war Iraq. Under the direction of Retired Army General Jay Garner, ORHA is organized around three core functions: humanitarian assistance; reconstruction; and civil administration. Its staff includes personnel from all relevant U.S. agencies and departments. While hostilities in Iraq have continued, ORHA staff have been conducting final planning and coordination in Kuwait. They have been working to establish lines of coordination with U.N. specialized agencies and other international institutions, our Coalition partners, bilateral donors, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). As soon as conditions permit, they will start their work in Iraq. Upon deployment to Iraq, ORHA's tasks will include assisting with humanitarian relief and facilitating the country's reconstruction. A key U.S. priority will be to assist with the reestablishment of key civilian services, so as to demonstrate rapid improvements in the lives of the Iraqi people. To the extent possible, existing Iraqi ministries, infrastructure and civil servants will be called on to perform their functions. It is anticipated that Iraqis currently living outside the country, bringing technical skills as well as experience in democratic societies, will also have an important role. The ultimate goal for the United States is to support a rapid transition of control of Iraq to the Iraqi people.

B. HUMANITARIAN RELIEF PLANNING

Background. Decades of misallocation of resources and wars of aggression against its neighbors by the regime of Saddam Hussein have left the Iraqi population in a precarious humanitarian situation, inconsistent with the country's natural wealth and human potential. We are especially concerned that the remnants of the Saddam Hussein regime will continue to use Iraqi civilian populations as a shield for its regular and irregular combat forces or may attack the Iraqi population in an effort to undermine Coalition goals. Coalition planners have prepared for these contingencies, and have designed the military campaign to minimize civilian casualties and damage to civilian infrastructure. However, we recognize that the Iraqi population is vulnerable to humanitarian crises as a result of this conflict. Meeting the immediate humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people, particularly those displaced as a consequence of war, is a critical first step in assisting Iraq to build itself into a viable and prosperous democracy.

Recent Developments. The United States Government is committed fully to providing humanitarian assistance to the people of Iraq—to save lives, alleviate suffering, and mitigate the impact of emergency situations. For the last several months, various United States Government agencies and departments have been planning for a possible humanitarian emergency by:

- Assembling and training the largest-ever U.S. humanitarian rapid response team;

- Pre-positioning stockpiles of emergency supplies and commodities;
- Communicating and coordinating with U.S. and international humanitarian organizations; and
- Funding international organizations and NGO preparatory efforts.

The U.S. response will rely heavily on international and non-government relief professionals to deliver assistance.

For instance, the largest Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART) in U.S. history—outside of an Urban Search and Rescue response—has been recruited. It is headquartered in Kuwait City and will have three mobile field offices. The DART will conduct assessments, direct assistance towards vulnerable populations, and provide funding to the 10 and NGO providers.

The DART is comprised of more than 60 humanitarian response experts from various agencies and departments, including USAID; the State Department Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM); and the Department of Health and Human Services' Public Health Service.

In addition to technical experts in areas such as health, food, water, and shelter, the DART has grant-making authority and includes administrative officers covering logistics, transportation, and procurement, enabling the team to function as a turnkey response mechanism for assessment and funding in the field.

In addition, USAID has funded a significant contingency coordination effort for many NGOs preparing to assist in Iraq called the Joint NGO Emergency Preparedness Initiative, offering support for the latter's assessment, logistics, stockpiling, and staffing needs. PRM funding has been provided to support the contingency preparations and early response requirements of international humanitarian organizations.

USAID is pre-positioning emergency supplies for the Iraqi people, including material in warehouses throughout the region. In addition to pre-positioned and in-transit food, these supplies include wool blankets; rolls of plastic sheeting for emergency shelter; personal hygiene kits; World Health Organization Emergency Health Kits; and water jugs, bladders, containers, and treatment units.

DART areas of expertise include:

- Health and medicines;
- Water and sanitation;
- Food and nutrition;
- Shelter and supplies;
- Internally displaced persons;
- Humanitarian assistance infrastructure; and
- Refugees and asylum seekers.

USAID has allocated \$154 million for Iraq humanitarian relief, food distribution, reconstruction, and transition initiatives. Of that, approximately \$35 million has been spent to date, with \$17.3 million having been spent on pre-positioning relief supplies.

PRM has spent an additional \$36.63 million for prepositioning and early response requirements by international organizations, including \$21 million to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, \$10 million to the International Committee of the Red Cross, \$3 million to the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Cres-

cent Societies, and \$2.63 million to the International Organization for Migration. Additional funds are in the pipeline. USAID has also provided contributions to U.N. agencies, including \$2 million to UNICEF for emergency health kits, and nutrition and water/sanitation activities; \$5 million to the World Food Program for food and logistics measures; and \$1.2 million to the U.N.'s Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs for NGO and donor coordination. Support to NGOs has been provided to establish a consortium to conduct chemical/biological/radiological/nuclear training.

On March 28, 2003, the United Nations Security Council unanimously passed UNSCR 1472. This resolution authorizes the Secretary-General to take certain steps regarding the Oil-for-Food program to make it possible for shipments of food and other humanitarian goods to the Iraqi people to resume. The Secretary-General may spend Iraqi funds in the U.N. escrow account to pay: milling and delivery expenses for food that were formerly borne by the Iraqi regime; purchase food locally; reprioritize existing contracts; and place new orders for medicines with approval of a U.N. committee.

C. RECONSTRUCTION PLANNING AND IRAQI DEBT

Background. The President recognizes that after the humanitarian situation in post-war Iraq is stabilized, the task of helping Iraqis transform their regime into a viable representative government will begin in earnest. This transformation is critical to ensuring that the threat posed by an aggressive authoritarian Iraq wielding weapons of mass destruction is not resurrected in a different guise. The President has included funds for Iraq's reconstruction in his supplemental budget request to Congress. These funds will provide a critical component in restoring Iraq's civilian infrastructure and improving the lives of the Iraqi people.

Recent Developments. As part of our planning for a post-conflict Iraq, the United States Government is prepared to mobilize significant development resources and technical assistance in four key areas:

1. **Restoring Economically Critical Infrastructure.** Reconstruction efforts will rehabilitate critical infrastructure to help maintain stability, ensure the delivery of essential services, and facilitate economic recovery. Iraq's airports, roads, and ports will be rehabilitated to meet the needs of its citizens and facilitate transportation of humanitarian assistance, as well as commercial imports and exports. Potable water and sanitation services will be reestablished to prevent disease. These efforts also will restore the power supply to health and educational facilities, water supply facilities, and infrastructure that contribute to the local economy and employment generation.

2. **Supporting Essential Health and Education Services.** We will help restore basic healthcare services to vulnerable populations and focus on strengthening the national education system. Programming will include the delivery of essential drugs, equipment, and supplies to health facilities, and will assist in health and disease assessment. Health programs also will supply health information and education to the public, build the management capacity of Iraqi counterparts, and promote fair and open access to health

services. Education programs will increase access to primary and secondary public education for Iraqi children, promote retention of students in the classroom, strengthen school administration, and develop re-entry programs for out-of-school youth.

3. Expanding Economic Opportunity. Reconstruction efforts will seek to encourage the development of a competitive private sector, generate employment opportunities, and improve agricultural productivity. Activities will include: extending credit to small and micro-enterprise businesses; developing local, regional, and international business networks; and providing workforce development and training. Agricultural assistance will supply agricultural inputs for the spring and winter planting season and address livestock and poultry diseases. Additionally, farmers will be trained to use modern agricultural technologies to enhance yield, profitability, and competitiveness.

4. Improving Efficiency and Accountability of Government. Reconstruction programs will foster social and political stability by helping meet citizens' basic needs within their communities. Programming will provide Iraqis with the opportunity to participate in public decision-making. Technical assistance will strengthen the capacities of local administrations to manage and deliver services such as potable water, education, and healthcare. Programming will be structured to support the development of local and national NGOs and civil society organizations.

Since January 31, USAID has undertaken eight contracting activities. One contract, which is for personnel support, was awarded to the International Resources Group, Ltd., on February 21, and seven additional contracts are pending. Four requests for proposals (RFPs), dealing with seaport administration, airport administration, capital construction, and theater logistical support, were issued on February 12. In addition, a public health RFP was issued on March 3, and primary and secondary education and local governance RFPs were issued on March 4. This is only a partial list of the reconstruction projects envisioned for Iraq, and does not include other projects which may be undertaken by other U.S. agencies and departments, under the auspices of ORHA, or by other governments.

These are contingency contracts that will only be implemented in the event that the work indicated is required. The urgent need for these contracts has prompted the United States Government to follow specific guidelines that permit the agency to utilize an expedited procurement process. Only those companies that meet specific criteria are invited to apply. These criteria include: demonstrated technical capabilities; proven accounting mechanisms; ability to field a qualified technical team on short notice; and where applicable, clearance to handle classified information.

In addition, the United States Government will continue to work through partnerships with NGOs, international relief agencies, and U.S. universities. USAID values the hands-on approach of these organizations' community development programs and expects to see a substantial NGO and international relief agency role in Iraq. Reconstruction efforts will also include contacts and partnerships between Iraqi and U.S. educational institutions.

The Treasury Department will be active in assisting in the formulation and execution of Iraqi economic policies. Using its technical assistance advisors, Treasury will focus on restoring essential operations of the Finance Ministry, the Central Bank, the commercial banks, and the stock market. A crucial near-term challenge will be paying civil servants, teachers, and pensioners in a fair, orderly, and prompt manner.

The Administration is also investigating options for helping a post-conflict Iraqi Government deal with its financial vulnerability, including Iraq's very large national debt. We will work with the international community (including international financial institutions and Iraq's creditors), to understand Iraq's overall financial situation, to recognize legitimate claims on Iraq, and to find ways to assist with Iraq's pressing need for the resources necessary to rehabilitate itself.

IV. MILITARY OPERATIONS

Current coalition military operations to disarm Iraq commenced on March 19, 2003. The Coalition consists of 49 countries that have publicly aligned themselves with our goal of disarming Saddam Hussein. The deployment of U.S. Armed Forces to Iraq continues as necessary to support the conduct of ongoing military operations. 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 or duration of the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces necessary to accomplish our goals fully. Officials from the Defense Department are providing Congress with daily updates on the status of military operations in closed briefings. The State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency are also providing daily updates to Congress on the status of their activities that relate to Operation Iraqi Freedom.

V. FREE IRAQI FORCES

Background. Consistent with the authority of the Iraq Liberation Act of 1998, the United States Government conducted a training program to prepare Iraqi exiles from around the world to participate in military operations inside Iraq. Free Iraqi Forces (FIF) volunteers received four weeks of training at a military base in Tazsar, Hungary. Under the instruction of a U.S. Army Training Task Force, they were taught basic battlefield self-protection techniques, and prepared to serve alongside U.S. forces in combat support roles as translators, guides, and experts in civil affairs. FIF volunteers from North America and Europe have completed the training and deployed to the Persian Gulf, where they are integrated fully with U.S. forces under General Tommy Franks, Commander, U.S. Central Command.

Recent Developments. Since the war began, FIF participants have provided critical assistance to U.S. forces. They have given tactical commanders extensive briefings on conditions in various parts of Southern Iraq, and have already served as effective liaisons with local populations in areas under U.S. military control. One FIF member serving with the 402nd Civil Affairs Battalion team in Nasiriyah managed to uncover and translate the records of

the local Ba'ath Party, providing an important intelligence coup. Another volunteer, while assisting the 354th Civil Affairs Brigade provide humanitarian relief in Umm Qasr, persuaded two Iraqi soldiers intermingled with the civilian population to surrender. The men had been trained in Baghdad to serve as suicide bombers targeting American or British soldiers. But upon hearing Coalition objectives explained to them in Arabic, by a fellow Iraqi, they abandoned their mission and gave themselves up to U.S. forces.

The FIF program is showing the world that Iraqis everywhere are united against Saddam Hussein's tyranny and willing to make great sacrifices to help liberate their country. FIF members have played an important role in the war thus far, and they will continue to help in the effort to build a free and democratic Iraq.

