

~~SECRET~~

Change to \_\_\_\_\_  
 ( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny ( ) Declassify  
 Exemptions b ( ) ( ) E.O. 13526 25x ( ) ( )

RELEASE IN FULL

Note for the Secretary

Declassify after \_\_\_\_\_  
 With concurrence of:

From: NEA - Bill Burns \_\_\_\_\_ obtained \_\_\_\_\_ not obt.

IPS by E. J. Burns Date 8/7/2017

Subject: Iraq: The Perfect Storm

We all seek a process of regime change in Iraq that leads to a democratic, representative government and security, in the region. It could be a historic turning point in the Middle East, and for U.S. interests. But it will require enormous, painstaking preparation to get from here to there - with our eyes wide open to the possibilities for trouble. Following are some very quick and informal thoughts on how events before, during and after an effort to overthrow the regime in Baghdad could unravel if we're not careful, intersecting to create a "perfect storm" for American interests.

Lots of things come to mind, because with Iraq there are so many variables that the possibilities are endless. This is only intended as a sampler. I don't mean to be pessimistic, because I really do believe that if we do it right this could be a tremendous boon to the future of the region, and to U.S. national security interests. But we should have no illusion that it will be quick or easy.

### 1. Pre Regime Change

- Iraqis play inspectors card at last possible minute, probably around time of November elections. P5 unity crumbles.
- Israel-Pal problem goes (further) down a rathole. Terrorist actions extend beyond Israel to include strikes against US interests. Attacks follow on embassies, US personnel overseas. Extends next to private citizens/US biz interests. Then small, random attacks in US, claimed by groups overseas. Iraqis fund groups of their own in the mix. Hamas/PIJ/Iraq/al-Qaida/Egyptian extremist groups, all targeted by US, all begin claiming responsibility for attacks on US interests.
- Similar attacks against countries allied with US on Iraq effort (UK, Kuwait, Turkey, Israel).
- Unattributed CBW attack, like the anthrax letters, stirs more fears at home, concerns grow about effectiveness of war on terrorism.
- Osama bin Ladin turns out to be alive and well and hiding in NW Pakistan. We press Paks, internal stresses grow in Pakistan.
- Iranian leadership, convinced they are next on US hit list, step up anti-US influence activities in western Afghanistan. At same time, step up contacts with possible future agents of influence in Iraq: PKK, KDP, PUK, SCIRI, Syrian mil intell, Shia tribes, Iraqi Dawa, Hizballah spiritual leader Fadlallah, Iraqi Shia military officers. Many agents of influence run back into Iraq from refugee camps in Iran.
- Turkey, alarmed by increasing KDP, PUK unity, steps up flow of arms and money to Iraqi Turkmen Front, as well as contacts with Kurds opposed to KDP, PUK, and with Sunni tribes in north and west.

~~SECRET/NO DIS~~

~~SECRET/NO DIS~~

2

- US force buildup gets heavy coverage on Arab satellite TV.
- Meanwhile, Sunni Islamic extremists paint picture of US warring against Islam. Bad karma as this mixes with negative Pal-Israel sat TV images all over Arab world. US backlash against upsurge in anti-US activity results in calls for even more restrictions on entry of Arabs and Muslims.
- Arab allies, fearful of stability at home, increasingly see imminent US attack on Iraq as match to tinder.
- From moment of decision to go, Iraq becomes overwhelming focus of White House policymakers for at least a year. All else is subordinated to it. Decisionmaking on other issues paralyzed. Administration heavily criticized for Iraq obsession in region and by Euro media. Israel, and its supporters in Washington, portrayed universally in Arabic media as calling the shots on all aspects of US Middle East policy, including on Iraq.
- Stories surface of US intent to seize Arab oil resources; solve Pal-Israeli issue by creating new homeland for Palestinians in Iraq. Iraqi oil income will be used to pay cost of compensating and transferring Palestinians.
- US efforts on Future of Iraq spawn spate of press stories on US plans for regime change and interim government. Arab press speaks of dawn of US colonial era astride Arab oil heartland. Saddam assassinates several working group members, attendance drops off.
- US efforts to promote opposition unity fail. INC goes bankrupt, Ahmad Chalabi blames State Department and CIA. Kurds increasingly suspicious of US coziness with Turkey, step up contacts with Iran and, in case of KDP, Baghdad. Increasingly cool to cooperation with US in north, due to perceived insufficient security guarantees.
- Barzani, fearful of Turkish invasion in event of US attack, mends fences with PKK. US attacks Ansar al-Islam stronghold, but fails to eliminate Islamist presence. Failed attack becomes rallying cry on Islamist underground. Islamists mount terror attacks in north to intimidate and distract PUK. KDP too preoccupied with Turkey to help.
- Jordanian Prince Hassan continues to press Hashemite restoration in Iraq, with him in leading role. Whispers in Jordan of secret contacts with Palestinians and Ahmad Chalabi, and that Hassan envisions United Kingdom Plan, using Iraq as platform to oust Abdullah.
- Jordanians, in reaction, align even more closely with US, despite popular protests. Security forces put down demos. King becomes more and more detached from population.
- Saudis see Hashemite restoration, pro-US democracy in Iraq as national security threat. Spread money around both Sunni and Shia tribes to increase leverage in any regime change scenario. Begin regular consultations with Egypt, Syria.
- Europeans angered by bum's rush on Iraq by US, don't want to be left out of action on new Iraq, but highly resentful of US unilateralism. Leads to newfound cohesion in EU. Trade disputes with US proliferate. EU ignores US, steps up trade and contacts with Iran, especially in oil sector.

~~SECRET/NO DIS~~

~~SECRET/NO DIS~~

3

- Congressional leaders fume at lack of consultation, force constitutional showdown over War Powers Act. Democrats support action against Iraq, but call for greater effort to garner international support; some speak of diverting US resources and go-it-alone approach undermining ties vital to real war on terrorism: nitty gritty international cooperation on law enforcement and intelligence work.
- Arab leaders, watching buildup, appeal to US for restraint, distance themselves from prospective US action. France, Russia, China force UNSC debate which criticizes "rush" to war.
- US economy suffers amidst anxiety about war against Iraq, possible disruption of oil market. Dow falls beneath 6000.

## II. During

- Israelis, given several days' heads up and increasingly nervous, decide to act preemptively to strike suspected missile launch sites in W. Iraq. President fails to deter Sharon from acting despite several phone calls. Israelis decide also to bomb pipeline to Syria following PIJ claim from Damascus on suicide attack.
- Iraqis don't fire a shot following Israeli action, gain huge propaganda coup. Israel is condemned at United Nations. US forced to veto.
- US launches intensive air campaign as planned. UN pulls inspectors out. P5 breaks down in squabbling. Russia, China condemn attacks. UK supports US.
- Following US warnings that it would take the war on terrorism to all groups with global capabilities, Iran and Syria hold summit meeting, decide US has targeted them.
- Hizballah suddenly launches attack across the Blue Line. Heavy fighting ensues in southern Lebanon/northern Israel, including rocket attacks on Israeli population centers. US appeals for restraint.
- Hizballah action wildly popular in Arab world, seen as response to US action in Iraq. Hizballah and Iraq flags proliferate at Palestinian rallies.
- Iran and Syria see opportunity to boost prestige in region, to strengthen positions in face of perceived US threat against them following action in Iraq. Both issue statements of support for Hizballah and Palestinians. Israel bombs Hizballah targets in Nabatiyeh, Tyre, Biqaa, and southern suburbs of Beirut. Syrian army position bombed as warning to Damascus to stay out. Iran condemns US strikes in Iraq and Israeli strikes in Lebanon.
- Palestinians riot. Israel responds harshly. Suicide attacks follow.
- Anger and frustration at US and Israel over combined Iraq/Lebanon/Palestine-Israel conflicts provokes demonstrations and attacks occur at several US embassies in Middle East. Amcits killed, families complain US had foreknowledge, didn't warn of impending danger. All posts in Middle East drawn down to skeleton staffs. US businesses pull employes back in droves.
- Oil prices skyrocket as Middle East dissolves in conflict and Amcits flee region. Terrorist attack on US supertanker in Strait of Hormuz and while loading in Kuwait drives insurance rates

~~SECRET/NO DIS~~

~~SECRET/NODIS~~

4

up, compounding problem. Al-Qaida claims responsibility for blowing up gas processing unit in Qatar. Unknown terrorists sabotage desal plants in UAE.

-- After two-week bombing campaign, US forces move into Iraq from south, west, north. US forces close in on Baghdad, Iraqis fall back quickly to main cities, where supplies previously stockpiled. Leave US choice of staying outside, or long, house-to-house warfare.

-- Iraqi oppositionists who arrive with US troops accepted as interim authorities by locals only as long as US forces present. As US troops move on, several oppositionists not native to their area of responsibility are killed. Despite use of surrendered Iraqi police and security forces, US are forced to garrison towns more heavily than anticipated to maintain order.

-- Despite US requests to stay out, Turkey moves into northern Iraq on pretext of preventing refugee flows, seizes Mosul. Kurdish forces, in response, seize Kirkuk. Turkey threatens to attack if Kurds do not evacuate the city. Kurds declare it inseparable part of Kurdish autonomous area and Kurdish history, demand Turkey withdraw from Iraq.

-- Turkey moves on Kirkuk, with Iraq Turkmen Front in the van, forces Kurds out. Kurds align with PKK, carry attacks deep into Turkey. Turkey responds by occupying the entire north. Kurds fall back to mountains, begin insurgency operations, backed by Iran. KDP-PUK-PKK are united, call for freedom for Turkey's 25 million Kurds. Kurds in Europe demonstrate in support. Iran steps forward as honest broker between Kurds and Turks.

-- Meanwhile, Saudi Arabia watches Turkey and Iran moving to protect their equities in Iraq. After consultations with Egypt, Syria and Iran, Saudis send quiet signals to key tribal leaders that Saudis will support government and military leaders who are prepared to act decisively.

-- As US forces close in on Saddam's bunker, order goes out for launching cached WMD to use against US forces, Israel, Kuwait. All launches stymied, except one CW-tipped missile that lands at night in Tel Aviv, causing hundreds of civilian casualties.

-- Israelis respond to Iraqi use of WMD with conventional strikes, refrain from acting further under US pressure, but exact high price in \$ from US and in free rein on own issues.

-- Saddam torches Iraqi oil fields, oil market plunges amid images reminiscent of Kuwait 1991. Instability and uncertainty feed stock market panic.

-- Sunni general and small group of followers get to Saddam before allies do, kills him, declares Iraq free, and announces provisional government. Calls for immediate truce, pledges elections after transition period, declares readiness to rid Iraq of all WMD, live in peace with neighbors, and abide by all UN resolutions. Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Iran immediately recognize the new government, call on US to stand down. Rest of Arab and Islamic world, except Turkey, follows suit. Turkey reserves its position, remains in northern Iraq.

-- Shia and Kurdish opposition leaders protest to US that Sunni coup is insufficient guarantee of democracy. US must continue the campaign and establish genuinely representative transition authority.

-- US rejects authority of self-declared new government, says it will maintain order via an internationally-staffed transitional civil authority until Iraqis can freely choose their own form of government. The UN meets to consider the issue, but fails to agree on a resolution of support for

~~SECRET/NODIS~~

~~SECRET/NODIS~~

5

the US action. The Secretary General issues a statement calling for reconciliation among Iraqis and international assistance in the task of reconstruction.

-- US occupies center and south, which is generally quiet. Turkey occupies north, Kurds fight low-grade insurgency, high-grade media war denouncing yet another US betrayal.

-- Intense US and international pressure, and high economic compensation, eventually persuades Turkey to withdraw to old borders. Kurds resume administration of north.

### III Post Regime Change

US goal is democratic, representative government in Iraq. One view is that, if we declare provisional government in exile and give it strong US backing, that authority will come in behind US forces and assume power immediately. This will allow a speedy US exit following a brief period of consolidation. Another view is that bringing about real, structural change will require deep and sustained US involvement, and a long-term civil and military presence to contain Iraqi factionalism and deter external intervention. This view would require planning to stay five years -- maybe four if we're lucky, ten if we're not. Exit comes when stable, free government exercises real jurisdiction throughout Iraq, including civilian control of reformed police and military. Each has its own pitfalls:

#### Plan A

-- Install New Regime, Stay Long Enough to Consolidate its Grip, Withdraw

-- Turns out all those Arab press reports about US secretly training Iraqi exiles on Masirah Island for the past six months were true.

-- After liberation, allied Iraqi forces accompany US troops on the sweep from south to north, participate in house-to-house fighting in the cities, and are in the van of the US occupation of Baghdad. But it is an obscure Shiite colonel from southern Baghdad, who had joined the Sunni general's revolt, who gains overnight celebrity among Iraqis as the man who actually shot Saddam.

-- On the second day of the ground war, Iraqi oppositionists, meeting in the north, had announced formation of a provisional national unity government to rule for a transitional period until elections for a constituent assembly can be arranged.

-- Small garrisons of US forces, supplemented by contingents of Iraqi auxiliaries, are left behind in Basra, Nasiriyah, and other key Shia cities and towns all over the south. Larger US troop concentrations are required in the main cities, and especially Kirkuk and Mosul. US troops also guard all oilfields.

-- The Iraqi auxiliaries, numbering some 2,000 in all, serve as scouts and interpreters, but also relieve some of the pressure on CENTCOM in rear areas, mopping up and holding regime prisoners. Their numbers are augmented by defecting troops and police. Defections, per se, are relatively few. Most regular military and security forces, their ranks depleted by desertions following the flight of top commanders, simply surrendered when US troops arrive. The Republican Guard, special security forces, and Baath Party militia did most of the house-to-house fighting.

~~SECRET/NODIS~~

~~SECRET/NODIS~~

6

- Liaison officers coordinate with US forces on scene and report separately to a senior Iraqi polad, commander of the Free Iraq Brigade, attached to General Franks at CENTCOM HQ FWD. Some are installed as commanders of surrendering or defecting units.
- In addition, auxiliaries provide civil-military teams who assume responsibility for administering liberated areas as governors, district chiefs, and mayors.
- Following liberation of Baghdad, the Iraqi Senior Adviser (SA) accompanies CENTCOM commander to Baghdad and issues communique over the national radio announcing names of national unity government members.
- Special forces secure US embassy, which was damaged only by explosives they used to open entry hole in wall, due to fears front door was booby-trapped.
- Small advance embassy staff contingent returns on D+2. Jesse Jackson and a large US Congressional delegation arrive D+3, the first of what will be a constant stream of VIP visitors. Military handles most visitor requirements; embassy staff are camped out on compound for security reasons, living on MREs, and focused on press, VIP briefings, liaison with new government leaders.
- US military civil affairs teams work with existing Iraqi technocrats to do heavy initial ramp-up for utilities and services. Private contractors and international experts swarm in over next few weeks.
- Transportation is difficult initially, because Baghdad airport is closed except to US military traffic.
- Huge press contingent throngs Baghdad, coming from Kuwait, Amman, Turkey, and Iran. Hotel space and services remain limited. Most reporters arrive via SUV, with own camp equipment, commo, and supplies.
- Journalists, including for Arab satellite stations, quickly fan out all over the country, despite US military efforts to restrict their movements, and become important independent source of info for both Iraqi and US authorities. Unfortunately several reporters are killed by unexploded ordnance. Two TV reporters, traveling in a remote area, have their throats cut and SUV stolen by unidentified robbers.
- Press coverage focuses briefly on revelations of regime atrocities, and fate of high-level prisoners, but quickly turns to US occupation, ineptness of new authority, and attitudes of Iraqi people and neighbors to US and its Iraqi allies. The press stories quickly come to focus on the security situation in the country.
- At night, there is no security except that provided by roving humvee patrols by US special forces. Iraqi police and military are afraid to go out, and the auxiliaries who came in with US troops cannot do the job themselves.
- This means night becomes the time for revenge, all over Iraq.
- A horrible wave of bloodletting and private vengeance begins, despite US and provisional government's stern warnings on rule of law and promise of amnesty to all but a few key regime figures. US forces are helpless to stop the countrywide phenomenon. Police, intelligence, senior

~~SECRET/NODIS~~

~~SECRET/NO DIS~~

7

military, and Baath Party officials effectively go into hiding, but in city after city crowds pull individuals from their homes and literally tear them limb from limb.

-- Arab satellite TV reporters pick up on this. Tales of revenge and impotence by US and Iraqi transitional authorities quickly become lead story. Commentators begin to speculate about the instability spilling over to neighboring states.

-- Meanwhile, the New York Times does a feature story, widely replayed internationally, on the colonel who shot Saddam and his celebrity not only in the capital but throughout the country. A visit to his modest home in the Shia slums of Saddam City in southern Baghdad becomes a standard stop for coders.

-- The colonel expresses appreciation for US intervention, and speaks of the need for real democracy. But he criticizes the legitimacy of the interim authority relentlessly, arguing that real Iraqi liberator who turned on Saddam had been rejected by the US and replaced by a bunch of exiles who lost their connection to Iraq decades ago.

-- To deal with the violence, US forces order curfew, ban demonstrations, declare rule of law will prevail, and threaten arrest for anyone taking law into their own hands. Thousands of ex-officials seek protective custody from US forces, providing an unexpected logistical burden. Iraqi auxiliaries are detailed to guard them in prisons all over the country.

-- The auxiliaries in poor quarter of Najaf are accused of committing atrocity when a huge crowd storms the prison housing Baath Party prisoners, including a particularly notorious mukhabarat torturer. The small Iraqi garrison panics and opens fire on masses with automatic weapons, killing dozens. US troops are reinforced to help maintain security. Shia religious figures also intercede, but emotions remain high.

-- Shia religious and political leaders, unhappy with composition of provisional government and determined to secure greater share of power in post-Saddam Iraq, organize demonstrations on 40-day anniversary of the Najaf massacre. This leads to more violent confrontations, and deaths, and the riots become a political tool to demonstrate power and increase leverage against Sunnis and Kurds in bargaining over future shape of Iraqi government.

-- The oil fires rage for three months before international teams of firefighters can extinguish them, providing a grim backdrop of fire and smoke to much of the media coverage from Iraq. With the backing of US forces, local security units manage to maintain order during the day, but nowhere is safe at night and tribal/regional leaders, hearing little and uncertain what their future will be, are highly suspicious of the provisional government.

-- As rebuilding work begins on infrastructure, whispering starts about sweetheart deals cut by interim leaders to the benefit of themselves and their families. Wealthy exiles who return often get a sullen reception from those who have remained inside.

-- Shortages of essential goods are aggravated when the UN abruptly stops its oil-for-food program two months after liberation, causing unemployment, cash flow problems, and sudden economic dislocations throughout the country.

-- Land tenure becomes a major issue, as displaced persons and refugees return to their former dwellings and clash with those who have been resettled in their place. With no clear authority at

~~SECRET/NO DIS~~

SECRET/NODIS

8

the local level, the disputes are referred to local tribal leaders and regularly escalate into clashes between dozens of armed men.

-- US troops come under attack, especially while patrolling at night, in Shia cities of the south, Baghdad, and the north central towns where Sunnis dominate. If they intervene to stop disputes, they are perceived to have sided with one party or another in a tribal dispute, thus incurring the wrath of the opposing party. Casualties from various incidents rise steadily, as various groups feel dispossessed, insecure, and increasingly resentful of the foreign military presence. Promises of a constituent assembly and elections ring hollow. There are rumors that the intelligence services of neighboring countries are deliberately fomenting disorder and instability that their armed client groups can exploit to gain influence.

-- Faced with inchoate and escalating disorder in the provinces, the US faces an agonizing decision: step up to a more direct security role, or devolve power to local leaders. The interim authority pleads with the US to commit the forces that will allow it to assert its authority outside Baghdad, but three months after the war US opinion is already beginning to press for answers on how long the troops will be staying in such a dangerous situation. The interim authority's main card is access to Iraqi financial resources. Increasingly, subventions to key military and tribal leaders become important security tool.

-- Washington decides to build on the original corps of auxiliaries and train a "democratized" cadre of officers, of mixed ethnic origin, to take over existing Iraqi security structures. The "temporary" governors and district officials installed during the fighting are declared permanent. This provokes protests around the country by disgruntled locals who feel no loyalty to the new officials. The interim authority, backed by US forces (and money from the oil piggy bank), puts down the protests.

-- The US pledges to keep its forces in place as long as it takes to ensure the new structure is on its feet. It will then draw down, leaving Iraq for the Iraqis.

-- Accordingly, after six months, the US begins to draw down its forces and hand a greater role to the "democratized" Iraqis. These forces tend to act more harshly in settling local issues than the Americans. Resentment builds. Nevertheless, the US drawdown continues. After seven months, there are only 3,000 US troops left in the country -- 1,000 at the airport in Baghdad and the remainder guarding oilfields in the south and north of the country.

-- International press report growing corruption within the interim authority; commentators become increasingly skeptical about the prospects for reconciling feuding Iraqi interests. An Arab newspaper breaks the story that the interim authority has approved diverting 30 percent of Iraq's oil income to pay for US and Turkish war costs. Free oil will be provided to Jordan for a year to boost economic and political stability. Another follows with a story that this decision was made by the US, not the Iraqi government. Stories proliferate to effect that the US is controlling Iraqi oil revenues. Iranian, Lebanese, Egyptian, and Syrian commentators accuse the US of looting Iraqi national wealth via its puppet regime.

-- The Shia in the south, quietly aided by Iran, stage major revolt, taking over local government offices and killing interim officials. Government forces sent to put down rebellions in Najaf, al-Kut, and al-Amara are routed by heavily armed locals.

-- Rallies break out in Saddam City south of Baghdad. The colonel who shot Saddam emerges as political leader. After series of larger and escalating demonstrations, the interim authority enters

SECRET/NODIS



SECRET/NO DIS

9

into negotiations with an emerging coalition of Sunni and Shia notables, led by the Shia colonel. The Kurds stay out, warning against any action against their positions or prerogatives, and send secret envoys to the new coalition, which also has strong support in the military and security structure.

-- With no US backing at hand, widespread insecurity, a powerful Sunni-Shia coalition opposing, Kurdish indifference, and a rebellious military, the interim government agrees to the holding of a national council that will select a new interim authority.

-- As expected, the new council selects leaders of the new coalition. Remaining US forces are asked to leave.

-- Could spin it out more, but point is that immediately after liberation a powerful dynamic will begin mixing US military, media, new Iraqi authorities, paroxysm of revenge, recriminations and angling for power by key constituencies.

-- The decisions we take early on clearly will affect the outcome in ways we can only guess at.

#### **Plan B**

-- Install Civil Administration, Settle in for Long Period of Nation-Building

-- What would happen differently from the above if the US declared its intention to ensure thoroughgoing change?

-- As soon as US forces enter Iraq, US would announce establishment of a US-led transitional civil authority, headed by senior US official. Purpose of authority is to work itself out of a job by assisting Iraqis to build a truly democratic system. Simultaneously announce formation of US-appointed interim Iraqi civil consultative council. Announce as well that elections will be held after one year for constituent assembly that will convene in a year and a half to draft and approve a new constitution.

-- Instead of inserting Iraqi auxiliaries as civil-military officials, most local officials would remain in place and the auxiliaries would serve as liaison between them and provincial US civil administration. Top Baath Party and security officials would be removed, but most bureaucrats would keep their jobs.

-- We would face the same security problems. Difference is that US would be responsible for addressing them, albeit with local help, and will command more respect -- especially if its declared aim is building a new, open, democratic society -- than an unknown local authority.

-- Problem is that the security issues become ours to a greater degree. This means it will be critically important that we get involved at local levels -- tribal areas, towns, and villages -- so that every head man knows he is responsible to a regional US civil administration official who can affect his future well-being, e.g. via administrative decisions on land tenure issues, or control of subsidies, or flow of aid and reconstruction and work projects.

-- This scenario requires a much larger, and longer, US commitment. It would have to be clear that real democracy is the goal. It must be something truly new and good for Iraq and the region. Our clearheadedness about this, and willingness to be generous to our adversary -- as we were with Germany and Japan -- will be a major factor in how our role is perceived by Iraqis and Arabs all over the region. That means we need to think now about a very big and expensive

SECRET/NO DIS

SECRET/NODIS

10

commitment. This is a five- or ten-year job, not a fast in and out. It is McArthur and Japan, not Oakley and Somalia.

Here's a list of a few more issues that could develop in interesting ways. It does not do justice to the many interlocking repercussions action in Iraq will have on the calculations of regional states and our allies, or its possible impact on the world economy.

- Law and Order, collecting weapons. We won't get them, most will go to ground.
- No cash; Saddam and henchmen ship all money out of country. Banks broke.
- Effect on world markets if Iraqi oil fields are torched.
- Keeping UN controls -- not popular, but need to do to avoid chaos. Gradual phase out.
- What other UN role?
- All for one, one for all, free for all -- deals, short-term scrambles. It will be every clan for itself.
- Constituent Assembly -- Bedlam on the Euphrates, but it has to happen.
- Constitution
- IDPs, refugees -- Major security issue. Will require very careful attention.
- WMD cleanup. US and UN role combined.
- Regional issues -- land tenure, tribes, local disputes, minorities
- Force Protection/SOFA/incidents w/US forces/"US dog has more rights than an Iraqi."
- Islamic backlash against secular development, role of neighbors.
- Oilfield cleanup/health issues
- Disadvantage of free press -- stoking sectarian strife, instability.
- Women -- Iraq should be a model for others.
- Education/Women/girls -- ties to Western institutions.
- Corruption, mafias, old Saddamites go to ground -- the dark side of development.
- Bloated public sector/restored private sector
- Carpetbaggers, bill collectors, expats and exiles -- it will be a wild mix.
- Inside/outside -- those who stayed and those who left behind, a socio-cultural divide.
- Arab relations -- uneasy at best.
- Iraqi CIA -- what will the new intelligence service look like?
- Flooding the oil market -- Iraqis could become the new Saudis.
- Shiism triumphant, Sunnis resentful -- If Iran liberalizes, and Iraq democratizes, the Shia will be the dominant force in two of the Middle East's most successful Islamic states. Shiism will represent modernizing change; Sunnism the status quo.
- Jordan: Hashemites could be destabilized and overthrown in event of serious backlash; possibility of tension, even fighting, between East Bankers and Palestinians, depending on confluence of events. (Regime change succeeds -- but wrong regime.)
- Afghanistan: Simultaneous deterioration and increased demand on US forces.
- Pakistan: What if Musharraf falls.
- Europe: New world if we go in without them, or if they feel forced to go along against their better judgement. Either way, possibilities of more tension in the Atlantic Alliance.

SECRET/NODIS