

Rebuilding Iraq: The United States' Role

Joseph G. Melaragno
James O. Ollunga

Engineering 297C
Ethics of Development in a Global Environment
Spring Quarter 2003
Stanford University

About the Authors



Joseph G. Melaragno is currently studying Management Science and Engineering at Stanford University. Joe plans to attend law school after completely his undergraduate education. Joe's interests include business, domestic policy, and the professional sports industry. Joe plans to run for elected office after establishing himself in the business community. Joe enjoys baseball, tennis, golf, basketball, and going to the movies.



James Ollunga is currently a sophomore at Stanford University majoring in Management Science and Engineering. He is originally from Nairobi, Kenya. His interests are in business though he enjoys spending most of his time reading and talking to his friends. James and co-author, Joe Melaragno, hope to start a company in the future.

History of Iraq

Great Britain gained control of Iraq, previously known as Mesopotamia, after the First World War. In 1917, Iraq became a British protectorate¹. Four years later, the British colonial government helped set up the Hashemite monarchy² in Iraq. During the same year, Britain embarked on defining the territorial boundaries of their newly acquired colony. The British colonial government created boundaries without taking into consideration the tribal and ethnic settlements present in this region. In order to prevent Iraq's access to the Persian Gulf³, the British colonial government created Kuwait by carving it out of the Southern part of Iraq. Britain influenced the composition of the Iraqi parliament and also the drafting of the Iraqi constitution.

In 1932, Iraq became an independent nation. In the same year, it also joined the League of Nations. Iraq maintained close ties with Britain even after attaining independence. Britain not only had interests in Iraqi oil resources, but also considered Iraq's strategic location in the Middle East important to its defense. The British occupation of Iraq did more harm than good for the Iraqi people. The British policies in Iraq excluded the Iraqis from participating in the political process of their own country. The British also did little to resolve internal conflicts that arose in Iraq. At times British forces even supported one ethnic group at war with another. Britain's occupation of Iraq, therefore, left Iraq deeply divided and did very little to help unite the people of Iraq. The political institutions that Britain left behind had neither the capacity nor the power to transform Iraq into a stable nation with a prosperous economy – leaving Iraq susceptible to dictatorial rule.

¹ <http://www.scn.org/wwfor/iraqhist.html>

² <http://www.nationbynation.com/Iraq/History1.html>

³ <http://www.world66.com/Page.Asp?Loc=313&Sec=650>

In 1958, a revolution led by Abdal- Kassem Quassim⁴ deposed the monarchy imposed on the Iraqi people by the British. Saddam Hussein emerged as one of the leaders of this left wing coup. The regime that took over chose not to cooperate with the West. This regime nationalized the Iraqi oil industry and removed the ban in place on the Iraqi Communist Party. In 1963, the CIA helped to overthrow this new, “unfriendly” regime. However, in 1968, the radical socialist Ba’ath party, led by General Ahmed Hassan Bakr⁵, took control of the country. In 1979, Saddam Hussein overthrew General Bakr. One year later, Saddam Hussein received backing from the United States under the Carter Doctrine to invade Iran. The Carter Doctrine stated that the “U.S. will intervene militarily to protect U.S. access to oil”⁶. The war between Iran and Iraq lasted until 1988, when both parties signed a ceasefire agreement. President Reagan’s administration resumed diplomatic ties with Iraq in 1984, while at the same time it sold weapons to the Iranian government. Iraq borrowed heavily in order to wage the war against Iran. After the war, Iraq’s economy was in very bad shape. In 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait after accusing Kuwait of conspiring to ruin its economy. A U.S. led coalition expelled Saddam’s troops from Kuwait in 1991.

The Rise of Saddam Hussein

After years of working his way up the Ba’ath party ladder, Saddam Hussein took the role of president from Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr on July 17, 1979. In order to establish his position as a great Arab leader, Saddam chose to invade his Persian neighbor, Iran, in September of 1980. The basis of Saddam’s invasion was an historical land dispute between the two nations over the Shatt-al-Arab waterway. Saddam felt the time was right to invade Iran because of their recent

⁴ <http://www.nationbynation.com/Iraq/History1.html>

⁵ <http://www.europehouse.com/Euronomics/>

⁶ <http://www.europehouse.com/Euronomics/>

struggles with revolutionaries. One particularly brutal event during the war occurred in March of 1988, when the Iraqi Air Force bombed the Kurdish Iraqi town of Halabja, using both conventional and chemical weapons. Within hours, there were over 5,000 casualties. The Geneva Convention of 1925 outlawed the use of chemical weapons and Saddam was only the second world leader to ignore this provision – Mussolini used chemical weapons during his reign also. The Iran-Iraq war lasted for eight years and resulted in no significant transfer of land. The death of over one million people and the destruction of property on both sides proved the only result of the eight-year war.

The Iran-Iraq war created a military imbalance in the Persian Gulf region because though Iraq could not achieve its military objectives, it did severely cripple the Iranian army, while at the same time strengthening its own military forces greatly. The weakened Iranian military posed little threat to Saddam as he prepared to invade his other neighbor, Kuwait. Iraq had incurred huge debts to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia during its eight year battle with Iran. The struggling Iraqi economy made it seem unlikely that Iraq could properly service these debts. The oil wealth of Kuwait appealed to Saddam's need to erase his debts with other Arab nations. Saddam viewed an invasion of Kuwait as a means to raise world oil prices, thereby increasing Iraq's own revenue. On August 2, 1990, over 100,000 Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait and took power in a matter of hours. Iraqi control of Kuwait posed a great threat to the global economy because Saddam could use his newfound influence over other Arab nations to decrease oil production and increase worldwide prices. Only days after the invasion, the United Nations Security Council passed resolution 660, 661, and 662, calling for Iraq's immediate withdrawal from Kuwait, establishing trade embargoes, and declaring Iraq's occupation as illegal, respectively.

The UN Security Council passed a resolution that authorized the use of force to remove Iraqi troops from Kuwait on November 29, 1990. The US Senate gave President George H. W. Bush the authority to wage war against Iraq and five days later, Operation Desert Storm commenced. The US launched a massive air strike against Saddam's troops in the opening days of the war. A very short ground war followed the initial air attacks. On February 26, 1991 Saddam Hussein announced the withdrawal of all Iraqi troops from Kuwait, thus putting an end to the short-lived Gulf War.

East Timor

The current situation in Iraq has similarities to the recent United Nations efforts in East Timor. Perhaps the manner in which the United Nations handled the independence of East Timor can shed some light on how the United States should proceed in Iraq. Originally a colony of Portugal, the small nation of East Timor is one of the United Nations' ongoing rebuilding projects. The Portuguese left the Southeast Asian colony in 1975 amidst a sea of chaos.⁷ Soon after the departure of the Portuguese, neighboring Indonesia invaded East Timor and made it into its 27th province. "The invasion of East Timor was the biggest military operation ever to have been mounted by the Indonesian Armed Forces."⁸ The United Nations did not recognize this integration and called for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor.⁹ However, the Indonesians paid no attention to the requests of the United Nations and remained in East Timor. The military regime in East Timor was very ruthless, but despite this fact, many western powers looked the other way. Several western nations even supported the Indonesian government by selling them armaments used to crush any rebellion efforts. For example in 1979 "Walter

⁷<http://www.un.org/peace/etimor/Untaetchnono.html>

⁸ Budiardjo, Carmel, and Liem Soei Liong. The War Against East Timor. New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd., 1984. 22.

⁹ <http://www.un.org/peace/etimor/Untaetchnono.html>

Mondale . . . confirmed[ed] the sale of 16 A4-Skyhawks to Indonesia.”¹⁰ The United States did not condemn the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia because it viewed Indonesia as an extremely important trading partner in Southeast Asia. According to United States State Department releases, Indonesia provides “access through which U.S. naval power moves to defend American interests.”¹¹ An extremely important oil producer, Indonesia plays an exceptionally important part in the regional economy. With over 9 billion barrels of proven oil reserves, Indonesia ranks fifteenth in the world.¹² Indonesia remained in control of East Timor for the next quarter of a century.

After years of turmoil, on June 11, 1999 the United Nations Security Council passed resolution 1246 which called for an unbiased, independent vote in East Timor to determine whether the East Timorese would remain under Indonesian rule or become a new independent nation.¹³ Indonesia offered East Timor a special “autonomy” status if they agreed to integration with Indonesia. The United Nations referred to this vote as a “popular consultation” of the people of East Timor. The United Nations guaranteed the people of East Timor that the ballots would be kept secret and counted fairly to determine their wishes. On August 30, 1999 the people of East Timor spoke their minds at the polls and rejected the Indonesian measure for special “autonomy” in favor of complete independence. That day an overwhelming majority of 78.5% voted for independence from Indonesia after twenty-five long years of oppression and terror.

Immediately after the vote a series of skirmishes erupted in East Timor between the pro-independence and pro-autonomy factions. The pro-autonomy militia knew they would not likely

¹⁰ Budiardjo, xi.

¹¹ <http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/ea/timor/indoplcy.htm>

¹² <http://www.aneki.com/oil.html>

¹³ http://www.un.org/peace/etimor99/Fact_frame.htm

win the vote. They decided that while they still had the upper hand they would “launch a campaign of violence, looting and arson throughout the entire Territory.”¹⁴ Then on September 4, the results of the vote were announced and the country learned that they would soon be an independent nation. The United Nations was concerned about the chaos in East Timor after the voting process and wanted to make sure that the Indonesia government could control the situation. If they were unable to control East Timor, Indonesia should accept the offer of assistance from Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Malaysia “without further delay”¹⁵. Indonesia finally accepted assistance from a multinational force led by Australia (there was no U.S. involvement). The task in front of this multinational force was too great for them, so the Australians had to ask for assistance from the U.N. The Security Council established an all-inclusive plan for East Timor’s transition to successful independence. Under this arrangement the United Nations controlled all aspects of East Timor’s government. The interim government consisted of technocrats who had vast experience in economics, law enforcement, military affairs and humanitarian issues. The United Nations hoped this interim government could establish a lasting system in East Timor.

Sergio Vieira de Mello headed the United Nation’s interim government in East Timor. De Mello chaired the National Consultative Council (NCC), which oversaw the rebuilding of East Timor. Thirteen members comprised the NCC, the majority of which are members of the National Council of East Timorese Resistance (CNRT)¹⁶. In order to bolster security, the NCC embarked on disarming militia groups embedded in East Timor. The NCC facilitated the return of many refugees who had fled the country due to the war. These refugees were starving in West

¹⁴ <http://www.un.org/peace/etimor/Untaetchrono.html#1999>

¹⁵ <http://www.un.org/peace/etimor/Untaetchrono.html#1999>

¹⁶ <http://www.etan.org/et99c/december/26-31/29etbure.htm>

Timor and an important part of the rebuilding process was reuniting the East Timorese population.

The Australian government was one of many countries to provide emergency relief to the East Timorese. The Australians also provided seeds and farming equipment to allow East Timorese farmers to replant their farms as soon as possible in order to help alleviate the food crisis. Since many of the schools were destroyed in the post-election turmoil, Australia focused on rebuilding the educational infrastructure in the nation's capital, Dili. The health situation in East Timor, which had quickly deteriorated, also concerned Australia greatly. The Australian government provided vaccinations for measles, and provided funding for the Red Cross hospital in Dili. East Timor also received financial assistance from Australia to help rebuild their water and sanitation infrastructure, which had been greatly destroyed by the post-election violence. The United Nation interim government oversaw the introduction of a new constitution in East Timor which laid the groundwork for years of independence. The United Nations recruited thousands of civil servants to revamp the bureaucracy left by the Indonesians. The United Nations trained this group of civil servants to take over once the transitional team left the country.

East Timor gained her independence on May 20th, 2002. Jose Alexander Gusmao headed this new country after his election to the presidency by an outstanding voter turnout of 86 percent¹⁷. East Timor's government is a parliamentary democracy in which the president acts primarily as a figurehead. The real power lies in the hands of the Prime Minister, Mari Bin Amude Alkatiri, who is in charge of the day-to-day running of the government. The FRETILIN party controls parliament with 55 of 88 seats¹⁸. East Timor joined the United Nations on

¹⁷ <http://www.etan.org/et2001c/july/01-07/06oiland.htm>

¹⁸ <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/tt.html#Govt>

September 27th, 2002, becoming the 191st member of the international body that did so much for East Timorese independence.

One of the most important parts of rebuilding East Timor was renegotiating oil contracts that the Indonesians had put into to place during their rule. In 1989 Indonesia negotiated a contract with Australia that equally split offshore oil profits between the Indonesians and the Australians, who operated the oil fields. The offshore oil area was split into three fields, with Australia and Indonesia each controlling one field and the other field controlled jointly by the two. This contract provided no funds to the people of East Timor who rightfully owned the oil. The United Nations realized that offshore oil and natural gas were one of East Timor's greatest assets and put great emphasis on renegotiating the contracts to benefit the people of East Timor. After laborious discussions with Australia the two nations came to an agreement where East Timor receives 90% of the oil proceeds. "This will generate between \$7 billion and \$9 billion for East Timor over the next 20 years."¹⁹ Though this only works out to approximately \$350 - \$450 million each year, it is an important source of income for the growing nation. While it seems that East Timor is finally getting what it deserves from Australia, many nations believe that Australia continues to take advantage of the small, impoverished nation. Under the UN Convention on the Rights of Sea, any nations within 400km of each other should set their sea boundaries equidistant from each nation.²⁰ The way that the new contract is structured could cost East Timor up to \$30 billion dollars over the next twenty years.²¹ Other nations must continue to advocate for East Timor so that more powerful nations such as Australia do not take advantage of the emerging nation. \$1.5 billion each year could go a long way to feeding and

¹⁹ <http://www.etan.org/et2001c/july/01-07/06oiland.htm>

²⁰ http://www.apheda.org.au/campaigns/images/et_gap_0902.pdf

²¹ http://www.apheda.org.au/campaigns/images/et_gap_0902.pdf

educating the people of East Timor in a country whose GDP only reached \$415 million in 2001.²²

East Timor represents one of the United Nations' most successful rebuilding operations. The international community joined together to advocate for a small country that had suffered for so many years. In less than three years East Timor went from an Indonesian province to the first new nation of the young millennium. Through continued efforts by many nations across the globe, East Timor is on the right path to national sustainability. Schools are in place to educate youth and hospitals exist to meet basic healthcare needs. A fledgling democracy is in place to guarantee a prosperous future. In 2001 the GDP real growth rate was 18%, an astounding number when compared to the United States' 0.3%.²³ The crowning moment for East Timor occurred when they joined the United Nations less than a year ago. Now East Timor can be involved in helping other nations in the same manner in which they were helped. The rebuilding of East Timor can provide a useful template for whoever takes on the task of rebuilding Iraq into a viable post-Saddam nation. Both nations suffered many years under impoverished, dictatorial rule. However, Iraq was liberated by a multinational foreign coalition, while East Timor voted for its independence.

Resolution 687

Following the first Persian Gulf War, the United Nations passed Resolution 687, which called for the removal of all weapons of mass destruction from Iraq²⁴. The resolution also mandated the destruction of all ballistic missiles with the capability to travel 150 kilometers (93.2 miles). The Iraqi government quickly accepted the resolution only three days after its

²² <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/tt.html#Govt>

²³ <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/tt.html#Govt>

²⁴ <http://www.un.org/Depts/unscom/Chronology/chronologyframe.htm>

initial acceptance by the UN Security Council. The United Nations Secretary-General created the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) shortly thereafter to insure that Iraq completed disarmament. UNSCOM's mission was "to monitor and verify Iraq's compliance with its undertaking not to use, develop, construct or acquire any of the items" banned by Resolution 687²⁵. The commission performed on-site inspections of Iraq's missile and chemical weapon programs at the expense of the Iraqi government. With Iraq's backing, the United Nations hoped that UNSCOM would experience great success and that Iraq would disarm in a timely fashion. However, these hopes proved wrong and went unrealized as Saddam Hussein placed hurdle after hurdle for the inspectors. In June of 1991 the weapons inspectors attempted to stop a vehicle carrying nuclear material and received threatening warning shots from the Iraqi military personnel traveling with the vehicle²⁶. Eventually, UNSCOM destroyed the material under international supervision. UNSCOM encountered another obstacle after the Security Council passed Resolution 707, which provided for the use of helicopters by the inspectors. The Iraqi military would not tolerate the use of helicopters and did not allow UNSCOM to use them while conducting their inspections. By 1998 President Hussein's continued efforts led to the inability of the commission to monitor Iraq's compliance with United Nations' mandates. UNSCOM withdrew its staff from Iraq in December 1998 having accomplished few of their initial goals.

United States and United Kingdom Policy on Iraq

The United States defeated Iraq in 1991 with minimal support from other nations around the world. The United Kingdom, the United States' closest ally, supported and continues to

²⁵ <http://www.un.org/Depts/unscom/General/basicfacts.html>

²⁶ <http://www.un.org/Depts/unscom/Chronology/chronologyframe.htm>

support most US policies concerning Iraq. In April of 1991 the United States and the United Kingdom, with additional support from France, introduced a no-fly zone in Northern Iraq. The coalition alerted the Iraqi military that it could no longer fly air force planes north of the 36th parallel. This region of Iraq covered 19,000 square miles²⁷. The United States and United Kingdom claimed that the no-fly zone protected the Kurdish citizens of Iraq living in the northern region of the country from aggression by Saddam's army. Recently, the Iraqi military had used military helicopters to put down a Kurdish uprising in Northern Iraq and the United States aimed to prevent this²⁸. Saddam's menacing nature led foreign powers, especially the United States, to continually support rebel groups. The United States introduced the exercise as Operation Provide Comfort. The militaries of the coalition carried out the mission by flying daily missions over the no-fly zone ensuring that no Iraqi warplanes patrolled the area. The coalition planes also eliminated any surface to air missile sites that took aggressive measures against them.

One year after the United States, Great Britain, and France introduced the initial no-fly zone, they created an additional zone in the south of Iraq. This no-fly zone included all Iraqi territory south of the 32nd parallel (later raised to the 33rd parallel). United States' claims cited the protection of southern Shiite Muslims as the reason for patrolling southern Iraq. The southern Shiites had recently launched a rebellion against Saddam and faced the consequences for such action. The United States and United Kingdom took their usual stance of protecting those who rebelled against the Iraqi government. Operations continued as usual through 1996 with a continuous exchange between coalition planes and Iraqi anti-aircraft weapons. In 1996 Operation Provide Comfort ended, and with it so did the partnership with France. 1997 saw the

²⁷ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/events/crisis_in_the_gulf/forces_and_firepower/244364.stm

²⁸ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/events/crisis_in_the_gulf/forces_and_firepower/244364.stm

beginning of Operation Northern Watch and Operation Southern Watch to continue patrolling the no-fly zones. The operations lasted 12 years and allowed the United States and Great Britain to destroy most of the anti-aircraft weaponry that Iraq had above the 36th parallel and below the 33rd parallel.

Oil for Food Program

As mentioned above, United Nations resolution 661 placed debilitating trade sanctions on Iraq after the invasion of Kuwait. These sanctions had a crippling effect on the nation because of its heavy dependence on revenue from oil exports. Once the first Persian Gulf War ended these sanctions remained intact and posed a large problem for the survival of millions of Iraqis. Without the revenue generated from crude oil production there was little capital to feed the poverty stricken people of Iraq. Saddam Hussein continued to dine on fine cuisine in his many palaces but his people starved as the world watched. The United Nations concerned itself with the deteriorating humanitarian conditions in Iraq. In August and September of 1991 the United Nations passed resolutions 706 and 712 which provided for the sale of Iraqi oil with a large portion of the proceeds going to feed the starving Iraqi people²⁹. However, Saddam Hussein refused to cooperate with the United Nations so for several years Iraqi exports remained nonexistent. Saddam insisted that the United Nations lift all sanctions on Iraq and tried to make it appear as though the United Nations and its sanctions were responsible for the poor health of the Iraqi people. The continued economic downturn worsened the humanitarian crisis in Iraq even further.

²⁹ <http://www.un.org/Depts/oip/background/index.html>

Resolution 986 passed in April 1995, providing for the creation of the Oil for Food Program in Iraq. After a year President Hussein agreed to the terms of the resolution. Several months later the first Iraqi oil exports began. Initially, the resolution capped exports at one billion US dollars every ninety days³⁰. The Secretary-General of the United Nations controls the funds generated by the Oil for Food Program. The United Nations stores the funds in an escrow account created by the Secretary-General after Resolution 986 passed in 1995. This Oil for Food Program has proven itself extremely successful for the Iraqi people. The program has led to a decrease in communicable diseases in Iraq³¹. Practically all sectors of the Iraqi daily life infrastructure have been renewed. In 1998 the United Nations increased the maximum value of exports to \$5.26 billion every six months³². Though the program has been successful, Saddam Hussein has undermined the program by selling oil illegally on the black market. In addition to the illegal sale of crude oil, experts claim that Saddam “continues to divert dual-use items from humanitarian needs to military programs.³³” Hussein has also refused to cooperate fully with the measures of the program.

The success of the United Nations led Oil for Food Program in Iraq is astounding. However, there are many problems associated with the program as well. In his most recent report to the United Nations on the program, Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, states that from 1996 to the present day the amount of food delivered to Iraq has increased from 1200 to 2200 kilocalories per person each day. The latter number is a number high enough to actually sustain a person. However, according to United Nations estimates, 60%

³⁰ United Nations Resolution 986. See appendix

³¹ <http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/iraq/text/1221fact.htm>

³² <http://www.un.org/Depts/oip/background/index.html>

³³ <http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/iraq/text/1221fact.htm>

of Iraq's population rely on the monthly food basket to meet all nutritional needs for themselves and their families..

Hans Blix Team of Weapons Inspectors

The disappointing results of UNSCOM led the United Nations to create a new commission to continue weapons inspection in Iraq. Security Council Resolution 1284 created the United Nations Monitoring, Inspection, and Verification Commission (UNMOVIC) in December 1999, one full year after UNSCOM left Iraq³⁴. Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, chose Dr. Hans Blix, former director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), to lead the commission. Due to Iraq's insolence, United Nation weapons inspectors could no longer enter the nation. For several years those who worked for UNMOVIC did nothing but train and present empty quarterly reports to the Security Council. Then, on September 16, 2002, with growing pressure from the international community, the Foreign Minister of Iraq alerted the United Nations that his government would allow the inspectors back into the country with no restrictions³⁵. Two and a half months later, weapons inspections resumed after a four year exile. While many nations felt that these United Nations weapons inspections could prevent war with Iraq, the United States and the United Kingdom felt that the use of force was imminent. American President, George W. Bush, continually reminded the international community that the United States had evidence showing the Iraqis had "weapons of mass destruction." As the inspections continued, the Iraqis failed to produce any new information. The inspectors also discovered that Iraq had altered some of its Al-Samoud 2 missiles to travel past the 150km limit imposed by United Nations Security Council Resolution 687. The hawks from the United

³⁴ <http://www.un.org/Depts/unmovic/>

³⁵ <http://www.un.org/Depts/unmovic/>

States' coalition continued to threaten war while the rest of the international community gave Iraq every opportunity to comply with UNMOVIC. However, the end was near for Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq.

United States and United Kingdom Press for War

Since the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks that rocked the United States, the Bush Administration had been fighting a worldwide "war on terrorism." George W. Bush named Iraq as one of three countries in the "axis of evil" – the other two were North Korea and Iran. The Bush Administration assured the other member states of the United Nations that Iraq harbored members of the Al Qaeda terrorist network. United States' reports also showed that Al Qaeda had terrorist training camps in Iraq. The United States and Great Britain firmly held the position that Saddam Hussein posed a threat to the entire world if left in power. The United States led coalition also feared that Saddam would use the weapons he had accumulated to direct aggression at local, Middle Eastern neighbors, such as US ally, Israel. President Bush decided first to try to win the support of the United Nations Security Council to use force against Saddam's regime.

November 8, 2002, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1441. This resolution required Iraq to comply with UNMOVIC for weapons inspections of Iraq. The resolution stipulated that the inspectors should receive full cooperation from the Iraqi government and that no limit should be placed on their access to sites – including all people employed at these sites³⁶. Hans Blix' team of inspectors once again did not receive a warm welcome in Iraq and continued to struggle gaining access to the key sites which they wished to inspect. While inspections continued, the United States began to prepare its case for presentation

³⁶ <http://ods-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N02/682/26/PDF/N0268226.pdf?OpenElement>

to the UN Security Council. The United States believed that the violations of Security Council Resolution 1441 warranted the use of force to disarm the regime. February 5, 2003, United States Secretary of State, Colin Powell – who served as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the first Gulf War – presented a report to the United Nations Security Council that detailed Iraq’s unwillingness to cooperate with UNMOVIC weapons inspectors. Secretary Powell asked the Security Council whether they should “take the risk that (Saddam Hussein) will not someday use these weapons at a time and place and in a manner of his choosing, at a time when the world is in a much weaker position to respond.”³⁷ He insisted that leaving weapons of mass destruction in the hands of Saddam Hussein posed an immediate threat, not only to the United States, but to all nations around the world. Powell also reiterated that Iraq harbored members of the Al Qaeda terrorist network and provided training camps for them to use. Powell urged the Security Council to stop Saddam Hussein’s regime by using force before further problems arose.

The United States struggled in finding support from United Nations member states for its plans to invade Iraq. The two main supporters for the US led coalition were Spain and the United Kingdom. Early on, this coalition told the world that in order to avoid a war with Iraq, the Iraqi government must comply with full disarmament. Saddam Hussein’s regime did not agree with this plan and so the situation reached a stalemate as the other Security Council nations pushed for extension after extension for the weapons inspection team. The US led coalition claimed that resolution 1441 provided for the use of force against Iraq if it refused to fully comply with UNMOVIC. Try as they might, the United States never convinced the rest of the Security Council that war was an immediate necessity to prevent further aggression by Saddam Hussein.

³⁷ <http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/disarm/deception030205.htm>

The War Begins

The US finally realized that a United Nations supported war against Iraq would never materialize. March 17, 2003, President George W. Bush issued an ultimatum to Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. This ultimatum gave Hussein and his two sons, Uday and Qusay, 48 hours to abdicate power and leave the country. President Hussein rejected Bush's ultimatum and remained in the country. Slightly over 48 hours later, the United States military, with the assistance of the United Kingdom, launched what the White House called a "decapitation" attack on the Iraqi capital of Baghdad. The offensive consisted of myriad allied cruise missiles, accompanied by several "bunker buster" bombs. US intelligence placed several important Iraqi leaders, including Saddam and his two sons, in a Baghdad bunker on the morning of March 20 (Iraqi time). The attack planned to cut off the chain of command between Iraqi military leaders and their soldiers in the field. As the battle proceeded, this initial attack proved amazingly effective. As the war persisted, the coalition troops met considerably less opposition than originally expected. Thousands of Iraqi troops surrendered, offering little or no resistance. After only a couple days it appeared that the US led coalition could take Baghdad in only two or three weeks.

The second major air offensive launched by the "coalition of the willing" became termed the "shock and awe" campaign. In these massive air strikes, United States and United Kingdom bombers would use the most sophisticated weapons in their respective arsenals to hit strategic targets with pinpoint accuracy. The United States took every opportunity to show off the technological sophistication of its military. It appeared that the Bush Administration made an example of Iraq as a warning to all other nations in the so-called "axis of evil" that the US would

not tolerate terrorism. The severely overmatched Iraqi military could pose no challenge to the powerful coalition forces. By April 9, only three weeks after the beginning of the war, Baghdad had fallen and little resistance remained. After twenty four years of Saddam's tyranny, the people of Iraq were finally free. The fall of the Iraqi regime left the government in the hands of the United States military. At this point the United States began to implement its reconstruction plans.

Provisional Authority

The end of the war marked only the beginning of the United States' efforts in Iraq. With Saddam Hussein no longer in power, the United States embarked on creating a new form of government in Iraq. A nation that has never really experienced freedom will soon receive a form of democracy. Since coalition forces ended Saddam Hussein's regime, they will lead the reconstruction efforts in Iraq. Several key factors in the rebuilding plan include: a new government for the nation, a revamped economic system that will provide for better standards of living, improved infrastructure, and stability. To ensure a fair changeover to the democratic process, the United States implemented a transition government to oversee reconstruction. President Bush appointed retired army general, Jay Garner, to lead the transition authority. Garner looked to ensure that the people of Iraq had all of their needs met. These needs included: food, water, healthcare, education for the youth, and basic services provided to their homes (i.e. electricity and water). Another part of General Garner's responsibility included rebuilding Iraq's severely damaged infrastructure. President Hussein did not put the needs of his people at the top of his agenda. Iraq's road network, airports, and seaports all needed massive rehabilitation to compete in the global economy. A new, representative government for the people of Iraq

represented the final task facing General Garner. Most probably the US would like a government friendly to United States' interests. However, the powers that be also realize that the government must receive support from the Iraqi people, otherwise the new system will not fair well. General Garner approached his new job with excitement and hoped to finish the task quickly.

General Garner's time at the helm ended quickly though, as President Bush appointed Ambassador Paul Bremer to be the Presidential Envoy to Iraq on May 6, 2003. Bremer will take over Garner's duties as chief of the rebuilding process in a civilian role. The switch to a State Department official from a Department of Defense official signifies that the military actions in the region are nearly done. Bremer will work with the rest of the provisional authority already in place in Baghdad to help the Iraqi people transition into their own democratic government.

Bechtel

While the defense specialists prepared the plan of attack, those in charge of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) planned for rebuilding post-Saddam Iraq. USAID awarded several contracts two months before the war began, in January 2003. With defeat not an option, the United States carefully planned to make sure that Iraq didn't disappear once the war ended. Due to the severely damaged infrastructure, USAID put rebuilding Iraq as their main priority. Once the war ended, the vast oil reserves could serve as a source of revenue for the oppressed Iraqi people. However, with the current system in place, oil production could never reach the 1979 highs of over 3 million barrels each day. For the Iraqi people to benefit from their vast resources, someone must revamp the oil industry in Iraq to facilitate the production levels necessary to support the country. Under usual circumstances the government

would offer contracts out to bidders. The company who proposes the most cost effective project usually receives the contract for the work. However, April 17, 2003, USAID awarded a very sizeable contract to the privately held Bechtel Corporation, which is based in the United States. According to the British Broadcasting Corporation this contract's value could reach \$680 million dollars³⁸. The Bechtel contract focuses mainly on infrastructure details – water, transportation, sanitation, and energy distribution. The competition involved for this contract was a small, invite only crowd that the United States Government hand picked. This rebuilding contract outraged the international community because it furthered the imperialist image of the United States – conquering a sovereign nation and then awarding rebuilding contracts to homegrown firms. The Bush Administration insisted on the necessity of this contract to get the Iraqi reconstruction underway in an expeditious fashion. Strong competition could have take months, which would only hurt the Iraqi people. President Bush also added that nothing in the contract precluded foreign companies from getting subcontracted jobs from Bechtel for the rebuilding process. In fact, on May 31, 2003, Bechtel subcontracted work to the Al-Bunnia Trading Co., an Iraqi-based construction company. If Bechtel continues to hire local businesses it should stimulate the Iraqi economy even more, helping the nation regain its foothold in the world marketplace.

Halliburton

Just as Bechtel received its contract for rebuilding the Iraqi infrastructure, rumors swirled about a very sizeable contract going to Kellogg Brown and Root (KBR), a subsidiary of the Halliburton oil services company. Rumors placed the value of this contract as high as \$7 billion. Reports of this contract enraged not only the international community, but also people living in

³⁸ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/2957875.stm>

the United States. The press made certain to publicize that US Vice-President Richard Cheney headed Halliburton for five years before running with George W. Bush in the 2000 presidential election. The KBR contract put the Texas-based firm in charge of assessing damage to the oil fields in Iraq. KBR also had the task of putting out the oil field fires that Saddam's men had started across the country. In an April 11 press release Halliburton tried to straighten out the details of its contract. The contract hired KBR to provide many oil-related services. However, the value of the contract depends heavily on the amount of damage found in the Iraqi oil fields. At the time of the release, KBR had received four contracts valued at \$50.3 million³⁹. The US Army Corps of Engineers defended the contract, claiming they acted in the best interest of the Iraqi people. They made it clear that KBR had vast experience in the region and that the problems needed attention immediately. Once again, competition may have slowed the process; which could have jeopardized the profitability of the Iraqi oil fields and the future wealth of the Iraqi people.

United Nations Lifts Sanctions

Thursday, May 22, 2003, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1483 by a vote of 14-0 (Syria abstained). The most important measure of this resolution lifted the economic sanctions placed on Iraq by United Nations Security Council Resolution 661 after the invasion of Kuwait in 1990. By lifting the sanctions on Iraq, the United Nations acquiesced in a way, to allow the United States and its coalition to continue leading the reconstruction process. The United States plan to use funds generated by Iraqi oil to finance the massive rebuilding efforts can now move forward. Resolution 1483 also officially recognized the United States' provisional authority in Iraq. The Oil for Food Program received a six month extension;

³⁹ http://quickstart.clari.net/qs_se/webnews/wed/dn/Qiraq-war-us-postwar.RXXb_DAB.html

however, after half of a year the program will end. Kofi Annan, the Secretary-General, wanted to honor the contracts already established for distribution through the humanitarian pipeline, so he received the six month extension⁴⁰. The resolution provides for the selection of a United Nations Special Representative, appointed by the Secretary-General, to oversee operations in Iraq. This special representative will work with the provisional authority (headed by the United States) to build Iraq into a viable nation. A key point of Resolution 1483 gives the Secretary-General the power to appoint a representative to the International Advisory and Monitoring Board. This organization will audit the fund into which the provisional authority places Iraqi revenue and other sources of income. The provisional authority controls this fund but the international community will hold the United States accountable to ensure the best for the Iraqi people.

Recommendations and Insights

Iraq faces the same problems that many other nations in the Middle East face today. The country consists of several different ethnic groups that have had trouble peacefully coexisting for many years. Iraq has not really had a stable government since its independence from Great Britain in 1932. The political institutions left behind by the British could not unify the diverse people of Iraq. In their efforts to rebuild Iraq, the United States must develop a system of government that will allow the people of Iraq to enjoy peace and prosperity for years to come. Since United States military and civilian leaders have relatively little experience with unifying Arab people, they should consult the leaders of Iraq's neighbors to gain insight into the Arab world. However, the United States must also create a system that works for the people living in Iraq and not one that works well only for the surrounding nations. Any US plan must recognize

⁴⁰ <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=7162&Cr=iraq&Cr1=>

the differences between the Kurds in the north, the Sunnis in Baghdad, and the Shiites in the south.

Leaders who have ruled unchecked have dominated the politics of the Middle East for many years. The constitutions of these nations give so much power to the executive that the leaders no longer act with the best interests of the nation in mind. These dictators treat their countries like Fortune 500 companies, looking only for power and profit. However, the leaders in these countries do not fire employees that do not agree with the mission statement – they kill them. The United States should look to representative governments where the constitution divides power between the legislature and the executive. However, a parliamentary system may not work well in Iraq because having an executive put into power by the legislature can promote unstable government. An independently elected executive, who serves fixed, limited terms, could successfully rule the country with the help of an independently elected legislature. This legislature needs to have real power to keep the executive under control and prevent dictatorial actions. The separation of powers will guarantee that the rights of the Iraqis are not infringed upon by tyrannical acts of the executive. Despite these recommendations, the final system of government ultimately depends on the sentiments of the Iraqi people. A government strongly supported by its citizens (without the use of scare tactics) will lead the Iraqi people into a successful future.

Though Iraq controls the second largest oil reserves in the world, it has an economy in shambles. The only oil proceeds going to the people of Iraq come from a monthly United Nations Oil for Food Program basket. Sixty percent of the nation relies on this food basket as their sole source of sustenance. Saddam Hussein used most of the profit from selling Iraq to buy weapons for the Iraqi military and build lavish mansions instead of developing the nation. When

a new government comes to power in Iraq, its top priority should be to use the wealth generated from the sale of oil products to develop Iraqi infrastructure, improve the education system and revamp the health care system in Iraq. Under a new political system, the people of Iraq should have a direct say as to how the money generated from selling oil should be used. No Iraqi leader should be allowed to individually determine how this money should be spent without consulting the Iraqi people. The new government elected in Iraq should also renegotiate all the oil contracts that negotiated under Saddam Hussein's rule. The oil contracts should be renegotiated in the same way East Timor renegotiated its oil contracts with Australia in order to ensure that the Iraqi people are not exploited by foreign oil companies.

Works Cited

Budiardjo, Carmel, and Liem Soei Liong. The War Against East Timor. New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd., 1984

<http://www.awtw.org/news/halabja.htm>

<http://mondediplo.com/1998/03/04iraqkn>

<http://www.un.org/peace/etimor/Untaetchrono.html>

<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/ea/timor/indoplcy.htm>

<http://www.aneki.com/oil.html>

http://www.un.org/peace/etimor99/Fact_frame.htm

<http://www.etan.org/et99c/december/26-31/29etbure.htm>

<http://www.etan.org/et2001c/july/01-07/06oiland.htm>

<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/tt.html#Govt>

http://www.apheda.org.au/campaigns/images/et_gap_0902.pdf

<http://www.un.org/Depts/oip/background/index.html>

<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/iraq/text/1221fact.htm>

<http://www.un.org/Depts/unscom/Chronology/chronologyframe.htm>

<http://www.un.org/Depts/unscom/General/basicfacts.html>

<http://www.eucom.mil/Directorates/ECPA/index.htm?http://www.eucom.mil/Directorates/ECPA/Operations/main.htm&2>

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/events/crisis_in_the_gulf/forces_and_firepower/244364.stm

<http://www.un.org/Depts/unmovic/>

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/9043.pdf>

<http://ods-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N02/682/26/PDF/N0268226.pdf?OpenElement>

<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/disarm/deception030205.htm>

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/2957875.stm>

<http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2003/05/31/BU196358.DTL>

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=7162&Cr=iraq&Cr1=>

<http://jrobb.userland.com/stories/2002/12/16/2003OilAndWar.html>

[http://www.ausa.org/www/armymag.nsf/0/B792ABE493D2DE7C85256D0B00644C41?OpenDo
cument](http://www.ausa.org/www/armymag.nsf/0/B792ABE493D2DE7C85256D0B00644C41?OpenDocument)

<http://www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/06/01/sprj.nitop.political.council/>

http://quickstart.clari.net/qs_se/webnews/wed/dn/Qiraq-war-us-postwar.RXXb_DAB.html

<http://www.scn.org/wwfor/iraqhist.html>

<http://www.nationbynation.com/Iraq/History1.html>

<http://www.world66.com/Page.Asp?Loc=313&Sec=650>

<http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/51/217.html>

<http://www.europehouse.com/Euronomics/>

<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/iraq/text2003/0506bremer.htm>

<http://www.fas.org/news/un/iraq/sres/sres0986.htm>

Appendix

RESOLUTION 986 (1995) (taken from
<http://www.fas.org/news/un/iraq/sres/sres0986.htm>)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3519th meeting,

on 14 April 1995

The Security Council,

Recalling its previous relevant resolutions,

Concerned by the serious nutritional and health situation of the Iraqi population, and by the risk of a further deterioration in this situation,

Convinced of the need as a temporary measure to provide for the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people until the fulfilment by Iraq of the relevant Security Council resolutions, including notably resolution 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, allows the Council to take further action with regard to the prohibitions referred to in resolution 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990, in accordance with the provisions of those resolutions,

Convinced also of the need for equitable distribution of humanitarian relief to all segments of the Iraqi population throughout the country,

Reaffirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Authorizes* States, notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs 3 (a), 3 (b) and 4 of resolution 661 (1990) and subsequent relevant resolutions, to permit the import of petroleum and petroleum products originating in Iraq, including financial and other essential transactions directly relating thereto, sufficient to produce a sum not exceeding a total of one billion United States dollars every 90 days for the purposes set out in this resolution and subject to the following conditions:

(a) Approval by the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990), in order to ensure the transparency of each transaction and its conformity with the other provisions of this resolution, after submission of an application by the State concerned, endorsed by the Government of Iraq, for each proposed purchase of Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products, including details of the purchase price at fair market value, the export route, the opening of a letter of credit payable to the escrow account to be established by the Secretary-General for the purposes of this resolution, and of any other directly related financial or other essential transaction;

(b) Payment of the full amount of each purchase of Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products directly by the purchaser in the State concerned into the escrow account to be established by the Secretary-General for the purposes of this resolution;

2. *Authorizes* Turkey, notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs 3 (a), 3 (b) and 4 of resolution 661 (1990) and the provisions of paragraph 1 above, to permit the import of petroleum and petroleum products originating in Iraq sufficient, after the deduction of the percentage referred to in paragraph 8 (c) below for the Compensation Fund, to meet the pipeline tariff charges, verified as reasonable by the independent inspection agents referred to in paragraph 6 below, for the transport of Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products through the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline in Turkey authorized by paragraph 1 above;

3. *Decides* that paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution shall come into force at 00.01 Eastern Standard Time on the day after the President of the Council has informed the members of the Council that he has received the report from the Secretary-General requested in paragraph 13 below, and shall remain in force for an initial period of 180 days unless the Council takes other relevant action with regard to the provisions of resolution 661 (1990);

4. *Further decides* to conduct a thorough review of all aspects of the implementation of this resolution 90 days after the entry into force of paragraph 1 above and again prior to the end of the initial 180 day period, on receipt of the reports referred to in paragraphs 11 and 12 below, and *expresses its intention*, prior to the end of the 180 day period, to consider favourably renewal of the provisions of this resolution, provided that the reports referred to in paragraphs 11 and 12 below indicate that those provisions are being satisfactorily implemented;

5. *Further decides* that the remaining paragraphs of this resolution shall come into force forthwith;

6. *Directs* the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) to monitor the sale of petroleum and petroleum products to be exported by Iraq via the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline from Iraq to Turkey and from the Mina al-Bakr oil terminal, with the assistance of independent inspection agents appointed by the Secretary-General, who will keep the Committee informed of the amount of petroleum and petroleum products exported from Iraq after the date of entry into force of paragraph 1 of this resolution, and will verify that the purchase price of the petroleum and petroleum products is reasonable in the light of prevailing market conditions, and that, for the purposes of the arrangements set out in this resolution, the larger share of the petroleum and petroleum products is shipped via the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline and the remainder is exported from the Mina al-Bakr oil terminal;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to establish an escrow account for the purposes of this resolution, to appoint independent and certified public accountants to audit it, and to keep the Government of Iraq fully informed;

8. *Decides* that the funds in the escrow account shall be used to meet the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi population and for the following other purposes, and *requests* the Secretary-General to use the funds deposited in the escrow account:

(a) To finance the export to Iraq, in accordance with the procedures of the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990), of medicine, health supplies, foodstuffs, and materials and supplies for essential civilian needs, as referred to in paragraph 20 of resolution 687 (1991) provided that:

(i) Each export of goods is at the request of the Government of Iraq;

(ii) Iraq effectively guarantees their equitable distribution, on the basis of a plan submitted to and approved by the Secretary-General, including a description of the goods to be purchased;

(iii) The Secretary-General receives authenticated confirmation that the exported goods concerned have arrived in Iraq;

(b) To complement, in view of the exceptional circumstances prevailing in the three Governorates mentioned below, the distribution by the Government of Iraq of goods imported under this resolution, in order to ensure an equitable distribution of humanitarian relief to all segments of the Iraqi population throughout the country, by providing between 130 million and 150 million United States dollars every 90 days to the United Nations Inter-Agency Humanitarian Programme operating within the sovereign territory of Iraq in the three northern Governorates of Dihouk, Arbil and Suleimaniyeh, except that if less than one billion United States dollars worth of petroleum or petroleum products is sold during any 90 day period, the Secretary-General may provide a proportionately smaller amount for this purpose;

(c) To transfer to the Compensation Fund the same percentage of the funds deposited in the escrow account as that decided by the Council in paragraph 2 of resolution 705 (1991) of 15 August 1991;

(d) To meet the costs to the United Nations of the independent inspection agents and the certified public accountants and the activities associated with implementation of this resolution;

(e) To meet the current operating costs of the Special Commission, pending subsequent payment in full of the costs of carrying out the tasks authorized by section C of resolution 687 (1991);

(f) To meet any reasonable expenses, other than expenses payable in Iraq, which are determined by the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) to be directly related to the export by Iraq of petroleum and petroleum products permitted under paragraph 1 above or to the export to Iraq, and activities directly necessary therefor, of the parts and equipment permitted under paragraph 9 below;

(g) To make available up to 10 million United States dollars every 90 days from the funds deposited in the escrow account for the payments envisaged under paragraph 6 of resolution 778 (1992) of 2 October 1992;

9. *Authorizes* States to permit, notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 3 (c) of resolution 661 (1990):

(a) The export to Iraq of the parts and equipment which are essential for the safe operation of the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline system in Iraq, subject to the prior approval by the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) of each export contract;

(b)Activities directly necessary for the exports authorized under subparagraph (a) above, including financial transactions related thereto;

10.*Decides* that, since the costs of the exports and activities authorized under paragraph 9 above are precluded by paragraph 4 of resolution 661 (1990) and by paragraph 11 of resolution 778 (1991) from being met from funds frozen in accordance with those provisions, the cost of such exports and activities may, until funds begin to be paid into the escrow account established for the purposes of this resolution, and following approval in each case by the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990), exceptionally be financed by letters of credit, drawn against future oil sales the proceeds of which are to be deposited in the escrow account;

11.*Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Council 90 days after the date of entry into force of paragraph 1 above, and again prior to the end of the initial 180 day period, on the basis of observation by United Nations personnel in Iraq, and on the basis of consultations with the Government of Iraq, on whether Iraq has ensured the equitable distribution of medicine, health supplies, foodstuffs, and materials and supplies for essential civilian needs, financed in accordance with paragraph 8 (a) above, including in his reports any observations he may have on the adequacy of the revenues to meet Iraq's humanitarian needs, and on Iraq's capacity to export sufficient quantities of petroleum and petroleum products to produce the sum referred to in paragraph 1 above;

12.*Requests* the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990), in close coordination with the Secretary-General, to develop expedited procedures as necessary to implement the arrangements in paragraphs 1, 2, 6, 8, 9 and 10 of this resolution and to report to the Council 90 days after the date of entry into force of paragraph 1 above and again prior to the end of the initial 180 day period on the implementation of those arrangements;

13.*Requests* the Secretary- General to take the actions necessary to ensure the effective implementation of this resolution, authorizes him to enter into any necessary arrangements or agreements, and *requests* him to report to the Council when he has done so;

14.*Decides* that petroleum and petroleum products subject to this resolution shall while under Iraqi title be immune from legal proceedings and not be subject to any form of attachment, garnishment or execution, and that all States shall take any steps that may be necessary under their respective domestic legal systems to assure this protection, and to ensure that the proceeds of the sale are not diverted from the purposes laid down in this resolution;

15.*Affirms* that the escrow account established for the purposes of this resolution enjoys the privileges and immunities of the United Nations;

16.*Affirms* that all persons appointed by the Secretary-General for the purpose of implementing this resolution enjoy privileges and immunities as experts on mission for the United Nations in accordance with the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, and *requires* the Government of Iraq to allow them full freedom of movement and all necessary facilities for the discharge of their duties in the implementation of this resolution;

17. *Affirms* that nothing in this resolution affects Iraq's duty scrupulously to adhere to all of its obligations concerning servicing and repayment of its foreign debt, in accordance with the appropriate international mechanisms;

18. *Also affirms* that nothing in this resolution should be construed as infringing the sovereignty or territorial integrity of Iraq;

19. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.