

Broader Middle East & North Africa Initiative: Iraqi Elections Support

Commitment

“We pledge to provide support and assistance for the electoral process leading to national elections for the Transitional National Authority [of Iraq] no later than January 31, 2005.”

*Partnership for Progress and a Common Future with the
Region of the Broader Middle East and North Africa*

Background

The G8’s Sea Island commitment to providing assistance and support for the Iraqi national elections does not come from a specific document pertaining to Iraq. Rather, it is a component of a larger initiative, strongly pushed by the United States at the 2004 Summit, to promote democratic and economic development across the Broader Middle East and North Africa (a region which spans from Morocco to Pakistan). The issue of Iraq is highly contentious amongst the G8, with four G8 member-states (US, UK, Japan and Italy) currently stationing troops in the country, while the other four maintain their strong political stances against the invasion and boast a strong domestic aversion to any kind of deployment of national troops in the occupation zone. In this context, elections can be viewed as a politically ‘safe’ issue for the G8 to endorse and is a principle supported by all member-states. The elections for a Transitional National Assembly took place on 30 January 2005 with a degree to considerable success considering the conditions. An estimated 72% of eligible Iraqis cast their ballot although voter turn-out was low amongst Sunni Muslims whose leaders has urged for a boycott.⁷⁹ This Assembly is currently in the process of forming a full national cabinet and will then be commissioned to draft a national constitution by 15 August 2005 — two goals which are both running considerably behind schedule. This constitution will then be approved through national referendum by 15 October 2005, paving the way for national elections of a permanent, fully-empowered government by 15 December 2005 — an event which may satisfy some US benchmarks for the withdrawal of US forces.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ “Iraqi Voter Turnout Exceeds Expectations,” *Voice of America (VOA) News* (Washington D.C) 31 January 2005. Date of Access: 1 June 2005 [www.voanews.com/english/2005-01-31-voa2.cfm].

⁸⁰ “Q&A: Iraqi Elections” *BBC World News* (London) 18 January 2005. Date of Access: 20 January 2005 [news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3971635.stm].

Assessment

Score	Non-Compliance -1	Work in Progress 0	Full Compliance +1
Canada			+1
France			+1
Germany			+1
Italy			+1
Japan			+1
Russia		0	
United Kingdom			+1
United States			+1
European Union			+1
Overall: 0.89			

Individual Country Compliance Breakdown

1. Canada: +1

Canada has exhibited a notably high level of compliance with its 2004 Sea Island commitment to provide assistance and support to the national elections in Iraq by January 2005. Canada compliance activities been centered primarily in monetary contributions and most significantly, in providing technical and personnel assistance in monitoring the verifying the vote. This represents a stark policy reassessment by current Prime Minister Paul Martin since his predecessor Jean Chrétien decided Canada would not participate in the invasion of Iraq in March 2003. This policy angered decision-makers in Washington D.C and put considerable strain on the US-Canada relationship which is now beginning to thaw.

On 26 August 2004, Canada announced a pledge of CAD\$20-million to the United Nations Development Group (UNDG) Trust for Iraq. These funds were a part of a larger commitment of CAD\$100-million to the International Reconstruction Fund Facility for Iraq (IRFFI), made in October 2003 and will be financed by the Canadian International Development Agency (Canada's total aid pledged to the reconstruction of Iraq totals more than CAD\$300-million). CIDA stated that the pledge to the UNDP Trust for Iraq will be dedicated to providing "infrastructure and equipment for the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq, voter registration, and registration and voting abroad."⁸¹ In addition, Minister for International Cooperation Aileen Carroll stated that "Canada is pleased with the UN's leadership in helping Iraq during these important elections...[and that] Strengthening the democratic process is an area where Canada is making a significant contribution."⁸²

At a multilateral level, Canada attended the NATO Istanbul summit of 28-29 June 2004 where one of the primary agenda-items was the issue of Iraqi national elections and the need for an adequate security environment in which to stage them. All NATO member states, including

⁸¹ *Press Release: Canadian Support for Iraqi Electoral Process*, Canadian International Development Agency (Ottawa) 26 August 2004. Date of Access: 29 December 2004 [www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/cida_ind.nsf/vall/BDA1895AAA36DAB485256EFC004A3583?OpenDocument].

⁸² *Press Release: Canadian Support for Iraqi Electoral Process*, Canadian International Development Agency (Ottawa) 26 August 2004. Date of Access: 29 December 2004 [www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/cida_ind.nsf/vall/BDA1895AAA36DAB485256EFC004A3583?OpenDocument].

Canada, endorsed a *Statement on Iraq* in which Canada agreed to “offer full cooperation to the new sovereign Interim Government as it seeks to strengthen internal security and prepare the way to national elections in 2005.”⁸³ An initial NATO commitment of 60 personnel, which is to be bolstered to 300 in January,⁸⁴ was aimed specifically at helping to train Iraqi security forces ahead of the looming election — however, Canada is not known to have committed any troops to this project.⁸⁵

Canada also attended the Sharm el-Sheikh Conference on Iraq on 23 November 2004 which brought together G8 governments, China, EU, UN, Middle Eastern governments and the Interim Government of Iraq to discuss Iraqi reconstruction and elections. Ottawa was represented by Foreign Affairs Minister Pierre Pettigrew and endorsed the Conference’s final statement that affirmed “the ‘leading role’” of the UN in helping Iraq prepare for elections and build consensus to write a new constitution.”⁸⁶ At Sharm el-Sheikh Pettigrew stated that “the upcoming elections will be a milestone in Iraq’s political transition. The security and organizational demands are great. We must each do our part in contributing to a credible vote.”⁸⁷ He also reaffirmed Canada’s monetary commitment to the United Nations Development Group Trust for Iraq.

Canada most significant contribution to the electoral process in Iraq has come in the form of coordinating multilateral technical and personnel assistance for monitoring the fairness of national poll. On 19-20 December 2004, Elections Canada, an independent agency created by Canadian Parliament, hosted the Iraq Election Monitoring Forum in Ottawa. The forum was attended by the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq, the UN, and national elections boards from Canada, the United Kingdom, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Mexico, Panama and Albania. Overall the forum was intended to devise strategies for determining benchmarks for fairness and openness in the upcoming Iraqi elections and ways to measure them. At its conclusion, the forum agreed to create the International Missions for Iraqi Elections (IMIE) to be composed of Elections Canada, 7 other national elections boards (including Yemen) and the Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials (ACEEEO).⁸⁸ The IMIE was mandated to monitor the Iraqi election and make assessment of the openness and fairness of its conduct and outcome — a process that did not involve election monitors on the ground but rather was conducted from regional centres in Amman, Jordan and in Canada. Elections Canada operates

⁸³ Statement on Iraq: Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Istanbul on 28 June 2004. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Brussels) 28 June 2004 Date of Access: 4 January 2005 [www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/p04-098e.htm].

⁸⁴ “Name changes as Iraq mission grows. North Atlantic Treaty Organization” North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Brussels) 16 December 2004. Date of Access: 4 January 2005 [www.nato.int/shape/news/2004/12/i041216.htm].

⁸⁵ Keith B. Richburg. “NATO to Dispatch Additional Military Trainers to Iraq.” Washington Post (Washington D.C.) 23 September 2004. Date of Access: 8 January 2005 [www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A43088-2004Sep22.html].

⁸⁶ “World leaders back Iraqi election” BBC News – UK Edition, November 23, 2004, Accessed December 28, 2004 Available: news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4035625.stm

⁸⁷ *Statement By The Hon. Pierre Pettigrew Minister Of Foreign Affairs Of Canada At The Sharm El-Sheikh Ministerial Meeting On Iraq*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ottawa) 23 November 2004. Date of Access: 29 December 2004 [www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/middle_east/iraq_sharm-el-sheikh-en.asp].

⁸⁸ *Press Releases and Media Advisories: Establishment Of An International Mission For Iraqi Elections*, Elections Canada (Ottawa) 20 December 2004. Date of Access: 29 December 2004 [www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=med&document=dec2004b&dir=pre&lang=e&textonly=false].

the Secretariat of the organizations as well as co-chair it with Yemen.⁸⁹ The IMIE will also monitor the referendum on the Iraqi National Constitution in October 2005 as well as the second national elections scheduled for December 2005.

Lastly, Canada also agreed to be one of the 14 countries selected by the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq to host overseas polling stations during the January 30 elections. Such polls allowed Iraqi-born nationals living in Canada, as well as second-generation Iraqi-Canadians to vote in the national election. Five polling stations were set up in total — three in Toronto, one in Ottawa, and one in Calgary.⁹⁰ It was estimated that overseas polling will add another 1 million voters to the electoral registers.⁹¹ By the end of the January 30 election, it was estimated that 93% of registered expatriate Iraqis did in fact cast a ballot in the election.⁹²

2. France: +1

Since the 2004 Sea Island Summit, France has fully complied with its commitment of providing support for elections in Iraq on or before 31 January 2005. Its President and cabinet members have repeatedly reiterated France's commitment to Iraqi elections. Indeed, France has acted through the signing of further international commitments, and with other members of international organizations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU), to provide financial and other support for the holding of elections in Iraq. Most significantly, however, France has stated that its commitment to democracy in Iraq should extend beyond the January elections and include the support of the democratic process in the future, particularly for the establishment of an Iraqi constitution. To that end, France has promised several further avenues of assistance, both multilateral and independent.

It is clear that the official position of France has not wavered from support of Iraqi elections. Foreign Minister Michel Barnier has consistently indicated that elections in Iraq must take place, in spite of the inherent difficulties.⁹³ Indeed, the day of the elections, Mr. Barnier stated that “instability will be ended only through a political process, through democracy and elections”.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ “Foreign Team Will Watch Vote in Iraq from Jordan,” *New York Times* (New York) 23 December 2004. Date of Access: 29 December 2004 [www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/iraq/election/2004/1223safeteam.htm].

⁹⁰ “Iraqi Canadians register for overseas vote,” *Globe and Mail* (Toronto) 16 January 2005. Date of Access: 16 January 2005 [www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20050116.wiraq-canada0116/BNStory/National/?query=overseas+vote].

⁹¹ “1 Million overseas Iraqis may vote,” *CBS News* (New York) 12 January 2005. Date of Access: 15 January 2005 [www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/01/12/iraq/main666352.shtml].

⁹² “93 per cent of registered Iraq ex-pats vote,” *The Associated Press* (New York) 31 January 2005. Date of Access: 1 June 2005 [www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/1107182159124_25/?hub=World].

⁹³ “Ministerial Conference on Iraq: Interview given by M. Michel Barnier, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to ‘France 2’ and ‘TV5’” Embassy of France in the United States (Washington D.C.) 24 November 2004. Date of Access: 8 January 2005 [www.info-france-usa.org/news/statmnts/2004/iraq_sharmelsheikh_tv5_france2_112304.asp].

⁹⁴ “Election In Iraq: Interview Given by M. Michel Barnier, Minister Of Foreign Affairs, to the ‘Le Parisien Dimanche’ Newspaper” Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Paris) 30 January 2005. Date of Access: 13 May 2005 [www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/bulletin.gb.asp?liste=20050131.gb.html#Chapitre2].

French President Jacques Chirac himself made the point explicitly at a speech to the International Institute for Strategic Studies.⁹⁵

These and other statements of support have been followed by action on a number of international fronts. France was a key participant at the Sharm-el-Sheikh conference of 22-23 November 2004 that saw a coming together of several nations to outline a plan of action for the holding of Iraqi elections. Indeed, it signed the conference's final communiqué which included the statement that the Interim Iraqi Government is encouraged to invite "representatives of the Iraqi political spectrum and civil society" to work together in holding free and fair elections.⁹⁶ In signing this document, France also reiterated the role of the United Nations (UN) in helping to organize the elections, and also expressed support for the planned election date of 30 January 2005.⁹⁷

At the NATO Istanbul summit of 28-29 June 2004 all NATO member states, including France, signed a Statement on Iraq in which France agreed to "offer full cooperation to the new sovereign Interim Government as it seeks to strengthen internal security and prepare the way to national elections in 2005."⁹⁸ France, it must be noted however, did not contribute⁹⁹ to a NATO commitment of forces to train Iraqi security forces ahead of the election,¹⁰⁰ even as NATO agreed to increase its commitment to 300 personnel immediately before the election.¹⁰¹ France's offer of "assist[ance] in training Iraqi security forces outside Iraq"¹⁰² was not taken up by the US-led Multinational Force before the election,¹⁰³ but France has, since February, been participating in that aspect of the NATO mission.¹⁰⁴

The EU (of which France is a member) through the European Commission made a specific commitment of €31.5 million in aid to support the "deployment of 3 European experts to Baghdad; to support the work of the Independent Election Commission through the UN Election Assistance Division" and a "[t]raining programme for up to 150 representatives from Iraqi

⁹⁵ "Mr Jacques Chirac President of The French Republic at the International Institute For Strategic Studies" Office of the President (Paris) 18 November 2004. Date of Access: 6 January 2005 [www.elysee.fr/cgi-bin/auracom/aurweb/search_ang/file?aur_file=discours/2004/0411UK12.html].

⁹⁶ International Ministerial Meeting of the Neighboring Countries of Iraq, The G8 and China: Final Communiqué of International Ministerial Meeting of the Neighboring Countries of Iraq, The G8 and China. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Paris) 23 November 2004. Date of Access: 8 January 2005 [www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/article.gb.asp?ART=46125].

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Statement on Iraq: Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Istanbul on 28 June 2004. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Brussels) 28 June 2004 Date of Access: 4 January 2005 [www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/p04-098e.htm].

⁹⁹ Keith B. Richburg. "NATO to Dispatch Additional Military Trainers to Iraq" Washington Post (Washington D.C.) 23 September 2004. Date of Access: 8 January 2005 [www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A43088-2004Sep22.html].

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ "Divided Nato to boost Iraq force" BBC News Online (London) 28 January 2005. Date of Access: 13 May 2005 [news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4077631.stm].

¹⁰² Statement by the Foreign Ministry Spokesperson. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Paris) 18 November 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005 [www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/article.gb.asp?ART=45984].

¹⁰³ Brian Knowlton, "France offered help on Iraq a year ago" International Herald Tribune (Neuilly Cedex, France) 11 December 2004. Date of Access: 8 January 2005.

¹⁰⁴ "US and Europe unite on Iraq aid" BBC News Online (London) 22 February 2005. Date of Access: 14 May 2005 [news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4286133.stm].

domestic observer groups.”¹⁰⁵ It was widely noticed, however, when Mr. Chirac did not attend a meeting of EU leaders with Interim Iraqi Prime Minister Iyad Allawi.¹⁰⁶ Mr. Barnier was, however, among EU Foreign Ministers in supporting the EU Integrated Rule of Law Mission for Iraq (EUJUST LEX), which will seek to bolster the capacity of the new Iraqi administration in the area of criminal law.¹⁰⁷

France has indeed reiterated on several occasions that the elections on 30 January were important for the continued development of democracy in Iraq. Indeed, he explicitly made the links that the elections were a “the first step in a process ... [the elections have] to be used as a basis on which to build and make a success of the other stages, particularly the drawing-up of a Constitution.”¹⁰⁸ Immediately prior to the elections, France played host an official state visit by Interim Iraqi President Ghazi al-Yawar from 12–14 January.¹⁰⁹ In addition, France took the significant step of, at the same time, also hosting representatives of fourteen of Iraq’s political parties ahead of the elections for “meetings on how the French political system operates and how elections are organized.”¹¹⁰ Additionally, France was one of fourteen nations wherein expatriate Iraqis were able to cast ballots in the weeks before the 30 January election.¹¹¹

As noted, however, France has stated that its commitment to democracy in Iraq should extend beyond the elections held in January. In addition to several statements of support for the newly-elected interim government in Iraq, Mr. Barnier has supported a concrete plan for the coordination of democratic aid to Iraq.¹¹² He outlined a role for the UN and the EU, in coordinating international aid and the “restructuring of various Iraqi ministries” through the EUJUST LEX initiative, respectively.¹¹³ At the same time, however, he presented several concrete, independent, French offers of assistance: a reiteration of its earlier commitment to train

¹⁰⁵ “Commission offers fresh support for the electoral process in Iraq” European Commission (Brussels) 4 November 2004. Date of Access: 4 January 2005 [europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/iraq/news/ip04_1340.htm].

¹⁰⁶ “Chirac 'snubs' Allawi at EU talks” BBC News Online (London) 5 November 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005 [news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3984879.stm].

¹⁰⁷ “Comments by Javier Solana following Decision on EU Integrated Rule of Law Mission for Iraq (EUJUST LEX) and Appointment of Head of Mission” Council of the European Union (Brussels) 8 March 2005. Date of Access: 14 May 2005. [ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/declarations/84064.pdf].

¹⁰⁸ “Election In Iraq: Interview Given by M. Michel Barnier, Minister Of Foreign Affairs, to the ‘Le Parisien Dimanche’ Newspaper”. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Paris) 30 January 2005. Date of Access: 13 May 2005 [www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/bulletin.gb.asp?liste=20050131.gb.html#Chapitre2].

¹⁰⁸ “Mr Jacques Chirac President of The French Republic at the International Institute For Strategic Studies” Office of the President (Paris) 18 November 2004. Date of Access: 6 January 2005 [www.elysee.fr/cgi-bin/auracom/aurweb/search_ang/file?aur_file=discours/2004/0411UK12.html].

¹⁰⁹ Statement by the Foreign Ministry Spokesperson. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Paris) 11 January 2005. Date of Access: 14 May 2005 [www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/article.gb.asp?ART=46979].

¹¹⁰ Statement by the Foreign Ministry Spokesperson. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Paris) 7 January 2005. Date of Access: 14 May 2005 [www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/article.gb.asp?ART=46917].

¹¹¹ “Expatriate Iraqis head to polls” BBC News Online (London) 28 January 2005. Date of Access: 13 May 2005 [news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4215393.stm].

¹¹² “Presentation by Michel Barnier at the general affairs / external relations council of a draft schema for aid coordination to Iraq” Statement by the Foreign Ministry Spokesperson. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Paris) 22 February 2005. Date of Access: 14 May 2005 [www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/article.gb.asp?ART=47744]

¹¹³ Ibid.

Iraqi security forces, to be “modeled on the gendarmerie;” month-long training sessions for up to 160 Iraqi police officers this coming summer; and the training of up to 30 Iraqi judges at the National School of the Magistrature in Bordeaux.¹¹⁴ Mr. Barnier’s view that “instability [in Iraq] will be ended only through a political process”¹¹⁵ and “won’t be ended by additional soldiers or military operations,” is in line with the focus of these French efforts to boost the capacity of the political leaders of Iraq on the way towards democracy and a constitution.¹¹⁶ These efforts, coupled with France’s statements and actions prior to the elections themselves, are indicative of full compliance with its Sea Island commitment to support democratic elections in Iraq.

3. Germany: +1

Germany has fully complied with its commitment towards supporting Iraqi elections by 31 January 2005, and has, furthermore, continued efforts at democratizing Iraq in the months after the Iraqi election. Statements by its Chancellor and Foreign Minister indicate clear support for Iraqi elections. Germany has, along with other G8 members, reaffirmed its commitment to Iraqi elections on several occasions and has acted through international organization such as the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) towards its commitment. The German government refuses to station any security personnel directly in Iraq, but it has trained Iraqi soldiers and police ahead of and subsequent to the Iraqi elections. In addition it has provided financial support to the actions of German non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to run several programs in Iraq to directly support the 30 January 2005 elections and democratizing efforts beyond that date.

These direct actions have been buttressed by German work to build international support for the elections. Germany participated in the Sharm-el-Sheikh conference in late November 2004 where Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer reiterated Germany’s commitment to elections and stated that Iraq “cannot [be] effectively stabilize[d] ... through military means alone; rather, political solutions are required” and that “[i]n this respect, the elections that are planned for January 2005 are of central importance.”¹¹⁷ In the communiqué signed at the end of the summit, Germany further committed to the role that the United Nations (UN) is to play in organizing the elections and supporting a 30 January 2005 election date.¹¹⁸

Through Germany’s membership in the EU and its seat on the European Council, Mr. Schröder reaffirmed that “[t]he elections planned for January 2005 are an important step ... and the

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ “Election In Iraq: Interview Given by M. Michel Barnier, Minister Of Foreign Affairs, to the ‘Le Parisien Dimanche’ Newspaper” Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Paris) 30 January 2005. Date of Access: 13 May 2005 [www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/bulletin.gb.asp?liste=20050131.gb.html#Chapitre2].

¹¹⁶ *Standpoint No. 107*. Embassy of France in Washington – Press and Communication Service. (Washington D.C.) 4 February 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2005 [www.info-france-usa.org/news/standpoint/stand107.asp].

¹¹⁷ “Speech by Federal Minister Fischer at the international conference on Iraq, Sharm el-Sheikh, 23 November 2004” Federal Foreign Office (Berlin) 23 November 2004. Date of Access: 8 January 2005. [www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/ausgabe_archiv?archiv_id=6493].

¹¹⁸ International Ministerial Meeting of the Neighboring Countries of Iraq, The G8 and China: Final Communiqué of International Ministerial Meeting of the Neighboring Countries of Iraq, The G8 and China. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Paris) 23 November 2004. Date of Access: 8 January 2005. [www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/article.gb.asp?ART=46125].

European Council noted the importance of the EU's continued support for these."¹¹⁹ The European Commission also announced on 4 November 2004 an election aid package of €31.5 million to fund the sending of elections experts to Iraq, the establishment of a training program for Iraqi election observers and voter outreach programs aimed at women.¹²⁰ After the elections, on 21 February 2005, Germany and other EU members committed themselves to "an integrated European mission for the rule of law in Iraq", known as EUJUST LEX, that Germany plans to support with training for 40 or more Iraqi officials.¹²¹

Germany, along with other NATO countries, signed the Statement on Iraq at the NATO Istanbul Summit on 29 June 2004. In this document, Germany and its allies recognized the need to "strengthen internal security and prepare the way to national elections in 2005."¹²² German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder expressed the view that this was a key element in "seeing the emergence of a stable and democratic Iraq."¹²³ In spite of Germany's stated position of not sending German security personnel to Iraq,¹²⁴ this signed pledge was followed up with a plan of training measures for Iraqi army forces ahead of the election.¹²⁵ For a period from mid-November to late December 2004, a team of 34 German personnel trained Iraqi soldiers in the United Arab Emirates "pursuant to decisions taken at the NATO summit".¹²⁶ Germany's Bundeswehr also currently provides air transport for Iraqi trainees involved in the NATO training in Europe.¹²⁷ These efforts represent part of a total commitment of €17 million "for equipment aid and training for Iraqi security forces" both before and after the 30 January 2005 elections.¹²⁸

What can be taken as a sign of further commitment, in addition to this training, the German Federal Office of Criminal Investigation (BKA) has also established a training school in the

¹¹⁹ "European Council Declaration on the Relation Between the EU and Iraq" Presidency Conclusions, Council of the European Union (Brussels) 5 November 2004. Date of Access: 6 January 2005.

[europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/gac/pres_concl/nov2004.pdf#iraqdeclaration].

¹²⁰ "Commission offers fresh support for the electoral process in Iraq." European Commission (Brussels) 4 November 2004. Date of Access: 4 January 2005.

[europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/iraq/news/ip04_1340.htm].

¹²¹ "German aid for the stabilization and reconstruction of Iraq" Federal Foreign Office (Berlin) 16 February 2005. Date of Access: 14 May 2005. [www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/laenderinfos/info_irak/wiederaufbau_html].

¹²² Statement on Iraq: Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Istanbul on 28 June 2004. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Brussels) 28 June 2004. Date of Access: 4 January 2005 [www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/p04-098e.htm].

¹²³ "NATO Praises German Efforts" Press and Information Office of the Federal Government (Berlin) 1 July 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005. [www.bundesregierung.de/en/dokumente/-,10001.676641/Artikel/dokument.htm].

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ "German government approves joint support measures for Iraq" Press and Information Office of the Federal Government (Berlin) 5 October 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005. [www.bundesregierung.de/en/dokumente/-,10001.724367/Pressemitteilung/dokument.htm].

¹²⁶ "German armed forces begin training Iraqi military personnel" Press and Information Office of the Federal Government (Berlin) 17 November 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005.

[www.bundesregierung.de/en/dokumente/-,10001.746438/Artikel/dokument.htm].

¹²⁷ "German aid for the stabilization and reconstruction of Iraq" Federal Foreign Office (Berlin) 16 February 2005. Date of Access: 14 May 2005. [www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/laenderinfos/info_irak/wiederaufbau_html].

¹²⁸ Ibid.

UAE for Iraqi police.¹²⁹ 420 Iraqi police had been trained by November and this training was extended beyond the date of the elections. Beginning on 26 January 2005, a new training programme run by 10 BKA experts was begun specifically to prepare 30 Iraqis¹³⁰ for duty as bodyguards in the protection of the members of the newly-elected Iraqi interim government.¹³¹

In addition to these commitments, Germany had pledged significant funds for election and stabilization support programs of its own. It has committed €4 million for the protection of the UN mission in Iraq, which is to play a central role in the elections process,¹³² and an additional €1 million which went directly to the support of the January 2005 elections.¹³³ 120 elections observers from “independent Iraqi organizations” were trained in Amman, Jordan from September through mid-December through a program funded by the Federal Foreign Office and organized by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation that created a network of some 2,500 elections observers.¹³⁴ Germany also provided €150,000¹³⁵ for the establishment of an Iraqi radio programme in December 2004 aimed at raising awareness of the 30 January election and election procedures.¹³⁶ Most recently, Germany has provided €674,000 for the funding of de-mining efforts in Iraq after the election, to buttress its other stabilization efforts.¹³⁷

4. Italy: +1

Italy has registered a strong level of compliance with commitments made for assisting the Iraqi electoral process, focusing mainly on the issue of security, which United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, has declared is indispensable in holding “credible elections.”¹³⁸

Italy has been keeping 3,500 troops stationed in Iraq and was said by Italian foreign minister Gianfranco Fini to maintain this troop presence beyond the January 2005 elections, “until after the country has elected a new government and the new government is satisfied it no longer needs

¹²⁹ “German aid for the stabilization and reconstruction of Iraq” Federal Foreign Office (Berlin) 16 February 2005. Date of Access: 14 May 2005. [www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/laenderinfos/info_irak/wiederaufbau_html].

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Gebauer, Matthias. “How Germany Is Training Iraqis for the World's Toughest Job” SPIEGEL ONLINE (Berlin) 17 February 2005. [service.spiegel.de/cache/international/0,1518,342236,00.html].

¹³² “IRAQ CRISIS: Weekly round-up Number 77 for 28 August - 3 September” UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (New York) 4 September 2004. Accessed 8 January 2005 [www.plusnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=43005&SelectWeekly=Weekly&WRegion=Middle_East].

¹³³ “German aid for the stabilization and reconstruction of Iraq.” Federal Foreign Office (Berlin) 2 December 2004. Date of Access: 8 January 2005 [www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/laenderinfos/info_irak/wiederaufbau_html].

¹³⁴ “German aid for the stabilization and reconstruction of Iraq” Federal Foreign Office (Berlin) 2 December 2004. Date of Access: 8 January 2005 [www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/laenderinfos/info_irak/wiederaufbau_html].

¹³⁵ “Federal Foreign Office funds election radio programme in Iraq” Federal Foreign Office (Berlin) 21 December 2004. Date of Access: 8 December 2004 [www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/ausgabe_archiv?archiv_id=6621].

¹³⁶ Sebastian Usher, “Radio station to help Iraqis decide” BBC News Online (London) 16 December 2004. Date of Access: 8 January 2005 [news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4100183.stm].

¹³⁷ “Federal Foreign Office provides 674,000 euro for humanitarian demining in Iraq” Federal Foreign Office (Berlin) 22 February 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2005. [www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/ausgabe_archiv?archiv_id=6843].

¹³⁸ “Excerpts: Annan interview,” *BBC World News* (London) 16 September 2004. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. [news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3661640.stm].

international forces to guarantee stability.”¹³⁹ Security emerged as a critical issue in the elections and the ability to create a safe and secure environment through troop deployment was a major form of compliance for G8 countries like Italy, the US and the UK. As of yet, Italy has made no plans to withdraw its troops from Iraq.¹⁴⁰

Italy’s main military operations in support of the elections have been centered around aiding Iraq’s implementation of a policy of stabilization and local training in the Iraqi province of Dhi Qar, where Rome’s military contingent is deployed. The Italian contingent has offered a training course for a delegation of Iraqi government representatives from the province with the aim of supporting local institutions involved in bringing about a free and democratic Iraq, while, at the same time, increasing the security of that region.¹⁴¹

Italy, furthermore, showed unwavering support and enthusiasm for the International Conference on Iraq, convened on 24 November at Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt. The Italian delegation at the conference was led by Foreign Minister Gianfranco Fini. The minister joined representatives from the UN, G8, EU, China, Egypt, Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries in endorsing the full implementation of UN resolution 1546, which calls for supporting the temporary Iraqi government as well as national elections in the country by January 2005.¹⁴² Fini also emphasized the necessity of broadening the political process to involve all civil society and religious groups.

Italy, as a member of the EU, is also affiliated with a package of aid provided to the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq by the European Union at the Sharm el-Sheikh conference. The package, which amounts to over €30 million, is to be used “to support preparation of the elections by the Independent Electoral Commission, technical expertise, voter outreach particularly to women, media development and training of Iraqi election observers.”¹⁴³

In a statement made on 28 January, foreign minister Gianfranco Fini called the upcoming elections “a fundamental phase in the process destined to ensure a future of democracy and freedom for all Iraqis,” and reaffirmed the commitment of the Italian government to establishing a fruitful collaboration with Iraq, “characterised by a spirit of friendship and partnership.”¹⁴⁴ Following the elections, Minister Fini met with U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice on 8

¹³⁹ Italy to keep Troops in Iraq, Fini Vows, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Rome) 6 December 2004. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. www.esteri.it/eng/0_1_01.asp?id=557.

¹⁴⁰ “America's 'dwindling coalition',” *BBC World News* (London) 6 May 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2005. news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/4523857.stm.

¹⁴¹ Minister Frattini received a delegation of local government representatives from the Iraqi province of Dhi Qar, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Rome) 28 October 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. www.esteri.it/eng/0_1_01.asp?id=485.

¹⁴² International Conference on Iraq, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Rome) 23 November 2004. Date of Access 3 January 2005. www.esteri.it/eng/0_1_01.asp?id=527.

¹⁴³ Sharm el Sheikh: The EU offers Iraq Support and Partnership, European Commission External Relations Directorate General (Brussels) 22 November 2004. Date of Access 10 January 2005. europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/iraq/news/ip04_1388.htm.

¹⁴⁴ Statement by Minister for Foreign Affairs Gianfranco Fini on the Iraqi elections, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Rome) 28 January 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2005. www.esteri.it/eng/0_1_01.asp?id=651.

February and discussed the possibility of a new international conference on Iraq to outline the situation in the country past the elections.¹⁴⁵

5. Japan: +1

Japan demonstrated a high level of compliance with their commitment to aid Iraq in the electoral process leading to national elections for the Transitional National Authority. Japan's contribution includes monetary assistance, training of election officials, facilitating meetings of donor committee and monitoring overseas voting. However, Japan's commitment to future electoral processes such as the referendum on the Iraqi constitution in October, or the elections for the next National Assembly in December is not yet clearly specified.

Japan hosted the Third Expanded Meeting of the Donor Committee of the International Reconstruction Fund Facility for Iraq, in Tokyo on the 13th of October, 2004.¹⁴⁶ In response to appeals made by the Iraqi Independent Elections Commission and the UN at this meeting, several donors made announcements of contributions in support of the electoral process and other countries indicated they would announce contributions in the near future.¹⁴⁷ Japan announced that it would contribute \$40 million (USD) of its overall contribution to supporting the elections in Iraq. Japan also attended the Sharm el Sheikh international conference on Iraq on November 22, 2004 at which national elections were the main topic of discussion. They endorsed the conference's final statement which affirmed "the 'leading role'" of the UN in helping Iraq prepare for elections and build consensus to write a new constitution."¹⁴⁸ Japan was one of the three largest donors to the election preparations in Iraq, along with the US and the EU.¹⁴⁹

In December, 2004, in order to facilitate the electoral process, Japan trained ten Iraqi election officials from the election board of the southern Iraqi province of Muthania and the board's supervisory body in Baghdad.¹⁵⁰ Japan also participated in international observation of the out-of-country voting for the Iraqi elections. Japanese embassy staffs in France, Iran, Jordan, Turkey, Sweden, Syria, the United Arab Emirates and the U.K. participated in the international observation of the overseas voting in their respective countries from January 28th to January 30th, 2005.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁵ Minister Fini meets with United States Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Rome) 28 January 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2005. www.esteri.it/eng/0_1_01.asp?id=668.

¹⁴⁶ Embassy of Japan in Washington DC Press Release: Japan Hosted International Meeting for Reconstruction of Iraq.

¹⁴⁷ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan: Chair's Summary of the Expanded Meeting of the International Reconstruction Fund for Iraq, 13 October, 2004. Date of Access: 11 January, 2005 [www.mofa.go.jp/region/middle_e/iraq/issue2003/irffi/summary.html]

¹⁴⁸ "World leaders back Iraqi election" BBC News – UK Edition, November 23, 2004. Date of Access: 28 December, 2004 [news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4035625.stm]

¹⁴⁹ U.S. Department of State fact sheet: State Department Recaps Details of Iraqi Election, 05 January, 2005. Date of Access: 06 January, 2005 [tokyo.usembassy.gov/e/p/tp-20050106-15.html]

¹⁵⁰ "Iraq election officials to be trained in Japan," Japan Today, 14 December, 2004. Date of Access: 07 January, 2005 [www.japantoday.com/e/?content=news&cat=9&id=321898]

¹⁵¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan: Japan to participate in the international observation of the OCV (Out-of-Country-Voting) of the National Assembly election of Iraq, 28 January, 2005. Date of Access: 13 May, 2005 [www.mofa.go.jp/announce/announce/2005/1/0128.html]

It should be noted that Tokyo has stationed approximately 500 troops from the Japanese Self-Defense Forces in Iraq. While in the case of the United States and the United Kingdom troop deployment has been considered evidence of compliance towards the above commitment, in the case of Japan the deployment of troops has been excluded. This is due to the fact that US and UK troops are operating in a combat role designed to bring security to Iraq which has been recognized by the UN and the international community as an essential prerequisite for the elections. Japanese troops, however, as operating in a strictly non-combat role with their activities limited to purifying water and rebuilding infrastructure in the Muthana region of southern Iraq.¹⁵² As such, it would be too broad and inclusive to consider this direct compliance with the commitment in question.

The government of Japan has hailed the Iraqi elections and the subsequent appointment of the Iraqi Transitional Government as “...an important step toward the democratization of Iraq, which brings the country into a new stage.”¹⁵³ At the 14th EU-Japan summit at Luxembourg in May, 2005, Prime Minister of Japan, Mr Junichiro Koizumi, issued a joint statement with the EU leadership welcoming, “... the formation of the new transitional Iraqi government” and, “... reaffirmed the importance [of] the continuing implementation of the next stages laid down in Resolution 1546, including the drafting of a permanent Constitution, leading to the establishment of a Government by 31 December 2005 at the latest.”¹⁵⁴ However, in spite of its intent, Japan has yet to declare specific contributions towards successful implementation of the referendum on the Iraqi constitution in October, or the December elections for the next National Assembly.

6. Russia: 0

The Russian Federation has registered a very-low level of compliance with its the 2004 Sea Island Greater Middle East Initiative commitment of guaranteeing democratic elections in Iraq by January 2005. The Russian Federation’s recent post-election statements in support of Iraqi elections lessen but do not neutralize the pernicious effects of its dubious, pre-election level of support.

The Russian Federation had, at times, voiced vocal support for a free and democratic Iraq and discussed the matter in depth during a bilateral meeting between Putin and Iraqi interim Prime Minister Iyad Allawi on 7 December 2004. In a speech addressed to Allawi, President Putin proclaimed that the Russian Federation was “prepared to support all your efforts directed towards political stabilisation in your country.”¹⁵⁵ However, the Russian Federation’s

¹⁵² “Japan OKs plan to keep troops in Iraq,” *USA Today* (McLean, VA, US) 9 December 2004. Date of Access: 16 January 2005 [www.usatoday.com/news/world/iraq/2004-12-09-japan-troops_x.htm].

¹⁵³ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan: Statement by Mr. Nobutaka Machimura, Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the new President and Prime Minister of the Iraqi Transitional Government, 08 April, 2005. Date of Access: 13 May, 2005 [www.mofa.go.jp/announce/announce/2005/4/0408-3.html]

¹⁵⁴ Speeches and Statements by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi: 14th Japan-EU Summit, Luxembourg, 2 May 2005 Joint Press Statement. Date of Access: 13 May, 2005 [www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/koizumispeech/2005/05/02seimei_e.html]

¹⁵⁵ *Start of a meeting of Russian President Vladimir Putin with the Prime Minister of the Interim government of Iraq, Iyad Allawi*, Moscow, the Kremlin, December 8, 2004, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (Moscow), Accessed December 29, 2004, Available: [www.ln.mid.ru/Brp_4.nsf/arh/5EFEB6DD02014DEC3256F6400450CB8?OpenDocument]

commitment has been ultimately undermined President Putin's other comments made at the same time. President Putin has claimed on separate occasions that "I very much doubt whether it is possible to ensure [elections] will be democratic when the country is completely occupied by foreign troops;"¹⁵⁶ and that "I cannot imagine how elections can be organised when the country is completely occupied by foreign troops."¹⁵⁷

The Russian Federation deserves credit for its recent support of the Iraqi election. President Vladimir Putin called the election "an important event, maybe a historic event, for the Iraqi people because it is undoubtedly a step toward democratization of the country."¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, the Federation pledged to continue "to render the Iraqi people assistance in overcoming the problems brought on by the war and terror" immediately following the elections.¹⁵⁹ Meanwhile, the Russian Federation's continued support of the United Nations point further toward a level of compliance.

While its support of the United Nations and its pledge to redeploy various technical specialists to Iraq¹⁶⁰ are encouraging, the Russian Federation's commitment to securing democratic elections in Iraq has been less-than-full. It offered no technical or logistical assistance, did not host polls within its own borders, and remained absent from issue-specific international organizations like the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq. Likewise, it has been silent on the prospects of future elections and the Russian Federation's role in guaranteeing a democratic future in Iraq. The shadow of its tenuous pre-election support still hangs over the Russian Federation's compliance in this issue-area

7. United Kingdom: +1

The United Kingdom has measured a significantly high level of compliance in the second-half of the compliance year toward guaranteeing democratic elections in Iraq by 2005 as committed at the 2004 G8 Island Summit. Its contribution was focused in its technical and logistic support both in Iraq and at home in the United Kingdom, significant troop contribution to the multinational force in Iraq, its work with the United Nations, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and its consistent statements of support.

¹⁵⁶ Vladimir Putin, Press conference Dec. 23, 2004 Accessed December 29, 2004, Available: [www.ln.mid.ru/Brp_4.nsf/arh/4FB0F1F9C0D53683C3256F740024DEC4?OpenDocument]

¹⁵⁷ *Start of a meeting of Russian President Vladimir Putin with the Prime Minister of the Interim government of Iraq, Iyad Allawi*, Moscow, the Kremlin, December 8, 2004, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (Moscow), Accessed December 29, 2004, Available:

[www.ln.mid.ru/Brp_4.nsf/arh/5EFEB60DD02014DEC3256F6400450CB8?OpenDocument]

¹⁵⁸ "World leaders praise Iraq election," *USA Today* (McLean, VA, US) 31 January 2005 Accessed 11 May 2005 Available: www.usatoday.com/news/world/iraq/2005-01-31-iraq-world-reax_x.htm

¹⁵⁹ *Statement by Alexander Yakovenko, the Spokesman of Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Regarding General Elections in Iraq*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (Moscow), 31 January 2005 Accessed 11 May 2005 Available

www.ln.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/e78a48070f128a7b43256999005bcbb3/90c5877be2258c26c3256f9a004bab86?OpenDocument

¹⁶⁰ "Russia is coming back to Iraq," *Pravda* (Moscow) 28 April 2005 Accessed 12 May 2005 Available: english.pravda.ru/main/18/88/354/15374_Iraq.html

The UK held voting for Iraqi nationals at three different polling stations, one each in Glasgow, London and Manchester. Although barely a fifth of eligible voters in the UK cast ballots¹⁶¹ and minor fights broke out at the Manchester polls,¹⁶² the UK's electoral assistance to domestic Iraqi nationals, while far from perfect, can be called a success because it allowed Iraqis to cast ballots effectively, efficiently, and safely.

In addition to its work within its own borders, as a member of the International Mission for Iraqi Elections, the UK helped staff two election staffs to work with the UN in Baghdad. It also contributed \$10 million for Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (IECI) security through the UN Trust Fund for elections, contributed to logistical help for the EU Commission for three EU electoral experts, and seconded two elections staff to work with the IECI and UN in Baghdad.¹⁶³

The UK has consistently contributed thousands of troops to Iraq under the British Operation *Telic*—second in troop strength only to the United States.¹⁶⁴ The UK increased its troop commitment, which leads the multinational force in south eastern Iraq, to over 9000 strong in support of the elections.¹⁶⁵ Prior to the election, British troops worked to quell the insurgencies that threatened the elections and also to train Iraqi security forces, particularly in conjunction with the UN and NATO as a member of the UN-Mandated Multinational Force, which trains security forces and election officials.¹⁶⁶

British officials have also remained stalwart in their support of the election. Prime Minister Tony Blair said ““We know there are many difficulties that lie ahead. But it was moving and humbling... to see the enthusiasm and clear-sighted courage of Iraqis who came out to vote for the first time in their lives... despite the dangers.””¹⁶⁷

8. United States: +1

The United States has shown a strong and persistent compliance with its commitment in assisting the Iraqi electoral process as pledged at the 2004 Sea Island Summit. The US' compliance activities have been mainly directed through its provision of extensive security in Iraq, which, as stated by UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, is an essential precondition to “credible elections”

¹⁶¹ “UK Iraq elections voting closes” BBC News – UK Edition (London) 30 January 2005 Accessed 11 May 2005 Available: news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4219953.stm

¹⁶² “Iraqis clash at polling station” BBC News – UK Edition (London) 30 January 2005 Accessed 11 May 2005 Available: news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/manchester/4220437.stm

¹⁶³ “Iraq – Elections” British Foreign and Commonwealth Office (London) Accessed 11 May 2005 Available: www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1100185192552

¹⁶⁴ Operation *Telic* – British Forces, Ministry of Defence (London) Accessed 11 May 2005 Available: www.operations.mod.uk/telic/forces.htm

¹⁶⁵ “More UK troops being sent to Iraq” BBC UK (London) Accessed 11 May 2005 Available: news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4212655.stm

¹⁶⁶ Iraq – Security/Multinational Force- Foreign and Commonwealth Office (London) Accessed 3 January 2005 Available: www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1007029394446

¹⁶⁷ “In quotes: Iraq election reaction” BBC News – UK Edition (London) Accessed 13 May 2005 Available: news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4220741.stm

in Iraq, and through monetary and logistical support.¹⁶⁸ Some world leaders, however, have criticized certain actions undertaken by the administration for alienating segments of the population and for thus rendering the outcome of the elections illegitimate.

The United States has played a significant role in economically supporting the conduct of the elections, pledging the largest amount of aid in the international community, over \$40 million, to the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq, which was established to supervise the January 30 elections and to ensure a fair and transparent process.¹⁶⁹ The US also organized the Sharm el-Sheikh Conference on Iraq on 22 November 2004 which brought together the UN, G8 countries, EU, China, Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries and the Interim Government of Iraq to discuss Iraqi elections and reconstruction. Moreover, with a total of 150,000 troops present in Iraq, the United States employed a strong military presence to create safe and secure conditions for the elections. In Baghdad alone, the US deployed more than 35,000 troops before and during the national elections, in order to enhance security in the city and to provide an environment conducive to the conduct of elections.¹⁷⁰

One of the most important efforts made by the United States in providing support for the Iraqi electoral process has been proclaimed by the administration to be the elimination of safe-havens for insurgents threatening the conduct of elections through the American military siege on the city of Fallujah. The move, however, came despite warnings by the United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, that such an attack would not be favourable to procuring fair and free elections in Iraq, as it would further alienate Iraqis and undermine elections in the country by reinforcing Iraqi perceptions of an enduring U.S. military occupation.¹⁷¹ These concerns were later echoed by leaders from Arab and European countries at the Sharm-el-Sheikh conference who warned against U.S. actions in Iraq that alienated Sunnis in particular by removing them from the political process.¹⁷²

The United States further demonstrated its support for Iraqi elections by vowing to provide security to U.N. election workers sent to Iraq to assist with the 30 January national parliamentary elections.¹⁷³ In addition, the United States agreed to be one of the 14 countries selected by the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq to host overseas polling stations during the January 30 elections. Such polls allowed Iraqi-born nationals living in the US, as well as second-

¹⁶⁸ "Excerpts: Annan interview," *BBC World News* (London) 16 September 2004. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3661640.stm.

¹⁶⁹ State Department Recaps Details of Iraqi Election, U.S. Department of State's Bureau of International Information Programs (Washington D.C.) 5 January 2005. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2005/Jan/05-313271.html.

¹⁷⁰ Strong U.S. Military Presence Enhances Iraq Election Security, U.S. Department of State's Bureau of International Information Programs (Washington D.C.) 6 January 2005. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. usinfo.state.gov/Archive/2005/Jan/06-841144.html.

¹⁷¹ "Annan warns against Fallujah offensive," *CBC News* (Toronto) 6 Nov 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. www.cbc.ca/story/world/national/2004/11/06/fallujah041106.html.

¹⁷² "Nations urge Iraq to broaden elections," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (Philadelphia) 24 November 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. www.philly.com/mlld/inquirer/news/nation/10258242.htm.

¹⁷³ U.S. to Assist in Providing Security for U.N. Election Workers in Iraq, U.S. Department of State's Bureau of International Information Programs (Washington D.C.) 17 December 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2004/Dec/20-911376.html.

generation Iraqi-Americans to vote in the national election — provisions which had the potential of adding 234,000 votes to the Iraqi poll. A total of twenty-five polling stations were set up across Chicago, Nashville, Los Angeles, Detroit and Washington D.C. It was estimated at the time that overseas polling could add another 1 million voters to the electoral registers.¹⁷⁴

On 18 January 2005, Iraq's Transitional Administrative Law defined the criteria for candidacy to Iraq's Transitional National Assembly and the timeline for the Assembly to complete its work in drafting a constitution.¹⁷⁵ Important dates include August 15 as the deadline for the drafting of a permanent constitution, October 15 for a referendum on the constitution, and December 31 for the installation of a new government, following elections.

Despite some sporadic violence, millions of Iraqis voted in the January 30 elections and 98.8 percent of the 5,232 polls that were expected to open did so.¹⁷⁶ The elections were praised by many U.S. officials, including President Bush, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. Meanwhile, on 3 February, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz stressed the need to rejoice about the election turnout with some degree of caution, due to the persisting terrorist threat.¹⁷⁷ Following the tallying of the votes by the Independent Electoral Commission, U.N. Under Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Kieran Prendergast, stated that the elections had “met recognized standards in terms of election organization, regulations and procedures,” and expressed satisfaction with the conduct of the polls.¹⁷⁸

The Iraqi presidency council, consisting of President Jalal Talabani and his two deputy presidents, Adil Abd al-Mahdi and Ghazi Ajil al-Yawer, was chosen on 6 April 2005, following weeks of political stalemate.¹⁷⁹ Ibrahim Jaafari was later designated by the council as Prime Minister.¹⁸⁰ On 28 April, more than 12 weeks after the elections, Jaafari announced his cabinet line-up, which faced much criticism, particularly for its exclusion of Sunnis. Despite intense negotiations, furthermore, the 3 May swearing-in ceremony was conducted with several key

¹⁷⁴ “1 Million overseas Iraqis may vote,” *CBS News* (New York) 12 January 2005. Date of Access: 15 January 2005 [www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/01/12/iraq/main666352.shtml].

¹⁷⁵ Iraq's Transitional Administrative Law Defines Political Process, U.S. Department of State's Bureau of International Information Programs (Washington D.C.) 18 January 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2005. usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2005/Jan/18-604071.html.

¹⁷⁶ “Sporadic violence doesn't deter Iraqi voters,” *CNN World News* (Atlanta) 31 January 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2005. www.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/meast/01/30/iraq.main.

¹⁷⁷ Difficulties Still Ahead for Democracy in Iraq, Wolfowitz Says, U.S. Department of State's Bureau of International Information Programs (Washington D.C.) 06 February 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2005. usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2005/Feb/06-3598.html.

¹⁷⁸ United Nations Formally Endorses Conduct of Iraqi Elections, U.S. Department of State's Bureau of International Information Programs (Washington D.C.) 16 February 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2005. usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2005/Feb/16-611776.html.

¹⁷⁹ “Kurd leader named Iraq president,” *BBC World News* (London) 6 April 2005. Date of Access: 16 May 2005. news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4415459.stm.

¹⁸⁰ “Shia named as Iraq prime minister,” *BBC World News* (London) 7 April 2005. Date of Access: 16 May 2005. news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4420971.stm.

posts left vacant.¹⁸¹ On 8 May, the political process faced a further setback when Hashim al-Shibli, the designated human rights minister, rejected the offered post.¹⁸²

In a surprise visit to Iraq on 15 May, Condoleezza Rice stressed that the drafting of a constitution must be next on the agenda for Iraq and emphasized the need to include the Sunnis in the process.¹⁸³ The ongoing delays in forming the new Iraqi government, however, have led some to question the ability of the Iraqi National Assembly to meet the approaching deadlines for the drafting of the constitution and its submission to referendum. What is more, there has been very little done by the U.S. to assist in ensuring that the deadlines set forth in the Transitional Administrative Law are met. Delays in forming the new government play into the hands of the insurgency, which the U.S. and Iraqi forces have been quite unsuccessful in quelling. More than 400 people died in attacks in the two weeks following the announcement of Iraq's new government on 28 April.¹⁸⁴

9. European Union: +1

The EU compliance with its commitment consisted mainly of monetary donation to the electoral process in Iraq. They have also made non-monetary contributions such as technical expertise, voter awareness programs and training of election officials. However, this is not a robust compliance grade since the EU has not made any specific commitments to the referendum on the Iraqi constitution in October or the elections for next National Assembly in December, 2005. Concern also remains as to whether the scale of the contributions is appropriate to the capability of the EU.

The EU commitment pledge, made at Sharm el Sheikh to the January election in Iraq included:

- €30 million for preparation of the election, including support for the Independent Electoral Commission, Information Technology, voter outreach, media development and boosting the participation of women.
- €1.5 million for activities including the deployment of 3 European experts to Baghdad to support the work of the Independent Election Commission through the UN Election Assistance Division and the training programme for up to 150 representatives from Iraqi domestic observer groups.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ "Sunni question dogs new Iraqi cabinet," *BBC World News* (London) 3 May 2005. Date of Access: 16 May 2005. news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4495801.stm.

¹⁸² "A New Political Setback for Iraq's Cabinet," *New York Times* (New York) 9 May 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2005. www.nytimes.com/2005/05/09/international/middleeast/09iraq.html.

¹⁸³ Rice, on Surprise Visit, Lauds Iraq's "Tremendous Spirit", U.S. Department of State's Bureau of International Information Programs (Washington D.C.) 16 May 2005. Date of Access: 15 May 2005. usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2005/May/16-778113.html.

¹⁸⁴ "Thousands' flee fighting in Iraq," *BBC World News* (London) 13 May 2005. Date of Access: 16 May 2005. news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4545357.stm.

¹⁸⁵ Europa External Relations: Commission offers fresh support for the electoral process in Iraq

- An ESDP (European Security and Defence Policy) integrated police, rule of law and civilian administration mission is expected to be deployed to Iraq in 2005.¹⁸⁶

With its contribution of €31.5 million, the EU was one of the three largest donors to the Iraqi electoral process along with the U.S. and Japan.¹⁸⁷ However, doubts have been expressed as to whether this is too small a sum compared to EU capabilities.¹⁸⁸

The EU did not participate in the International Mission for Iraqi Elections, a multi-national body formed to assist in planning, conducting and assessing Iraq's three elections in 2005.¹⁸⁹ Although some EU member countries hosted expatriate Iraqi polls in their countries, there was no concerted EU-wide effort to facilitate this process in all member countries.¹⁹⁰ There was also no troop contribution by the EU for the purpose of establishing security during the election.

On the diplomatic front, EU support for the Iraqi electoral process got to a shaky start with top EU officials sending mixed diplomatic signals about the feasibility of the elections. In early November, 2005, EU foreign policy chief Javier Solana expressed grave concerns about the deteriorating security situation in Iraq and the prospects of holding elections in the midst of the violence.¹⁹¹ The EU, however, reaffirmed its commitment to the election timetable at the Sharm el Sheikh international conference on Iraq on November 22, 2004.¹⁹² In notable contrast, diplomatic response from the EU after the January 30th elections has been overwhelmingly positive. In a statement on 31 January, the Luxembourg EU presidency stopped short of calling the elections a "resounding success" as President Bush had done, but the EU did pay "tribute to the courage and resolve of the Iraqis who voted in the election despite the difficult security circumstances".¹⁹³

The EU further reaffirmed its will to "support Iraq on the road to stability, peace and democracy, notably during the next stage, the constitutional process. In this regard, we have underlined the importance of the full involvement of all groups of Iraqi society in this process".¹⁹⁴ The European Council noted, "...the continuing support of the European Union in the constitutional

¹⁸⁶ "Prospects for the EU in 2005", Presented to the British Parliament by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, February, 2005. Date of Access: 13 May, 2005.

[www.fc.gov.uk/Files/kfile/White%20Paper%20Cmnd%206450.pdf]

¹⁸⁷ U.S. Department of State fact sheet: State Department Recaps Details of Iraqi Election, 05 January, 2005. Date of Access: 06 January, 2005 [tokyo.usembassy.gov/e/p/tp-20050106-15.html]

¹⁸⁸ "EU downplays tensions over Iraq", BBC News, 05 November, 2004. Date of Access: 06 January, 2005 [news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3984647.stm]

¹⁸⁹ "IMIE Publishes Preliminary Assessment of Iraqi Elections", International Mission for Iraqi Elections, 30 January, 2005. Date of Access: 10 May, 2005. [www.imie.ca/media3.html]

¹⁹⁰ "Iraq: An Elections Primer", USINFO, U.S. Department of State, February, 2005. Date of Access: 13 May, 2005. [usinfo.state.gov/products/pubs/iraqelect/primer.htm]

¹⁹¹ "EU chief casts doubt on Iraq elections", AlJazeera, 08 November, 2004. Date of Access: 07 January, 2005 [english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/4FD8AFC3-150C-41A9-A4A6-C1B14EC69F7E.htm]

¹⁹² Europa Delegations: Statement by Commissioner Benita Waldner on the Sharm El Sheikh conference, 24 November, 2004. Date of Access: 07 January, 2005 [www.eu-delegation.org.eg/en/News/48.asp]

¹⁹³ "EU praise for Iraqi elections", Euractive, 01 February, 2005. Date of Access: 09 May, 2005 [www.euractiv.com/Article?tcaturi=tcm:29-134880-16&type=News]

¹⁹⁴ "EU praise for Iraqi elections", Euractive, 01 February, 2005.

process and the elections planned for December 2005.”¹⁹⁵ The EU also declared, “...it’s willingness to work with the Iraqi transitional government and the transitional National Assembly. If asked, it is ready to give its assistance with the constitutional process in accordance with Resolution 1546¹⁹⁶ and in full coordination with the UN.”¹⁹⁷ However, any specific monetary or non-monetary commitment is yet to be declared towards this goal.

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¹⁹⁵ Europa External Relations: Iraq - Council Conclusions, 31 January, 2005. Date of Access: 10 May, 2005
[europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/gac/date/2005/01_310105_2.pdf#iraq]

¹⁹⁶ "The situation between Iraq and Kuwait", UN Security Council Resolutions 2004. Date of Access: 12 May, 2005.
[daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/381/16/PDF/N0438116.pdf?OpenElement]

¹⁹⁷ Europa External Relations: Iraq - Council Conclusions, 31 January, 2005.