

Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative: Democracy Assistance Dialogue

Commitment

“Establish with willing partners in the region a Democracy Assistance Dialogue that will, under the auspices of the Forum for the Future, bring together in a collaborative and transparent environment willing governments, civil society groups and other organizations from the G8, EU and others, and countries in the region to:

- Coordinate and share information and lessons learned on democracy programs in the region, taking into account the importance of local ownership and each country’s particular circumstances;
- Work to enhance existing democracy programs or initiate new programs;
- Provide opportunities for participants to develop joint activities, including twinning projects;
- Promote and strengthen democratic institutions and processes, as well as capacity-building;
- Foster exchanges with civil society groups and other organizations working on programs in the region.”

G8 Plan of Support for Reform²

Background

The Greater Middle East Initiative, unveiled by the United States at the 2004 Sea Island Summit in June, was motivated by the U.S led desire to stem the threats of political instability, economic stagnation and terrorism in the Greater Middle East. The plan is based upon earlier initiatives aimed at democratization in the region, including the Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI), a program that has been heavily funded by the US since 2002. The MEPI aims to promote entrepreneurship, political change, educational reform and women’s rights in the Middle East. The Forum for the Future was set out by the G8 and states of the Broader Middle East and North Africa Region (BMENA) during the Sea Island Summit in June 2004 as the centrepiece initiative of the “Partnership for Progress and Common Future with the Region of the Broader Middle East and North Africa.” The purpose of the Forum is to promote and develop political, economic, and social reform in the BMENA. The Forum members, including the G8, the states of the BMENA, and civil society and business stakeholders, seek to promote, through an open and transparent dialogue, a common agenda that “advances the universal values of human dignity, democracy, economic opportunity, and social justice.”³ Among the component initiatives of the Forum for the Future is the Democracy Assistance Dialogue (DAD). The DAD focuses primarily on providing electoral assistance, improving the role of women, and advancing relations between the region’s governments and civil society through programs supporting democratization and public participation. A round of preparatory meetings for the Forum for the Future took place in

² *G8 Plan of Support for Reform*, 2004 Sea Island Summit Official Website (Sea Island) 10 June 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005 [www.g8usa.gov/d_060904b.htm].

³ *Middle East: Documents and Texts from the Washington File*, Embassy of the United States: London, U.K. Website (London) 1 December 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005 [www.usembassy.org.uk/midest567.html].

New York on September 23-24, and in Washington DC on October 1, 2004. They were attended by over twenty G8 and BMENA foreign and finance ministers and various civil society groups. The first official Forum for the Future was convened on December 11, 2004, in Rabat, Morocco. It was attended by almost all of the countries of the BMENA, the Arab League, the European Commission, and the G8.⁴ In Rabat, significant progress was made with respect to the DAD, which included an agreement to a future meeting devoted exclusively to the DAD in 2005.

Assessment

Score	Lack of Compliance -1	Work in Progress 0	Full Compliance +1
Canada			+1
France			+1
Germany			+1
Italy			+1
Japan			+1
Russia			+1
United Kingdom			+1
United States			+1
European Union			+1
Overall: +1.00			

Individual Country Compliance Breakdown

1. Canada: +1

Canada has fully complied with its commitment to establishing the Democracy Assistance Dialogue (DAD). This has mainly been achieved through Canada's participation in the preparatory meetings for the Forum for the Future held in New York on September 23-24, 2004 and Washington, D.C. on October 1, 2004, and its participation in the Forum for the Future proper held in Rabat, Morocco on December 11, 2004.

With respect to post-Sea Island democracy assistance initiatives, Canada has established the Middle East Good Governance Fund (MEGGF): "...to respond to needs related to democratic development and good governance in the region. The MEGGF will follow a knowledge-based approach to development which aims to: create knowledge around good governance issues in the Middle East (analysis of what works, what does not and why); share the knowledge and multiply it (share experiences and perspectives, develop joint agendas and create networks); and, develop capacity to generate knowledge that can inform policy-makers and engage them in processes of evidence-based decision-making on policy-formulation and development."⁵ Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pierre Pettigrew, stated during his address at the Sharm el-Sheikh Ministerial

⁴ *Fact Sheet: Forum for the Future*, Embassy of the United States: London, U.K. Website (London) 1 December 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005 [www.usembassy.org.uk/midest567.html].

⁵ *Iraq Projects*, Canadian International Development Agency Website (Ottawa) 3 December 2004. Date of Access: 29 December 2004 [www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/CIDAWEB/webcountry.nsf/VLUDocEn/Iraq-Projects]

Meeting on Iraq on November 23, 2004 that Canada would allocate \$5 million dollars for the MEGGF.⁶

2. France: +1

France has complied with its commitment to establishing the Democracy Assistance Dialogue (DAD). This has mainly been achieved through France's participation in the preparatory meetings for the Forum for the Future held in New York on September 23-24, 2004 and Washington, D.C. on October 1, 2004, and its participation in the inaugural Forum for the Future meeting held in Rabat, Morocco on December 11, 2004.

At the New York preparatory meeting, France along with its G8 counterparts, "recalled and reaffirmed the commitments made by the G8 countries at Sea Island which build on the G8 countries' already strong bilateral and collective engagement with the region."⁷ France also attended the G8/BMENA Finance Ministers' Meeting in Washington, D.C., on October 1, 2004. At this meeting, which focused on international trade and funding, the G8 and BMENA finance and economics ministers agreed to participate in the Forum for the Future in Rabat, Morocco.⁸

At the inaugural meeting of the Forum for the Future in Rabat, France was represented by Foreign Minister Michel Barnier. Barnier endorsed the Chair's Summary including "the proposal put forward by Turkey, Yemen, and Italy for a Democracy Assistance Dialogue."⁹ The attending ministers agreed to meet again in 2005 and welcomed the offer by Egypt to host a meeting of foreign ministers and members of the League of Arab States in Cairo on March 4, 2005.¹⁰

3. Germany: +1

Germany has fully complied with its commitment to establishing the Democracy Assistance Dialogue (DAD). This has mainly been achieved through Germany's participation in the preparatory meetings for the Forum for the Future held in New York on September 23-24, 2004 and Washington, D.C. on October 1, 2004, and its participation in the Forum for the Future proper held in Rabat, Morocco on December 11, 2004.

Germany attended the preparatory meeting for the Forum for the Future on September 24, 2004 in New York City, the G8/Broader Middle East and North Africa Finance Ministers' Meeting on October 1, 2004 in Washington D.C. and the first Forum for the Future in Rabat, Morocco on

⁶ *Statement by the Hon. Pierre Pettigrew Minister of Foreign Affairs Canada at the Sharm El-sheikh Ministerial Meeting On Iraq*, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Ottawa) 12 September 2004. Date of Access: 15 December 2004

[www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/middle_east/iraq_sharm-el-sheikh-en.asp].

⁷ *Chair's Summary*, G8 Information Centre Website (Toronto) 11 December 2004. Date of Access: January 15, 2005 [www.g8.utoronto.ca/meetings-official/forumforfuture_041211.htm]

⁸ *G8/Broader Middle East and North Africa Finance Ministers' Meeting U.S. Treasury Secretary John Snow*, Canada's G8 Website (Ottawa) 1 October 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005

[www.g8.gc.ca/meet_tres_sec_snow-en.asp]

⁹ *Chair's Summary*, G8 Information Centre Website (Toronto) 11 December 2004. Date of Access: January 15, 2005 [www.g8.utoronto.ca/meetings-official/forumforfuture_041211.htm]

¹⁰ *Chair's Summary*, G8 Information Centre Website (Toronto) 11 December 2004. Date of Access: January 15, 2005 [www.g8.utoronto.ca/meetings-official/forumforfuture_041211.htm]

December 11, 2004. In Rabat, Germany along with its G8 counterparts, states of the BMENA, and civil society groups agreed to a meeting devoted to the DAD scheduled for 2005.

In an interview with Al Arabia Dubai, Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, stated the significance of the Greater Middle East Initiative, to which the Forum of the Future and the DAD are a part of, emphasizing true partnership and the importance of economic development and inter-regional trade.¹¹ Fischer also outlined European Union regional cooperation efforts with the Arab world through the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (also known as the Barcelona Process), and the Gulf Cooperation Council.¹² In the Chair's Summary of the Forum for the Future in Rabat, participants of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership were commended for their efforts in fostering democracy in the Middle East.

4. Italy: +1

Italy has demonstrated a high level of compliance with regard to the Democracy Assistance Dialogue (DAD), a main component of the Forum for the Future. This has been achieved primarily through Italy's co-leadership of the DAD and shared responsibility for its implementation.

The meetings of the Forum for the Future and the DAD have marked significant progress and reaffirmed the commitment of the participating states towards substantive action. Turkey, Yemen and Italy share leadership of this dialogue and responsibility for the implementation of its objectives as determined at their first meeting. This initial meeting took place between the foreign ministers of the three states on November 25 and resulted in the approval of a working document entitled "*Organisers' Conclusions*."¹³ This document identifies priority areas in the democratization initiative; namely, a work program for 2005 that emphasizes government and civil society relations, participation of women in political life, and the implementation of efficient and transparent electoral procedures.¹⁴ This document also serves to reaffirm the commitment to "promote and strengthen democratic institutions and processes," and to "work to enhance existing democracy programs or initiate new programs."¹⁵

Italian Foreign Minister Gianfranco Fini has reiterated the commitment of the DAD to achieve democratization upon a foundation of "reciprocal respect between the G8 group and its regional partners."¹⁶ Italy has confirmed its intention to work towards full implementation of the

¹¹ Interview given by Federal Foreign Minister Fischer to the television channel Al Arabia, Dubai, 21.06.2004, Federal Foreign Office (Berlin) 21 June 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005 [www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/ausgabe_archiv?archiv_id=5858]

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Information Paper*, Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Website (Rome) 25 November 2004. Date of Access: 1 January 2005 [www.esteri.it/eng/6_38_90_01.asp?id=1504&mod=1&min=1]

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *G8 Plan of Support for Reform*, The White House Website (Washington, D.C.) 10 June 2004. Date of Access: 1 January 2005. [www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/06/20040609-29.html]

¹⁶ *Information Paper*, Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Website (Rome), 25 November 2004. Date of Access: January 1, 2005 [www.esteri.it/eng/6_38_90_01.asp?id=1504&mod=1&min=1]

commitment set out as the DAD through the presentation of the DAD at the Forum for the Future and the concrete proposals contained within.¹⁷

5. Japan: +1

Japan has fully complied with its commitment to establishing the Democracy Assistance Dialogue (DAD). This has been achieved mainly through Japan's participation in the preparatory meetings for the Forum for the Future held in New York on September 23-24, 2004 and Washington, D.C. on October 1, 2004, and its participation in the Forum for the Future (FTFF) proper held in Rabat, Morocco on December 11, 2004.

In the Chair's Summary of the FTFF, Japan was commended for its efforts in promoting the spirit of the Forum, and therewith democracy assistance initiatives, through its bilateral relations, e.g. the Japan-Arab Dialogue, with states in the BMENA.¹⁸ The Japan-Arab Dialogue which convened in March 2004 focused on "Cultural Dialogue, Socio-economic Development in the Arab World, and how to help with the Reconstruction of Iraq."¹⁹ Japan plans to convene another Japan-Arab Dialogue to be hosted by Saudi Arabia in the near future.

With respect to post-Sea Island democracy assistance initiatives, the Forum "welcomed and expressed its support for a workshop on vocational training to be co-hosted by Japan and Jordan in 2005 with a view to sharing good practices and experiences in the field of vocational training particularly for young people, in [the] BMENA region."²⁰ To date, Japan continues to support free democratic elections, security, humanitarian aid, and reconstruction for the consolidation of peace in Afghanistan and the Palestinian Territories. Most notably, Japan pledged USD\$1.06 million to facilitate electoral processes in the Palestinian Territories on December 28, 2004.²¹

6. Russia: +1

The Russian Federation has demonstrated an acceptable level of compliance with respect to its Democracy Assistance Dialogue (DAD) commitment. Russia has achieved this level of compliance mainly through its participation in Forum for the Future meetings.

Among the component initiatives of the Forum for the Future is the DAD. The DAD focuses primarily on providing electoral assistance, improving the role of women, and advancing relations between the region's governments and civil society through programs supporting democratization and public participation.

¹⁷ *Chair Summary*, Ministry of Communications Website (Rabat) 11 December 2004. Date of Access: January 4, 2005 [www.mincom.gov.ma/english/Chair%20Summary.htm].

¹⁸ *Chair's Summary*, G8 Information Centre Website (Toronto) 11 December 2004. Date of Access: January 15, 2005 [www.g8.utoronto.ca/meetings-official/forumforfuture_041211.htm]

¹⁹ *Japan-Arab Dialogue Second Session: 3-4 March 2004 Alexandria, Egypt*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Website (Tokyo) 4 March 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005 [www.mofa.go.jp/region/middle_e/forum/meet0403.html].

²⁰ *Chair's Summary*, G8 Information Centre Website (Toronto) 11 December 2004. Date of Access: January 15, 2005 [www.g8.utoronto.ca/meetings-official/forumforfuture_041211.htm]

²¹ *Dispatch of a Japanese Delegation to the International Observation Mission for the Election of the Ra'ees of the Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Website (Tokyo) 28 December 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005 [www.mofa.go.jp/announce/announce/2004/12/1228-2.html].

Russia was represented at the preparatory meetings for the Forum of the Future in New York on September 24, 2004 at which foreign ministers and representatives of twenty-four governments recalled and reaffirmed the commitments made by the G8 countries at Sea Island which build on the G8 countries' already strong bilateral and collective engagement with the region. Russia also attended the G8/BMENA Finance Ministers' Meeting in Washington, D.C. on October 1, 2004. At this meeting, which focused on international trade and funding, the G8 and BMENA finance and economics ministers agreed to participate in the Forum for the Future at Rabat, Morocco.²²

The Russian Federation was represented at the inaugural meeting of the Forum for the Future in Rabat by Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Saltanov and Finance Minister Alexei Kudrin who endorsed the Chair's Summary.²³ The attending ministers agreed to meet again in 2005 and welcomed the offer by Egypt to host a meeting of foreign ministers of G8 member states and members of the League of Arab states in Cairo later in 2005.²⁴

7. United Kingdom: +1

The UK has fully complied with its commitment to establishing the Democracy Assistance Dialogue (DAD). This has mainly been achieved through the UK's participation in the preparatory meetings for the Forum for the Future held in New York on September 23-24, 2004 and Washington, D.C. on October 1, 2004, and its participation in the Forum for the Future proper held in Rabat, Morocco on December 11, 2004.

Among the component initiatives of the Forum for the Future is the DAD. The DAD focuses primarily on providing electoral assistance, improving the role of women, and advancing relations between the region's governments and civil society through programs supporting democratization and public participation. Ministers agreed to move forward with the initiatives outlined in Rabat, and agreed to meet again later this year in Bahrain.

In anticipation of Britain's chairmanship of the G8 in 2005, Prime Minister Tony Blair's government launched the official website for the up-coming 2005 G8 Summit to be held in Perthshire, Scotland on December 10, 2004. Through a press release on the website, Prime Minister Blair has reiterated his commitment to reform in the Middle East: "Our 2005 presidency will build on the progress made during the last year by continuing implementation of the plan of support-assisting countries to address the underlying barriers to economic growth and human

²² *G8/Broader Middle East and North Africa Finance Ministers' Meeting U.S. Treasury Secretary John Snow*, Canada's G8 Website (Ottawa) 1 October 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005 [www.g8.gc.ca/meet_tres_sec_snow-en.asp]

²³ *Press Release: Broader Middle East and North Africa Forum for the Future To Be Held*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation Website (Moscow) 7 December 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005 [www.ln.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/e78a48070f128a7b43256999005bcbb3/b53c166e477b2427c3256f6300416f02?OpenDocument]

²⁴ *Chair's Summary*, G8 Information Centre Website (Toronto) 11 December 2004. Date of Access: January 15, 2005 [www.g8.utoronto.ca/meetings-official/forumforfuture_041211.htm]

development, including issues of governance, the rule of law, education, the position of women and attracting domestic and foreign investment.”²⁵

8. United States: +1

The United States’ leadership role in establishing the Democracy Assistance Dialogue through the Forum for the Future since the Sea Island Summit signifies full compliance. This has been achieved by organizing and taking part in the preparatory meetings for the Forum for the Future and the inaugural meeting of the Forum in Rabat.

On 24 September 2004 Secretary of State Colin Powell met with foreign ministers from the Middle East, North Africa and G8 member states for the preparatory meeting of the Forum for the Future in New York. US Secretary of the Treasury John Snow hosted the G8 and BMENA Finance Ministers’ meeting on October 1, 2004 to further prepare for the inaugural meeting of the Forum for the Future.²⁶ The meeting stressed economic freedom through market-orientated economic reforms based on local ownership and peace and security for private sector investment led growth.

On 11 December 2004, the United States and Morocco chaired the first ever Forum for the Future in Rabat, Morocco. In his opening statement, Powell stressed the need political and economic reform: “We also see that countries with active political participation by all people tend to enjoy greater investment, economic growth and educational excellence.”²⁷ The US along with its G8 counterparts, states of the BMENA, and civil society groups agreed to a meeting devoted to the DAD later in 2005.

9. European Union: +1

The European Union (EU) has demonstrated an acceptable level of compliance with regard to the Democracy Assistance Dialogue (DAD), a component of the Forum for the Future initiative presented at the Sea Island Summit in June 2004. The purpose of the Forum is to promote and develop political, economic, and social reform in the BMENA. The Forum members, including not only the G8 and states of the BMENA, but civil society stakeholders as well, seek to promote, through an open and transparent dialogue, a common agenda that “advances the universal values of human dignity, democracy, economic opportunity, and social justice.”²⁸ The DAD focuses primarily on providing electoral assistance, improving the role of women, and advancing relations between the region’s governments and civil society through programs supporting democratization and public participation. The EU has demonstrated compliance through its participation in the Forum for the Future, held on December 11, 2004 in Rabat,

²⁵ *Supporting Reform in the Middle East*, G8 Gleneagles Website (London) Date of Access: January 8 2005 [www.g8.gov.uk/].

²⁶ *G8/Broader Middle East and North Africa Finance Ministers' Meeting U.S. Treasury Secretary John Snow*, Canada’s G8 Website (Ottawa) 1 October 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005 [www.g8.gc.ca/meet_tres_sec_snow-en.asp]

²⁷ *Intervention at the Opening Plenary of the Forum For the Future*, U.S. Department of State (Washington, D.C.) 11 December 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005 [www.state.gov/secretary/rm/39675.htm]

²⁸ *Middle East: Documents and Texts from the Washington File*, Embassy of the United States: London, U.K. Website (London) 1 December 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005 [www.usembassy.org.uk/midest567.html].

Morocco. European Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs, Joaquin Almunia and EU High Representative for CFSP all attended.

EU compliance is further evidenced in a speech given by Javier Solana, EU High Representative for CFSP, at the inaugural session of the Forum for the Future in Rabat. Solana reaffirmed the collaborative nature of the commitment by stating that it would serve as a “vehicle for listening to the needs of the region,” and that reform must “originate in the countries concerned.”²⁹ He emphasized the work of the EU in establishing a Strategic Partnership with the Mediterranean and the Middle East that seeks to “inspire its relations with the region, including with countries with whom it has not traditionally enjoyed very developed relations.”³⁰ The European Union has indicated that it plans to use the framework established by the Forum for the Future and the DAD to better adapt its instruments of partnership and cooperation, such as the Strategic Partnership, a possible renewal of the Barcelona Process and an intensification of links with the region through the European Neighbourhood Policy.³¹ This would indicate that although the EU seems to prefer its own instruments of reform aimed at the Middle East, it is receptive to the initiatives laid out in the DAD.³²

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²⁹ *EUHR Solana’s Speech at the ‘Forum for the Future,’* European Union at the United Nations Website (New York) 11 December 2004. Date of Access: January 1, 2005 [europa-eu-un.org/articles/en/article_4147_en.htm]

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Forum for the Future*, EuropaWorld Website (Cowbridge), 10 December 2004. Date of Access: 4 January 2005 [www.europaworld.org/week204/forum101204.htm].

³² Marina Ottaway and Amr Hamzaway, *Political Reform in the Middle East: Can the United States and Europe Work Together?* Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Website (Washington, D.C.) December 2004. Date of Access: 28 December 2004 [www.carnegieendowment.org/files/MarinaOutlookFinalDec04.pdf]

Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative: Iraqi Elections

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 scheduled for 30 January will elect a Transitional National Assembly which will then be commissioned to draft a national constitution by 15 August 2005. 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.³³

Assessment

Score	Lack of Compliance -1	Work in Progress 0	Full Compliance +1
Canada			+1
France		0	
Germany			+1
Italy			+1
Japan			+1
Russia		0	
United Kingdom			+1
United States			+1
European Union			+1
Overall: 0.78			

³³ “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].

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 DC and put considerable strain on the US-Canada relationship which is now beginning to thaw.

On 26 August 2004, Canada announced a pledge of CAD20-million to the United Nations Development Group (UNDG) Trust for Iraq. These funds were a part of a larger commitment of CAD100-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 CAD300-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."³⁴ 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."³⁵

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 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."³⁶ An initial NATO commitment of 60 personnel, which is to be bolstered to 300 in January,³⁷ was aimed specifically at helping to train Iraqi security forces

³⁴ *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].

³⁵ *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].

³⁶ *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].

³⁷ *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].

ahead of the looming election — however, Canada is not known to have committed any troops to this project.³⁸

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."³⁹ 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."⁴⁰ 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).⁴¹ The IMIE is mandated to monitor the Iraqi election and make assessment of the openness and fairness of its conduct and outcome — a process that will not involve election monitors on the ground but rather will be conducted from regional centres in Amman, Jordan and in Canada. Elections Canada will operate the Secretariat of the organizations as well as co-chair it with Yemen.⁴²

Lastly, Canada has 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 will allow Iraqi-born nationals living in Canada, as well as second-generation Iraqi-Canadians to vote in the national election — an initiative that may result in upwards of 25,000 votes in the Iraqi election being cast in Canada. Five polling stations will be set up in total — three in

³⁸ 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].

³⁹ "World leaders back Iraqi election" *BBC News — UK Edition* (London) November 23, 2004, Date of Access: December 28, 2004 [news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4035625.stm].

⁴⁰ *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].

⁴¹ *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].

⁴² "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].

Toronto, one in Ottawa, and one in Calgary.⁴³ It is estimated that overseas polling will add another 1 million voters to the electoral registers.⁴⁴

2. France: 0

France, since the Sea Island Summit, has made a noted effort towards compliance with its commitment of providing support for elections in Iraq on or before 31 January 2005. France has acted through international organizations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU) to provide some financial and other support for the organization of elections. It has signed, along with other G8 members, further international commitments pledging support the Iraqi electoral process. Its Minister of Foreign Affairs and its President have reiterated continued support for the commitment. At the same time, it must be noted that France has not, independent of any international organization, provided any assistance or material aid, in the form of funds, personnel or materiel, directed explicitly at supporting the elections currently scheduled for 30 January 2005.

At the NATO Istanbul summit of 28-29 June 2004, one of the primary discussions was the subject of Iraq and providing security for elections in Iraq. Indeed, all NATO member states, including France, signed, among other things, 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.”⁴⁵ An initial NATO commitment of 60 personnel, which is to be bolstered to 300 in January,⁴⁶ was aimed specifically at helping to train Iraqi security forces ahead of the looming election.⁴⁷ Notably absent, however, were French personnel, because of a decision by France to not put French troops on Iraqi soil.⁴⁸ This decision largely continues to stem from its opposition to the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003,⁴⁹ yet it must be noted that Germany, another country that opposed the war, has been training Iraqi security forces. French Foreign Minister Michel Barnier did,

⁴³ “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].

⁴⁴ “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].

⁴⁵ *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].

⁴⁶ *Name changes as Iraq mission grows*. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Brussels) 16 December 2004. Date of Access: 4 January 2005 [www.nato.int/shape/news/2004/12/i041216.htm].

⁴⁷ 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].

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

however, state that “France is willing to assist in training Iraqi security forces outside Iraq”⁵⁰ but it appears that the Multinational Force in Iraq has not accepted French offers of assistance.⁵¹

The EU, of which France is also a part, has committed significant specific election aid. On the eve of a European Council meeting with Interim Iraqi President Iyad Allawi, the European Commission outlined a €31.5 million package 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 domestic observer groups.”⁵² It must be noted, however, that French President Chirac did not attend that meeting with Allawi⁵³ and no similar, independent commitment has materialized from the French government. Indeed, Minister Barnier has reiterated that France is will act to aid the elections process “not on our own as French, but as Europeans, to contribute to ensuring the smooth organization of these [Iraqi] elections.”⁵⁴

France’s participation at the Sharm-el-Sheikh conference of 22-23 November, however, can be seen as its major international action in support of its Sea Island commitment. Some controversy swirled initially as the French government tried to have Iraqi political parties and other non-governmental groups participate in the summit,⁵⁵ this plan was initially strongly opposed by the United States, but France did finally agree to the strictly governmental format of the conference.⁵⁶ France, however, did manage to get language included in the conference’s final communiqué such 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.⁵⁷ 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 2005.⁵⁸ What must be taken as a sign of compliance with France’s commitment,

⁵⁰ *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].

⁵¹ 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 [www.ihf.com/articles/2004/12/10/news/allies.html].

⁵² *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].

⁵³ “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].

⁵⁴ *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].

⁵⁵ “Compromise text agreed for Iraq conference after French-US wrangling” *Agence France-Presse* (Cairo) 8 January 2005 [www.turkishpress.com/news.asp?id=33196].

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *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].

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

French President Jacques Chirac⁵⁹ and Minister Barnier have both indicated on several occasions that the elections must take place, in spite of the inherent difficulties.⁶⁰

Additionally, Minister Barnier heralded the agreement between Iraq and the Paris Club of creditor nations, of which France is a member, to reduce Iraq's debt burden by up to 80% and immediately as of 1 January 2005 by 30%.⁶¹ One of the stated goals of this agreement, at least from the French perspective, has been the support of elections by giving Iraq "some breathing space to enable it to get its economy going again, and *encourage political reconstruction*".⁶² (emphasis added).

In addition, France has 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 will allow Iraqi-born nationals living in France, as well as second-generation Iraqis with French citizenship to vote in the national election. It is estimated that overseas polling will add another 1 million voters to the electoral registers.⁶³

3. Germany: +1

Germany has fully complied with its commitment towards supporting Iraqi elections by 31 January 2005. Much of this compliance has come in the form of support of multilateral efforts, including those of the European Union (EU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and other G8 members, particularly at the Sharm-el-Sheikh conference. In addition, however, Germany, through funding of several German non-governmental organizations (NGOs) has implemented several innovative civilian programs on the ground in Iraq and in neighbouring countries to directly support the Iraqi elections scheduled for 30 January 2005.

Like all other NATO member states, one of Germany's first actions towards fulfilling its commitment to democracy made at the Sea Island Summit was the adoption of the Statement on Iraq at the Istanbul Summit on 29 June 2004. This statement committed NATO members, including Germany, to training Iraqi troops to "strengthen internal security and prepare the way to national elections in 2005."⁶⁴ Of prime concern for German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder was

⁵⁹ *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].

⁶⁰ *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].

⁶¹ *The Paris Club and the Republic of Iraq agree on debt relief: Press Release*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Paris) 21 November 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005 [www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/article.gb.asp?ART=46046].

⁶² *Statement by the Foreign Ministry Spokesperson*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Paris) 22 November 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005 [www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/article.gb.asp?ART=46066].

⁶³ "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].

⁶⁴ *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].

“seeing the emergence of a stable and democratic Iraq.”⁶⁵ In spite of Schröder’s commitment to not send German troops to Iraq,⁶⁶ this signed pledge was followed up with a plan of training measures for Iraqi army forces ahead of the election.⁶⁷ 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.”⁶⁸

Thanks to its G8 member status, Germany was invited to join in the Sharm-el-Sheikh conference in late November 2005, which was also attended by G8 members, other Middle Eastern countries, China, the Interim Government of Iraq and several other national delegations.⁶⁹ German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer spoke at the summit and reiterated Germany’s commitment to elections by stating 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.”⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹

Germany, as an EU member state, can also be said to have moved towards compliance through the efforts of that body. At its November meeting, the European Council, comprised of the European heads of state and government, including Chancellor Schröder, reaffirmed that “[t]he elections planned for January 2005 are an important step ... and the European Council noted the importance of the EU’s continued support for these.”⁷² The European Commission also announced on 4 November 2004 an election aid package of €31.5 million for Iraq that would see the sending of elections experts to Iraq, the establishment of a training program for Iraqi election observers and voter outreach programs aimed at women.⁷³

Beyond these EU commitments, including EU financial commitments, Germany has pledged monies to fund election support programs of its own. Most notably, the Federal Foreign Office

⁶⁵ *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].

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *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].

⁶⁸ *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].

⁶⁹ Peter Biles, “Neighbours urged to help Iraq poll” *BBC News Online* (London) 22 November 2004. Date of Access: 4 January 2005 [news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4034035.stm].

⁷⁰ *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].

⁷¹ *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].

⁷² *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].

⁷³ *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].

has funded the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in a program that saw about 120 elections observers from “independent Iraqi organizations” trained in Amman, Jordan from September through mid-December.⁷⁴ Germany also committed €5 million for the protection of the UN mission in Iraq, which is to play a central role in the elections process,⁷⁵ €1 million of which is to go directly to the support of the January 2005 elections.⁷⁶ The latest German effort has been the funding and establishment of an Iraqi radio programme in December 2004 aimed at covering the 30 January election and raising awareness of the election among the population; it is to be broadcast on local Iraqi radio stations daily.⁷⁷ The German government provided a modest financial commitment of €150,000 euros to the Friedrich Ebert Foundation to fund this programme.⁷⁸

In addition, Germany has 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 will allow Iraqi-born nationals living in Germany, as well as second-generation Iraqi-Germans to vote in the national election. It is estimated that overseas polling will add another 1 million voters to the electoral registers.⁷⁹

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.”⁸⁰

Italy currently has 3,500 troops stationed in Iraq and intends 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 international forces to guarantee stability.”⁸¹ Security has emerged as a critical issue in the upcoming elections and the ability to create a safe and secure environment through troop deployment has been a major form of compliance for G8 countries like Italy, the US and the UK.

Italy’s main military operations in support of the election have been centered around aiding Iraq’s implementation of a policy of stabilization and local training in the Iraqi province of Dhi

⁷⁴ *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].

⁷⁵ *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].

⁷⁶ *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].

⁷⁷ 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].

⁷⁸ *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].

⁷⁹ “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].

⁸⁰ “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].

⁸¹ *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].

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.⁸²

Italy has, furthermore, shown unwavering support and enthusiasm for the prospect of an International Conference on Iraq, which was eventually convened on 24 November at Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt. In statements made on 1 October 2004, Franco Frattini, Italian Foreign Minister at the time, expressed much eagerness for attending the conference and vowed to unite parliament members in supporting a more prominent role by Italy in assisting the Iraqi political process and safeguarding national elections from terrorism.⁸³

The Italian delegation at the conference was led by then-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 2005.⁸⁴ Fini also emphasized the necessity of broadening the political process to involve all civil society and religious groups.⁸⁵

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."⁸⁶

Further efforts by Fini in providing support for the Iraqi electoral process include his meeting with Iraqi Defence Minister Hazem Shaalan on 29 November 2004, where he stressed the need for increased security in Iraq.⁸⁷ Shaalan expressed much gratitude and appreciation to the minister for the Italian provision of training for Iraqi local police and the two ministers examined the Iraqi situation in relation to the possibility of holding national elections on 30 January 2005.⁸⁸

⁸² *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].

⁸³ *Safeguarding the Iraqi elections together*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Rome) 1 October 2004. Date of Access 2 January 2005. [www.esteri.it/eng/0_1_01.asp?id=427].

⁸⁴ *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].

⁸⁵ *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.

⁸⁶ *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.

⁸⁷ *Minister Fini meets with Iraqi Defence Minister Hazem Shaalan*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Rome) 29 November 2004. Date of Access 3 January 2005. www.esteri.it/eng/0_1_01.asp?id=540.

⁸⁸ *Minister Fini meets with Iraqi Defence Minister Hazem Shaalan*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Rome) 29 November 2004. Date of Access 3 January 2005 [www.esteri.it/eng/0_1_01.asp?id=540].

Most significantly, Italy has been closely involved with the *Election Officers and Voter Education Training Programme* took place in Jordan, from 5th to 22nd December 2004. The aim of the program was to contribute directly to the democratisation process in Iraq through the training of the Iraqi officers involved at different levels and sectors in the electoral process. The programme was organised by the International Training Programme for Conflict Management of the Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, at request of the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (IECI), with the collaboration of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI), and was funded by the Italian Foreign Ministry (Direzione Generale per i Paesi del Mediterraneo e del Medio Oriente - DGMM - and Task Force Iraq). Overall the program trained 94 electoral officers selected by the IECI in the management, organization and execution of free and fair election. The ultimate goal of the program is to create a cascade training program in which these 94 officers will themselves train 6000 more Iraqi electoral officers and so on until a total of 160,000 trained electoral officers is achieved.⁸⁹

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 consisted mainly of monetary assistance to election preparations.

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, 2004.⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹ Japan announced that it would contribute \$40 million (USD) of its overall contribution to supporting the elections in Iraq. The contribution is going to be made through the IRFFI (The International Reconstruction Fund Facility for Iraq) designed by the United Nations Development Group.⁹² Japan is currently one of the three largest donors to election preparations in Iraq along with the US and the EU.⁹³ They have also called on all countries to contribute towards the smooth running of the elections.

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. Japan endorsed the conference's

⁸⁹ Private Consultation.

⁹⁰ *Press Release: Japan Hosted International Meeting for Reconstruction of Iraq* (10/13, Tokyo), Embassy of Japan to the United States (Washington D.C. / Tokyo) 15 October, 2004. Date of Access: 10 January, 2005 [www.us.emb-japan.go.jp/english/html/pressreleases/2004/041018.htm].

⁹¹ *Chair's Summary of the Expanded Meeting of the International Reconstruction Fund for Iraq*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Tokyo) 13 October, 2004. Date of Access: 11 January, 2005 [www.mofa.go.jp/region/middle_e/iraq/issue2003/irffi/summary.html].

⁹² *Press Release: Japan Hosted International Meeting for Reconstruction of Iraq* (10/13, Tokyo), Embassy of Japan to the United States (Washington D.C. / Tokyo) 15 October, 2004. Date of Access: 10 January, 2005 [www.us.emb-japan.go.jp/english/html/pressreleases/2004/041018.htm].

⁹³ *Fact Sheet: State Department Recaps Details of Iraqi Election*, U.S. Department of State (Washington D.C.) 05 January, 2005. Date of Access: 06 January, 2005 [islamabad.usembassy.gov/www05011401.html]

final statement which affirmed “the ‘leading role’” of the UN in helping Iraq prepare for elections and build consensus to write a new constitution”⁹⁴

Finally, 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.⁹⁵ 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.⁹⁶ As such, it would be too broad and inclusive to consider this direct compliance with the commitment in question.

6. Russia: 0

The Russian Federation has registered a moderate level of compliance throughout 2004 towards the Greater Middle East Initiative of guaranteeing democratic elections in Iraq by January 2005 proposed at the 2004 G8 Sea Island Summit. The Russian Federation's support of United Nations action and its presence at the Sharm El Sheikh Conference in November suggest compliance, but the lack of faith that democratic elections will occur before the end of January 2005, as expressed consistently by President Vladimir Putin, reveals that the Russian Federation's commitment to ensuring democratic elections in Iraq is moderate at best.

The Russian Federation has, 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 is “prepared to support all your efforts directed towards political stabilisation in your country.”⁹⁷ However, the Russian Federation's 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;”⁹⁸ and

⁹⁴ “World leaders back Iraqi election” *BBC News — UK Edition* (London) November 23, 2004. Date of Access: December 28, 2004. [news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4035625.stm]

⁹⁵ “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]

⁹⁶ “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].

⁹⁷ *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]

⁹⁸ Vladimir Putin, Press conference Dec. 23, 2004 Accessed December 29, 2004, Available: [www.ln.mid.ru/Brp_4.nsf/arh/4FB0F1F9C0D53683C3256F740024DEC4?OpenDocument]

that “I cannot imagine how elections can be organised when the country is completely occupied by foreign troops.”⁹⁹

In a speech to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York on 15 January, Russian Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov continued the Kremlin’s ambivalent stance. On one hand Ivanov “stressed that the elections to the interim national assembly scheduled for January 30 must become a necessary step toward the creation of a democratic state in Iraq.” Yet at the same time, the minister once again restated President Putin’s original concern that the presence of foreign troops and the lack of security seriously undermine the credibility and feasibility of such elections. Ivanov also warned that in terms of attacks by insurgents attempting to undermine the election process, “[i]n my opinion their number will significantly increase closer to the election day.”¹⁰⁰

7. United Kingdom: +1

The United Kingdom has registered a significantly high level of compliance in the first-half of the compliance year toward guaranteeing democratic elections in Iraq by January 2005 as committed at the 2004 G8 Sea Island Summit. Its compliance has been focused in its 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.

The UK has consistently contributed thousands troops to Iraq under the British Operation *Telic* — second in troop strength only to the United States.¹⁰¹ The British troops—which lead the multinational force in south eastern Iraq, including Basra—currently number roughly 8,500 and are expected to rise to over 9,000 during the January elections.¹⁰² British troops have worked directly to quell the insurgencies that threaten the elections and also to train Iraqi security forces, particularly in conjunction with the UN and NATO. This has been done as a member of the UN-mandated Multinational Force, which trains security forces and election officials.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the UK attended the NATO Summit in Istanbul on 28-29 June 2004 at which all members endorsed the *Statement on Iraq* pledging to “offer full cooperation to the new sovereign Interim Government as it seeks to strengthen internal security and prepare the way to national

⁹⁹ *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]

¹⁰⁰ *Ivanov: National Accord Is The Main Condition For Stabilization Of Situation In Iraq*. Novosti: Russian News and Information Agency (Moscow) 14 January 2005. Accessed: 16 January 2005, Available:

[en.rian.ru/rian/index.cfm?prd_id=160&msg_id=5307711&startrow=1&date=2005-01-14&do_alert=0]

¹⁰¹ Operation *Telic* — British Forces, Ministry of Defence (London) Accessed January 3, 2005 Available: www.operations.mod.uk/telic/forces.htm

The number of British forces in Iraq has hovered around 10,000 during the previous year.

¹⁰² “Britain to send extra troops to Iraq — report” Reuters UK (London) Accessed January 9, 2005 Available: www.reuters.co.uk/newsArticle.jhtml?type=topNews&storyID=650745

¹⁰³ Iraq — Security/Multinational Force- Foreign and Commonwealth Office (London) Accessed January 3, 2005 Available: www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page &cid=1007029394446

elections in 2005.”¹⁰⁴ An initial NATO commitment of 60 personnel, which is to be bolstered to 300 in January and no doubt include UK personnel,¹⁰⁵ was aimed specifically at helping to train Iraqi security forces ahead of the looming election.¹⁰⁶

For the UK government, the deployment of troops to impose security in Iraq is considered to be inseparable from, and necessary for, the goal of staging national election in January 2005. Secretary of State for Defence, Geoff Hoon, announced that the UK “share[s]... a common goal of creating a secure and stable Iraq,” and that “[t]he Government remains totally committed in its support of the Interim Iraqi Government and the need to hold free elections in January.”¹⁰⁷ Prime Minister Tony Blair has been equally supportive in his statements.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, Blair embedded the commitment in the Queen’s Speech that outlines the government’s legislative and policy agenda for the year, stating that “[m]y Government will continue to support the Government of Iraq to provide security and stability and ensure that elections can be held in January.”¹⁰⁹ The UK’s presence at the Sharm el-Sheikh conference in Egypt—where the attending nations affirmed “the ‘leading role’” of the UN in helping Iraq prepare for elections and build consensus to write a new constitution”¹¹⁰—also reinforces its commitment. The EU pledge of €31.5 million announced at this conference towards elections activities in Iraq can also be considered an indirect form of compliance as the UK lobbied hard for a strong EU contribution at Sharm el-Sheikh.¹¹¹

In addition, the United Kingdom has 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 will allow Iraqi-born nationals living in the United Kingdom, as well as second-generation Iraqi-Britons to vote in the national election. It is estimated that overseas polling will add another 1 million voters to the electoral registers.¹¹²

¹⁰⁴ 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].

¹⁰⁵ “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].

¹⁰⁶ 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].

¹⁰⁷ Ministerial Statement to the House of Commons by Secretary of State for Defence, Geoff Hoon, 21 October 2004, Ministry of Defence (London), Accessed January 3, 2005 Available: www.operations.mod.uk/telic/statement_sofs_21oct04.htm

¹⁰⁸ PM Press Conference, January 6, 2005, 10 Downing Street (London), Accessed January 7, 2005 Available: www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page6875.asp

¹⁰⁹ The Queen’s Speech 2004, 10 Downing Street (London), Accessed January 5, 2005, Available: www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page6654.asp

¹¹⁰ “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

¹¹¹ Europa External Relations: Commission offers fresh support for the electoral process in Iraq, November 4, 2004. Date of Access: 10 January, 2005 [europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/iraq/news/ip04_1340.htm]

¹¹² “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].

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" in Iraq, and through monetary and logistical support.¹¹³ 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.¹¹⁴ 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. At the conference additional funds were pledged by other countries to the Independent Electoral Commission, and the participants reaffirmed "the 'leading role'" of the UN in helping Iraq prepare for elections and build consensus to write a new constitution"¹¹⁵ Moreover, with a total of 150,000 troops currently present in Iraq, the United States has vowed to employ a strong military presence to create safe and secure conditions for the elections. In Baghdad alone, the US is planning to deploy 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.¹¹⁶

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 safehavens for insurgents threatening the conduct of elections through the American military siege on the city of Fallujah. At a press briefing on 8 November 2004, U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld contended that a free and democratic Iraq would only be feasible if the possibilities for insurgency were eradicated.¹¹⁷ More than five Iraqi military brigades would work alongside U.S. counterparts, he explained, to perform the assault on the city and to oust the insurgency through a

¹¹³ "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.

¹¹⁴ 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.

¹¹⁵ "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

¹¹⁶ 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/is/Archive/2005/Jan/06-841144.html.

¹¹⁷ Terrorist Safehavens Must Be Eliminated from Iraq, Rumsfeld Says, U.S. Department of State's Bureau of International Information Programs (Washington D.C.) 8 November 2004. Date of Access 3 January 2005. usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2004/Nov/08-135159.html.

joint mission.¹¹⁸ In a November 19 report by the U.S. Defense Department, Army Lieutenant General Lance Smith expressed satisfaction with the Fallujah offense campaign, contending that it had severely disrupted insurgent operations and capabilities.¹¹⁹

The move, however, came despite warnings by the United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, that such an attack would not be favorable to procuring fair and free elections in Iraq. In a letter sent to the United States, Britain, and Iraq, Annan expressed fears that the assault would further alienate Iraqis and undermine elections in the country by reinforcing Iraqi perceptions of an enduring U.S. military occupation.¹²⁰ These concerns were later echoed by leaders from Arab and European countries, who met for a two-day conference at Sharm-el-Sheikh, Egypt, and who warned against U.S. actions in Iraq that alienated Sunnis in particular by removing them from the political process.¹²¹

Further attempts by the U.S. government in assisting the Iraqi electoral process include the request, on behalf of the White House, by White House Press Secretary Scott McClellan for a “constructive and helpful” role by Iraq’s neighboring countries in the upcoming national elections.¹²² McClellan urged Iran and Syria at a December 8 press briefing to adhere to the commitments they have made and to co-operate with the U.S. government in allowing for stability and security in Iraq in the months leading up to the country’s national elections.¹²³ 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.¹²⁴

In addition, the United States has 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 will allow Iraqi-born nationals living in the US, as well as second-generation Iraqi-Americans to vote in the national election — provisions which may add 234,000 votes cast in the United States to the Iraqi poll. A total of twenty-five polling stations will be set

¹¹⁸ Terrorist Safehavens Must Be Eliminated from Iraq, Rumsfeld Says, U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of International Information Programs (Washington D.C.) 8 November 2004. Date of Access 3 January 2005. usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2004/Nov/08-135159.html.

¹¹⁹ Defense Department Report, November 19: Iraq Operational Update, U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of International Information Programs (Washington D.C.) 19 November 2004. Date of Access 3 January 2005. usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2004/Nov/19-975882.html.

¹²⁰ “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.

¹²¹ “Nations urge Iraq to broaden elections,” Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia) 24 November 2004. Date of Access 3 January 2005. www.philly.com/mld/inquirer/news/nation/10258242.htm.

¹²² U.S. Seeks “Helpful Role” in Elections from Iraq’s Neighbors, U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of International Information Programs (Washington D.C.) 8 December 2004. Date of Access 3 January 2005. usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2004/Dec/08-291723.html.

¹²³ U.S. Seeks “Helpful Role” in Elections from Iraq’s Neighbors, U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of International Information Programs (Washington D.C.) 8 December 2004. Date of Access 3 January 2005. usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2004/Dec/08-291723.html.

¹²⁴ 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.

up across Chicago, Nashville, Los Angeles, Detroit and Washington D.C. It is estimated that overseas polling will add another 1 million voters to the electoral registers.¹²⁵

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 seeing as the EU has send mixed diplomatic signals about the feasibility of the elections and there is concern whether the scale of the contributions is appropriate to the capability of the EU.

At its November meeting, the European Council, comprised of the European heads of state and government, gave official endorsement to the prospect of Iraqi elections and the timetable for holding them on 30 January 2005. In terms of rebuilding Iraq sovereignty and independence, the Council stated that “[t]he elections planned for January 2005 are an important step ... and the European Council noted the importance of the EU's continued support for these.”¹²⁶ At the summit the European Commission pledged a €31.5 million (approximately 40 million USD) package to support election activities in Iraq. The package added €16.5 million (21 million USD) of fresh money to the EU's previous commitment for election support.¹²⁷

This commitment, however, was put into jeopardy a few days later when EU foreign policy chief Javier Solana expressed doubts about the January deadline for the elections.¹²⁸ Solana stated grave concerns about the deteriorating security situation in Iraq and the prospects of holding elections in the midst of the violence. The EU, however, reaffirmed its commitment to the election timetable at the Sharm el Sheikh international conference on Iraq on November 22, 2004.¹²⁹

The EU commitment pledge at Sharm el Sheikh includes:

- €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

¹²⁵ “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].

¹²⁶ “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].

¹²⁷ Europa External Relations: Commission offers fresh support for the electoral process in Iraq, November 4, 2004. Date of Access: 10 January, 2005 [europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/iraq/news/ip04_1340.htm]

¹²⁸ “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]

¹²⁹ 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]

Division and the training programme for up to 150 representatives from Iraqi domestic observer groups.¹³⁰

The contribution of €31.5 million makes the EU one of the three largest donors to the Iraqi electoral process along with the U.S. and Japan.¹³¹ However, doubts have been expressed as to whether this is too small a sum compared to EU capabilities.¹³²

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¹³⁰ Europa External Relations: Commission offers fresh support for the electoral process in Iraq

¹³¹ 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]

¹³² "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]