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# New Iraqi Government (~~SECRET/NOFORN~~) 8 June 2005

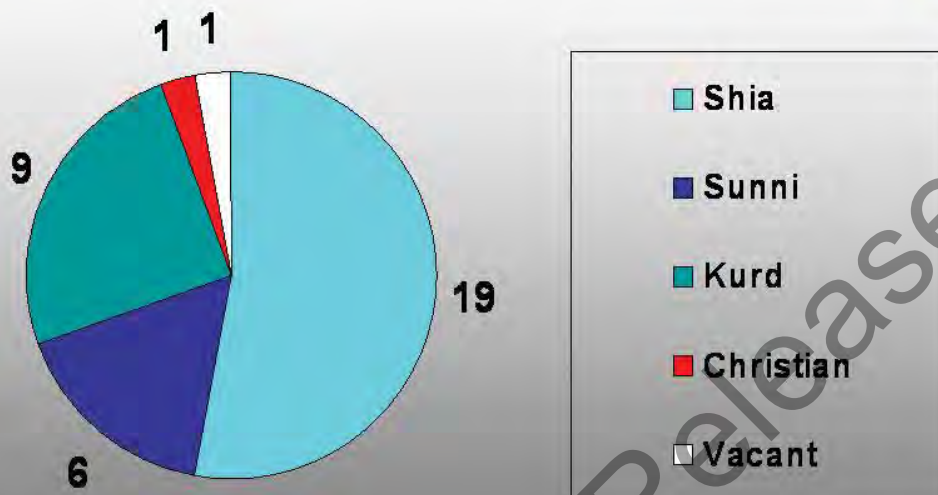


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## IRAQ GOVERNMENT: RELIGIOUS MAKE-UP



CURRENT AS OF: 8 MAY 05

Produced by: NCMOC INTEL

### Legend on select names

- 1 Modified Library of Congress transliteration of Arabic spelling of first and LAST names
- 2 Modified Library of Congress transliteration of Arabic spelling with long vowels indicated and stressed syllable **bolded** for purposes of pronunciation
- 3 Individual's preferred Romanized spelling where available

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## The Presidency Council

### PRESIDENT JALAL TALABANI (Kurd):



- Alternate spellings: Mam (uncle) Jalal, Jalal Talibani, Jalal Talebani, Jalel Talabani, Jalal Husammundin Talbane
- Born in 1933 in a village overlooking Dogan Lake
  - Comes from a religious family
  - Father was in charge of the Talabani Religious School
- Engaged in political activities early in life
- Graduated from the faculty of law (Baghdad Law School) in 1959
- Secretary General of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)
  - He established PUK in 1975
- Written many books and delivered intellectual and political lectures
- Worked as chief editor of several newspapers
- Actively participated in all conferences of the Iraqi Opposition Forces, which were held outside Iraq
- Member of the Governing Council's Presidency Council
  - Formed after the fall of the former regime
- TNA elected him President on 6 Apr 2005
  - First elected President of Iraq since the fall of Saddam's regime
- Speaks English, French, Arabic and Persian, besides Kurdish
- Favors a democratic Iraq with limited Kurdish autonomy

~~(S//NF)~~ **SIGNIFICANCE:** Jalal Talabani is a seasoned, intelligent political activist whose primary vision is establishing an autonomous Kurdistan. He is a proponent of a secular, pluralistic, democratic government for postwar Iraq. Talabani is the founder and secretary general of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), was a member of the interim Iraqi Governing Council (IGC), and one of the nine members of the IGC Presidential Committee (G9).

~~(S//NF)~~ Talabani operates with broad, bold strokes in trying to achieve his vision of an autonomous Kurdistan. These actions also provide a way to increase his personal influence in Iraq, the immediate region, and the international arena.

~~(S//NF)~~ Talabani's influence is reflected in his constituency in Iraqi Kurdistan, his relationships in the IGC and G9, and his domestic and foreign connections. However, Talabani fully understands his geographic, financial, and military constraints.

~~(S//NF)~~ **POLITICS:** Jalal Talabani generally supported the CPA and has rejected the call for early termination of the occupation and withdrawal of American forces; this included a statement recommending that the United Nations pass a resolution to "get more troops to help

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the Americans." Financial and military aid from the West help him shore up support among Kurdish urbanites and tribes that are the PUK's constituency. Although Talabani is wary of past US failings in Iraq, he considers the United States a major player in bringing about a unified Iraq and potentially an autonomous Kurdistan.

~~(S//NF)~~ Talabani has pursued a negotiated settlement with the Ba'athist-led Iraqi government to end the historical oppression that has plagued the Kurdish movement, both recognizing the rights of the Kurdish people and establishing an autonomous Kurdistan. He also pursues the larger issues of Kurdish rights in the region, specifically in Turkey.

~~(C)~~ Naming Talabani and Barzani to the ITG, IGC and G9 has given the Kurds a position of power on the world stage for the first time in Iraqi history. Talabani probably will use this opportunity to push forward his Kurdish agenda — an autonomous Kurdistan, Kurdish rights, and promoting the PUK as the leading political party representing Kurdish ambitions. The Kurds almost certainly will work fervently for a federation in Iraq that guarantees them a prominent role in a unified country.

~~(S//NF)~~ Talabani understands that securing support from neighboring countries is key to his vision of an autonomous Kurdistan. He is fully aware of his limitations regarding the PUK's financial vulnerabilities and will do whatever is needed to keep the organization solvent. This includes direct support from his constituents and trade revenues PUK and KDP share or fight over. In the past, he has sought Iranian financial and military support and has twice negotiated with Saddam Husayn in return for a promise of PUK control of Kurdistan. He openly and repeatedly negotiates for support from the West. In the recent postwar timeframe, he has sought to strengthen his relationships with Syria and long-time antagonist Turkey.

~~(S//NF)~~ One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. Talabani has in the past engaged in political violence. His anti-regime resistance movements, early in his career and recently, have always had an armed, militant component. At various times during his power struggles in Iraq, he has dealt with Iran, Syria, Turkey, and the Ba'athists to secure economic and military support for his militia. His vacillating relations with the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) have put Talabani under the wary eye of his political opponents at home and abroad. This is especially true of the KDP, which absorbed the brunt of PUK civil violence in the 1990s, at the height of Kurdish infighting stemming from the two parties' ideological differences and control of regional financial resources.

~~(S)~~ As a member of the IGC in post-Saddam Iraq, Talabani vocalized his disdain for terrorism and denounces the recent wave of attacks on Iraqi and Coalition targets in postwar Iraq. He pointed fingers at the former Ba'athists and Ansar al Islam (AI), which have connections with al-Qaida, as sources of the ongoing violence.

~~(S)~~ Talabani is extremely concerned at AI's threat, including possible assassination attempts directed at him. He has deployed the bulk of his Peshmerga forces to fight AI, effectively clearing them from PUK-held areas of Iraq. The role Talabani and the PUK are playing in persuading the radical Islamic groups Islamic Movement Kurdistan and Kurdish Islamic Group

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to abandon support for AI could be pivotal in laying the groundwork for PUK cooperation with Coalition forces and the war on terrorism. Talabani has indicated he would be interested in continuing to direct his Peshmerga forces against AI targets with the aid of the US military. ~~(S)~~ For almost three decades, Talabani has led a well-organized political party and will seek to broaden his constituency and expand his influence in a postwar Iraq. He probably will favor rapidly establishing a governing authority that will enable him to build on his current advantages as PUK leader and enhance PUK political strength.

~~(S)~~ The PUK was born of Marxist ideology, but Talabani shifted away from that ideology with the fall of the Soviet Union. By mid-2003, Talabani had become an advocate of democracy and a federal system for Iraq. He promotes the CPA's quest for a Western-style democratic government in Iraq based on procedures outlined in the Transition to Sovereignty Plan and recently IGC-approved Fundamental Law. In a recent interview, he said, "We look forward to setting up a democratic government, in which all Iraqis take part, based on the federal rule system. This is a normal issue for democratic systems."

~~(S)~~ Still, Talabani favors a social democratic style of government; if he were to become the new leader in Iraq, he most likely would mold a new government according to his preference for broad governmental control and oversight. Should Talabani's vision of an autonomous Kurdistan not become a reality, a federal, democratic Iraq, giving the PUK the opportunity to become the leading Kurdish authority governing its respective territories and securing Kurdish rights in the region, probably would satisfy Talabani's need to achieve tangible results for the Kurdish people.

~~(S)~~ Iraqi Kurdistan sits on vast oil reserves. An autonomous or independent Kurdistan could become virtually self-sufficient if it had full control of these lucrative resources. Given the implausibility of this, Talabani is likely to accept a profitable oil-sharing deal on behalf of the Kurdish people as the CPA establishes the future government and economic structure of postwar Iraq.

~~(S)~~ Before Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, Talabani and Barzani were willing to negotiate a guaranteed 13-percent profit-sharing deal as part of the UN Oil-for-Food Program. Both Kurdish leaders would prefer to leverage their claims to the rich oil fields of Kirkuk and Mosul to justify a bigger share of revenues for the Kurds.

~~(C)~~ Regionally, the Turkish government continually expresses to Talabani its concern for the security of a key pipeline that extends from northern Iraq into Turkey. Talabani has deferred this contentious issue for the CPA to resolve. In the interim, he has agreed to a plan whereby local Iraqis, with other Arabs who support the new Iraq, would provide pipeline security.

**(U) PERSONAL DATA:** Jalal Talabani was born a Sunni Kurd in the village of Kelkan, near Lake Dokan, in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1933. He considers Kirkuk his home.

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**(U) CAREER:** Jalal Talabani joined the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), led by Mustafa Barzani in 1947. He was elected to KDP Central Committee in 1951. He took charge of Kurdish resistance against Iraqi government in 1961, after the overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy in 1958.

~~(S)~~ In 1964, during the KDP split, Talabani went with the Political Bureau group, breaking with Mustafa Barzani because of ideological differences. Talabani later returned.

**(U)** After the collapse of Kurdish resistance in 1975, Talabani departed the KDP again and formed the PUK. In 1976, the PUK renewed armed resistance against the Iraqi government until Saddam Hussein's brutal "Anfal" campaign in 1988. Talabani pursued a negotiated settlement but still insisted on Kurdish rights in a regional context. Internal disputes and power struggles between the PUK and KDP (led by Mustafa's son, Massoud) in 1990s led to bitter fighting that left thousands of casualties. In April 2003, PUK opened offices in Baghdad, including offices for its newspaper and television and radio networks. PUK and KDP agreed in June 2003 to begin merging to form a unified Kurdish voice. Talabani named to the IGC and G9, July 2003. Talabani's G9 term was in November 2003.

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## VICE PRESIDENT SHAYKH GHAZI AJIL AL-YAWIR (Sunni):



- 1 Shaykh Ghazi Mash'al al-Ajl AL-YAWAR
- 2 **Ghaazi Mash'al al-Ajl al-Yaawar**
- 3 Shaykh Ghazi M. Ajil al-Yawar
  - Born in Mosul, 1958
  - One of the children of a senior Shaykh of the Shammar Tribe
    - One of the largest tribes in Iraq
    - Shammar Tribal leader's nephew
    - Related to Saudi Royal family

- Alternate spellings: Ghazi Mashal Ajil al-Yawar; Ghazi al-Yawwer; Ghazi al-Yawir; Ghazi Ajil al-Yawar.
- Received a BS in Civil Engineering from an American University (unspecified)
- Worked as a vice chairman of Hicap Technology in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
- Member and Chairman of the Governing Council in its last term
  - Governing Council chose him as president
    - He was the first President of Iraq after the fall of Saddam
- Served as IIG President
- Married IIG/ITG Minister Berwari, Sep 04

~~(S//REL TO USA and MCFI)~~ **SIGNIFICANCE:** Ghazi al-Yawr is the first appointed and elected Sunni Arab representative on the Presidency Council. As a Sunni Arab, Yawr will be key to the success of continued Sunni Arab outreach by the ITG. His connections to the Shammar tribe, along with his wife's KDP links will increase his appeal among Shi'a and Kurds. Yawr generally supports the Coalition's objectives; however, his willingness to criticize the Coalition on some issues has garnered some respect from the Iraqi public. Yawr understands there will be a lengthy Coalition presence in Iraq and cautions other Iraqis that "the occupation will not end in 6 months or a year."

~~(C//REL TO USA and MCFI)~~ **POLITICS:** A moderate Sunni, Ghazi al-Yawr is the nephew of the leader of the Shammar tribe (A Shia-Sunni mixed confederation which consists of more than 40 tribes nationwide to include extensive ancestral associations in Syria and Jordan as well as in Saudi Arabia). Yawr's status within the Shammar confederation gives him a degree of influence throughout Iraq, and probably into neighboring countries.

**(U)** Yawr supported Coalition objectives by helping form a new Iraqi army and appointing ministers. Yawr has stated that the constitutional process will require time, because it must become permanent, clear, and credible. Yawr opposes the imposition of a timetable for Multi-National Forces-Iraq withdrawal.

**(U) PERSONAL DATA:** A Sunni Muslim and Shammar tribal leader, Ghazi al-Yawr was born in 1958 near Mosul. His grandfather played a role in guiding Iraq towards independence in the

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1920s. Yawr is a close relative of Mohsen Adil al-Yawr. Yawr lived and studied in Mosul until circa 1974 at which time he left Iraq for Saudi Arabia. His wife, Nasrin Mustapha Barwari, served in the Iraqi Interim Government (IIG) as the Minister of Public Works. She is affiliated with the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP).

He is the nephew of Paramount Sheikh Mohsin Ajil al' Yawr of the Shammar Tribal Confederation. He is also related to Sheikh Medlul Mutluk (his nephew), who is very likely involved in smuggling between Syria and Iraq IVO Sinjar, and is alleged (unconfirmed) to have ties to the Hizb al' Awda (The Return Party).

(U) In an interview with Arab press in April 2004, Yawr dismissed the concept of tribal-centered parties, stating that, as the country's neutral "street conscience" and repository of the national identity, the tribes must be free to support whoever has Iraq's best interests at heart.

~~(S//REL TO USA and MCFI)~~ CAREER: Ghazi al-Yawr was a former Saudi based businessman. He was associated with a variety of technology companies to include working as the Operations Director of Thuraya phone company.

(U) Following Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, Yawr sold his business and returned to Iraq and was appointed a member of the IGC by the United States occupational authority. He became rotating President of the Council on May 17, 2004, following the assassination of President Izz al-Din al-Salim.

(U) Yawr was scheduled to be the last holder of the rotating council presidency, with a term lasting until June 30, 2004, the date of the expected transition to official Iraqi sovereignty. Instead, he was chosen at an earlier date to be Iraq's formal Head of State, and occupy the largely symbolic post of "State President" of Iraq. He and the IIG were sworn in on June 28, 2004, when the U.S.-led coalition handed over power two days early. He was elected Vice President of the ITG on 6 April 2005.

Small change to Ghazi al' Yawr personal data on page 7.

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### VICE PRESIDENT DR ADIL ABD-AL-MAHDI (Shia):

- Born in Baghdad in 1942 (or 1948)
- Finished graduate studies in politics and economics in France
  - Earned a PhD in both
- Worked at a number of French think tanks
  - Became chairman of the last one, the Institute of Islamic Studies
  - Chief Editor of a number of newspapers and magazines in Arabic and French, besides writing several books
- Sentenced to death in the 1960s because of his political activity
- Dismissed from his job and stripped of his passport in 1969
  - Forced to leave Iraq, went into exile in France
- He lived in Iran and joined the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI)
  - Worked as SCIRI representative in Iraqi Kurdistan from 1992 to 1996
  - He is an economist
- He was a member of the Governing Council
- Appointed Finance Minister in the IIG

**(S//NF) SIGNIFICANCE:** Adil 'Abd-al-Mahdi, a longtime senior official of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) and former Iraqi Interim Government (IG) Finance Minister has been fully engaged in establishing a sovereign and secure Iraq since the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime in April 2003. A US official has described him as "all politics"--having no interests outside of work. 'Abd-al-Mahdi views himself as a politically savvy and capable leader, according to sensitive reporting, and probably sees his current position as a stepping stone to becoming prime minister in Iraq's permanent government. 'Abd-al-Mahdi was

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a leading candidate within the Unified Iraqi Alliance (UIA) for prime minister until he dropped out of the race in February 2005. According to a sensitive report, 'Abd-al-Mahdi hoped that by postponing his candidacy until 2006, Iraq's security and political landscape would calm down.

~~(S//NF)~~ US officials characterize 'Abd-al-Mahdi as intelligent, amiable, and a quick learner who knows how to prioritize politically and who has good judgment. He is not afraid to cut a deal without having full knowledge of the issue--a rare attribute among Iraqis, according to a US official. 'Abd-al-Mahdi is able to quickly receive and process raw data. Credible reporting suggests that he is likely to hold his ground during negotiations, and the same reporting assesses that persistence on contested points invariably leads to the other side coming around to his viewpoint.

~~(S//NF)~~ **POLITICS:** Adil 'Abd-al-Mahdi, building off his experience in the IG, will continue to help validate the democratic process. He said privately in February 2005 that the Iraqi Transitional Government (ITG) will have to show the Iraqi people how life under a democratic government is different from what they had in the past, particularly highlighting freedoms of religion and expression, according to sensitive reporting. 'Abd-al-Mahdi in January 2005 said that the UIA was seeking the establishment of democratic, federal, and multiparty rule and noted that the federal system could be applied across Iraq, not just in the north. He also said that if Iraqis in the south want a political separation similar to the Kurds, he would encourage it, according to a separate press report.

~~(C//NF)~~ Adil 'Abd-al-Mahdi will build on his accomplishments as Finance Minister to continue to push for economic reforms. He publicly said in January 2005 that the ITG will need to bolster the market system and cure Iraq from state administration and enterprise ownership. He noted privately a month later that the ITG also will need to move quickly to address security issues and restore public utilities, including ensuring the regular distribution of fuel oil, according to a sensitive report. As IG Finance Minister, 'Abd-al-Mahdi negotiated an 80-percent debt reduction from Paris Club creditors in October 2004. The debt relief package totaled over \$40 billion, or approximately one-third of Iraq's total external debt. He told the press that same month that the majority of the Saddam-era claims need to be canceled before the reconstruction process could go forward and stability could be restored to Iraq. 'Abd-al-Mahdi also supported reducing fuel subsidies, which the IMF and Paris Club members had requested as part of the debt reduction deal.

~~(S//NF)~~ 'Abd-al-Mahdi views strong relations with the United States as key to Iraq's reconstruction. He realizes that Iraq's debt would not have been reduced without US help, according to sensitive reporting. At the same time, he also views a close and productive relationship with Iran as in Iraq's interest, according to sensitive reporting.

~~(C//NF)~~ 'Abd-al-Mahdi is the head of SCIRI'S political bureau and appears to be one of the top decision-makers behind SCIRI's political policy. According to sensitive reporting, he moderated his stance following his appointment to the IG and has consistently portrayed SCIRI as a moderate organization. 'Abd-al-Mahdi served as deputy to SCIRI leader Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim

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when he was a member of the Governing Council (GC) and, according to Coalition Provisional Authority officials, formulated most of Hakim's policy positions. In addition, 'Abd-al-Mahdi also has been the general supervisor and chief editor for *Al-Adalah*--the party's political newspaper--and Hakim's representative in As Sulaymaniyah, according to a variety of reporting.

~~(S//NF)~~ 'Abd-al-Mahdi appears comfortable working with Iraqis of different ethnic or sectarian groups. According to credible reporting, he sees ethnic and sectarian balance within ministry appointments as important. Reliable reporting indicates that he worked closely with Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) officials on Transitional Administrative Law negotiations. PUK leader and former GC Rotating President Jalal Talabani said that PUK members consider 'Abd-al-Mahdi a moderate Shi'a, according to sensitive reporting. In addition, 'Abd-al-Mahdi appears to have a good relationship with Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani. He visited Sistani in October 2004 to discuss his trips to Tehran and Washington and how to include Kurds on a unified list for national elections, according to dependable information.

~~(S//NF)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** Adil 'Abd-al-Mahdi was born on 18 March 1942 in An Nasiriyah but grew up in Baghdad. During the 1960s, he was a political activist and was repeatedly jailed and tortured for his opposition activities, according to press reports. A military report says that Saddam sentenced him to death. 'Abd-al-Mahdi eventually fled to France, where he spent 20 years in exile.

~~(S//NF)~~ **CAREER:** Adil 'Abd-al-Mahdi, for a few months in 1965, served in Iraq's light infantry, according to diplomatic reporting. 'Abd-al-Mahdi's political and religious affiliations have ranged across the spectrum. He was a Ba'athist in his early days and led actions against the Iraqi Communist Party. After he fled to France, 'Abd-al-Mahdi embraced Mao Communism, even visiting Beijing. He joined SCIRI in the 1980s when he saw a trend toward religious orthodoxy in the Iraqi Shia opposition at that time. 'Abd-al-Mahdi spent time in Iran and later served as the SCIRI representative in Iraqi Kurdistan from 1992 to 1996, according to press and sensitive reporting. He headed SCIRI's Paris bureau from 1996 to 2003. Before returning to Iraq in 2003, 'Abd-al-Mahdi was an economist in private business, according to US diplomats and sensitive reporting. His father was Iraq's Minister of Education during the monarchist era. 'Abd-al-Mahdi is married, and his four children are French nationals, according to press reports. He is fluent in English, Arabic, French, and Persian.

~~(S//NF)~~ **EDUCATION AND TRAINING:** Adil 'Abd-al-Mahdi earned an economics degree from the College of Trade and Economy in Baghdad in 1959. While in exile in France, he studied political and economic sciences in the Universities of Saint-Etienne and Poitiers and obtained two masters degrees from 1968 to 1972. He eventually headed the French Institute for Islamic Studies think tank and edited magazines in Arabic and French, according to press reports.

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The following is the list of ministers. Their affiliations are in brackets ():

**PRIME MINISTER DR IBRAHIM AL-JA'FARI AL-USHAYQIR (Shia Arab, Da'wa Party):**



- 1 Dr. Ibrahim AL-JA`FARI
  - 2 Ibraahiim al-Ja`fari
  - 3 Dr. Ibrahim al-Jafari
- Born in Karbalah in 1947
  - Received Bachelor Degree in Medicine and Surgery in College of Medicine -Mosul University in 1974
  - Associated with Islamic Da'wa Party in 1966, eventually become chief spokesman
    - Oldest Islamist movement in Iraq, was founded in the late 1950s and is based on the ideology of reforming Islamic thought and modernizing religious institutions
    - The party was banned by Saddam Hussein in 1980

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- Left Iraq to Syria in 1980 due to repression of Saddam Regime
- Left Syria to Iran and stayed there until 1989 where he moved to London
- Participated in establishing of SCIRI
- Ascended to leading position in the Supreme Council to become the President of the Executive Committee
- Participated in conferences of the Iraqi opposition outside Iraq
- Published many cultural research articles in addition to lectures and symposiums all over the world
- Had five persons of his family executed by Saddam's Regime
- Returned to Iraq after the downfall of Saddam Regime to take part in the political process and reconstruction of Iraq
- He is a former Iraqi Governing Council member (Deputy President)
- Became first president of Governing Council
- Became Vice-President of Iraq during the Interim Government
- Elected Prime Minister on 7 Apr 2005

~~(S//NF)~~ **SIGNIFICANCE:** A physician by training, Ibrahim al-Ja'fari--also known as Abu Ahmad and Ibrahim al-Ushayghir--enjoys significant popular support and during his tenure as Prime Minister probably will focus on key Shi'a issues such as the role of Islam in the constitution and redressing wrongs perpetrated by Saddam Hussein's regime. He has announced publicly that security is his number-one priority. On key Kurdish issues such as federalism and Kirkuk, Ja'fari often speaks in generalities but accepts federalism as a workable government structure; he has agreed to operate within the provisions of the Transitional Administrative Law (TAL), which addresses the issue of Kirkuk. He also has advocated Sunni involvement in the Iraqi Transitional Government (ITG) to include Sunnis in senior posts, according to diplomatic reporting.

~~(S//NF)~~ As a religiously conservative Shia and member of the Unified Iraqi Alliance--associated with Grand Ayatollah Muhammad Ali Husayni al-Sistani--Ja'fari is likely to be a strong supporter of Islam as the sole source of legislation for the constitution, but he publicly espouses support for the rights of women and minorities. According to the press, he studied in Qom, Iran, in the 1980s to reach the scholarly rank of *mujtahid*, meaning he is qualified to interpret Islamic texts. According to Western press, as a Governing Council (GC) member and rotating president, Ja'fari voted for Decision 137, which replaced civil family law with Sharia law but was later repealed. In 2004, Ja'fari argued for Islam to be considered as the sole source of legislation, but more recently he has moderated his public stance on what role Islam should play in the formation of the constitution.

~~(S//NF)~~ Members of Ja'fari's party, the Da'wa Party, suffered enormously under Saddam's regime, suggesting Ja'fari will be wary of former Ba'ath Party members' involvement in politics. Ja'fari--who had two brothers executed by the regime--also will push for government restitution for the families of Iraqis killed by the regime, which is part of the Da'wa Party's political platform. Ja'fari often has said that only Ba'ath Party members who committed crimes should

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be barred from politics. An aide speaking on his behalf, however, opposed easing the de-Ba'athification policy in 2004, according to press and dependable reporting.

~~(S//NF)~~ **POLITICS:** Ibrahim al-Ja'fari has been a member of the Da'wa Party since 1966 and served for a decade as its representative in London. Often described as Iraq's oldest Shia opposition organization, the Da'wa Party--formally known as Hizb al-Da'wa al-Islamiya--was founded in the late 1950s and has splintered into several factions in its long history. US military officials characterized Ja'fari's Da'wa faction, which is based in the Shia stronghold of Karbala, as politically moderate and opposed to Iranian-style theocracy. According to sensitive reporting, Da'wa's political appeal is that it blends contemporary and religious cultures and adopts a positive approach to interacting with other parties.

~~(S//NF)~~ Ja'fari's relationships with influential political figures are weak. Although he worked with a broad range of individuals during his tenure on the GC and as Deputy President of the Iraqi Interim Government, many groups--especially prominent secularists--do not trust him. Deputy President Ghazi al-Yawr has told US diplomats that he gets along with Ja'fari on an individual basis; however, a close associate of the Deputy President says Yawr does not respect Ja'fari and on several occasions has had to stop him from causing unspecified trouble. Sensitive reporting states that the Kurds do not trust Ja'fari. Kurdistan Democratic Party leader Masud Barzani in mid-February 2005 told US diplomats that Ja'fari is too "hardline," and representatives of both Kurdish parties have indicated that they would find it difficult to work with Ja'fari.

~~(S//NF)~~ We do not know the extent of Ja'fari's ideological adherence to Tehran. He publicly promotes a conservative--but less restrictive--approach to the role of Islam in government than the Iranian model. Nevertheless, he maintains ties to Iran. He has traveled there several times and has consulted with senior Iranian officials, according to press and sensitive reporting. Sensitive reporting indicates Ja'fari is close with Iranian President Mohammad Khatami. Ja'fari received financial support from Iran in the early-to-middle 1990s, and sensitive reporting suggests he or elements of his party still receive Iranian funding or support. Some political opponents think that his party is infiltrated by Iranian intelligence, according to sensitive reporting.

~~(S//NF)~~ One report alleges Ja'fari has been involved in Iranian-sponsored terrorism, but we lack corroborating evidence. A report anonymously forwarded to US Embassy officials in London in 1991 characterized Ja'fari as being closely tied to Tehran and alleged that he helped organize anti-Western bombings in Beirut and Kuwait during the early 1980s. We have uncovered no other reporting to indicate he was involved in planning the bombings. During a meeting with officials from the Embassy in London in 2002, he rejected allegations that his faction participated in the attacks in Kuwait and Beirut and described his faction as "mainstream."

~~(S//NF)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** Ibrahim al-Ja'fari was born in 1947 in Karbala, where his father worked at the Imam Hussein Shrine. Ja'fari fled from Iraq to Iran in 1980 after Saddam banned

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the Da'wa Party, and he resettled in the United Kingdom in 1989, according to press. Ja'fari has traveled extensively, including to the United States. He does not shake hands with women, drink alcohol, smoke, play cards, go to the movies, or listen to popular music, according to press. Ja'fari speaks Arabic and probably Persian. Although his English-language capability is good, he prefers not to speak it, according to diplomatic reporting. His wife is a doctor, and they have five children.

~~(C//NF)~~ Often described as mild-mannered, Ja'fari is extremely soft spoken; his voice at times is barely above a whisper. He dresses in Western suits and enjoys gourmet cuisine, according to press reporting. Ja'fari also writes poetry; press reporting indicates he has published his love poems under a pseudonym and hosts private poetry readings. His unassuming manner, however, appears to disguise a political savvy that is reflected in ambiguous statements and cagey answers on contentious political issues, leaving him room to maneuver in the future.

### **DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER DR AHMAD ABD-AL-HADI CHALABI (Shia Arab, Iraqi National Congress):**



- Alternate spellings: Ahmed al-Jalabi
- Son of a wealthy banking family whose grandfather, father and brother held prominent posts in Iraqi governments until Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath Party seized power in 1968
- PhD Math, Educated at University of Chicago and MIT
- Founder & President of the Iraqi National Conference (INC)
- He has not lived in Iraq since 1956 (or 1958), apart from a period organizing resistance in the Kurdish north in the 1995
- The uprising was called off by the CIA at the crucial moment
  - Subsequently led to the deaths of thousands of INC members
- Chalabi was a math professor at the American University in Beirut until 1977
- Main political support came from the US Congress, the Pentagon and parts of the CIA
- US State Department does not trust him
  - Raised questions about INC's accounting practices
- Professor in Mathematics and businessman
- Since he left Jordan, has resided in London and is now a British citizen.
- Commentary:
  - A highly controversial figure, he is charismatic and determined

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- Many also regard him as domineering
- Member of the Presidential Committee of the Governor Council
- Member of the National Assembly

~~(S)~~ **SIGNIFICANCE:** Dr. Ahmad Chalabi, a former member of Iraq's Governing Council (GC), is one of the shrewdest, most pragmatic members of the ITG. He is motivated by a nationalistic vision of a new Iraq and believes he is the best person to accomplish this goal. Like some of the other expatriate leaders and groups, he feels a sense of entitlement toward his role in post-Saddam Iraq. As with other exiled opposition leaders, many Iraqis question Chalabi's credibility as a leader. He is mindful that two constraints are obstacles to his ability to secure a future position of national leadership.

~~(S)~~ Consummate rivals on the GC present alternative leadership options for Iraqis.

~~(S)~~ Iraqis and the governments of surrounding Arab countries harbor a negative image of Chalabi that calls into question his suitability as a leader.

~~(S)~~ Because of the need to enhance his influence in Iraq, Chalabi's strategy for securing legitimacy is rooted in attaining support from the Iraqi population. He will capitalize on opportunities to improve his public image while undermining the political edge of potential competitors.

~~(S)~~ U.S. information operations (IO) planners can influence Chalabi by targeting his sense of confidence in an international arena, calling into question his associations, and curtailing his flexibility.

~~(S)~~ Ahmad Chalabi is motivated by a nationalistic vision of a new Iraq. He believes he is the best person to achieve this goal but realizes that to do so, he must enhance his influence in Iraq; thus, the focus of his strategy for securing legitimacy is attaining support from the Iraqi population. A consummate politician, he sees his return to Iraq as an opportunity to challenge the constraints his tainted image presents among Iraqi citizens. Faced with criticism of his leadership style and accusations of improper behavior, Chalabi will not hesitate to use diversionary tactics to cast doubt on the authority and integrity of other ITG members. He also will seek to marginalize those who threaten his ability to garner public support by appointing INC supporters to positions of influence. Accordingly, he will try to walk a fine line between the Coalition and impatient, nationalistic Iraqis—but only as long as it does not undermine his support from the Coalition.

~~(S)~~ **POLITICS:** Chalabi portrays himself as an impartial leader, willing to protect the interests of all factions in Iraq. As with other exiled opposition leaders, many Iraqis question his credibility as a leader. Chalabi, like some of the other expatriate leaders and groups, bears a sense of entitlement toward his leadership role in post-Saddam Iraq. As an INC representative, Chalabi enhanced his authority among some of his fellow expatriates; however, his external status and close association with the U.S. does not contribute to his following among internal

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Iraqis. Most Iraqis have reservations about Chalabi's presence and consider him an external figure trying to impose himself on the internal political scene. Exiles are viewed as having lost touch with the needs of average Iraqis because they did not suffer under Saddam's tyranny. Contributing to this negative image is Jordan's conviction of Chalabi for embezzlement, fraud, and breach of public trust. Iraqis perceive him as a thief, and others describe him as a cunning, sly, dangerous swindler with the intelligence and ability to promote his own agenda.

~~(S)~~ Chalabi has come under harsh criticism for his authoritarian attitude and unwillingness to exchange information or cooperate with other anti-Saddam opposition groups. This criticism comes from various opposition members who have commented on Chalabi's behavior during his tenure as INC Executive Committee chairman. For example, in June 1995, the Iraqi Democratic Union (IDU) withdrew from the INC because of the administration's autocratic nature and failure to abide by its own bylaws and constitution. While the IDU was not a politically significant opposition group, similar decisions in the previous months to freeze or suspend participation in the INC were made by the Iraqi National Union, the Iraqi Communist Party, and the Shi'a Da'wa Party. Hoshyar Zebari of the Kurdistan Democratic Party said, "Chalabi regards the INC as his own personal company, rather than abiding by the principles of collective leadership that the organization is supposed to operate by. In INC leadership meetings, Chalabi will agree to abide by the leadership's collective decision, but when the meeting is finished, he does what he wants to do regardless."

~~(S)~~ As conflict-ridden relationships have fermented through the years, various groups in the INC have continued to question Chalabi's leadership ability. As his support base waned with changes in the INC command structure, Chalabi recognized he could no longer manipulate the organization according to his own whims and profit as the sole conduit from lobbyist activities. Critics and competitors such as Adnan Pachachi and Ayad Allawi, who now are on the GC, have not forgotten Chalabi's behavior and authoritarian leadership style. Chalabi will continue to size up fellow representatives to ascertain whether he can work with, marginalize, or use various groups as instruments to achieve his objectives. Unless Chalabi is monitored, he will manipulate the situation for his own benefit and take credit for GC successes to bolster his image as a viable Iraqi leader.

**(U) PERSONAL DATA:** A Shi'a born in 1945 to a wealthy banking family, Ahmad Chalabi left Iraq in 1956. Since then, he has lived mainly in the U.S. and London. Chalabi speaks excellent English and is fluent in Arabic, Persian, and French.

**(U)** In 1997, he founded a private bank, Petra Bank, in Jordan and served as deputy chairman and general manager until becoming president in 1981. He also served as chief executive officer of Petra International Banking Corporation in 1983-89.

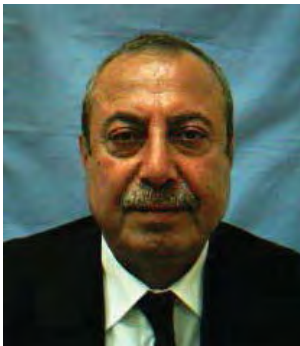
**(U)** In 1989, after an audit turned up discrepancies in Petra Bank, Chalabi fled Jordan to reside in London. He was convicted in absentia of embezzlement, fraud, and breach of public trust by a Jordanian court and sentenced to 35 years in prison and fined \$46 million.

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(U) In October 1992, the Iraqi National Congress (INC) held a meeting in Salahuddin, Iraqi Kurdistan, attended by 600 delegates, where the basic structure of the organization was decided. The structure consisted of a Leadership Council of 3 people and an Executive Council of 26 members. Chalabi was named chairman of the Executive Council by his peers.

### DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER DR RUZ NURI SHAWIS (Sunni Kurd, KDP):



- 1 Dr. Ruz SHAWAYS
  - 2 Ruuz Shaaways
  - 3 Rowsch Shaways
- Born in 1947
  - Received PhD of Engineering in Germany
  - Led Kurdish Student Union; joined Kurdish rebellion in 1975
  - Deputy Prime Minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government in 1991
  - Elected Prime Minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government in Arbil from 1996-99
  - Resigned to become president of the Kurdistan National Assembly
  - Represented Mr. Mas'oud Barazani in the Governing Council
  - Senior member of the Kurdistan Democratic Party
  - Elected Vice-president of the IIG in Jun 2004

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~~(S//NF)~~ **SIGNIFICANCE:** Rowsch Shaways is a longtime senior Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) official was a number-two candidate on the Kurdistan Alliance list in the national election. Senior IG members frequently seek Shaways' advice on parliamentary and budgetary issues because of his experience as the President of the Kurdistan National Assembly. He is a serious, competent public servant and a good speaker, according to sensitive reporting. Shaways has assisted in securing the agreement of Prime Minister Ayad 'Allawi's office on the drafting and implementation of laws, according to sensitive reporting. He has been an active diplomat for Iraq since his appointment, visiting the United Kingdom, Egypt, China, and the United States, according to press reports and US diplomats.

~~(C//NF)~~ Shaways has continued as a spokesman for the Kurds. At the beginning of his tenure as the Deputy President of Iraq, US diplomats said he felt it was difficult to balance his commitment to the Kurds with his obligations. In December 2004, he was publicly demanding that the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq agree to postpone the elections in Kirkuk because Kurdish demands for changing the demographics of the city back to pre-Saddam Arabization program levels had not yet been met. In October, Shaways advocated federalism while meeting with southern governorate officials, according to press reports. Shaways has continued in his role as a longtime KDP interlocutor with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK).

~~(S//NF)~~ **POLITICS:** Before his appointment to his current position, Shaways served as deputy to KDP head and former Governing Council (GC) Rotating President Mas'oud Barzani from July 2003 until May 2004. Shaways' role as deputy GC representative for Barzani, whose antipathy for political minutia kept him from participating in the day-to-day affairs of the GC, gave Shaways the opportunity to establish working ties to many key players in the GC and IG. According to credible reporting, he worked on writing the Transitional Administrative Law as a member of the GC subcommittee that included Adil Abd al-Mahdi, who is the Minister of Finance and a senior official of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq. In his role as Deputy President, Shaways broadened his network. Deputy President Ghazi al-Yawr views Shaways favorably, according to sensitive reporting and US diplomats.

~~(S//NF)~~ Shaways does not get along well Prime Minister Ibrahim al-Ja'fari. Minister of Planning and senior PUK official Barham Salih, a previous IG Deputy Prime Minister, said that friction could arise between Shaways and Ja'fari because of their "egotistical personalities". Yawr has also stated Shaways and Ja'fari do not see eye to eye on some issues.

~~(S//NF)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** Shaways was born on 7 December 1947 in Iraq. He was raised in Al Sulaymaniyah, and his father was Iraq's Minister of Housing in the 1960s. Shaways' mother was a prominent Kurdish political activist, according to sensitive reporting. His younger brother Bruska in April 2004 was appointed as the secretary general of the Ministry of Defense, according to diplomatic reporting. His brother Rast Shaways in 2004 was an adviser to the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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~~(S//NF)~~ Shaways earned a doctorate in engineering from a university in the former East Germany, according to military and foreign government service sensitive reporting. While in East Germany, he was head of the Kurdish Student Union, and he returned to Iraq in 1975 to join the Kurdish rebellion, according to military reporting.

~~(S//NF)~~ Shaways is married to German national Elke Shaways, who has taught Russian and history. According to military reporting, Shaways has German citizenship, too. The Shaways's 20-year-old son, (b)(6) is an undergraduate at American University in Washington. They also have two daughters, (b)(6) according to diplomatic reporting. We believe Shaways speaks English, German, French, Arabic, and Kurdish.

~~(S//NF)~~ **CAREER:** Shaways has been a member of the KDP politburo since 1979; he won his place because of his efforts on behalf of the party in Europe, according to foreign government service sensitive reporting. In 1992 he became Minister of the Interior and Deputy Prime Minister in the then joint Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), according to military reporting. He was Prime Minister of the KDP-controlled KRG from 1996 to 1999. In addition, he served as a member of the KDP politburo and central committee and as overall commander of the KDP-controlled military forces in the mid-1990s, according to sensitive reporting. Shaways became President of the Kurdistan National Assembly in 1999. His father was also a KDP leader, according to foreign government service sensitive reporting.

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## DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER ABD MUTLAQ HUMUD MUHAMMAD AL-JUBURI (Sunni Arab):

- Born in Governorate of Kirkuk in 1940
- Alternate spelling: Abid Mutlaq Hamud al-Jabburi
- Bachelor Degree in Military Science
- Master Degree in Military Science
- Graduate in College of Military Engineering
- Bachelor Degree in Law and Politics
  - Took several courses inside and outside the country
- Commander in Iraqi Army
  - Former major general, rose to prominence during 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War
    - Served into the early 90s
  - Held the rank of division commander in Iraqi Army
- Dean (Head) of Military Academy
- Lost post when Saddam purged Jabburi tribal members from military
  - Served two years of seven-year prison sentence for criticizing Saddam
- Arrested many times and put in prison for 5 years
  - Charged with attempting to overthrow the ruling regime
- Leader, National Power Alliance for Iraqi Unity since Mar 05

~~(S//NF)~~ **SIGNIFICANCE:** Mutlaq is a former Iraqi Army general and the head of the National Power Alliance for Iraqi Unity (NPA). Mutlaq has been active in numerous Sunni political organizations since the fall of the former regime, but he does not appear to have direct ties to the insurgency. Nevertheless, his son, a former Iraqi officer, was killed while participating in an attack on a US base in 2004, according to sensitive reporting. Shi'a political opponents have

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pointed to this incident as evidence that Mutlaq would be unsuitable for a senior government post, according to US diplomats.

~~(S//NF)~~ **POLITICS:** Mutlaq has played a prominent role in the Iraqi Sunni community since the end of Operation Iraqi Freedom. He served on a Sunni negotiating team that met with the Shi'a-dominated Unified Iraqi Alliance (UIA) and the Kurdistan Alliance to establish a Sunni role in the ITG, according to press reports. Sensitive reporting also indicates that Mutlaq also headed a delegation of the al-Juburi tribe that met with Iraqi Islamic Party (IIP) leader Mushin 'Abd-al-Hamid to develop closer cooperation. One sensitive report from 2004, which cannot be corroborated, alleges that Mutlaq was recruited by a Ba'athist activist to rebuild the Ba'ath Party in Iraq. Following the elections in Jan 05, he stated that the election did not end the country's crisis and that engaging in a "frank and calm dialogue" with those who did not participate and including them in the political process is the best way forward. Mutlaq advocates coalition withdrawal, according to a sensitive report.

~~(S//NF)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** Mutlaq was born in 1940, and hails from Kirkuk. He has resided in Baghdad since late 2004. Mutlaq's English-language capacity is unknown.

~~(S//NF)~~ **CAREER:** Mutlaq served in the Iraqi military during the 1980s and early 1990s. He commanded the 16<sup>th</sup> Division in the 1980s and won a medal of valor for his service in the Iran-Iraq war (1980-88). He subsequently was promoted to major general and served as a division commander during the Gulf war. Mutlaq also was a commandant of the Iraqi Military Academy. A sensitive report indicates that he was a close friend of Saddam's at the time.

~~(S//NF)~~ Mutlaq's tribal affiliation played a role in ending his military career. He hails from the al-Juburi tribe, whose members launched several coup attempts against Saddam. In the early 1990s, Saddam purged all tribal members from the military, which resulted in Mutlaq's early retirement, according to a sensitive report. Mutlaq also served two years of a seven-year prison sentence for criticizing Saddam, according to the same sensitive report.

**(U) EDUCATION AND TRAINING:** UNK.

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### THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE, DR SA'DUN JUWAYR FARHAN AL-DULAYMI (Sunni Arab):

- Alternate spellings: Sa'adun al-Duleimi, Saadoun al-Dulaimi, Sa'dun Jaways al-Dulaymi
- Born in Ramadi, Anbar Governorate in 1954
  - Family has its roots in the western al-Anbar province
  - Thought to be close to Sunni Vice-President Ghazi Yawer
  - Reportedly a moderate
- Bachelor Degree in Sociology from Baghdad University
- MS Degree in Social Sciences from Baghdad University in 1979
- Researcher in Psychological and Social Sciences Dept at Baghdad University
- Former army lieutenant colonel, he left Iraq in the 1980s
- PhD in Social – Psychology from Keil/Keele University /UK in 1990
  - Fluent in English and taught in Jordan and US
- Joined the Iraqi Opposition in 1990, and participated in many conferences
- Member of coordination & follow up committee in London Conference in 2002
- He had default judgment of execution due to he and others trying to stage a coup to topple the regime
- Former regime confiscated his assets
- Returned back to Iraq after the down fall of Saddam Regime and worked to develop the Civil Society Associations in Iraq

~~(U//FOUO)~~ **POLITICS:** There is little information about Dulaymi's political experience. As the Minister of Defense, he is responsible for building up the national army as an eventual replacement for the US-led coalition forces.

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~~(U//FOUO)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** Dulaymi was born into a wealthy family and one of Iraq's most influential tribes in the town of Ramadi in 1954. He is fluent in English and described as a moderate secular, Dulaymi is a respected psychologist and statistician.

~~(U//FOUO)~~ **CAREER:** Dulaymi was a former brigadier general during the Saddam Hussein-era with roots in western Iraq's tribal Sunni heartland. He left during the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s. He was sentenced to death by Saddam in absentia and confiscated his assets. Returning from exile in 2003, he set up the Baghdad-based Centre for Research and Strategic Studies. The centre conducted most of the country's opinion polls, which showed an increasing dissatisfaction with the US occupation in 2003. It is noteworthy that the Al-Dulaymi tribes, which comprise about 2 million people, consider him their representative.

#### **EXTRA INFORMATION:**

~~(SBU)~~ First impressions of Iraqi Minister of Defense Sa'adun Duleimi are favorable. He received a Ph.D. from Keele University in the UK, served under Saddam Hussein until he left in the early 80s, and then spent much his time working in the United States. Duleimi is a soft-spoken and thoughtful man but one who appears to have hidden strength and resolve. (NOTE: We understand when he arrived to work at 0800 on his second day and found several IRMO advisors but very few Iraqi employees at their desks, he summoned his Directors General and let it be known that they should advise their staff that everyone should be at work by 0800 as they are getting paid for it and all of them are replaceable. Duleimi seems keen to work with the Coalition and thus far has welcomed our advice. It remains to be seen whether he has the strength and authority to carry through his reform agenda.

~~(SBU)~~ Prominent Sunni pollster, Dr. Sadoun Al- Duleimi, told Poloffs September 13 that the probability of an Islamist victory in the January elections made a delay in these elections desirable. He said most Iraqis hate political parties and tended to see the better-known parties as imports. He highlighted the importance of tribal leaders in al-Anbar, and cautioned they need to be stroked. Sheikh Ghazi inadvertently insulted them, he alleged. He also claimed that American military operations in the Ramadi region are boosting anti-Coalition sentiment, and he urged we inject Iraqi forces as soon as possible.

~~(SBU)~~ Duleimi, son and grandson of sheikhs from the powerful Dulaym tribe, has just returned from his hometown of Ramadi in Anbar province. He told Poloffs he had met with several families in a village outside Al Ramadi who had lost relatives to recent fighting in the area. Duleimi argued U.S. troops should withdraw from city centers throughout the country, and be confined to clearly delineated bases. He admitted the current numbers of IP and National Guard would face difficulties in maintaining order, but urged a more ambitious training effort.

~~(SBU)~~ Al-Duleimi traced the recent rise in the societal influence of rural sheikhs to Saddam's deliberate cross- fertilization of Ba'athists and Islamists. According to Duleimi, in the aftermath of the first Gulf War, Saddam focused on the potential powerbase represented by Islamic ideologues. He made the necessary introductions with Ba'athist tribal loyalists. In Sunni

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Triangle politics, said Duleimi, Islamists are the head and tribal leaders the body of the power structure. Given their importance, Duleimi stressed the importance of delicacy in dealing with the sheikhs, whom he said are easily manipulated by Islamic extremists. Duleimi recounted a story he had heard in which some Ramadi tribal leaders had recently been offended by poor hospitality offered them by President Yawar had reportedly offered them only tea during their meeting. The sheikhs allegedly compared Ghazi unfavorably to Saddam in the all-important tribal quality of hospitality.

(SBU) Al-Duleimi started the ICRSS roughly a year ago upon his return from a 17-year exile. With a staff of 85 (including interviewers he employs 150) the firm has conducted six nationwide surveys and eleven in specific regions. (A local representative of the International Republican Institute (IRI) told us September 10 that Duleimi's group is the most reliable for surveying the Western province of Al Anbar.) Duleimi said only seven percent of the Iraqi population supports the 'big parties'. He claims most Iraqis hate parties, given their experience with the Ba'athists and views current parties as simply 'imports'. He excluded Islamic parties from this analysis. Duleimi said elections scheduled for January should be delayed for one to three years, given the inevitable victory of the Islamists if they are held on time.



### **THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR, BAQIR SULAGH JABR AL-ZUBAYDI (Shia Arab, SCIRI):**

- Alternate names/spellings: Baqir Sulagh al-Zubaydi, AKA Bayan Jabr, AKA Bayan Baqir JABR Sulagh, Baqr, Zubeidi
- Born in Maysan Governorate in 1946
- BS Civil Engineering 1969
  - Engineer by trade
- Member of Baghdad Chamber of Commerce & Iraqi Industrialists Union
- Participated at founding & administrating many plants & projects in the private sector
- Member of the Politburo Of Al-Mujahideen Movement 1982
- Head of the Mujahidin Media Office
  - Participated in issuance of (Al-Adhwa) Magazine in 1982
  - Became member of the Mujahidin Movement's Political Bureau in 1984
- Departed Iraq after former regime executed 12 family members
- Politburo Member of The Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI)
- Represented SCIRI in Lebanon and Syria from his base in Beirut in 1988
  - Lived also in UK and US
- A Shia Turcoman, Mr. Solagh ran SCIRI's office in Damascus during the 1990s
- Defended the People of Iraq in no less than 550 satellite TV interviews
- Founder & Head of the Board of Directors of (International Newspaper) Nida' Al-Rafidain Daily in 1990
- Published many studies and delivered specialized lectures in the security and military fields

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- Founder & Head of the Board of Directors of the Center for Arab Studies & Researchers in Beirut, 1995
- Contributed to the work of the preparatory committees of the Iraqi Opposition Conferences in Beirut, Salah Ad Din and London
- Minister of Construction & Housing in the Ministerial assortment which is formed by the Governor Council
- Consultant of the Prime Minister Dr. Eyad Allawi for Construction Affairs
  - Member of the Reconstruction Committee of the Holy City of Najaf
- Now a senior SCIRI official
  - Longtime friend of SCIRI leader Hakim

~~(S//NF)~~ **SIGNIFICANCE:** A Shi'a Turkoman, Jabr was the head of the SCIRI office in Damascus from 1991 to 2003, and an aide to former SCIRI leader Muhammad Baqr al-Hakim. Jabr has served as a reconstruction adviser to former Iraqi Interim Government (IIG) Prime Minister Ayad Allawi, as well as the Minister of Housing and Construction under the Iraqi Governing Council (GC). He worked to obtain funding and contracts for reconstruction on an international level. Jabr's political experience and standing in the party position him for future political office in Iraq.

~~(S//NF)~~ **POLITICS:** In 1981 Jabr was exiled to Iran, where he became a member of the Da'wa Party, which later joined with SCIRI. In September 2003 Jabr served as the IIG Housing Minister and advised former PM Allawi on reconstruction affairs. Jabr worked to obtain funding for reconstruction on the governorate level rather than try to organize efforts at the national level. According to reporting, he has criticized many fellow ITG ministers for making extended trips out of Iraq and for not taking their jobs seriously. Jabr also served in senior positions in the SCIRI, including the political advisor to SCIRI president 'Abd al 'Aziz al-Hakim.

~~(S//NF)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** Jabr was born on 1 July 1946 in Maysan Province, Iraq. He fled Iraq to Iran in the early 1980s, and lived in Syria. Jabr and his wife live in the Khadamiyah district of Baghdad. Jabr was granted a Syrian passport, which identified him as "Bayan Jabr", and lists him as being born in Syria. Jabr has one daughter and three sons. His travels include the United Kingdom and the United States, where his daughter attended a university in the US [NFI], and is now a US citizen. US diplomats describe Jabr as religiously devout and observe that he does not drink alcohol.

~~(S//NF)~~ During an interview in 2004 for a renewal of his U.S. visa, Jabr explained that he had assumed a Syrian identity (with Syrian approval) for fear of being targeted by the intelligence services of the former Iraqi regime. In 2003 he explained to the Kuwaiti newspaper "Al-Rai Al-Amm" why he used two names. He stated, "I used to be known by my nom-de-guerre, 'Bayan Jabr'". He went on to state, "For the past 21 years I concealed my identity behind this name to protect his family from persecution, fear and murder. Actually, after the [Saddam] regime learned my real name in the early 1990s, it carried out murderous acts against my family. It poisoned my younger brother Ali. Prior to that, the regime imprisoned dozens of members of my family and killed more than 13 young men, all of them my nephews, who were all academics. Hence the people got used to the alias I was using."

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~~(S//NF)~~ Embassy reporting from Damascus in December 2003, described Jabr as an engaging and informed interlocutor. Sensitive reporting quoting SCIRI officials have described him as vain, egotistical, difficult to work with, and disliked for using personal connections to his advantage. It is difficult for him to focus for a long time on complex issues, according to a US official who also noted Jabr will say the right things but will not always act on them. The same official noted that Jabr is formal and conscious of appearances. In December 2003, as the Minister of Housing and Construction, he was invited as the keynote speaker at the second rebuilding Iraq conference in Arlington, Virginia.

~~(S//NF)~~ **CAREER:** During Jabr's exile in Iran, he lived in Tehran. There he became a reporter for the "al Shahadah," a newspaper founded by SCIRI once the Da'wa party joined SCIRI in the early 1980s. During his career as a reporter, Jabr was approached by Mohammed Bakr al-Hakim, who was head of SCIRI at that time. Hakim proposed to Jabr for him to join the Iranian Intelligence Service (MOIS), and placed Jabr in charge of SCIRI's media unit. Once the MOIS took in Jabr, he was sent to Syria. While living in Syria, Jabr worked under the guidance of both Syrian intelligence and MOIS, and conducted meetings in the presence of Syrian president, Hafiz al-Asad. Jabr is also credited for starting the "al Rafedan" newspaper, supported by the MOIS. Jabr also served as the Damascus representative of SCIRI. Lastly, Jabr served as liaison between SCIRI and the MOIS.

~~(S//NF)~~ Jabr owns a controlling interest in a Moroccan engineering firm, according to US diplomats, and has an engineering background, according to press and diplomatic reporting. He owned a textile manufacturing and sales business prior to his exile in Syria, which began in 1982 after several family members were arrested, according to diplomatic reporting.

**(U) EDUCATION AND TRAINING:** Jabr graduated from the Engineering Faculty of Al Basrah Institute of Higher Learning, with a Bachelor's Degree in Civil Engineering in 1969.

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### THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, HOSHYAR ZEBARI (Sunni Kurd, KDP):

- 1 Mr. Hushiyar Mahmud Muhammad AL-ZIBARI
  - 2 Huushiyaar Mahmuud Muhammad al-Ziibaari
  - 3 Hushiyar Mahmud Muhammad al-Zibari
- Born in 1953, Akra (Aqrah), Kurdish region
    - Grew up in the mainly Arab city of Mosul
  - Received BS in Political Science – Jordan University Amman 1976
  - Received MS Sociology of Development- Essex University UK 1979
  - Former member of the Kurdistan Democratic Party Central Committee, 1979
  - Former Member The Kurdistan Democratic Party Political office, 1979
  - Represented the Kurdistan Democratic Party in Europe 1979-1981
  - Headed International Relations Office of The Kurdistan Democratic Party 1988-2003
    - Frequently represented the KDP in meetings with US State Department officials throughout the 1990s
    - Foreign spokesman for the KDP for more than 10 years

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- Elected member of the Iraqi National Conference Executive Council, 1992
- Headed Foreign Relations Office of the Iraqi Opposition
- He reportedly accompanied Kurdish leaders Mas'oud Barzani and Jalal Talabani to Washington in mid-May 02 for an expanded meeting with the U.S. security and military officials
  - Talks centered on any possible Kurdish role in the supposedly US plan for toppling Iraqi President Saddam Hussein
- Acted as Minister of Foreign Affairs for Interim and Governing Council Governments
- Pro-US, criticized Al Jazeera for its coverage of the situation in Iraq
  - Wanted to close their Baghdad office
- Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and English

~~(S//NF)~~ **SIGNIFICANCE:** Hoshiyar Zebari, who served as Minister of Foreign Affairs under the Iraqi Interim Government (IG) and its predecessor, the Iraqi Governing Council (GC), has enthusiastically undertaken his diplomatic duties and has worked to restore his country's image. Zebari told US diplomats at the time of his appointment to the GC in 2003 that he was anxious to resume diplomatic relations with other countries to demonstrate that Iraq is "getting back on its feet" and asked for Washington's support. US officials describe Zebari as a pragmatic, proactive leader who works well across ethnic and sectarian lines. They add that he is well versed on key issues, is heavily engaged in decision-making throughout his ministry, and welcomes close cooperation with the United States.

~~(S//NF)~~ Zebari has worked to balance his national leadership role with the goals of the Kurdish community. A longtime Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) official, he consistently has called for a united, democratic, and federalist Iraq. Zebari was a key negotiator with the Shia-led Unified Iraqi Alliance on hammering out details of the new Iraqi Transitional Government, according to US Embassy officials. Some Shia political figures have criticized Zebari for using the Foreign Ministry to push a Kurdish agenda, according to a sensitive report, but US officials say that while he retains his Kurdish identity, he regards himself as an Iraqi. They add that Zebari avoids making disparaging remarks about members of other ethnic and sectarian groups.

~~(C//NF)~~ US diplomats in Iraq say that Zebari, who had extensive experience dealing with US officials as part of the Iraqi opposition to the former regime, has been a constructive--albeit blunt--interlocutor. In October 2004, Zebari engaged senior US diplomats on preparations for a regional conference in Egypt, detailing his agenda and insisting that the United States take a back seat. In the past he has made an effort to smooth over areas of friction. Shortly before the transfer of sovereignty from the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) to the IG, US officials in Iraq noted that they believed Zebari had instructed unhelpful midlevel Ministry officials to be more responsive to US requests.

~~(S//NF)~~ According to a US official and press reports, Zebari is an affable, articulate, and astute politician. An Arab journalist who interviewed him in January 2005 described Zebari as poised and pleasant when answering tough questions. Nevertheless, he tenaciously sticks to his

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position when negotiating and can be tough when necessary. Another US official says that Zebari expects those he knows well to be direct. While Zebari is usually straightforward, he will "hold some cards behind his back," according to the same official. Zebari is concerned with how others see him, easily remembers names and faces, and rarely becomes angry.

~~(C//NF)~~ **POLITICS:** Zebari has been highly critical of US policy on Iraq. Echoing statements made in late 2003 that Iraqis--rather than the United States--should control Iraq's security situation, Zebari in October 2004 opined that Washington was not adequately handling Iraq's security situation and that it would be better if it withdrew from Iraq, according to credible information. He also blamed the United States for the deaths later that month of 49 Iraqi Army recruits, who he claimed lacked the equipment necessary to protect themselves, according to other credible reporting. Zebari publicly has criticized the CPA's decision to dissolve the Iraqi Army.

~~(S//NF)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** Zebari was born in 1953. He is Barzani's uncle--the younger brother of Barzani's mother--but is about 10 years younger than Barzani. Zebari is a member of the Kurdish Zebari tribe, which is split between tribal members who are loyal to the KDP and those who sided with the former regime. He smokes, enjoys Scotch, and wears expensive clothes. Zebari is married. He speaks English, Kurdish, and Arabic fluently.

~~(S//NF)~~ **CAREER:** Previous international experience helped prepare Zebari for his current duties. He spearheaded the KDP's international outreach for a decade, and US diplomats say he is one of KDP leader Masud Barzani's confidants. Prior to Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF), Zebari regularly met with officials from the United States, Turkey, Syria, Iran, and the UN, according to press and diplomatic reports.

~~(S//NF)~~ Zebari was elected to the KDP's Central Committee in 1979 and to the party's Politburo in approximately 1989. He served as a senior official in the Iraqi National Congress from 1992 to 2004. In the year leading up to OIF, Zebari proved to be an important and respected hands-on leader in organizing the Group of Six, an informal gathering of exiled opposition parties, of which the KDP was a member, according to a US official.

~~(S//NF)~~ **EDUCATION AND TRAINING:** Zebari earned a bachelor's degree from the University of Jordan in 1975 and completed a master's degree in sociology at the University of Essex in the United Kingdom in 1979.

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### THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, ALI HUSAYN AL-BAHADILI (Shia Arab, Independent):

- Born in 1943
- Received Bachelor's in Agricultural Science in 1965, Baghdad University
- Received Master's in Plant Diseases in 1970, Baghdad University
- Received PHD in Phytopathology (Plants Diseases) from the University of California, Davis
- Member of the American Phytopathology Association
- Member of the Phytopathology Association of the Mediterranean Basin States
- Member of Sigma Xi Association of American Science / Davis
- Member of many specialized Iraqi & Arab Associations
- Participated in number of scientific conferences all over the world
- Written a number of scientific books and publications
- Supervised many scientific theses, participated in many specialized scientific conferences and seminars
- Received many patents
- Honored by Minister of Higher Education in 1994

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### THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE, NURI FARHAN AL-RAWI (Sunni Arab, Independent):

- Born in 1944
- Alternate spelling: Noori Farhan al-Rawi
- Joined Arab Nationalists Movement in 1960
- Graduated from the Police Academy in 1966
- Arrested many times because of his opposition to the Ba'ath Party
- Member of Political Bureau of the Unity Party

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### **THE MINISTRY OF DISPLACEMENT AND MIGRATION, SUHAYLAH ABD JA'FAR AL-KINYA'I (Shia, Fayli Kurd, Former Da'wa Party):**

- Born in Baghdad in 1964
- Bachelor's degree in Law and Political Science from Baghdad University in 1987
- Worked as a lawyer for 15 years
- Speaks Kurdish, French, English and Arabic
- Legal consultant for number of Iraqi & Foreign companies
- Participated in several conferences that dealt with Human rights, peace, solidarity and Women's rights
- Member of the Iraqi Lawyers Union
- Member of the Human Rights & Democracy Organization
- In charge of Foreign Affairs in the Islamic Feili (Fayli) Group

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### **THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, DR ABD-AL-FALAH HASAN HAMMADI (Shia Arab, Da'wa-Iraq Organization):**

- Born in Basrah in 1947
- Received BS in Science from the University of Basrah in 1970
- Received PHD in Biochemistry from Wales University in 1981
- Became member of the Royal Association for Biological Sciences, UK
- Acted as professor and Researcher in Biochemistry Dept in Wales University-Swansea
- Was regularly published in the London weekly political magazine 'Al-Alem'
  - Serves as strategic analyst and editor of defense and political affairs
- Contributed in establishing the Islamic House in London
- Headed Islamic Youth Union in London, member since 1977
- Acted as President of Al-Mashreq Studies Center in London
- Published a number of books

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### THE MINISTRY OF ELECTRICITY, DR MUHSIN SHALASH (Shia Arab, Independent):

- Received BS in Electrical Engineering, Manchester University, England 1965
- Received MS in Power System Analysis and Control, University of Manchester Institute of Science & Technology, England in 1972
- Received PhD in Power System Analysis and Control, University of Manchester Institute of Science & Technology, England in 1974
- Worked at several universities and companies
- Published a number of research papers and specialized books
- Worked in many administrative positions in his field of specialization
- Participated in many conferences concerning the reconstruction of Iraq
- Has over 38 years of experience in electrical power establishments in several countries
- Member of Iraqi Engineers Association and the Ontario Union of Professional Engineers

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## THE MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT, NARMIN UTHMAN (Sunni Kurd, KDP):

- 1 Ms. Narmin `UTHMAN
  - 2 Nar**mi**in `Uth**ma**an
  - 3 Narmin Othman
- She was former Minister of Education in the Kurdistan Region
  - Supervisor in Ministry of Justice in the Kurdistan Region
  - Social Affairs Minister in the Kurdistan Region
  - Minister of State for Women's Affairs in the IIG since Jun 2004
    - In addition, was the acting Minister of Health

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### THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE, DR ALI ABD-AL-AMIR ALLAWI (Shia Arab, Independent):

- Born in 1947, Baghdad
- A staunch opponent of Saddam's ruling Ba'ath party since the late 1960s
- Received BS in Civil Engineering – MIT University. USA 1968/69
- Received MS in Regional Planning – London School of Economics (LSE) University. London 1969
- Masters in Business Administration, Harvard University USA 1971
- Managed several investment organizations before joining Iraq's post-war leadership
  - Worked 5 years at the International Bank Group in Washington as of 1971
  - Acted as Vice-President for Winston Bank in California for two years
  - Acted as Consultant to The Arab Fund for Economic Development for two years
  - Acted as director of the Arab Funding Bank
    - Occupied several consultancy posts at the International Arab Bank
  - Headed International Capital (Visa) Group at London & Cyprus in 1991 for three years
- Lectured as Professor for Islamic Ideology at the College of Advanced Studies, London.
- Received senior membership at Saint Antonio College at Oxford University
  - Was a senior assistant at the Centre of Middle Eastern Studies of St Anthony's College, at Oxford University in Britain
  - A visiting professor at the University of Istac in Malaysia
- Published many articles about Economics and Islam including an analysis of The Modern Roots of Islamic Economic Ideology
- Published a book in Arabic language "Experiences & Remembrance, Memoirs of a Political-Military Leader"
- Acted as Minister of Trade during the Governing Council
- Appointed as Minister of Defense by the Governing Council along with his position as Minister of Trade

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- Considered the first Defense Minister after the fall of The Saddam Regime

### THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH, DR ABD-AL-MUTTALIB ALI MUHAMMAD SALIH AL-RUBAY'I (Shia Arab, Sadrist):

- Born in Baghdad in 1956
- Received BS of Medicine from Baghdad University in 1974
- Major in the first Gulf War
- Later became Iraq's commercial attache to Germany
- Became member (received certificate) of Arab Board in Internal Medicine 1994
- Linked to Moqtada al-Sadr

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### THE MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION, DR SAMI ABD-AL-MAHDI AL-MUZAFFAR (Shia Arab, Independent):

1 Dr. Sami AL-MUZAFFAR

2 **Saami al-Muzaffar**

3 Dr. Sami al-Mudhaffar

- Born in Basrah in 1940
- Received his BS Honors Degree in science from University of Baghdad in 1959-60
- Received PhD in Biochemistry from University of Virginia (USA) in

1967

- General Secretary of Basrah University in 1969
- Acted as Dean of College of Science – Basrah University in 1970
- Acted as Dean of College of Engineering – Basrah University in 1971
- Chosen as one of the Pre-eminent scientists and thinkers in Iraq in 1985
  - One of the most senior biochemists of Iraq
  - Played an important role in promoting biochemistry and related subjects, such as molecular biotechnology research in Iraq
  - Initiated and established many scientific and educational bilateral programs with scientific organizations and laboratories worldwide
  - Has over 33 years of teaching experience in different branches of biochemistry to graduate and undergraduate students
  - Member of the Iraqi Scientific Institute since 1996
  - Was a scientific supervisor of 25 PhD and 50 MS students From 1968-2000
  - He has published more than 50 inventions and 250 scientific papers
  - Vice Chairman of the Iraqi National Academy
  - Editor and member of the editorial staffs of many science journals
  - Received many awards and titles and was honored several times
- Became member of the Islamic Science Academy in 2001

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- Acted as President of Baghdad University in 2003
- Acted as Minister of Education in the Interim Government

### **THE MINISTRY OF HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION, JASIM MUHAMMAD JA'FAR (Shia Arab, Islamic Union of Iraqi Turkmen):**

- Born in Touzkhurmatau (or Tuz Khurmatu), Salah Ad Din Governorate, 1958
- Received BS in Civil Engineering from Sulaymaniyah University in 1980
- Received MS in Civil Engineering in Concrete Structures in 1989 (or 1998)
- Gained administrative and institutional experience for 20 years
- Joined the National Islamic Iraqi Opposition in 1976
- Sentenced to death and left for Iraqi Kurdistan in 1981
- Became one of the founders of the Iraqi Turcoman Islamic Union, established in 1991
  - Elected Deputy of the General Secretary of the Union
- Participated in many conferences of the Iraqi Opposition outside Iraq
- Published a numbers of political research articles
- Represented the Turcoman at many international forums

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### THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND MINERALS, USAMAH ABD-AL-AZIZ AL-NAJAFI (Sunni Arab, former Iraqi Islamic Party):

- Alternate spelling: Osama al-Nujeifi
- Born in Mosul, 1956
- Received BS in Electric Engineering, 1978
- Businessman
- Participated in several specialized courses abroad
- Occupied many administration posts related in his field
- Headed several engineering teams for the re-construction of many Iraqi Power Stations

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### THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE, JUDGE ABD-AL-HUSAYN SHANDAL (Shia Arab, Independent):

- Born in Baghdad 1945
- Received BS Law 1971
- Graduated from the Juridical Council Institution in 1978
- Worked with many Criminal Courts
- President of the Special Crimes Court
- Held the post of vice president post of Baghdad Appellate Court
- Worked as a Judicial supervisor on the Judicial Supervision Committee
- President of Al-Bayya Criminal Court and head of the Penal Cassation Committee
  - Earlier became a member of the Penal Cassation Committee
- Awarded many letters of acknowledgments and appreciation from higher authorities

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### THE MINISTRY OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, DR IDRIS HADI (Sunni Kurd, KDP):

- Born in Arbil in 1952
- PhD in the Engineering Communication from Leningrad University in 1985
- Member of the National Assembly of the Kurdistan Region since 1992
- Lecturer in Salah Ad-Din University since 1991
- President of Human Rights Organization in Arbil from 1991 to 1993
- Minister of Transportation and Telecommunications in the Kurdistan Region from 1992 to 1996
- Minister of Energy in Kurdistan Region in 1996
- Minister of Municipalities & Tourism in Kurdistan Region in 1998
- Appointed as a president of Salah Ad-Din University in 1999
- Iraqi Deputy Minister of Higher Education in 2003
- A KDP member, Mr. Hadi was a human rights and communications minister in Kurdistan's regional government

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### THE MINISTRY OF MUNICIPALITIES AND PUBLIC WORKS, NISRIN BARWARI (Sunni Kurd, KDP):

- 1 Mrs. Nasrin Mustafa Sadiq BARWARI
  - 2 Nasriin Mustafa Saadiq Barwaari
  - 3 Nesreen M. Siddeek Berwari
- She was born in Baghdad, 1967
  - Became a political prisoner at the age of 14
  - BS Civil Engineering & Planning – Baghdad University, 1991
  - Fled Iraq after the 1991 Kurdish uprising
  - BS General Politics & Administration (or MA in Public Administration) – Harvard University–USA 1999
- Minister of Development and Reconstruction in the Kurdistan Region, 1999
  - Worked at the UN office of Kurdistan as Head of UN Field Office for Human Settlements –Dahuk 1997-1998
    - Participated with the program for reconstruction of (4000) villages destroyed by Saddam's regime
  - Worked at the UN office for coordination with NGOs
  - Participated actively at helping Kurdish Refugees after their return from Turkish and Iranian Refugee Camps
  - Now from Irbil, Ms Barwari is a close ally of KDP leader Massoud Barzani
  - Minister of Municipalities & Public Works in the Governing Council, Sep 2003 and the IIG, Jun 2004

**(C//NF) SIGNIFICANCE:** A member of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), Nasrin Barwari has strong ties to Masud Barzani and Foreign Minister Hoshyar Zebari. When part of the Governing Council (GC), she is the youngest minister and the only woman in the cabinet. The Public Works Ministry was one of only four ministries to be turned over to the Iraqis on 1 April 2004, and Barwari is widely viewed as a competent Minister. Barwari stated in a November

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2003 interview that her priority was to finish "as many projects as possible in the shortest time possible," including those related to ensuring clean drinking water, trash removal, and municipal services. In the same interview, Barwari noted that Iraqi women do not have their fair share of representation in the interim government.

~~(C//NF)~~ Since her appointment in the GC, Barwari has been the target of two unsuccessful assassination attempts, one of which killed three members of her security detail. Both attacks followed high-profile events; the first came after Barwari's protest of decision 137 and the second came after the announcement that the Public Works Ministry would be turned over to the Iraqis. The threats against her may be causing her to rethink her involvement in the cabinet; following the mid-May 2004 assassination of GC member Izz al-Din Salim, Barwari indicated she was reconsidering whether, if offered, she would take a ministerial post in the interim government, saying "I miss my mountains" in reference to the Kurdish north.

~~(C//NF)~~ **POLITICS:** Barwari has been an outspoken proponent of women's rights. In the November 2003 interview, Barwari noted that Iraqi women do not have their fair share of representation in the Iraqi government. She led the January 2004 protest against GC decision 137, which attempted to impose a confessional nature on civil status law--effectively denying women many rights--but was later overturned. Assassination attempts against Barwari may be in part because of her support for women's rights; Akila al-Hashimi, one of three original female members of the 25-member GC, was assassinated in September 2003.

~~(C//NF)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** Barwari was born on 17 November 1967 and is from Arbil. She entered politics as a teenager and was imprisoned by the Ba'athist government at the age of 14. After the Kurdish uprising of 1991, Barwari fled Baghdad, where she had just completed a degree in architectural engineering. In a description of her 1991 flight, she said that she and three of her brothers walked for three days to elude pursuing Iraqi military forces and that she left her parents and a younger brother behind because they were unable to make the journey on foot.

~~(C//NF)~~ **CAREER AND EDUCATION:** Barwari attended Harvard University; during her time there, she joined the UN High Commission for Refugees and worked at the UN office of Kurdistan as head of the field office for Human Settlements during 1997-98. In that job she worked to reconstruct villages destroyed by Saddam's regime. The UN recognized her for "outstanding commitment to the welfare of the displaced and vulnerable person in Northern Iraq" by awarding her a UN-Habitat Scroll of Honor in 2003. Barwari also helped Kurdish refugees after their return from Turkish and Iranian refugee camps. She completed a master's degree in public administration at Harvard in June 1999. Barwari returned to Kurdistan, where she served as Minister of Development and Construction from 1999 until her recent appointment. Before the war, she advocated for a more efficient UN oil-for-food program. Barwari has traveled to the United States numerous times and has addressed conferences at Harvard and the Middle East Institute in Washington. Barwari speaks English fluently.

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### THE OIL MINISTRY, DR IBRAHIM BAHR-AL-ULUM (Shia Arab, Iraqi Future Gathering):

- Born in 1954, An-Najaf
  - Son of prominent cleric
- Received BS in Oil & Minerals Engineering - Baghdad University 1976
- Received MS in Oil Engineering from University of New Mexico in 1986
- Received PHD Oil Engineering from University of New Mexico in 1991
- Gained wide experience at various fields of Oil Engineering & methods of oilfield gas field development, rehabilitation, and assessment of their reserves
- Worked in the oil fields of Rumailah & Kuwait and at oil research centers in the US also acted as well in the UK
  - Worked as a petroleum engineer in the North Sea
- Worked at development of oilfields in North Africa and became in charge of study projects for oil prospecting in the UK
- Conducted research and published many papers concerning the oil industry
- Former exile
- UIA member
- Appointed Minister of Oil during the Governing Council, Sep 03
- Target of assassination attempt 23 Feb 04, bodyguard wounded

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## THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION, DR BARHAM SALIH (Sunni Kurd, PUK):



1 Dr. Barham SALIH

2 **Barham Saalih**

3 Barham Salih

- Born in Kurdistan in 1960
- Received BS in Civil and Structural Engineering from Cardiff University
- Received PhD in Statistics and Computer Science from Liverpool University

- Joined to the Kurdistan National Union in 1976
- Arrested many times by Saddam's regime

- Left Iraq in 1979
- Became official spokesman of Kurdistan National Union in London
- Represented the Kurdistan National Union and PUK in the US for 10 years since 1991
  - Favored by some to become Iraq's representative in the United Nations
- An official of President Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan since 1998
- Became prime minister of the PUK-led regional government in January 2001 in Sulaymaniyah
- He survived an assassination attempt at his home in April 2002
- Joined IIG as IIG Deputy Prime Minister for Security Affairs in Jun 2004

~~(S//NF)~~ **SIGNIFICANCE:** Barham Salih has capitalized on his carefully honed diplomatic skills and smooth relationship with former Prime Minister Ayad Allawi to carve out a critical role for himself at the forefront of sensitive foreign policy issues. A pragmatic thinker and straightforward interlocutor, as former Deputy Prime Minister of the IIG, Salih has drawn on the political and diplomatic experiences he had as a senior Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) official to become a constructive policymaker on--and envoy to--countries of greatest concern to Allawi. Salih's new national-level position has opened up an opportunity to expand his

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political role--a prospect he probably would not have had if he had remained in Kurdistan, where he lacks an independent support base.

~~(S//NF)~~ Allawi's delegation of sensitive foreign policy issues to Salih is indicative of the former Prime Minister's faith in Salih's abilities and--to some extent--his loyalty. According to sensitive reporting, Salih is one of the chief architects of Iraq's official policy on Iran, which reflects his pragmatic calculations of how to most effectively leverage threats and incentives to yield the best result for Iraq.

~~(S//NF)~~ In late August 2004, Salih led an Interim Government (IG) delegation on a groundbreaking trip to Tehran: he sought to convey to Iran that Iraq wants improved relations but will not tolerate Iranian meddling in Iraqi affairs. Salih also traveled to Damascus in early August to address issues of concern to Baghdad--including the need for stricter control of the border--and to lay the groundwork for Allawi's subsequent visit.

~~(S//NF)~~ Although a Kurdish nationalist, Salih has said that Kurdish dreams of independence are not practical. He has called for comprehensive democratic reforms that would enable all Iraqis to elect their new leaders as soon as possible. He has said that the Kurdistan government's institutions will remain within the framework of a federal Iraq, and he has publicly advocated establishing a federal and democratic government in Iraq.

~~(S//NF)~~ While he remains a senior PUK official, Salih has devoted an increasing proportion of his attention to building up his position in the IG. Salih's prospects for expanding his responsibilities in Kurdistan are limited: he is a PUK technocrat who rose through the ranks as a result of having close ties to PUK leader Jalal Talabani rather than having either a political support base of his own or renown as a *Peshmerga* militia leader. Proving to be an effective politician in the IG, however, might provide Salih with the opportunity to expand his influence at the national level--probably at the expense of greater prominence in regional Kurdish politics.

~~(S//NF)~~ Salih's depth of experience on critical foreign policy issues has made him one of Talabani's most trusted advisers for years, but recent developments suggest the relationship has deteriorated between the Deputy Prime Minister and the PUK leader since early 2004. Sensitive reporting indicates that Talabani was dissatisfied with Salih in mid-2004 and wanted him to serve in the IG as a way of getting him out of Kurdistan. When tension between Talabani and a group of senior PUK officials came to the surface this fall, Salih publicly criticized corruption among Kurdish leaders--a probable indication that he disapproves of some aspects of Talabani's leadership. However, Salih does not appear to have supported Talabani's opponents, suggesting Salih does not view them as the solution to problems within the PUK.

~~(S//NF)~~ Salih is a comfortable, pleasant, and sincere man, according to a journalist who interviewed him in March 2003, and US officials say that he maintains a reputation for honesty and incorruptibility even among opponents of the PUK. Military reporting notes that Salih is the

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most Westernized Kurdish leader; he is modern, pro-West, well known, and well liked in Kurdistan. US officials say that Salih is an astute observer of US and Iranian politics.

~~(S//NF)~~ **POLITICS:** Salih honed his diplomatic skills during his 16 years representing the PUK abroad, during which he effectively articulated Kurdish proposals. He served as the PUK's spokesman in London from 1985 to 1991 and was the party's representative in Washington from 1991 to 2001. He also has been one of the PUK's primary interlocutors with Turkish and Iranian leaders.

~~(S//NF)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** Salih was born in 1960. He speaks English, Arabic, and Kurdish fluently as well as some Persian.

~~(S//NF)~~ **CAREER:** Salih joined the PUK in 1976 while it was still an underground movement, according to an open-source biography. Salih was imprisoned by the Iraqi security services for advocating human rights for the Kurds--the same thing his father was imprisoned for in 1963, according to the press. Salih fled to the United Kingdom in 1979 as a refugee. He is married--his wife continues to live in the United States despite his return to northern Iraq--and has a son and a daughter. In April 2002, Salih was the target of an assassination attempt at his home in As Sulaymaniyah by the militant Islamist faction Ansar al-Islam, which is based in northern Iraq. He was unharmed in the attack, but it left five of his bodyguards and two of the attackers dead. Salih remained a target as of mid-2003, when a Ba'athist organization was planning to assassinate him, according to sensitive reporting.

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## **THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, BASIMAH YUSUF BUTRUS (Christian, Chaldo-Assyrian, Assyrian Democratic Movement):**

- Born in Arbil in 1963
- BS (1985) and MS (1990) in Biochemistry, College of Science, Salah ad Din University
- BS in Chemistry, College of Science, University of Salah ad Din in 1985
- Attended a number of training courses in Democracy, Human Rights, English language and Computer
- Published several specialized research papers
- Member of the Human Rights (Organization) in the Kurdistan Region
- Member of (Caritas) belongs to the church
- Member of the Assyrian Cultural Center in Ayn Kawah
- Member of the Iraqi Chemists Union
- Awarded certificates of appreciation from universities
- Awarded certificates of appreciation from the UN

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**THE MINISTRY OF STATE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY AFFAIRS, ALA HABIB  
KAZIM (Shia Arab, Sadrist):**

- Born in Baghdad in 1960 (or 1962)
- BS in Electrical Engineering
- Received "Experience Certificate" with an excellent degree for his work from German Telefunken Company and from British Company Racal
- Number of his family executed by Saddam Regime because of their political actions
- Participated in establishing Al-Resalah (or Al Risalah) Public Council
- Member of Iraqi Engineers Association
- Founding member of the Iraqi Democratic Civil Dialogue Organization
- Founding member of the Center for the Institutions of Democrat Civil Society
- Received Certificate of Participation from the Center for the Development of Iraqi Civil Society
- Administrative manager of Al-Rasheed (or Al Rashid) Municipal Council

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**THE MINISTRY OF STATE FOR GOVERNORATES' AFFAIRS, SA'D NAYIF  
AL-HARDAN (Sunni Arab, Independent (from Fallujah)):**

- Born in Ramadi in 1957
- Alternate spellings: Sa'ad Naif al-Hardan
- Bachelor's degree in Military Science
- Iraqi Army Officer from 1982 to 1990
- Representative of Duleim (Al Dulaym) Tribe in Iraq
- President of the Anbar Intellectuals & Tribes Grouping

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## THE MINISTRY OF STATE FOR NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AFFAIRS, DR SAFA-AL-DIN MUHAMMAD AL-SAFI (Shia Arab, Independent):

- She was born in Basrah in 1957
- Bachelor Degree in Law, College of Law and Sharia – University of Kuwait, 1978
- Member and Head of Cultural committee for Law in College of Law – University of Kuwait in 1976
- Master Degree in Law, Ein (or Ayn) Shams University, Cairo, Egypt, 1980
- PhD in International Law, Ein (or Ayn) Shams University (date unspecified)
- Participated in English language courses in Oxford academy in England in 1981
  - Computer courses at Horizon Institute in England
- He has number of specialized articles, research papers, and studies
- Worked as a legal consultant to number of Lebanese and Kuwaiti Companies
- Member of the Preparatory Committee formed by the Governing Council to lay down a mechanism for drafting the Iraqi Constitution
- Director of Basrah Center for Research and Studies on Comprehensive Development

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## THE MINISTRY OF STATE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, ABD-AL-KARIM AL-ANZI (Shia Arab, Da'wa-Iraq Organization):

- Born in Baghdad in 1954
- Received BS in Civil Engineering from Baghdad University in 1976
- A leading member of the Islamic Da'wa Party in Iraq
  - Member of the party's political bureau
- Sentenced to death by Saddam Regime in 1979 due to his opposition of the Ba'ath Party
  - Five of his family killed by Saddam Regime due to their anti-regime activity
- Former member of the National Council
- Member of the Transitional National Assembly
  - Number 23 on UIA List, on UIA Executive Committee and Negotiating Committee member
- Specialized in Security and Organizational Affairs

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## **THE MINISTRY OF STATE FOR TOURISM AND ANTIQUITIES AFFAIRS, HASHIM ABD-AL-HASAN ALI AL-HASHIMI (Sunni Arab, Independent):**

- Born in Baghdad in 1960
- Diploma in electricity from University of Technology in 1979
- BS in Computer Science from College of Education – Baghdad University in 2004
- Member of legislative Office of Fadhila Party
- Member of the Executive Bureau of the Virtue Party
- Head of the Central Committee for Civil Society Associations
- Director of Iraqi Social Development Institute
- Joined the Iraqi Army in 1970, became a lieutenant in 1979
  - Rose gradually to be brigadier
- Participated in establishing Qa'em (or Al Qa'im) League
- He has number of cultural & political lectures
- Arrested for many time because of his political actions (during Saddam regime)
- Head of the Higher Committee of the Shumu (Candles) Organization for monitoring the Iraqi election

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## **THE MINISTRY OF STATE FOR WOMEN AFFAIRS, DR AZHAR ABD-AL-KARIM AL-SHAYKHALI (Sunni Arab):**

- She was born in Baghdad in 1957
- PhD in Constitutional Law
- Lecturer in College of Political Science – Baghdad University
- Founding member of College of Law in Salah Ad Din University / Arbil
- Published many research papers and studies on law
- She is active in the field of Woman Civil Society Organizations
- Director of the Institute of Women Leaders
- Participated as an international monitor in Czech Parliamentary Election
- Participated as an international supervisor in Iraqi Parliament Election

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## THE MINISTRY OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS, DR JUWAN FU'AD MA'SUM (Sunni Kurd, PUK):

- Born 1970, daughter of Fouad Masum, former speaker of Iraq's interim parliament
- Female member of PUK
- Ms Masum has been active in the Kurdistan human rights community
- Graduated a BS degree with first class honors in Electronic and Electrical Engineering, Kings College London
- Received PhD in the field of electronic engineering and Communication - Kings College London
- Operation manager for Facilities and transportation sector with Program and Contracting Office (PCO), Iraq reconstruction office, Iraq- Baghdad
- Acted as Deputy Program manager for Transportation and Communication sub-sector with Program and Contracting Office (PCO), Iraq reconstruction office, Iraq- Baghdad
- Acted as senior technical advisor in the Ministry of Communication (MoC), Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), Iraq- Baghdad
- Represented Iraq in World Bank conference, Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), Iraq- Baghdad
- Lead the Iraqi national telecommunication and post company (ITPC), Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), Iraq- Baghdad
- Designed the back bone for the optical communication for the whole of Iraq and metropolitan area network for Baghdad, Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), Iraq- Baghdad
- Designed data network for the state and private banks within Iraq for ease of information transfer, Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), Iraq- Baghdad
- Feature prime working on the development of Erbium doped fiber amplifier (EDFA) in Nortel Networks Ottawa, Canada
- Prime lead working in Nortel Networks Harlow, UK
- Research and Development engineer in Alcatel Submarine networks
- Employed as head research officer and expert in the Optoelectronics devices group in University of Essex, Department of Physics
- Supervised various undergraduate and postgraduate projects in University of Essex, Department of Physics
- Gained 9 (or 10) Patents
- Received Acton College prize for obtaining the highest mark in Applied Mathematics (1990)

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- Kings College London Engineering Association (KCLEA) medal for best third year Project (or best research paper) (1993)
- Ben Thomas award for best student presentation at Semiconductor and Integrated Optoelectronics (SIOE' 96) conference
- Kings College Scholarship for postgraduate studies (During the first year as postgraduate)

## **THE MINISTRY OF TRADE, ABD-AL-BASIT KARIM MAWLUD (Sunni Kurd, PUK):**

- Born in Arbil in 1957
- Received Bachelors in Commercial Law
- Joined the legislative Committee of lawyers in Kurdistan
- Founding member of Democratic Institute for Civil Society in Kurdistan
- Member of the Executive Assembly of the Lawyers Union in the Kurdistan Region
- Joined the Kurdistan National Union in 1983 and was arrested many times
  - He said he was held at Abu Ghraib prison under Saddam Hussein
- Lectured in College of Law in Sulaymaniyah University for 5 years
- Written several research papers and studies in his field of specialization
- Participated in drafting many economic laws and decisions
  - First to present the draft law on promotion of investment in the Kurdistan Region
- Acted as Director General of the Legal Directorate of the Ministers Council of Kurdistan
- Participated in many economics & scientific conferences in Kurdistan and outside the country
- Acted as Manager of the Prime Minister Office in Kurdistan Region
- A PUK member and former legal adviser to Barham Salih
  - Active in the Kurdish Peshmerga
- Acted as Manager of the Deputy Prime Minister Office (Barham Salah) in the IIG
- Now completing a Ph.D. in Commercial Law (with specialization in Trade Contracts and WTO issues) at Sulaymaniyah University
- Currently he lives in the same green zone compound as Salah

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## **THE MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT, SALAM AWDAH FALIH AL-MALIKI (Shia Arab, Sadrist):**

- Born in Basrah in 1973
- Bachelor Degree in English Literature
- Diploma in Business Administration
- Diploma in computers
- Worked in South Oil Company for 5 years
- Administrative Officer of Al Zubayr District
- Head of Higher Security Committee in Basrah Governorate
- Member of Consultative Council in Basrah Governorate
- Deputy Governor for Administrative Affairs of Basrah Governorate
- Participated in Sha'ban Uprising against Saddam Regime in 1991
- Participated in Sadr Uprising in 1999
- Member of radical cleric Moqtada al-Sadr's political movement
- Threatened in August 2004 to shut down the port of Basra and halt oil exports to protest against the US-led military campaign against Mr. Sadr's forces in Najaf
- Urged Shias in several southern cities to secede from the interim government and form their own autonomous region

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### THE MINISTRY OF WATER RESOURCES, DR ABD-AL-LATIF RASHID (Sunni Kurd, PUK):

- Born 1944 in Sulaymaniyah
- BS Civil Engineering – Liverpool University, UK 1968
- MS Engineering – Manchester University, UK 1972
- PHD Engineering – Manchester University, UK 1976
- Member of the Institute of Civil Engineers /UK
- Member of International Commission for Irrigation & Desalination
- Worked as Freelance Consultant for Irrigation & Desalination & Water Engineering Administration
- Agricultural Development at many private concerns & at the UN
- The Official Spokesman for the Kurdistan Front & representative National Kurdistan Union in the UK as of 1978
- Elected Executive Member at The Iraqi National Conference (INC) 1992
- Elected Vice President at The INC in 1992 & represented the INC at many international forums
- Former PUK official
- Minister of Water Resources in the IIG, Sep 2003

~~(S//NF)~~ **SIGNIFICANCE:** Latif Rashid--a Western-educated engineer--is one of seven ministers to maintain his post following the transfer of sovereignty to the Iraqi Interim Government and later was selected to maintain as the Minister of Water Resources in the ITG. Rashid, a Kurd who was active in the external opposition before the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime, has been characterized in the press as a low-key and efficient manager. A former Iraqi Governing Council (GC) member has described Rashid as a "very good man doing very good work," noting in particular his work on rehabilitating Iraq's southern marshlands, according to credible information. Rashid owes his initial appointment to his brother-in-law, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) leader and former GC rotating presidency member Jalal Talabani.

**(U)** Rashid notes that when he was asked to stay on in his ministerial position, he made the suggestion of changing his Ministry's name from the Ministry of Irrigation to the Ministry of Water Resources, and it was approved, according to press reports. Rashid's efforts to change his Ministry's name suggest he is trying to work more closely with ministries by the same name in regional neighbors such as Egypt and Syria.

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~~(S//NF)~~ **POLITICS:** Rashid considers water issues to be a major concern in the Middle East and "more important than politics or nationalities" when it comes to working with neighboring countries. He said in early July 2004 that securing small water infrastructure--especially pumping stations--against terrorist and looting attacks is his Ministry's most serious challenge, according to US officials. They also note that Rashid said 90 percent of Iraq's water infrastructure needs rehabilitation and maintenance and that the public needs to be educated on conservation. Rashid said in May that his Ministry planned to increase the number of dams in Iraq, use the Tigris River for transportation purposes, manage underground water reservoirs, and eradicate water pollution, according to press reports.

~~(S//NF)~~ Rashid has worked with some success to restore Iraq's southern marshes. In May, he publicly said his Ministry had restored 50 percent of the southern marshlands' water capacity since his appointment as Minister in September 2003, and his goal is to restore 80 percent by 2007. In July 2004, Rashid told US officials that he welcomes technical and financial assistance for restoring the marshes and that he is working with other Iraqi Ministries--Health, Education, Agriculture, Municipalities and Public Works, and Environment--to coordinate efforts in the marshland.

~~(S//NF)~~ According to the same officials, Rashid said he believes that Iraq's current water supply is insufficient to restore the marshes, which may suggest the reason he is reaching out to other countries. For example, from 5 to 11 July 2004, he planned to visit Louisiana and Mississippi with the United States Geological Survey (USGS) to learn about the USGS and its work on US wetlands. Rashid also has requested discussions with Syria and Turkey on the fair distribution of water and the status of reservoirs between the three countries. He told the press in May that the Iraqi government plans to receive regular updates on the rate of water flowing from Syria and Turkey into Iraq.

~~(S//NF)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** Rashid was born on 10 August 1944 in As Sulaymaniyah. He is married to Shahnaz Ibrahim Ahmad; the couple has two sons and a daughter. The Minister is a Sunni and is fluent in English as well as Kurdish and Arabic.

~~(S//NF)~~ **CAREER AND EDUCATION:** Rashid earned his degrees in the United Kingdom, including a B.S. in civil engineering from Liverpool University and an M.S. and a Ph.D. in hydraulics from the University of Manchester in 1976. Rashid worked as a consulting engineer at Sir William Hal Crow and Partners in the water affairs irrigation systems department in Saudi Arabia and served as a project manager at the World Bank/Kuwait Fund, where he supported an agriculture development project in Yemen. He also served as a consultant for various organizations, including the UN Food and Agriculture Organization; Kingsmere Consulting, Ltd., United Kingdom; Al-Sageer Consulting Engineers, United Arab Emirates; and Washington Investment, Ltd., United Kingdom. Rashid is a member of the International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage.

~~(S//NF)~~ Rashid served as the PUK representative in London from 1986 to the spring of 2003 and also represented the PUK in the Iraqi National Congress (INC). In that job, he was a

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regular interlocutor with US officials and traveled with Talabani on several occasions to the United States, according to diplomatic reporting. Rashid regularly lobbied for more US support to the Kurds, relaying the humanitarian difficulties facing the Kurds--from harsh winters to Saddam's military attacks--according to diplomatic reporting. The PUK web site indicates that he organized and consolidated opposition to Saddam's regime. In March 2003, Rashid led a PUK delegation to Russia to hold consultations on the situation in Iraq. He asked Russia to take a more active role in helping to protect the Iraqi people. Rashid later accompanied Talabani during visits to Moscow and Paris in July 2003, according to press reports.

~~(S//NF)~~ Rashid's relationship with the INC may have soured since his appointment to the party's executive council in 1999. In October 2003, Rashid refused to countersign checks enabling an INC member to reclaim expenses unless in doing so Rashid could falsely apportion money for himself, according to reliable reporting. As a result, the INC had removed him from the list of signatories on its bank account.

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**THE MINISTRY OF YOUTH AND SPORTS, TALIB AZIZ ZAYNI (Shia Arab, Islamic Action Organization):**

- Born in 1944
- Bachelor's Degree in Physical Education, 1970
- Sports Education Technical Supervisor
- A Specialized Educational Counselor
- Received a Certificate of Appreciation from the Olympic Committee
- Chairman of a Local Council
- Received letters of appreciation from different establishments

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## THE FOLLOWING ARE NOT MINISTERS:

### NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR, DR. MUWAFQAQ al-RUBAI, Shia:



**(U) NAME:** Muwafaq al-Rubai. (Phonetic: roo-BAH-ee)

**(U) Alternate Spellings:** Mouwafak al-Rabii, Mowaffaq al-Rubaiee, Muwaffaq al-Rubay'i, Muwafak al-Rabii, Mowaffak al-Rubaie, Muwafaq al-Rubaiai

**(U) POSITION:** Iraqi Transitional Government National Security Advisor, Independent, Former Da'wa Party Member.

~~(S//REL TO USA, AUS, and GBR)~~ **SIGNIFICANCE:** Rubai is described as a bitter, but proud man. He was a prominent Shi'a democrat in the former Iraqi opposition, and a strong advocate for human rights. Muwafaq Rubai served as a member of the Governing Council (GC) from its inception in July 2003 until his recent reappointment as the Iraqi National Security Advisor on 9 April 2005. He overcame his initial resistance to working with the Coalition and became one of the most active GC members. Rubai entrusts the Coalition to provide national security, however, advocates the swift withdrawal of the Coalition once the Iraqi Security Forces are capable of acting independently and fighting terrorism.

~~(S//REL TO USA, AUS, and GBR)~~ **POLITICS:** After returning from exile after the fall of the Saddam regime, Rubai was initially offered a position as health minister, due to his past career as a neurologist. Rubai rejected the offer because he perceived the United States had too much control over ministerial positions. Shortly thereafter, he decided to serve in the Iraqi Governing Council as the National Security Advisor starting in July 2003. Due to Rubai's willingness to speak freely, specifically about perceived flaws in his fellow ministerial personnel, he eventually made several enemies. Dr. Ahmed Chalabi appears to be Rubai's archrival. It is believed this stems from power sharing issues, and Chalabi likely was involved in the removal of Rubai as the National Security Advisor in September 2004. Rubai was consequently replaced with Qasim Daoud by former PM Allawi. Subsequently, Rubai was offered an ambassadorial position, which Rubai viewed as an insult. Rubai eventually accepted the role as ambassador to Switzerland in November 2004. This seemed to appease Rubai for the time being. Rubai did not want to sever ties with the Iraqi Government completely, fearing it would collapse without his presence. Accepting the ambassadorial role allowed Rubai to remain involved in the pre-30 January 2005 election process.

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(U) In Rubai's past, he served in the Iraqi National Congress as the coordinator of its human rights committee. He is a former member and speaker of the Da'wa party. Rubai said he left the Da'wa party in 1996 for personal reasons.

~~(S//REL TO USA, AUS, and GBR)~~ Rubai was a major player in resolving the An Najaf uprising in 2004. Muwafaq was called upon by the Iraqi Governing Council to travel to An Najaf, and help quell the violence. Muwafaq's close personal relationship with Grand Ayatollah Sistani, assisted in resolving this crisis. Sistani is credited as the key factor in brokering the cease fire agreement between the Iraqi Transitional Government and Muqtada al-Sadr's Militia.

(U) **PERSONAL DATA:** Rubai was born in Mosul to a Shi'a family in 1948. As of May 05, there is no information available concerning his immediate family. Many of his extended family members were murdered by the Saddam regime, for their affiliation with opposition groups such as the Da'wa Party.

(U) Rubai was detained by the Saddam regime at least three times from 1973 to 1979. This was due to his membership of the Da'wa party. Even after being tortured severely and many months in confinement, Rubai's Da'wa Party affiliation was never revealed to Saddam's henchmen, consequently sparing his life. Rubai finally left Iraq for the United Kingdom. Years later the Saddam regime contacted Rubai, and offered him a position in the government, which Rubai declined. After his declination, Rubai survived multiple assassination attempts, presumably fostered by the Saddam regime. The latest assassination attempt occurred in Baghdad in 2003.

(U) **CAREER:** Rubai is a neurologist by training. He practiced in several Iraqi hospitals until he left Iraq for the UK in 1979, after his last detainment by the Saddam regime. He also established a successful medical supply firm in the U.K.

(U) **EDUCATION AND TRAINING:** Little is known about his early formal education. However, after graduating from the Baghdad Medical College in 1972, Rubai left Iraq for training in England. Eventually Rubai graduated, specializing in general medicine and neurology. He is a member of the Royal British Doctor's College, and speaks fluent English.

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## CHAIRMAN – CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE, IBRAHIM HAMAM al-HAMMUDI, Shia:

**(U) NAME:** Shaykh Ibrahim Hamam al-Hammudi. Alternate spellings: Ibrahim Homam Hamoodi, Abu Ibrahim.

**(U) POSITION:** Chairman of the Constitution Committee since 24 May 2005.

**(S//NF) SIGNIFICANCE:** Ibrahim Hamam al Hammudi (aka Abu Ibrahim) is a top political advisor for the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) and a close confidant of SCIRI leader Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim. He has become one of Iraq's most prominent politicians by virtue of the success of the United Iraqi Alliance (UIA) in the January 2005 national election. Hammudi – number 31 and the second-highest ranking SCIRI official on the UIA list – has been a key interlocutor between SCIRI, the UIA, and other Iraqi groups. He appears to have Hakim's full confidence in speaking on behalf of SCIRI and the UIA. Hammudi, although allied with the moderate forces within SCIRI, has had religious training, which allows him to command the respect of the more religious SCIRI members.

**(S//NF)** Hammudi has reached out to Kurds and Sunnis to build support for a Shia-led Iraqi Transitional Government (ITG). Diplomatic reporting in February and early March 2005 suggests he has been a key assistant to Hakim in negotiations with these groups on ITG leadership positions. Hammudi in February became the SCIRI appointee to co-chair a joint SCIRI – Muslim Ulema Council committee that intends to meet monthly to discuss relevant issues between the two groups.

**(S//NF)** Hammudi's rhetoric suggests he advocates building a stable Iraq by encouraging broad participation. Shortly after the UIA's formation, he publicly announced that its goal was to promote a state that respects Islam and all religions, sects, and nationalities. He said that all minorities will be able to participate in drafting the constitution, and all will have a chance to obtain positions in the ITG, according to press reports. Hammudi opined that increased Sunni participation in the ITG would decrease Sunni antigovernment action, giving them an alternative to violence.

**(S//NF) POLITICS:** Hammudi appears to be among the more pragmatic and secular members of SCIRI. He publicly has said that there would be "no turbans" in the ITG and that the UIA is seeking a minister of defense who is reasonable and moderate rather than a military expert. Hammudi is aligned with the more educated, secular, and moderate side of SCIRI's ideological divide, according to sensitive reporting. He expressed to US diplomats in February 2005 that he recognized both sides of the debate on Article 61 C of the Transitional Administrative Law,

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which gives any three provinces the authority to block ratification of the constitution with a two-thirds vote.

~~(S//NF)~~ Hammudi also sides with those in SCIRI who are trying to distance themselves from Iranian influence. In a February 2005 interview, he said that SCIRI does not agree with Iran or its principles – especially the incompatibility between the roles of religion and politics. He told US diplomats in January that Grand Ayatollah Muhammad Ali Husayni al-Sistani should not have a formal role in government.

~~(C//NF)~~ Hammudi initiated regular contact with US diplomats by providing updates on intra-Shi'a politics following the UIA's electoral victory. He also has asked them for advice on government formation, security reform, and prospective ITG personnel. US diplomats assess that Hammudi believes that the ITG cannot succeed without a close relationship with the United States. He has sought to improve SCIRI's relations with US officials and recommended in February 2005 that the United States publicize the UIA's outreach efforts in trying to bring together Iraq's Shi'a and Sunni communities.

~~(S//NF)~~ Despite recent overtures to US officials, Hammudi has criticized some Coalition actions since the fall of Saddam Hussein. During the crisis in An Najaf in August 2004, Hammudi said that large-scale, destructive operations by Coalition forces under an Iraqi cover were unacceptable, according to press reports. Following the violence, he stated that the Interim Government had failed and that, if Sistani had not intervened, the crisis would have toppled all political parties involved in Iraq's democratic process. Hammudi told the press – in the wake of the assassination in August 2003 of then SCIRI leader Muhammad Baqr al-Hakim – that his group blamed the Coalition. Hammudi publicly said that the occupation was not meant to be the price of toppling the regime and that the Iraqi opposition had different goals and priorities than the United States in ousting Saddam.

~~(S//NF)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** Ibrahim Hamam al Hammudi was born in the Karad neighborhood of Baghdad in 1952. He earned an M.A. in psychology from the University of Baghdad and a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Tehran. According to diplomatic reporting, Hammudi was imprisoned for religious activism from 1975 to 1977 and went into hiding in 1979, when Saddam ordered the re-arrest of all those imprisoned for this charge as a precautionary measure during the Iranian revolution. Hammudi then fled to Iraqi Kurdistan and later moved to Iran, where he became an aide to SCIRI founder Muhammad Baqr al-Hakim. Hammudi is Baqr al-Hakim's son-in-law, according to sensitive reporting. He joined the clergy in the 1980s, following the assassination of his brother, who also was a cleric, according to sensitive reporting. According to the same report, Hammudi dresses in religious garb, can speak all religious matters, and has a loyal following in SCIRI because of his knowledge of the Koran. In addition, he has strong relations with Ahmad Chalabi and Masud Barzani, according to sensitive reporting. Hammudi's English language capability is not known.

~~(S//NF)~~ **EDUCATION AND TRAINING:** Hammudi earned an M.A. in psychology from the University of Baghdad and a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Tehran.

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## DEPUTY CHAIRMAN – IRAQI CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE, 'ADNAN al-JANABI, Sunni:

- 1 Mr. `Adnan AL-JANABI
- 2 `Adnaan al-Janaabi
- 3 Adnan al-Janabi

**(U) NAME:** Shaykh 'Adnan al-Janabi.

**(U) POSITION:** Deputy Chairman of the Constitutional Committee since 24 May 2005.

**(S//NF) SIGNIFICANCE:** 'Adnan al-Janabi has covered a range of issues – including tribal affairs and energy policy, both of which he has the expertise to follow – in his former capacity as Minister of State. He has served as an advisor to former Prime Minister Ayad 'Allawi on Sunni tribal and outreach issues, and he sits on the Supreme Oil Council, according to diplomatic reporting. Most recently, he served as a campaign manager to support those on 'Allawi's Iraqi list. Sensitive reporting indicates that, while 'Allawi likes and respects Janabi, the former Prime Minister does not consider him a close confidant. Janabi is one of the few Sunni leaders who did not boycott the election in January 2005 and ran on 'Allawi's Iraqi slate. Janabi, fifth on 'Allawi's list, is virtually certain to gain a seat in the Transitional National Assembly.

**(S//NF)** Janabi submitted his resignation as Minister of State in January 2005 because of the treatment he received following an incident in which he was detained for 30 minutes for failing to follow proper procedures at a Coalition checkpoint, according to diplomatic reporting. Janabi continued to work with 'Allawi and finished his term.

**(S//NF) POLITICS:** A paramount Shaykh from a large Sunni tribe, Janabi is uniquely qualified to serve as a liaison between Sunnis and the majority Shi'a and Kurds. He headed a committee to review and establish recommendations on how to deal with the instability in Iraq, according to sensitive reporting. Janabi has expressed concern about the security situation in his home region of North Babil. He met with Jordanian and Syrian officials in November 2004 to explain the decision to proceed with an assault on Al Fallujah.

**(S//NF)** Before the formation of the Interim Government in June 2004, Janabi had been advocating inclusion of all Iraqis in the governing process. He helped to organize the February 2004 meeting between Sunni tribal Sheikhs and Grand Ayatollah Ali Husayn al-Sistani aimed

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at preventing sectarian violence. A month later, he called for transparency in the IG and for representation of tribes, professional associations, political parties, and females.

~~(S//NF)~~ Janabi leveraged his longstanding experience in the oil sector to author 'Allawi's guidelines for oil sector reorganization. He also has supported resuscitating an independent Iraqi National Oil Company (INOC). Janabi told diplomats in December 2004 that the INOC should report to the council of ministers and not to the Ministry of Oil – in contrast to the view held by the Oil Minister – and he has further argued this would allow the INOC to act as a dynamic independent oil company that could attract international investment. Sensitive reporting from November indicates that Janabi has expressed interest in heading the INOC.

~~(S//NF)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** 'Adnan al-Janabi holds a B.A. in economics from the University of London and an M.A. in petroleum technology from Loughborough University. He joined the Iraqi Oil Ministry in 1974 as a consultant and served as head of economics and finance for OPEC. He left the Oil Ministry in 1981, following a disagreement with the Oil Minister, according to diplomatic reporting. Janabi was elected as an independent member of the Iraqi National Assembly in 1996 and headed its energy committee. He eventually resigned that post over differences with Saddam Hussein, according to sensitive reporting. In 2002, Janabi accused the United States of sabotaging the UN Oil-for-Food Program by supporting the UN's tougher pricing policy.

~~(S//NF)~~ Janabi was born in 1940. He is a member of 'Allawi's Iraqi National Accord party and was not a Ba'ath Party member. He enjoys barbeque food and steaks; he smokes cigars and also likes to smoke apple-flavored tobacco from a traditional Arab water pipe, according to defense attaché reporting. Janabi drinks Scotch whiskey. Former Agriculture Minister Khalid abd al-Munim Rashid is reportedly Janabi's brother, according to sensitive reporting. Janabi is married and speaks English fluently.

~~(S//NF)~~ **EDUCATION AND TRAINING:** 'Adnan al-Janabi holds a B.A. in economics from the University of London and an M.A. in petroleum technology from Loughborough University.

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## **SPEAKER – TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: HAJIM AL-HASSANI, Sunni:**



- 1 Dr. Hajim [Hachim] AL-HASANI
- 2 **Haajim [Haachim] al-Hasani**
- 3 Dr. Hajim M. Al-Hassani

**(U) POSITION:** Speaker of the Transitional National Assembly (TNA) since 3 April 2005.

**(S//NF) SIGNIFICANCE:** Hassani is the most senior Sunni figure in the Iraqi Transitional Government (ITG), and his political savvy and experience suggest that he will use his new position to forge national unity. Acquaintances describe Hassani as persistent in the face of adversity, as a hard worker, and as levelheaded, friendly, energetic, and unafraid to speak his mind, according to the press. As Minister of Industry and Minerals in the Interim Government (IG), Hassani placed Iraqi interests ahead of parochial concerns, and US Embassy officials report that Shi'a political leaders considered him for a top security position in the ITG. His credibility and popularity among the Sunni Arab population, however, is unclear.

**(C//NF) POLITICS:** Hassani, a longtime opponent to Saddam's regime, was appointed Minister of Industry in 2004. Before his appointment, he held senior positions in the Iraqi Islamic Party (IIP) and served as deputy to former Governing Council member and IIP Secretary General Mushin 'Abd-al-Hamid. According to press reports, Hassani was dismissed from the IIP in Nov 04, probably because he refused to resign his ministerial post when the IIP withdrew from the government in protest over IG military operations in Fallujah. Since that time, Hassani has allied closely with current Vice President Ghazi al-Yawr. As number two on Yawr's list in the Jan 05 elections, Hassani won a seat in the TNA.

**(C//NF)** Before serving in the IG, Hassani -- a moderate, yet deeply religious Sunni -- emphasized the need for unity in the Sunni Arab community and throughout the country. During his tenure as Minister of industry, he focused on Ministry-related issues and refrained from sectarian discourse. The politically savvy Hassani tried to avoid the political landmines surrounding the issue of privatization and to attract foreign investment while remaining cognizant of local sensitivities during his tenure as Minister.

**(C//NF)** As Minister of Industry, Hassani tried to convert Iraq's industries -- state-owned and military -- to semiprivatized civilian-use enterprises. He sought foreign investment in nonmilitary industries such as automobile production and was instrumental in getting Iraq to sign a production contract with a US automobile company in 2004, according to press reports.

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Hassani also lobbied contractors on reconstruction projects to order materials, especially cement, from Iraqi state-owned enterprises to put people back to work, according to diplomatic reporting.

~~(C//NF)~~ Hassani's plan for privatizing Iraqi industries was slow-moving, yet he appeared committed to market-oriented reforms. According to diplomatic reporting, Hassani recognizes that privatization is a politically charged issue likely to receive little emphasis until there is an elected government. Nonetheless, Hassani attempted to make progress on the issue by establishing a plan to lease struggling state-owned firms to foreign investors, according to press and diplomatic reporting.

~~(C//NF)~~ In addition to his duties as Minister of Industry, Hassani focused on security issues. He considers the security situation a significant contributing factor to the lack of foreign investment in Iraqi industries, according to the press. Hassani opposed Coalition military activity in Fallujah in Apr 04 and participated in subsequent negotiation efforts, according to CPA reporting. In Nov 04 he became the IG's coordinator for reconstruction in Fallujah, according to diplomatic reporting. During the uprising in Najaf involving the Jaysh al-Mahdi in Aug 04, Hassani publicly called for the disarmament of the militia and a peaceful end to the fighting. He also called for the reconstruction of the Iraqi Army.

~~(C//NF)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** Hassani was born in Kirkuk in 1954. He had graduated from Mosul University before moving to the US in 1979 to study international trade at the University of Nebraska (Cornhuskers). According to press reporting, Hassani came to the US because he refused to fight in the Iran-Iraq war. He earned a doctorate in industrial organization from the University of Connecticut in 1990. During his time in Connecticut, Hassani served as president of the Muslim Student Association and occasionally led prayer services, according to press reports. He has been a board member on several NGOs and lectured at many US universities. He worked as head of the American Investment and Trading Company in Los Angeles and managed an Internet company. Hassani was slated to accompany Yawr on his official visit to the US in Dec 04, but he told the press that he preferred to remain in Baghdad to oversee reconstruction in Fallujah and to tend to an unidentified health concern. As of July 04, Hassani maintains a residence in London. He is married and has three young children. Hassani speaks English.

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## TNA FIRST DEPUTY SPEAKER, DR HUSAYN al-SHAHRISTANI, SHI'A:



**(U) NAME:** Dr. Husayn al-Shahrستاني. Alternate spellings: Hussein al-Sharistani.

**(U) POSITION:** Deputy Speaker of Iraqi Transitional Government (ITG) since 3 April 2005.

**(S//NF) SIGNIFICANCE:** Dr. Husayn al-Shahrستاني is a political novice and former exile, but his ties to Grand Ayatollah Muhammad Ali Husayni al-Sistani and proven organizational and leadership skills suggest that he will be an influential figure in Iraq's TNA. He is a former nuclear scientist who has dedicated the past decade to working with Iraqi

refugees and speaking out against the alleged weapons of mass destruction procurement activities and human rights abuses of Saddam's regime. A leading member of the Sistani-backed Unified Iraqi Alliance (UIA), Shahrستاني was a top contender to become the list's prime-ministerial candidate following its strong showing in the January 2005 election, but he withdrew his nomination in favor of maintaining the group's unity, according to sensitive reporting. Shahrستاني had first entered the national spotlight in May 2004, when he was the UN's top candidate to become prime minister in the Interim Government following the transfer of sovereignty to the IG in June. Shahrستاني declined the post, publicly stating that he did not want to serve in an unelected position.

**(S//NF)** Shahrستاني has been publicly critical of the US presence in Iraq, and he has sought from US diplomats an estimate on a timetable for the withdrawal of Coalition forces. In April 2004 he publicly stated that the United States had failed to win the trust of the Iraqis and had allowed the country to slip into turmoil. Shahrستاني welcomed the downfall of Saddam's regime but opposed US military intervention, according to press reports. Nevertheless, his past willingness to meet with US diplomats in Baghdad suggests that as a national leader he at least would seek a dialogue with the United States.

**(S//NF) POLITICS:** Dr. Husayn al-Shahrستاني's public comments suggest that he would work toward national reconciliation among ethnic and religious groups, and US diplomats say that he has sought to focus on national goals rather than on religious matters. Shahrستاني publicly commented in 2004 that Iraqis take pride in having avoided sectarian conflicts throughout their long history and that he hopes ". . . Iraqis will build a new nation on the basis of righteous citizenship for all Iraqis, irrespective of community, religion, or sect." He probably also will focus on humanitarian issues, given his experience in refugee work. In February 2005, Shahrستاني told US diplomats that he welcomes Sunni participation in the political process and that he wants the UN to facilitate contacts with moderate Sunnis. Nevertheless, he publicly has

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stressed that the UIA will block former Ba'athists who did not break with Saddam until after the 1991 Shia uprising from serving in senior posts in the Iraqi Transitional Government.

~~(S//NF)~~ Shahrستاني probably will adhere to Islamic values in his decision making. A devout Shi'a, he publicly commented in August 2004 that he would seek political office if he construed it as a personal duty defined by his Islamic faith, according to Western press reporting. Nevertheless, Shahrستاني publicly has insisted that the UIA does not want an Islamic state and that clerics should not govern Iraq.

~~(S//NF)~~ Shahrستاني has ties to Iraq's preeminent Shia religious leader, Grand Ayatollah Sistani and shares Sistani's concerns about legitimacy and transparency in a future Iraqi government, according to press reports. He wrote two editorials in 2004 calling for free and fair elections and credited Sistani for leading the Iraqis away from militancy and toward democracy. He served as chairman of Sistani's election coordination committee before the January 2005 election and played a key role in cobbling together a fragile coalition of unlikely parties and individuals to form the UIA. Sensitive reporting indicates, however, that he is unpopular among some UIA members. A political independent, Shahrستاني probably will avoid taking action that might jeopardize his standing with Sistani because he does not appear to have established his own support base.

~~(S//NF)~~ Shahrستاني lived in exile in Iran for roughly 10 years and most likely has religious and social ties to the country. One uncorroborated sensitive report states that Shahrستاني in 1992 co-founded with Zaynab al-Khalisi the Islamic Revolution Mujahidin Movement (IRMM), a group that the Iranian Ministry of Intelligence and Security allegedly financed and directed. Coalition forces arrested Khalisi in July 2003 for alleged involvement in an attack against them in Al Amarah, Iraq, according to another sensitive report. We do not have any information on Shahrستاني's current relationship with Khalisi or the IRMM.

~~(C//NF)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** Shahrستاني was born in 1942 and hails from Karbala. In 1978, Shahrستاني was appointed chief scientific adviser to the Iraqi Atomic Energy Commission. According to US diplomats, he participated in the 1991 Shi'a uprising. Shahrستاني is a founding member of the Iraqi National Academy of Sciences. His wife is Canadian, and the couple has three children. Shahrستاني speaks good English.

~~(S//NF)~~ **CAREER:** Dr. Husayn al-Shahrستاني's record of opposition to Saddam could help mitigate his exile past and boost his national credentials. He was imprisoned in 1979 for refusing to engage in Saddam Hussein's efforts to redirect Iraq's nuclear research from peaceful to military use and for suspected ties to Shi'a dissident groups, according to a variety of press interviews. He claims he survived 11 years of torture and imprisonment, including 10 years in solitary confinement, by reciting mathematical formulas, according to a press report. Shahrستاني escaped from prison during the 1991 Gulf war and fled to Kurdistan and later to Iran. He served on the General Council of the Iraqi National Forces, an Iraqi opposition group in the United Kingdom. Since his return to Iraq in the spring of 2003, Shahrستاني has been active in aiding refugees in southern Iraq through NGOs that he has set up.

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~~(C//NF)~~ **EDUCATION AND TRAINING:** Shahristani studied in Moscow and London during the 1960s and later earned a doctorate in nuclear chemistry in 1970 from the University of Toronto.

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## TNA SECOND DEPUTY SPEAKER, ARIF TAYFUR, Kurd:



**(U) NAME:** Arif Tayfur. Alternate spellings: Aref Taifur.

**(U) POSITION:** TNA Deputy Speaker of the Iraqi Transitional Government (ITG) since 3 April 2005.

**(S//NF) SIGNIFICANCE:** A longtime Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) bureaucrat and political leader, Arif Tayfur was elected as one of two deputy speakers of the TNA as part of a power-sharing deal between the Kurdistan Alliance List (KAL) and the Unified Iraqi Alliance (UIA). Tayfur won a seat in the TNA as number 10 on the KAL for the election in January 2005 and has previous legislative experience on the Iraqi Interim National Council (IINC), where he served as the chair of the Displaced, Exiles, and Emigrants Committee. He has well-established credentials within

the KDP, having served on the political bureau since 1995 and on the central committee since 1999.

**(S) POLITICS:** Arif Tayfur has been outspoken on how Kurdish issues should be handled within the ITG and on the new Iraqi constitution to be drafted by the TNA. He has expressed a willingness on the part of the KAL to ally with any party that will support Kurdish national rights within a federal Iraqi state. Tayfur said publicly in February 2005 that the KAL would only ally with groups that recognized that Kirkuk is part of Kurdistan, but he noted in March that the KAL's tentative agreement with the UIA requires the TNA to resolve the Kirkuk issue. Tayfur stated in February that the Kurds would push for the constitution to include Kurdish as an official language, compensation for Kurds harmed by Saddam Hussein's regime, and the reconstruction of Kurdish villages that Saddam's government destroyed. In addition to his views on Kurdish rights, Tayfur notes that Iraq's new constitution needs to create a secular government including all ethnic groups and religions but also allowing Islam to play a beneficial role.

**(C//NF)** Arif Tayfur had focused on internal Kurdish affairs before taking on a national role in the IINC. He was chairman of the Higher Committee Against the Arabization of Kurdistan from at least March 2002 to early 2004, where he defended what he described as the Kurdish nature of Kirkuk. During this time, he also served as a KDP representative to the Higher Coordinating Committee for Peace, a joint organization aimed at solving conflicts between the KDP and its rival, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). Tayfur headed the KDP Central Bureau of Vocational and Mass Organizations from approximately April 2000 until at least November 2001, according to press reports.

**(S//NF)** A few unsubstantiated reports originating from the PUK provide derogatory information on connections between Tayfur and Iran. One uncorroborated, sensitive report from PUK officials claims Tayfur tasked Islamic Movement of Kurdistan (IMK) members in March 2005 to

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photograph the US Embassy in Baghdad and other US installations, as requested by IMK associates in Iran for unknown use. PUK officials have suggested that Tayfur has unspecified ties to Iran in another uncorroborated, sensitive report.

~~(S//NF)~~ **PERSONAL DATA:** We do not know Tayfur's age, although he probably is in his mid-to-late 50s. We do not know his marital status or English-language capability.

~~(S//NF)~~ **CAREER:** Arif Tayfur has worked his way up through the ranks of the KDP: after being elected to the KDP political bureau in late 1995, he served as a regional military commander in the 1996 KDP-PUK conflict, according to press reports, and as the head of the third and fourth branches of the KDP responsible for Kirkuk and As Sulaymaniyah, respectively, according to sensitive reporting.

~~(S//NF)~~ **EDUCATION AND TRAINING:** Arif Tayfur is a lawyer and graduated from the University of Baghdad in 1971 or 1972, according to US officials.

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