

حركة الكفاح الشعبي - العراق

The People's Struggle Movement - Iraq

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The People's Struggle Movement is launching a political initiative to find a just solution to end the occupation of Iraq, based on the demands of the Iraqi people and the patriotic political forces opposed to the occupation

Introduction

Developments in Iraq over the last few months have proved beyond a doubt that all the justifications for launching the war on Iraq and occupying the country are unfounded. The illegitimacy of the Anglo-American war remains unquestioned and was recognised by the international community, forcing even the secretary general of the United Nations to admit and accept this illegitimate act of aggression. The results of investigations, particularly those conducted by official American and British committees have proved that Iraq does not possess any weapons of mass destruction, that there is no evidence linking the former Iraqi government to Al Qaeda, as well as Iraq having been found innocent of any responsibility for the events of 11 September 2001. The absurdity of the justifications for the war against Iraq has placed moral and legal obligations on the international community and the United Nations in particular; international law must now be applied to all the countries who participated in the war on Iraq, particularly the United States and Great Britain. It is extremely clear that the two aforementioned countries violated the principles and articles of international law when they launched an illegal war on a nation whose sovereignty is recognised internationally and is a founder member of the United Nations. The occupation of this country is also outside the scope of any law and succeeds a 13 year oppressive embargo for which no legal or moral justifications have been offered; this embargo led to the death of more than one and a half million innocent Iraqis and destroyed and left thousands of Iraqi families homeless. This latest immoral war has also led to the death of more than hundred thousand Iraqis and the destruction of the social and economic infrastructures of the country. This has transformed it into a country where anarchy and exceptionally bloody practices are widespread, making it an open arena for anarchy, internal divisions and foreign intervention which threatens to fragment the unity of the nation; all this is congruent with America's plans for the region and with Zionist aspirations. The international community is responsible for carrying out its legal and moral obligations and for fulfilling the Iraqi people's legitimate demands for freedom, independence, security and stability. The international community is also responsible for compensating the Iraqi people for the material and moral damages they are entitled to as a result of the barefaced Anglo-American aggression.

The massive and clear failure of the American colonial plan in Iraq and the inability of the American administration to achieve the political and economic aims of its occupation project are due to the growing heroic action of the Iraqi resistance as are its inability to find acceptable solutions to the social and economic challenges created by the occupation and the agencies cooperating with it. In addition to this, the slogans of freedom and democracy have failed and

ceased to exist with the dreadful, daily violations of the Iraqi's people rights and the constant, systematic bombing of Iraqi cities that oppose the occupation as well as the massacres, arbitrary arrest of citizens and destruction that are exacted on these cities on a daily basis. Collectively, these factors have put the Iraqi people in a situation verging on a humanitarian catastrophe and require serious national and international efforts to find a just solution that honours the Iraqi people and works in accordance with their desire for complete freedom and total independence.

The American administration and its local and international allies must realise that the Iraqi people will never submit to the indignity of occupation and will never accept to coexist with what it demands of them, however long it may last and however many victims it may claim. They must also realise that the fire of the resistance will never be extinguished as long as there is even one foreign soldier or one American agent present on Iraqi soil. They must realise that the free and conscious will of the Iraqi people and their political forces, that have national and international legitimacy, are able to continue opposing the occupation, resisting it and defeating it with a high level of competence and skill that continues to grow. There will be no lasting solution unless the legitimate, just demands of the Iraqi people are met. The American administration and its allies have come to a point where they must respond to these demands and carry them out; they must now abandon their exaggerated claims of power and highhanded methods. They must now seek recourse to wisdom and international law and respond to the demands of the Iraqi people and their patriotic forces to put an immediate end to this unjust occupation.

A number of factors have led some countries in the region and across the world, particularly Saudi Arabia, Russia and France, to propose political initiatives in an attempt to find a solution to the Iraqi problem. These factors include the American administration's inability to deal with the Iraqi people's rejection of the occupation one and a half years after it started, widespread popular opposition to it by freedom-loving people all over the world, the increasing number of areas involved in and the rise in the violence of the armed resistance to the foreign presence in Iraq as well as the increasing probability of the resistance movement spreading to neighbouring countries, which could potentially have a negative effect on the security and stability of this important region and on the interests of some of the great powers. One of the initiatives that have been suggested is to hold an international conference on Iraq; this conference will be held in Egypt at the end of this month.

In spite of the expressed aim of the conference being to find an international solution to the Iraqi problem, the main aim of holding this conference is actually to try to find excuses for the American administration, supported both regionally and internationally, to help it rid itself of the responsibility for the Iraqi impasse and to produce a new draft document to hide its failures and inability to deal with the resolution and intrepidity of the Iraqi resistance fighters. Another aim of the conference is to lay the foundation to the reality of the occupation and the results of the absurd methods it has adopted to extinguish the flame of the fire of resistance. The conference will also seek to prepare the ground for a suitable political plan for American withdrawal from Iraq, once all the elements necessary to control Iraq's resources are put into place by their helpers and the mechanisms set up for this purpose.

The Peoples' Struggle Movement, one of the main political groups opposed to the occupation, believes that it has a responsibility towards the Iraqi people and the principles it is committed to in defending the rights of the Iraqi people and adopting their interests in seeing Iraq completely liberated and all traces of the occupation and its effects, including all the political, legal, social and economic consequences, removed. It is for this reason that today the Peoples' Struggle Movement is proposing a political initiative, based on the logic of reason and legality, to solve the Iraqi problem while maintaining the rights of the Iraqi people to their land and as a people and a state. At the same time, we shall continue to support the option of resisting the occupiers until they have been removed from our country and it is fully liberated. We cannot forego or negotiate on this option; this is based on our understanding that the international community, the main world powers and all the regional and international powers have to listen to the demands of the Iraqi people. Due to complications on the ground in Iraq at the moment, a military solution to an unequal, fierce war will not, on its own, achieve the aims that our people are striving for, unless it is backed by a clearly defined political plan and goals reflecting the national will of the Iraqi people and the clear demands they have made to have their rights vindicated. We consider this to be an act analogous to the resistance action on the ground until the last soldier from the invading forces has left Iraq.

The People's Struggle Movement presents its political initiative and political programme for the transition stage below. Based on our patriotic responsibility and belief that the Iraqi people will inevitably triumph, this initiative is a point of departure and includes practical solutions for ending the occupation and the running of the Iraqi state during the transition stage, to reflect the ideas, obligations and political vision of the Iraqi national movement opposed to the occupation, safeguarding the interests of our people and their sovereignty, while at the same time applying the mechanisms for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Iraq.

We realise that any political initiative must be based on the principle that the Iraqi people alone have the right to decide their fate according to their will, uninfluenced by the pressures, dictations and recommendations of others. The People's Struggle Movement believes that the great responsibility that we bear at this important juncture in the lives of our people obliges us to seek a political solution reflecting recent developments and allowing the world to hear the cries of the Iraqi people, to feel their pain and to understand their fundamental demands for what they are entitled to. Working with other Iraqi patriotic forces, we must focus all our efforts on ridding Iraq of the occupation and its consequences, taking the country out of a state of confusion and anarchy by dealing with the current situation and the difficult challenges that face its future. The presentation of this initiative is based on the People's Struggle Movement's understanding and evaluation of what hangs in the balance for Iraq and the international community; it is also based on our national duty to find a solution for the Iraqi people, putting an end to the occupation without neglecting Iraq's interests or compromising any of the movement's principles.

The Withdrawal of Occupation Forces from Iraq: Field and Operational Considerations

1: There shall be an immediate and comprehensive cessation of all military operations by American and other foreign forces in Iraq in return for all Iraqi resistance groups ceasing their operations and activities against the occupation forces, starting from the date that they sign an agreement with an Iraqi authority representative of the patriotic forces and the Iraqi resistance.

The agreement shall stipulate that the Iraqi state shall have absolute unrestrained sovereignty as of that date.

2: All American and other foreign troops must withdraw from cities and residential areas and restrict their presence to military camps and bases outside of cities; an agreement shall be made between the two parties to determine the locations of these bases and to complete the full withdrawal of all troops from all internationally recognised Iraqi territory within a period not exceeding six months from the date the agreement set out in paragraph 1 is signed.

3: All Iraqi and Arab civilian and military prisoners held by the American and coalition forces or the Iraqi interim government must be released without exception; this shall include those who were taken prisoner during military operations during the war on Iraq or the occupation without restrictions, conditions or exceptions being placed on their release.

4: The resolution issued by the occupation administration disbanding the Iraqi army, police forces, border police and internal security forces must be revoked. All members of the army in all companies and all members of the internal security forces must be invited to report immediately to return to work in organisational structures and units, in accordance with Iraqi laws approved of by the Iraqi army and based on the administrative structure existing before 9 April 2003. Military administrations, headquarters, bases and units occupied by the American and coalition forces must be handed over, as well as the occupation bases and headquarters.

5: A new leadership for the Iraqi army and the internal security forces must be formed and made up of patriotic loyal professional soldiers who did not cooperate with the occupation authorities or support them. The new leadership shall have the responsibility for re-establishing and organising the main units of the Iraqi army, based on standard military structures and the requirements of security and Iraq's sovereignty.

6: American and other foreign troops preparing to move within Iraq for military purposes or to undertake any assignments of a military, security or reconnoitring nature shall have their movement restricted only to carrying out missions for organisational or administrative purposes coordinated directly by the Iraqi military leadership, mentioned in the paragraph above.

7: The armed military forces and the internal security forces shall assume responsibility for extending operations to headquarters, key positions, command posts, checkpoints and borders with the aim of re-establishing security and stability peacefully, with the use of firearms being permissible in self-defence only. Anyone violating this rule shall bear personal legal responsibility for their actions if their unjustified use of weapons is confirmed.

8: The American and British governments shall be responsible for rearming the Iraqi army and supplying it with different kinds of light and heavy weaponry as well as aircrafts, machines, installations and different military and non-military equipment according to detailed lists prepared by the new leadership of the Iraqi army, based on the requirements of and preparations necessary for the Iraqi army as dictated by experience without any recompense. This shall be considered part of the reparations to which the Iraqi army is entitled for the destruction of its installations and property by the invasion forces during the war and the occupation. The two

aforementioned governments shall also be responsible for making the Kurdish political parties and movements return Iraqi equipment and weapons they seized by force during the war and afterwards.

9: The occupation forces and other foreign forces in Iraq shall be responsible for bearing the costs of rebuilding Iraqi buildings, headquarters, bases and military camps that have been destroyed or have sustained any form of damage.

10: After the Iraqi army has assumed its functions, which must be done within a month, all armed groups and militias shall disband and surrender their weapons to the Iraqi army, without compensation, over a period lasting no more than one month. The army and the internal security forces shall be in charge of preparing a master plan to carry out this work and to put an end to all armed hostility in Iraqi society; anyone found offending after this deadline will be prosecuted.

11: The American forces and the forces allied to them shall not have the right to sign security or military agreements with unofficial Iraqi political groups or parties; security and military dealings may only be made with the central Iraqi government in Baghdad.

Relationship with Occupying States and the International Community and Their Responsibilities Towards Iraq

1: Under international law and by means of the United Nations, the international community must ensure that the American administration and all other nations, particularly those nations in the region surrounding Iraq, do not interfere in Iraq's internal affairs in any way. An international resolution passed by the Security Council concerning this matter shall be passed, based on article 7 of the United Nations' Convention protecting Iraq's right to independence, the unity of its territory and the inviolability of its borders. This resolution also obliges the countries bordering Iraq to withdraw from the Iraqi territory they have usurped, to revoke all changes made to the borders of Iraq resulting from the expropriation of Iraqi lands by the occupying states and neighbouring states and all the agreements that were made and led to changes being made to Iraq's national borders since 1990. These changes are illegal, invalid and nonbinding on Iraq; all Iraqi territory that has been seized must be returned to Iraq immediately.

2: The American administration and all other nations shall pledge to cease providing all kinds of political, material and moral support to any of the Iraqi political groups or movements. They shall also pledge to not provide any protection of any kind to them whatever the nature of the group, allowing the group to work inside Iraq and to affect Iraqi affairs.

3: The international community, through the United Nations and a binding resolution issued by the Security Council, must pledge to substantiate Iraq's right to obtain full compensation for the huge losses the Iraqi people and the Iraqi state have suffered, both as a result of direct military attacks and the illegal war or as a result of the destruction, damage, theft and plunder of public property, infrastructure, scientific, economic, industrial and service-based institutions as well as that of Iraqi citizens' private property. In addition to this, they must pledge to pay full compensation for the loss of all Iraqi civilian lives lost as a result of the war.

4: The international community shall bear responsibility for eliminating the legal, physical and social effects of the illegal war on Iraq and the occupation on the Iraqi people and the state; occupying states shall also bear all the moral, physical and legal responsibilities resulting from this.

5: An international investigation, under the auspices of the United Nations and the relevant international organisations, shall be undertaken concerning the use of banned weapons by the occupying states against Iraq during the war and the occupation and the gross violation of all international agreements and conventions on the protection of human rights, the rights of prisoners of war, the rights of prisoners, the rights of citizens, the rights of women and the rights of the child. The guilty parties shall bear responsibility for the consequences of these violations. The criminals who carried out these acts, ordered them to be carried out or who instigated them in any way shall be prosecuted in accordance with international and Iraqi law. In addition to this, the Security Council must hold the aggressors responsible for cleansing Iraqi lands of the catastrophic effects of the use of non-conventional weapons, particularly the use of depleted uranium and to compensate Iraqis who have been harmed as a result of the use of these weapons.

6: The international community must offer financial compensation to Iraq for the human, physical and social damages the Iraqi people and the Iraqi state have suffered as a result of the oppressive 13-year embargo imposed under the false, unsubstantiated pretext that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. An internationally binding resolution must be issued concerning this issue obliging the nations who helped to perpetuate the embargo to pay compensation to Iraq.

7: All frozen Iraqi assets, special deposits and the available funds in the Iraqi government's bank accounts in all countries, banks, official, semi-official and private financial institutions are to be returned to Iraq and to be transferred immediately to the Iraqi Central Bank, based on the Iraqi state's statements and charts prior to the occupation; all interest and profits accrued on these funds through investments and diverting the assets into special funds is also to be returned. All funds accumulated in the accounts of the Oil-for-Food programme must be returned to Iraq and transferred there immediately; no clearings may be made to gain concessions from Iraq or these funds.

8: The occupation authority shall submit a detailed report of all the funds it confiscated after the occupation both within and outside of Iraq as well as a report of expenditure made from the confiscated funds by the occupation authority, including all profits made from Iraqi oil exports during the occupation. The occupation authority must return all these funds to Iraq and compensate Iraq for all unjustified and illegal expenditure.

9: All neighbouring countries must return Iraqi property, assets and resources in their possession, that they have pillaged, that they confiscated from Iraq, that have been openly smuggled by these countries or their citizens or that have been sold cheaply by thieves and smugglers before and after the occupation; this includes assets that have been seized since the first Gulf War in 1991. If they cannot return these assets, they must reimburse Iraq for the full value.

10: The international community is obliged, through a binding resolution issued by the Security Council, to return all stolen antiquities, treasures and Iraqi cultural property, to report the circulation of these treasures and to bring those who trade in these stolen goods to justice.

11: All debts accrued by Iraq shall be eliminated and all compensation that the United Nations has demanded from Iraq, based on previous resolutions, shall be cancelled as well as any other compensation demanded from Iraq by any other international agency.

12: The international community pledges to make a genuine contribution to the reconstruction of Iraq; this should not result in any liabilities or debts with unfair conditions being placed on Iraq during the reconstruction phase.

13: The United States and Great Britain shall apologise to the Iraqi people for the unjust, aggressive war they waged against their country and for the occupation and the oppressive embargo which lasted 13 years.

Political Programme of the Transitional Stage - Administration of the State and Rebuilding Political and Official Institutions

1: The interim government must resign immediately and the administrative bodies it has set up must dissolve. All resolutions, laws and regulations issued by the interim government, the former Ruling Council or the now-disbanded coalition authority shall be revoked; everything passed by these authorities shall be considered as nonbinding on the Iraqi people.

2: The United Nations, in coordination with the Arab League, all the Iraqi patriotic political parties and groups and the resistance groups, will create an interim technocratic government for Iraq. Members of this government shall be chosen from qualified Iraqi state employees from general manager level and upwards or from those who have the relevant qualifications and experience, who have shown to have the necessary skills and integrity and did not cooperate with the occupation forces. They shall assume ministerial functions to run the state's various institutions until a national interim body has been set up; this will be done at the extended national conference referred to in the following paragraphs. This body's task will be to form an Iraqi government for the transitional stage; those charged with the tasks of this ministry will be responsible to the national interim body for all the work they carry out while undertaking this duty.

3: The popular political process will last a maximum of three months and will be carried out in coordination with the United Nations; the role of the United Nations will be to provide support and assistance to facilitate work and preparations. The role of the United Nations shall be to liaise; it shall not intervene directly. All Iraqi patriotic political parties and groups will also take part in this process, representing the full political spectrum. The resistance groups will take part as well as all the different sections of Iraqi society through the following process:

A - Three candidates will be nominated from each political party, movement, group or resistance group.

B - All organisations, unions, professional, popular and scientific trade unions and groups will choose three of their members to represent them.

C - Representatives will be elected by the Iraqi people in each governorate; one representative will be chosen for every twenty five thousand citizens. The elections will be supervised legally and directly by the highest legal authority in the governorate or the region.

D - The following may not be elected in this process:

- Anyone who contributed to the aggression against Iraq either directly or indirectly or instigated it

- Anyone who provided false information or lies about Iraq possessing weapons of mass destruction

- Anyone who took part in operations led by the occupation troops or interim government troops to kill, harm or attack Iraqis or who gave the orders for these acts or instigated them

- Anyone who contributed to the destruction of Iraqi property, the infrastructure of the country, the devastation of its various institutions and the theft of Iraqi assets or who appropriated private or public property or used it for any reason

The above may not take part in this national popular political process under any circumstances.

E - The chosen representatives shall meet in accordance with in the requirements of the paragraph above concerning the extended national conference; the conference will be held under the patronage of the Iraqi legal authority and with the participation of the United Nations and the Arab League. During the conference, a national body will be chosen, made up of 500 members from among the participants at the conference; they will be elected through a direct public vote in a personal capacity and not as a representative of any political party, faction, religion, race, denomination, etc. The election process will be announced directly by the media and the body formed will be known as the national body for the transitional period; during the transitional period, work will be carried out to liberate Iraq completely and turn it into a liberal democracy, to reinstate security and stability and to start rebuilding the country. The national body will manage the affairs of the state and society according to the interim draft rules for the goals of this stage that are congruent with the needs and interests of the Iraqi people and their national identity and to prepare for elections to chose a national council (a permanent parliament); the time allocated for this stage will be one year only as of the date of the election of this body.

F - The functions of the interim technocratic government will cease after the interim national organisation is formed at the extended national conference mentioned above in paragraph E.

G - The national body for the transitional stage will meet in the week after its election to choose a transitional ministry to run the country for a year; the national body must not elect anyone who cooperated with the foreign occupation troops to any ministerial position. The national body, with the participation of the interim government, shall assume the following functions:

1. Running the day to day operations of the state's institutions and departments, making their facilities functional once more, supervising ministries and providing services to citizens.

2. Preparing for the national public elections to elect a national council, the state's leadership and

the legislative organs that will undertake the tasks of forming a new government and preparing a permanent constitution.

3. Once the requirements to hold the election are met and before the end of the transitional period (which will last one year), the interim national body will announce the date fixed for the elections.

4. During the transitional period, the interim government will have the right to represent Iraq at international meetings and in international organisations as an independent, fully sovereign state, but it shall not have the right to sign agreements or treaties that bind Iraq, with the exception of those that protect the rights of the Iraqi people and serve their interests. These agreements must be approved of by the national interim body.

4: The political process during the transitional period shall be based on the following principles and foundations:

A - Adhering to the principle of the unity of the Iraqi nation and its national and patriotic identity to create an Iraqi authority that represents all Iraqis regardless of their political, racial or religious affiliations.

B - Adhering to the independence of a free Iraq, the unity of its territory and people and rejecting foreign intervention in Iraq's internal affairs.

C - Rejecting the principle of dividing Iraq along racial and sectarian lines as well as rejecting sectarian, racist and separatist values.

D - Acknowledging the legal rights of all groups in Iraqi society and their right to participate in the political process, granting them equal opportunities in building a liberal, democratic state and ensuring full equality for all Iraqis as concerns their rights and duties.

E - Working to establish a democratic, constitutional system based on the principles of multiparty politics and a peaceful rotation of power through free, direct elections in accordance with a permanent constitution for the country that ensures the rights of all.

F - Not to adopt any resolutions or measures during the transitional stage that lead to a change in the identity of the Iraqi people, violate this identity or change the nature of Iraqi society and its cultural and historical legacy.

G - Rejecting all forms and kinds of violence and banning the use of weapons or the formation of militias and armed groups.

H - The belief that working with foreign countries is not in the interest of the Iraqi people, whatever the aims, causes or justifications for this act of treachery are.

I - The belief that the Iraqi people should be the source of authority and have the right to decide their own destiny and assert their interests. The task of political parties and movements must be

to create a climate of positive interaction to protect all the Iraqi people's interests without prejudice or preference for the demands of one group above others. This must be done within the political framework mentioned in these principles and in the legal framework of the Iraqi state.

J - Respecting freedom of opinion and expression and guaranteeing the freedom of the press and the media.

K - Ruling according to the law in all disputes; the law is above all.

L - All resolutions and instructions issued in the transitional period must be done publicly and announced to the Iraqi people through all possible media, ensuring their right to criticise, oppose and challenge them within the confines of the law.

5: During a period of three months, the national body will issue a decree to organise the legal framework for the work of political parties during the transitional period that is binding on them all; on the basis of this decree, political parties and movements will be allowed to work in Iraq in accordance with the principles mentioned in the paragraph above until the constitution and the code governing political parties have been established by the permanent national council (parliament).

6: A national body will be formed to remove all the physical, legal and social traces of the war and the occupation; this body will also compile and confirm the rights of the Iraqi state and Iraqi citizens that have been violated by hostile states, the occupation forces and Iraqi and foreign companies, institutions and individuals. This shall be done through coordination between this body, international bodies and organisations and civil society organisations to carry out its tasks.

7: The official, independent, Iraqi judiciary shall assume the responsibility of hearing the cases of those accused of perpetrating crimes against Iraq and the Iraqi people before and after the war and during the occupation. It shall also hear the cases of those who contributed to the war being launched on Iraq, instigated it, provided false information or lies about Iraq possessing weapons of mass destruction or took part in operations to kill, assassinate, harm or attack Iraqis or have them arrested by the occupation forces or the forces set up by the interim government, those who gave the orders for these acts or instigated them directly, took part in destroying Iraqi property and the infrastructure of the country, damaging its various institutions and stealing Iraq's assets or appropriating private or public property or using it for any reason.

8: Confiscating all movable and immovable property seized by members of the so-called ruling council and their supporters, followers, relatives, interim ministers, relatives of all members of the interim government, their relatives, all those who have been appointed to work in the state's institutions and departments after the occupation, members of political parties and groups who cooperated with the occupation and their relatives as well as the monetary and material assets, national resources or contracts they have benefited from directly or indirectly or that they have concluded, especially in the interest of specific parties or private or public property that they seized during the war on Iraq or during the occupation. Legal proceedings shall be taken against them in a personal or professional capacity so that they return the exact value of those funds in the case that they have spent them, in accordance with the Iraqi laws that were valid until 9 April

2003; this includes the procedures for appointments and granting posts that are in contradiction to the law.

9: Establishing a suitable memorial for all the Iraqi and Arab martyrs who have fallen defending Iraq during the embargo, the war and the occupation, either as members of the armed forces, the internal security forces, resistance groups, state institutions and departments, those carrying out official or semi-official duties or civilians as well as compensating and caring for the injured and the disabled and establishing a compensation system for citizens for the damage that has occurred to their private property during the war and the occupation.

10: All the individuals who propagated the Zionist Anglo-American war on Iraq in the media and offered media support to it before, during the war and the occupation, shall be handed over to the independent Iraq courts to be tried in a personal capacity for the crime of propagating the war and the occupation of Iraq as well as the attacks on it, its people and the state.

11: Granting Iraqi nationality or reacquisition of it during the transitional stage is forbidden, until laws concerning this issue have been passed in accordance with the constitution of the permanent stage. All decisions and orders concerning granting or reacquisition of Iraqi nationality during the occupation shall be annulled and all those granted Iraqi nationality during the occupation and the transitional period shall have the decision declared invalid.

12: Any citizen of Iraqi origin who holds foreign nationality will not be allowed to assume the post of general manager or any post at a level above it in the Iraqi state until they have officially relinquished their foreign nationality; this rule shall be in force until Iraqi laws have been issued on how to deal with this matter in accordance with the permanent constitution.

13: All presidential palaces, homes and luxury properties left behind by the former regime and its key figures shall be registered as public properties under the ministry of finance. No state employee, official or individual, regardless of their status, may use or live in these properties unless the ministry of finance receives the full rent specified for the property and it is registered as a revenue for the Iraqi state for the time determined in the rental agreement in accordance with the law.

14: All groups in Iraqi society shall have the right to practice their religious rites and rituals in complete freedom and to express themselves as long as they respect the law and do not affect the day to day life of citizens. The practice of these rites and rituals must also not cause harm to any person or to private or public property or harm the humane and mental state of other citizens or influence public opinion. The practice of these rites and rituals must not be imposed by force; anyone who does so shall be tried in accordance with the law.

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