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Rethinking the Security Paradigm: A Conversation

Derek Chollet: Well, thank you for a terrific opening [audio skip 02:33:38.24] It's going to need to be multifaceted. It's not just military force. We need a comprehensive approach. And it's going to take time. But what we've discussed so far is from the outside looking in. And of course, it is always important for us to keep in mind what is going on in the ground. And a key part of the West's strategy in Iraq and Syria and elsewhere is to build partner capacity, to work with those in the country so they can provide for their own security and deal with the tremendous challenges that they're facing in their country.

So our next conversation, the second part of this opening section will provide us a perspective from on the ground. And that I will turn it over to Kim Dozier of the Daily Beast and CNN.

Ms. Kim Dozier: Thank you. Thank you. Thank you, Derek. And what we're going to do right now is just inject a little bit of on the ground reality into the discussion, because we've been hearing a lot about policy prescriptions from people who live far away, haven't spent as much time as these two women have in the region. Let's see I'm trying not to do the deep breathing thing on the microphone to you all.

So I want to introduce Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori. She is a former member of the Iraqi Council of Representatives and the head of Iraqi Women and Future Organization. She's also a member of the Reconciliation Committee in Baghdad. And also you have seen her before on the stage, Nancy Lindborg, the president of The United States Institute of Peace. So let's start with that first question. Give us a snapshot, Nada. What is it like on the streets of Baghdad today?

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: Thank you. Actually now I think most of you they know there is a lot of chaos in Baghdad. There's a lot of demonstrations in the streets everywhere around the green zone, which is the residential place for the Iraqi government and (inaudible). And those demonstrations have been run by Sadrists asking for reconciliation.

But this is, you can see on TV and if you go to Baghdad, maybe you cannot walk from one area to one area. And every now and then there is maybe one explosion. And also there is kidnapping and disappearing of some of the figures, of the social figures. So more or less it is an unstable and fragile political process as a whole.

Ms. Kim Dozier: So when you leave your house do you have a bodyguard? Do you think about your security? Do you look to the end of the block to see if you see someone suspicious? How do you travel around?

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: You know for me I travel around with one body only. Since the beginning of my work as a politician, I used to be like this because I cannot think about it actually. When I think about it that means I'm not going to leave my house in the morning, so I never think about it. Maybe sometimes I pray and leave the house, because it's very difficult to think about it. That means you are not going to do anything. So it's better not to think because you don't know who is the enemy and you don't know who is the friend. This is the problem.

Ms. Kim Dozier: Rather than let fear freeze you in place, you just know the dangers out there and do it anyway.

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: Yes you know, but there were some times we had some stability for a while in Baghdad. But that doesn't mean stability in Baghdad that I'm going to stop thinking about [02:37:53.18] (inaudible) who are receiving a lot of calls and requests and I meet displaced people maybe every other day everywhere. So it doesn't mean you will feel, even if there's some sort of stability by the army, but that doesn't mean that you feel comfortable from inside.

Ms. Kim Dozier: Now Nancy, you first went there back in 2003 when we could all walk around for a brief time and your most recent trip was last October. What have you seen in your snapshots?

Ms. Nancy Lindborg: Well I would focus first and foremost on the big positive change that I've seen just to inject a little positivity. When I was there last fall one of the things I did was attend a conference of NGOs in Erbil where there were about 250 organizations represented, and organizations like Mrs. Al-Jubori's. And I think this is an extreme change that we need to understand and celebrate that there has been this growing of very active civil society organizations.

When I was there, there were street demonstrations happening in most of the major cities. And it was not demonstrations for sectarian purposes but rather demand for better governance and for reform. And so the previous panel talked a lot about the cost of state building. And what I would say is the need to shift the focus from just state building to state building and peace building. And peace building is what has not yet happened in Iraq.

And there's a lot of conversations at many levels among all of the various groups in Iraq of now's the time for national reconciliation, which is very difficult to do but necessary in the long term. And the issue is how do you build reconciliation at the national level [video gap 02:39:57.24].

Ms. Kim Dozier: That segways nicely into our next contentious topic which is the Shiite versus Sunni divide. I remember back in 2003 when I worked at CBS News one of our engineers had been a pilot in Saddam's air force. And he said that his fellow pilots [video gap 02:40:17.29] Shiite shrine, the golden

mosque of Samarra would [video gap 02:40:21.18] presumably tell me in the streets who'd been taken away and [video gap 02:40:26.26] bloodletting on both sides.

So does Iraq need some sort of national reconciliation [video gap 02:40:34.24] or Shiite? Do you think of yourself or your friends that way?

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: You know actually I am Iraqi. I do not define myself as a Sunni or a Shiite. And originally I am a doctor, a physician doctor, so I cannot think about this in this way. I will not be for Sunnis because they are discriminated and displaced. And I will not be for Shiite, because they are living miserable lives with very bad infrastructure in the south of Iraq.

And I think Iraqis, they deserve to have a national government. About reconciliation, I was working on this issue for years now. [video gap 02:41:18.27]. Since I was (inaudible) I was on the committee of [video gap 02:41:29.21] five and it was from request as a woman to be [video gap 02:41:42.06] on this committee. By the end of the day [video gap 02:41:54.09] now let's say there is no real [video gap 02:42:06.06] political will for this issue. [video gap 02:42:18.09]. And in spite of all that's happening in the country, the model of reconciliation I found that it's not real because each dominated party wants to implement the things that serve that party in this reconciliation model. So this is not a reconciliation, you know that. Until this moment all the violence is happening inside the country.

I remember the time when first the reconciliation committee I was on; they give us the chance to meet the people who are released from prisons who they didn't get their trial for five or four years. That means they are innocent. And at the time I met those people, I found how much bad things happened in my country. I think we need to relook on the constitution of the country to reconstruct the constitution about this issue. We have to put in a government who behaving non-sectarian. We need to do a lot of real things to give the rights for the people.

For instance, what about the demonstration in Anbar when they started demonstrations? Why is nobody listening to their requests?

Ms. Kim Dozier: And that's of course when they were demonstrating getting a part of the political power and a role in their own decision making.

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: Any reconciliation, there should be a will and they should change the legislation in the country about Iraq, about accountability, about justice, about the law of terrorism. And you need amnesty. Without amnesty you can't do anything.

Ms. Kim Dozier: Amnesty for people who might have joined a militant group during a time of protest or?

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: No, no. We need a real amnesty. After eradication of ISIS, we need that. Because without it, that means that killing will continue in the area for sectarian reasons, for other reasons. It's a big issue and I don't think there is time to talk about that now. But without it there is no mercy and there is no amnesty. That means they will kill each other for life.

Ms. Kim Dozier: Now that leads into your work, because you have been at the U.S. Institute for Peace trying to forge some of these bonds on the ground.

Ms. Nancy Lindborg: Well I would agree that there's a need for the national reconciliation process, but it's very difficult right now given the political parties. At the local level it's essential. And it has to be a very focused, well-resourced companion to the military action that's underway. So as Daesh is cleared out of various parts of Iraq, what is left behind are communities that are filled with suspicion and mistrust because of the terrible things that have happened under Daesh.

And just to give a specific example, in Tikrit, as Daesh came in they killed 1700 army cadets who were in a place called Camp Speicher, most of whom were Sunni and that left enormous amounts of resentment and hatred between the Shia families who lost a member and the Sunni families who mainly lived in the area.

Ms. Kim Dozier: You mean most of them were Sunni or most of them were Shia?

Ms. Nancy Lindborg: The killed...

Ms. Kim Dozier: Those killed.

Ms. Nancy Lindborg: ...members of the Iraqi army were mainly Shia.

Ms. Kim Dozier: Oh, okay.

Ms. Nancy Lindborg: The Daesh members who came in were mainly Sunni and so it exacerbated all kinds of hatred and mistrust between the existing people who lived there. Many Sunni families fled for fear of their lives and so after Daesh was cleared, you can't just assume everyone will resume their lives. There's enormous hatred, resentment, mistrust, lots of bad information. So since 2004, U.S.I.P. has worked with a group of Iraqis to train, support and develop a network of facilitators and one very remarkable man, Abdul Aziz, who is from Mosul who has been a negotiator-facilitator working with us since 2004, he himself had about an hour to get his family out of Mosul before Daesh swept in and ransacked everything.

So he and the other facilitators started mapping out, who were the stakeholders in Tikrit, who were the tribal leaders, who were affected, who were not affected and spent about eight months conducting a negotiation between the Shia and Sunni leaders, including they were all together in a Baghdad hotel when

it was bombed but they continued on with the dialogue and the result was that they created an MOU for not going into tribal retribution, not going into the kind of bloodletting that could have happened and continued the cycle of violence. They then began working with the local officials to ensure that those who were accused went to the justice system instead of going into tribal justice and the result is that they've created an opportunity for families to return.

So more than 100,000 families have now returned to Tikrit and in a country that has over 3 million displaced people, this is what we need to do at a local level. It takes a lot of time. It takes a lot of focused effort. We're working with the National Reconciliation Committee to do the same preparation for when Daesh is removed out of Ramadi and then in Mosul and this will take a very long time. I would note it is highly under-resourced so as we put, we the coalition and the international community put a lot of money into the military action, we are under-resourcing the political and reconciliation strategy that has to go hand-in-hand.

Ms. Kim Dozier: And yet it sounds like from some of the conversations throughout the Forum that this is more genuine and respected on the ground in that it is not the U.S. government providing this or it's not seen to be the U.S. government providing this assistance for reconciliation, that you are seen as a non-profit that doesn't have government ties.

Ms. Nancy Lindborg: Well, it is local organizations that are now run by these Iraqi facilitators and they have created linkages with the Iraqi National Reconciliation Committee, which has very little resource and capacity. So it is an Iraqi-drive initiative, which is what it must be for the long-term sustaining success.

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: Well, the committee, having some help from the United Nation in Baghdad but let me tell you something. There will be no reconciliation with the committee. This is one. The other things...

Ms. Kim Dozier: With the actual Iraqi government committee?

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: Yes, yes. With...

Ms. Nancy Lindborg: At the national level.

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: At the national level, this is one. The second thing, about Daesh/ISIS and the Speicher, I want to say something here to the audience. Why should (inaudible) with 1,800 young boy, all Shia, putting in one base as soldiers. Is this sectarian behavior from the government? Soldiers should be mixed. Sunni, Shia, Christian, Muslim. Why, at the moment Daesh came and killed them all, all our young...

Ms. Kim Dozier: So you believe that that's a military policy to ethnically divide different units?

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: That is a military governmental policy, this is one. The second things, do you know how many people have been killed, Sunni people, in Anbar and Saladin and Mosul, women, children, men, by ISIS and all are Sunni, of course, those people and in spite of that, let me tell you something, there is 4 million displaced in a miserable situation in a tent and they are Sunni and the 3 million trapped inside those [unintelligible 02:51:12:16] and they are Sunni also.

So this is all happened as a consequence of a government who couldn't put policies and strategy for their country if we consider this an Iraqi issue, internal issue, this is one.

The second thing, I have been doing, like, 100 meetings with the leaders, then (inaudible) then go and make another 100 meetings on different levels for this reconciliation issue. I cannot find (inaudible) and I read all the models who have been written. No one offered you can implemented for the country as a whole country and giving the rights. As long as we are thinking of revenge, as long as there's thinking of sectarian thinking, as long as we are putting religion and sex and race inside our brains and we are supposed to be a model of reconciliation and we are leaders of reconciliation, so that means that there will be no reconciliation in the country.

Ms. Kim Dozier: So it sounds like you're saying there needs to continue to be pressure from the outside and support from organizations like Nancy's to make this possible.

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: For me, I need pressure from outside, many institutes, like Peace Institute, like EU, and I think the international community and United States of America also as a coalition forces who is targeting ISIS in Iraq, they should play another role also and they start this now not only I know without the coalition forces I'm not in my house. That means ISIS in Baghdad and it will be more chaos but coalition forces who are targeting those terrorists we are still safe.

But, at the same time, they should implement another program and another strategy and help the people to be on the safe side in the country.

Ms. Kim Dozier: So I'd like to broaden this conversation out in the 10 minutes we have left. If you have questions, please raise your hand or alternately you can send them through the app and they're going to post them on the screen. So while we wait for them to think about how to interrogate us, let's broaden the discussion out a little bit in that Nancy, you said that your program isn't just focused on Iraq, that you've also looked at other areas where terrorism [audio gap 02:54:05:04].

Ms. Nancy Lindborg: ...conflict-affected countries around the world and what is common is all of them would [audio gap 02:54:11:29] to keep their citizens secure, to provide services and Iraq is really a

microcosm of that. And just to underscore the point that it's highly complex and there are many, many factors that go in to what continues to feed the conflict and how one might move out of it. It also proves the point that it's also quite local. It's quite local and specific and so, for example, in Ramadi where we have been working to prepare a negotiation working with stakeholders, what do they care most about?

They care about they haven't had a voice in their government. They don't feel secure and they don't trust what is a highly factionalized security landscape with each group having their own armed forces. They [audio gap 02:55:04:12] decentralization agenda. If you go to Nigeria where I was three weeks ago, you have almost the same set of issues but in the local context of what's going on in the religious tribal governmental landscape there and so I would underscore that, one, we need to understand the forces of violent extremism not just at the national or international level but at a community level, at a provincial level. What are the forces that cause people to either be resilient or cause them to be susceptible when a violent ideology harnesses those local grievances. [audio gap 02:55:47:26]

Ms. Kim Dozier: ...and even though you've been a part of the government, you seem to be very skeptical that your government will do anything for at least the Sunni population as far as you've seen on the ground right now.

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: Yes. I think now it's time we have to invest in women and youth in Iraq because this is very important. There is a lot of regression in women participation in Iraq since we start after 2003 until this moment and, do you know, an Iraq woman where they have their history and they have their role before.

Ms. Kim Dozier: So I remember Iraq under Saddam, that there was the highest number per-capita of educated women and women employed in the workforce, including in high levels in [audio gap 02:56:41:00] the war went on I saw more veils, more women staying in the home. Why has that changed?

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: Because of violence. Illiteracy, Iraq among late '70s among the countries who eradicate literacy out of Iraq. Now literacy among girls, you find it, like, in some area like 60 percent of the girls are illiterate and this is very dangerous. Severe violence in the country for years and years and become accumulative, you know? All these things make this regression in women...

Ms. Kim Dozier: They're trapped in the home so...

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: Yes.

Ms. Kim Dozier: ...their possibilities narrow.

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: Yes.

Ms. Kim Dozier: I saw a question in the back right there.

Steve Erlanger: I am Steve Erlanger from the New York Times. First, I thank all three of you for a very important panel that's actually digging down into something real and I just [audio gap 02:57:49:05] actions has brought Iraq to the stage where it's impossible to pull it back together again?

Ms. Kim Dozier: Yeah. Is it permanently divided?

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: Well, it is after 2003 all the procedures and starting from the constitution until al-Maliki governments, until this government, the shape of the government that it should be Sunni, Shia, Kurd, like this, that the country reached to the point it looked like the country, it might fall apart now but if we are going to leave things like it is, by slow thinking and because of some of they said it's a democratic process. Democratic process in a corrupted country, this is one. You have no borders in Iraq because of the action of ISIS and the interference from Iran, interference of [audio gap 02:59:05:08] things and how you can [audio gap 02:59:07:13] the sovereignty of the country, I am a doctor, why should we leave our patient to die? We can do many things before this making the country falling apart.

I think it is time now. It's a very good time that all we work together for the best of the country and maybe changing the rule of the assertive role of the government [audio gap 02:59:40:12]

Ms. Kim Dozier: So I--sorry, go ahead.

Ms. Nancy Lindborg: [audio gap 02:59:42:22] trying hard to implement some [audio gap 02:59:45:04] program of decentralization difficult to implement. He has an important and very powerful ally in Sistani and the (inaudible) with whom he's try to ally but there are so many of these other complexities in deep corruption, a need for the Sunnis to become more organized so that they can be at the table with the more organized Shia and Kurds. I mean, it will take a long time but it will not be impossible and we need to ensure that we continue to help support the government at every level to become more decentralized. And watch how the forces of the regional power broking--brokering play out. And the--he's trying very hard not to be beholding to Iran right now.

Ms. Kim Dozier: And of course every time he does try to make a move to implement some of these reforms, he's accused of --

Unidentified female: special funds and to having three women on the stage as--and talking about the security and changing (inaudible) I have to mention this loudly. Second I have to ask, I want to ask that what can be done more and to include more women in the reconstitutions process and especially regional wide. And we do have facing the same the problems in Turkey in Iraq in--to some extent in Iran having the restriction--women's rights restriction. So what can be done more in terms of having a reliable



solution in the short period or in the long time period? I know that that is a very difficult question without women on the table it will not possible to have a--to reach a solution.

Ms. Kim Dozier: I think it's a great thought to be ending on. Having more women involved in the process, are we better at coming up with solutions rather than holding grudges. Sorry guys.

Ms. Kim Dozier: I would just note that USIP works with women in many of these communities particularly to bring them into dialogue with local security forces because if you're looking at how do you enable a community to be more resilient to violent extremism at the local level, there needs to be mutual understanding and ways to share information at the local level. So if--and confidence which is not always possible that the security forces are there for the benefit of the community. You need to couple that often depending on the situation with security reform. But it's that lack of confidence that security is there that can be a huge inhibition to women being involved with the conversation or any more stable and secure.

Ms. Nancy Lindborg: Nada.

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: Yes. You know we have to focus on building capacity of women and civil society work. And we have to lobby. This is from my experience and push so hard and always ask. Security Council 1325, we have to work a lot in this issue. And at the time the politician are very busy dividing their power and also busy by their problems. We went to the civil society and then you find yourself that the [audio gap 03:03:21:27]. And this is--here is the key. And I think civil society work can't change the political map of any area. Like in my country if we go to a transparent election and by this work you can't change the map--the political map of the country. But always remember you have always to as ask and lobby and raise your voice high for your rights.

Ms. Kim Dozier: I think we just met someone who can change that political map here on this stage and someone else helping to bridge the two sides. With that thank you very much.

Dr. Nada Mohammed Ibraheem Al-Jubori: Thank you.

Ms. Kim Dozier: Thank you.

Ms. Nancy Lindborg: Thank you.

Unidentified male: I just want to echo my thanks and with many of you in the audience have said what a terrific panel this has been. We have a coffee break now. I want you to sit in your seats so--for one extra minute because Nik Gowing has got some administrative things to go over with you.

Mr. Nik Gowing: Not quite administrative. I just want to encourage you to think that the last session at 12:45 is about you as well. It's about a conversation to work out what the themes are emerging in the last two days. It's called an epilogue which suggests closure. Actually it's more a takeoff, an (inaudible), or a

take away. So please have some thoughts. Robert Kaplan will be here as well and if you've got some suggestions do use the app because they can contribute as well. It's only 30 minutes but there's a lot to get through. And we want to get a sense of where the themes are emerging from this very rich set of dialogues we've had in the last two days. Enjoy coffee.