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Iraq: Ways to Rebuild Better

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Aaron Masliansky holds a bachelor's degree and master's degree in Urban Planning from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. While at the university, Masliansky's research concentrated on rebuilding cities after war, international development, land-use development, and topics relating to energy and security. Masliansky also worked for ACDIS, where he helped create a web-accessible database of internships for students seeking opportunities in the field of international security. Currently, Masliansky works for a real estate development and construction company based in the Chicagoland area.

INTRODUCTION
A History Lesson

Charles Tripp, author of *A History of Iraq*, recently detailed the similarities between the British experiences of rebuilding Iraq as compared with the present situation. Tripp asserts that, "understanding the future of any country is understanding its past." Speaking about the British occupation in 1919–1920 of Iraq, Tripp explains that the British entered Iraq because of a referendum by the Iraqi people sent to the British to change the Iraqi power structure. There was great controversy in England between the Ministry of War and Ministry of Foreign Affairs over the idea of sending troops and how to handle the rebuilding once it began.[1]

As the occupation became prolonged, there was a mounting campaign in the press and the Parliament to remove the troops. Repeated terrorist acts by Shiites and foreign infiltrators plagued the British forces, leading the British to create an authoritarian security apparatus in Iraq.[2]

What motivated the insurgents was a variety of factors. First, there was a power vacuum in Iraq, which led to the quest for control. There was also deep discontent with the British army officials for their heavy-handed methods. Mass unemployment and a desire to be independent of British rule also fueled the rebels. Furthermore, when the British took over, they fired all of the former officials, including the entire military. This increased unemployment. Consequently, British soldiers were frequently attacked in the summer of 1920. The attacks took place mainly in the Sunni Triangle (the area in and around Baghdad, spanning to Baiji and Rawa, including Fallujah). When these attacks spread to the south, the situation worsened and led to a large revolt throughout the country. The British fought to retake southern Iraq, and lost 1,000 troops. The Iraqis lost 6,000 troops.[3]

The subsequent effect that the revolt had on the British was a complete loss of confidence within the Shiite population. The British decided to rapidly build a new Iraqi state. They concentrated power with the elite, by making land the most valuable commodity. They also created an oligarchic state based on central control. The first institution put in place was the military. Former soldiers were rehired and given the task of providing internal security. The security apparatus that was installed gradually evolved into the coercive security state that Saddam Hussein perfected at ruling.[4]

The similarities between the British experience and the current US situation are striking. To begin with, the US people were divided over going to war in the first place. As the occupation has persisted, the media and many members of Congress have called for a change in the rebuilding process. Soldiers are being killed every day, with the attacks showing no signs of receding. Iraqis in the Sunni Triangle are becoming more resistant to the US occupation. US heavy-handiness, loyalty to Saddam Hussein, unemployment rates of nearly 75 percent, and general anger about the overall situation has increased the fury of the Iraqis. Calls for rapid democratization and rapid militarization of a new Iraqi army hearken back to the British response. If the United States is ignorant of Iraq's past and pulls out quickly by replacing itself with a coercive Iraqi army, history will surely repeat itself.[5] The United States needs to avoid the mistakes of the past, in order to restore a better future for Iraq. Methods with which to provide for a better Iraqi future will be outlined in this report.

Is Iraq Being Rebuilt?

The purpose of this paper is to provide a critical analysis of the rebuilding of Iraq. It is based upon newspaper and magazine articles, websites, lectures, books, and reports produced by organizations evaluating the rebuilding process. After providing a synopsis of the current situation, examples will be drawn from past countries that have undergone rebuilding after war. These examples will then be compared to the current Iraqi situation. Based on the analysis of the information, recommendations for future actions will be defined. Besides providing recommendations for rebuilding Iraq, this paper should serve as a blueprint for macrolevel planning for rebuilding nations after war.

The rationale for looking to past examples to help address a current situation is based on Richard Neustadt and Ernest May's book, *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision-Makers*. They observed that George Marshall, father of the Marshall Plan, developed the idea of time as a stream, rather than a single isolated event in history. Marshall realized that by learning from past wars such as World War I, valuable information could be gained for the future. This helped him plan to rebuild Europe after World War II.[6]

Current Situation

The United States views the situation in Iraq as one of repairing, not rebuilding. In a June 19, 2003 *New York Times* article, Andrew Natsios, the director of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), stated, "You won't see a lot of new buildings. We are going to take the existing infrastructure and repair it." At that time, he predicted that the United States would not increase its budget past $2.4 billion for rebuilding.[7] However, Natsios miscalculated the figure. Even more appalling was an estimated total cost of $50 to $60 million for rebuilding presented by Mitch Daniels, who led a group in the National Security Council.[8] Contradicting earlier estimates, President George W. Bush sent a bill to Congress in September 2003 to increase spending in Iraq. The bill requested $87 billion for US efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan, with $20.3 billion going towards Iraqi reconstruction and the rest towards military expenditures.[9] Why there was such a large discrepancy between the first estimate of needed repair costs and the later figures is explained below.

UN/World Bank estimates – until 2007	
Local administration and civil society	$313m
Health, education, employment	$7,190m
Infrastructure	$24,204m
Agriculture, water resources	$3,027m
Other	$855m
TOTAL	**$35,589m**

Coalition Provisional Authority estimates for areas not covered by UN/World Bank – until 2007	
Security and police	$5,000m
Oil	$8,000m
Culture, religious affairs	$1,540m
Other	$4,900m
TOTAL	**$19,440m**

Pledges of reconstruction aid	
US	$20bn
Japan	$1.5bn aid and $3.5bn loans
UK	$911m
EU	$826m
Saudi Arabia	$500m aid, $500m export credits
Kuwait	$500m
Spain	$300m
Italy	$236m
UAE	$215m
South Korea	$200m
Canada	$76m
Norway	$74m
Turkey	$50m
China	$24m
Belgium	$20m
Australia	$14m
India	$10m
Finland	$6m
New Zealand	$3m
Slovakia	$290,000
World Bank	$3bn–$5bn loan
IMF	$4.35bn loan

SOURCE:Reuters

World Bank rebuilding cost estimates are higher than expected and have necessitated vast foreign aid.[10]

One outcome of the war that was not expected was the constant sabotage on the Iraqi infrastructure and the assaults on coalition troops and supporters. On June 23, 2003, a forty-inch oil export line was ruptured by an explosive. Subsequently, Iraqis have worked to fix the line, but this situation has become common.[11] Sabotage has caused the oil business to stagnate.[12] What is so critical about the oil exports is that they were supposed to help fund the reconstruction effort.[13]

Aerial bombing during the war and sabotage have also led to a nonfunctioning power grid. A May 26 *Chicago Tribune* article reported:

> Before the war, Hussein ordered tiny homing devices be put atop dozens of transmission towers to trick US pilots into thinking the towers were military targets, Iraqi electrical engineers said. More than forty towers were destroyed or damaged by US bombers not intending to target the power system.

In addition, looters have stolen parts and equipment from the system.[14]

However, there has been progress in the challenge to restore power. By October 6, 2003, power in Iraq had been restored to prewar levels. Natsios said that USAID, with the help of the Bechtel Corporation, plans to have power restored to 75 percent of Iraqis by 2004. Currently Iraq is producing 4,400 megawatts of power with a demand of roughly 9,000 megawatts. Another part of the power grid project is to build smaller generators to power the water and sewer services. This would ensure basic services even if the power goes down again.[15]

What has surprised the US postwar administration the most has been the constant string of attacks on US soldiers. The administration thought that the hardships were over relatively early in the military campaign. This is evident by a May 1 speech by President Bush in which he said, "Major combat operations in Iraq have ended."[16] However, nearly every day a US soldier has died. In a July 5 *Chicago Tribune* report, it was disclosed that Iraqi insurgents launched an attack on a US patrol and wounded sixteen soldiers. This was preceded by a message sent by Saddam Hussein calling for "days of hardship" for coalition troops.[17] In a July 4 *New York Times* piece, a US general declared that the US was "still at war." This was two months after President Bush declared an end to major combat.[18] These attacks have continued and intensified up to the time of this writing.
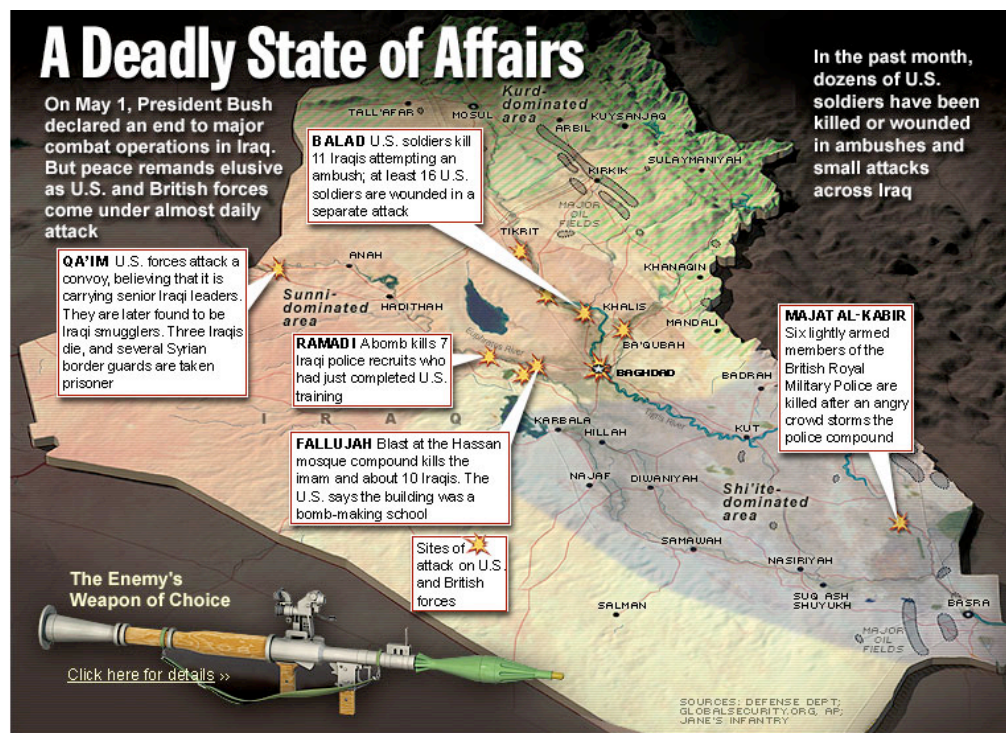
Constant attacks have taken place throughout Iraq since the end of major combat.[19]

The United States further incited the resistance by disbanding the Iraqi army in May. This put thousands of armed Iraqis into the street without pay and without reason to be loyal to the US peacekeeping and rebuilding

efforts. In December, a commission created by the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University had argued that if the Iraqi army was retrained to restore civil order in the streets, they could have ensured peace and stability.[20]

What makes this a larger issue are the sheer numbers of unemployed soldiers. The 250,000 former soldiers out of work make up two-thirds of the entire workforce.[21] This is a serious problem because it leaves them without purchasing power, anything to do and causes their frustrations to grow throughout the population.

The United States has since realized this blunder and started to train police and a militia. The United States is also building a new Iraqi army, to which they plan on giving the role of protecting infrastructure. This would reduce the burden of the coalition militaries from providing security to all aspects of Iraq. By July 22, 2003, 7,400 new Iraqi security officials were trained and hired. Already at the time, 32,000 police were working. The United States has begun giving Iraqi soldiers who are still unemployed transitional payments so they can reintegrate into society.[22]

Perhaps the biggest blow to the coalition in postwar reconstruction efforts was the bombing of the UN headquarters in August 2003. More than twenty people were killed, including UN special envoy Sergio Viera de Mello, and over one hundred were injured when a cement truck with a bomb blew up inside the building. The explosion was the worst attack on a UN civilian complex in the international organization's history.[23] The bombing has caused the United Nations to pull its employees because of the severe security situation in Iraq. This leaves more of the burden on the Americans and the British.

Furthermore, an attack in late October 2003 on the International Red Cross in Baghdad has been the cause for many nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to rethink their roles in Iraq. Many organizations are now pulling their aid workers out of Iraq, even though the Iraqis want them to stay.[24] The United Nations also decided to temporarily pull all of their Baghdad staff, so they could reassess the security situation and their roles in Iraq.[25]

Constant attacks, growing frustration from the Iraqis, and a sense of helplessness have contributed to reduction in the morale of the coalition troops. In addition, troops will be staying longer than expected. "Not since the Vietnam war have the families of American servicemen expressed such deep disquiet," said an article in *The Economist*. Since other foreign countries have rejected the call to send troops to Iraq, the Department of Defense has extended the overseas missions for reservists and national guardsmen.[26]

"We all feel betrayed" is how one sergeant has put it. In several instances, officers have told their troops that they would be going home soon. "Before the war, one of the generals sending us off told us he'd bet his one star that we'd be home sixty days after the war," another soldier explained. Perhaps best illustrating the feelings of the troops was a mock tombstone placed in the ground, with the word "morale" written on it.[27] The question then becomes how is it possible to transform a country that is hostile towards the foreign troops when the foreign troops are unmotivated to do the job.

One morale booster was the killing of Saddam Hussein's two sons. They were behind many of the attacks on US troops in the region, and were second in command beneath their father.[28] The United States then showed journalists pictures of the dead Husseins, in an attempt to show the Iraqis that they were in less danger and to provide some sense of security to the US troops. However, the deaths of the Husseins have not stopped the daily attacks on US military servicemen.

Along with the burden of dealing with constant attacks, US troops and aid workers are charged with changing Iraqi society. USAID is trying to develop a market economy and privatize industry in Iraq.[29] This has been difficult because of the attacks and the inability of the United States to provide the necessities to run a business. In a May 27, 2003 *Chicago Tribune* article, an Iraqi businessman said, "We hoped we would have some benefit from the United States and all of its science and technology, but now it seems they can't even do the simplest thing: electricity."[30]

In addition, the communication and transportation networks have been interrupted. Businesses cannot communicate with suppliers. The local banks are also not functioning, which means that the businesses cannot get money to pay suppliers or employees. Security issues including looting, sabotage, and security for employees also play a part in business.[31]

According to L. Paul Bremer, the chief US administrator in Iraq, the economic situation is improving. The administration has begun paying for emergency construction projects and paying pensions to Iraqis.[32] "More than $2 billion have already been spent on food, health, electricity, and schools, and general reconstruction," Natsios said.[33] These measures have not, however, provided enough of a boost to the Iraqi economy as would be desirable. Improving and securing the infrastructure is fundamental in advancing the economy of Iraq.

While there has been progress made in the reconstruction process, much work is left to be done.[34]

The problems with the economy have angered many Iraqis and have caused further disintegration of support for the US–British occupation. On October 1, 2003, a group of unemployed men rioted in central Baghdad. They had bribed police $100 to give them jobs. When the police officers reneged on their end of the deal, the men became enraged. A similar incident also took place in Mosul.[35] Iraqis are tiring of the occupation, and the situation is getting worse.

When all of the tensions and frustrations in Iraq are added up, a situation of turmoil is evident. All of this is left to be dealt with by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), which is the title of the US–British leadership in Iraq. Bremer is faced with a great challenge, as a result of several factors. One is that Iraq has not experienced democracy. A totalitarian government ruled the people for thirty-five years. In the former Soviet Union, de-Stalinization occurred over several years. In Iraq, however, Saddam was removed in three weeks. Another reason is that Iraq's neighbors, like Iran and Syria, want to see the new Iraq fail. Iraqi failure for these countries would mean that the US objective of changing the Middle East, hence reform of their governments, would not occur.[36]

The Iraqi Interim Governing Council operates under the jurisdiction of the coalition. This group consists of Iraqi leaders, selected by the CPA. Iraqi political, religious, and tribal leaders of most Iraqi ethnicities are part of this group. Their purpose is to lead the transition towards a democratic country. Their powers include filling vacant cabinet positions with interim ministers, appointing Iraqi representatives to the United Nations and drafting a constitution that will later be ratified by the Iraqi people. They have been recognized by the Arab League and have a representative.[37] The council has largely been successful in its duties.

However, the Interim Governing Council has had many challenges. On September 25, 2003 Akila al-Hashimi, one of three women on the council, died of gunshot wounds.[38] The resistance is particularly resentful of the council, because of their cooperation with the United States and Great Britain.

Other problems in governing Iraq have been the double standards set up by the US administration. In Kirkuk, which is a vital oil town, a council of Kurdish people held an election and selected a mayor. US

officials marked it as a significant step in the road to democracy.[39] The Kurds were important during the war as they fought alongside Americans. Similarly, in the southern city of Najaf, US marines helped organize an open election. Bremer, however, unilaterally cancelled the election because he did not think that the conditions in Najaf were ripe for a vote.[40] Najaf is a city that did not aid coalition troops in the war and therefore one could argue it did not receive the same benefits that northern-Kurdish towns received. This double standard has left much of the Iraqi public sympathizing with the resistance and calling into question cooperation with the coalition.

US officials have realized some of their mistakes and have shifted the control of Iraq into different departments. On October 7, 2003, a White House panel was created to oversee and make decisions on rebuilding Iraq. This was a major shift because originally most of the control lay with the Department of Defense. Some see this move as a way to create greater multi-agency cooperation. Many government agencies were critical of Department of Defense decision-making and were not able to assert their position in the reconstruction.[41]

In addition to this overview of the current situation in Iraq, it will be beneficial to look at past experiences of rebuilding after war. Several relevant historical cases will be examined and positive methods will be analyzed for their applicability to the current Iraqi effort.

The following examples portray postwar efforts in several historical situations. The order in which these prior efforts are discussed is based on size of a given operation and its relevance to the current Iraqi situation. For example, the Marshall Plan reformed a continent, while rebuilding Mostar occurred on a local scale.

Europe: The Marshall Plan

The Marshall Plan was a model for international economic development in Europe. Created after World War II, it helped generate an economic rebirth of Europe. The "European Recovery Program," which was the official title of the Marshall Plan, had the following objectives: increase production; expand European foreign trade; facilitate European economic cooperation and integration; and control inflation. The program had a limit of four years, in order to assure US taxpayers that it would not be an endless commitment.[42]

The reason George Marshall created the plan was because he foresaw a disintegration of US military power rather than organized demobilization. Marshall had planned since 1943 to demobilize, in order to head off future disaster. He saw the world falling "into a state of disinterested weakness" following World War I, when it failed in responsibilities to give economic aid and to help reconstruct the war-torn countries. Marshall was afraid of Europe slipping into an economic crisis as it did in the early 1930s, which contributed to the rise of Nazi power.[43]

In Marshall's speech announcing the Marshall Plan, he stated that the United States had to greatly assist Europe for the next few years because Europe could not afford essential products. He also made clear that:

> Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist…Political passion and prejudice should have no part.

He also stressed that the countries that wished to receive aid be active participants in providing self-help. The United States would provide the funds, but the people would put the projects to work.[44]

US officials have been emphasizing their goals of helping rebuild Iraq for the sake of its people and it must continue to do so. The Marshall Plan stressed that it was established to permit the emergence of free society and that politics had no part in the plan. The idea that the citizens of the country participate in rebuilding is also significant for Iraq. The United States should provide the funds to Iraqis and let the Iraqis do the rebuilding. This will give them a sense of ownership over the process. Furthermore, the current US administration must avoid harsh rhetoric with political aims and stress the importance of helping the citizens of Iraq.

What is also significant is that the Marshall Plan did not go into effect until 1948.[45] This implies that if Europe was able to use the aid effectively three years after the war had ended in a much worse situation than Iraqis are in now, correcting problems with the reconstruction effort in Iraq is possible. Europe had much greater cultural tensions after millions of its people were killed by neighboring states in World War II than Iraq has seen in its current situation.

Japan

The focus of US foreign policy in the case of post–World War II Japan was more similar to the current Iraqi situation than post–World War II Europe. This is because the United States occupied Japan in the hope of changing it from a feudal and militaristic society to a peaceful democracy.[46] Similarly, in the case of Iraq the United States wants to change the country into a peaceful democracy by removing corrupt leadership and ending economic stagnation.[47]

The US occupation of Japan lasted until 1952. The United States was able to use Japan for vital strategic measures as a base of operations in the Asian theater. In order to keep Japan as an ally, the United States originally created reforms in Japan's economic system that positioned the country to remain dependent on the

United States. These reform policies were not the best policy and were later changed merely to that of restoring the economic system of Japan. The later policies eventually enabled Japan to become a major economic power and actually rival the United States in global economic supremacy.[48]

The postwar rebuilding efforts changed Japan from a country that was struggling after massive damages during World War II to a world leader by the end of the twentieth century. It took decades for such changes in Japan to occur. Many of the people were still hostile to US policies for a long time. Iraqis are currently hostile towards the United States, but in time the country may become an economic power. Change needs time to come about, just as in the Japanese situation.

Afghanistan

On October 7, 2001, President Bush declared that the United States had launched a military operation in Afghanistan, "to disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base of operations, and to attack the military capability of the Taliban regime."[49] Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld added, "The president has turned to direct overt military force to complement the economic, humanitarian, financial and diplomatic activities which are already well underway."[50]

Furthermore, in a February 2003 Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing, Chairman Richard Lugar said:

> "If we are able to help Afghanistan transition into a secure democracy, we will bolster our ability to attract allies in the war against terrorism."[51] This is very similar to the goal of changing Iraq into a democracy and then watching the rest of the Middle East become democratic.

The situation in Afghanistan is in some ways similar to that of Iraq. For instance, the security situation is not optimal. Senator Lugar went on to say that:

> The United States is taking the lead in training a new Afghan National Army (ANA), but this is a slow process. In the meantime, security in Afghanistan depends upon US military power and the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF).[52]

The ISAF consists of forces from the United States, United Kingdom, Greece, Italy, Spain, Denmark, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Finland, Sweden, Portugal, Bulgaria, New Zealand, France, Italy and Turkey.[53] The large coalition has reduced the pressures of a single country providing security in Afghanistan. The security forces in Iraq first consisted only of US and British soldiers, which strained the morale of the troops. Now, however, there has been an inclusion of soldiers from several other countries, including Italy, Norway, Romania, Holland, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, Portugal, Lithuania, and New Zealand.[54]

Lugar further explained that the Americans and French were training the new Afghan army. Germany was training the police force. The goal of having an effective security force was to allow aid agencies, NGOs and government or multigovernment agencies feel safe to perform reconstruction efforts. Security has mainly been provided to Kabul. Yet it offer a positive example on how to make reconstruction efforts go more smoothly in Iraq. Ensuring security is essential. Conversely, by not providing security for aid organizations in Iraq, many agencies have cut their staffs and sent them home. Furthermore, lack of security has been deadly—with workers from NGOs and humanitarian organizations having been killed indiscriminately by Iraqi insurgents.

David Johnson, the coordinator of Afghanistan assistance in the Department of State went on to say:

> The United States, together with Saudi Arabia and Japan, is rebuilding the key segment of the "ring road" which links Kabul to Kandahar to Herat. Together with improvements in communications, an opening of transportation routes can help tie the country together economically as well as politically. Already, goods and services are available to a degree previously unimaginable to most Afghans, and the seeds of a developing market economy have now been planted. In other positive developments, an independent media has begun to take root, a small disarmament program has begun in the north, and schools have reopened across Afghanistan. More than a million girls have enrolled in schools and women are reentering universities.[55]

The criticism of what is happening in Afghanistan is that most of the focus of rebuilding has been only on Kabul. The ISAF is only in Kabul as well. This makes Kabul essentially a city-state and leaves most of the country under the control of warlords. A sense of lawlessness has encompassed much of the country outside Afghanistan since the removal of the Taliban. In October 2003, NATO peacekeepers were finally allowed to go outside of Kabul to aid in bringing the rule of law to the other provinces.[56]

What should be learned from the rebuilding of Afghanistan is that if other countries assisted in the security situation from the inception of the mission, the burden of security on the United States and Great Britain in the current Iraqi situation would have been greatly reduced. This might have allowed for a more secure Iraq. However, the United States and Great Britain went into Iraq against the express will of other powerful countries like France, Germany and Russia. As a result, those countries have not gone in to help the coalition.

Kuwait

In 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait. The invasion left Kuwaiti industry heavily damaged, destroyed the country's military, and left Kuwait bereft of many of its historical treasures. It also left many Kuwaitis psychologically damaged. The situation in terms of infrastructure was similar to the current Iraqi situation. Lights were off, water was not flowing and business was stifled. Ten years later, the country had been thoroughly rebuilt. With rebuilding came Western influence, including shopping malls, new fashions, and US defense technologies.[57]

Furthermore, once Kuwaiti oil production increased to pre-invasion levels, the United States became its main buyer.[58] By requesting the assistance of the United States in defense from Iraq, Kuwait paid the United States with oil. This is perhaps what the situation may become in Iraq, if conditions improve.

Reconstruction efforts in Kuwait were led by the Kuwait Emergency Reconstruction Office (KERO). KERO and the US Army Corps of Engineers worked together to rebuild the destroyed infrastructure. The Bechtel Corporation, which is currently working in Iraq, rebuilt the oil infrastructure.[59] The reconstruction efforts also worked to alter the society in Kuwait by changing it from a leisure class to a working class. At the time, Kuwaitis made up only 28 percent of its own workforce.[60]

The reconstruction efforts in Kuwait were successful because Kuwait viewed the United States and its allies as liberators from the Iraqis. Terrorists were not constantly impeding the work of the contractors in rebuilding Kuwait, because the allies saved the Kuwaitis from perceived oppressors. It is plausible to assume that the current administration, which contains members of the administration that rebuilt Kuwait, thought that rebuilding Iraq would be as simple as rebuilding Kuwait. The logic is that the administration assumed the Iraqis would view the Americans as liberators, just as the Kuwaitis did when the United States liberated Kuwait. Iraq was expected to welcome the US rebuilders, and consequently there would not have been the complications that are experienced currently in Iraq. Perhaps this is also why there was little postwar planning done before the war started.

If the current administration had identified the complexities within Iraq and compared them with Kuwait, they would have noticed these marked differences. Failure to do so has resulted in the chaos that now engulfs Iraq.

Lebanon

From 1975–1991, Lebanon experienced a civil war. The combination of Christian and Muslim clashes, Israeli incursions into Lebanon, and Syrian involvement led to a devastating situation.[61] The war devastated Lebanese infrastructure and cut economic output by half of its prewar levels. In 1989, the Ta'if Accord was signed, which in time ended the conflict. This agreement gave Muslims a greater say in government and has allowed for several successful elections. Most of the militias in Lebanon have also disbanded. In 2000, Israel removed its soldiers from the southern security zone. The Ta'if Accord did, however, leave a large Syrian influence over the country. Essentially, Lebanon gave its autonomy to Syria.[62]

Lebanon has since rebuilt its society by creating a ten-year, $18.1 billion plan to rebuild the infrastructure. This plan is funded by loans from the World Bank, the European Union, and other Arab states. Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri created the Council for Development and Reconstruction to lead the plan. This has led to the repair of most of the country's infrastructure. However, there is still much more work to be completed.[63]

Solidere, a private joint stock company, was created to rebuild the infrastructure of Beirut. In order to fund the rebuilding, they were given control of the real estate in Beirut. They then sell the land to private developers in order to finance the projects. Beirut has seen revitalization from the projects led by Solidere.[64]

There are several lessons to be learned from Lebanon. First, even a country that fought through many years of civil war can lead its own reconstruction efforts. Iraqis, who have been able to keep civil war from occurring, would stand a better chance to rebuild than a country divided by civil war for over a decade. Assumptions that Iraqis cannot collaborate with one another on their type of government is questionable based on the Lebanese case. Second, it is vital that countries that are being rebuilt have a sense of ownership in the rebuilding process, or it may breed greater animosities. Lastly, rebuilding can be conducted less expensively than is currently the case in Iraq. If private firms can finance the reconstruction of Beirut through private investment, it reduces the responsibility of the government investment.

Algeria

Another situation with similarities to Iraq regarding keeping security was the Algerian War of Independence (1954–1962), which consisted of pro-independence Algerians using guerrilla attacks, terrorism, and riots, while the French army used counterterrorism, air strikes, and attacks with large armies.[65] This is similar to what is occurring in Iraq presently, with the resistance using the same methods as the pro-independence Algerians and the Americans using counterterrorism, air strikes, and large ground forces. Wikipedia states:

> During 1956 and 1957, the Armée de Libération Nationale (ALN) successfully applied hit-and-run tactics according to the classic canons of guerrilla warfare. Specializing in ambushes and night raids and avoiding direct contact with superior French firepower, the internal forces targeted army patrols, military encampments, police posts, and colonial farms, mines, and factories, as well as transportation and communications facilities. Once an engagement was broken off, the guerrillas merged with the population in the countryside.[66]

A July 16, 2003 *USA Today* article portrays a similar image of the US occupation in Iraq. "The new commander of US forces in Iraq said Wednesday that coalition troops are facing a 'classical guerrilla-type campaign' from insurgents whose tactics are growing more sophisticated."[67] It goes on to say:

> [Army General John] Abizaid said the military needs to maintain the current level of about 160,000 US and allied troops in Iraq. That has forced the already-stretched military to come up with new plans for maintaining such a large force.[68]

Similarly, the French had a large force in Algeria. Over half of their armed forces—over 400,000 troops—were based in Algeria. Eventually this took a toll on the French, and their NATO allies. The French then granted the Algerians their independence in 1962. Total estimates of the dead from the conflict range from 300,000 to 1.5 million. The number is probably near one million according to Wikipedia.[69] The French suffered 23,196 dead and over 65,000 wounded.[70]

Another comparison between the two situations is that according to memoirs of French officers, there was a feeling that they were fighting the war without allies. Most countries did not support the French, since they were trying to maintain control over a colony, just as many nations did not support the United States in their efforts to overthrow a dictator. In fact, a US National Security Council document from 1959 stated:

> The French government and a large segment of French opinion bitterly feel that the United States fails to give allout support to its NATO ally in a place where critical French interests are at stake and when Frenchmen are being killed daily. There is French resentment concerning the activities of the FLN [the Algerian independence group fighting the French, sic.] representatives in the United States and there is some suspicion that the United States actually intends eventually to supplant French influence in North Africa.[71]

In the current situation, there is suspicion that the French interests in Iraq may be trying to hurt the US efforts. In a May 24, 2003 *Washington Times* article, Bill Gertz claimed:

> A US military intelligence team in Iraq has uncovered a dozen French passports, and defense officials believe other French passports from the same batch were used by Iraqis to flee the country.

Defense officials are still investigating whether the passports were provided covertly by the French government, or were stolen or forged by Saddam Hussein's regime, said defense officials who spoke on the condition of anonymity. France's government has denied that it provided any passports to fleeing Iraqi officials and called news reports of French collaboration with Saddam's regime US "disinformation."[72]

Another similarity between the Algerian and Iraqi situation is that in Algeria, it was thought that:

The majority Muslim population was peaceable, intrinsically loyal and needed only effective protection by France. This image altered sharply from 1959 onwards when the struggle became more desperate and slipped into appalling brutalities as Algerie Française diehards adopted the discourse of apocalyptic threats…[73]

The general thoughts of the US administration before the war were that the United States would be seen as liberators and there would be a relatively easy transition. That is not the case, however, as "Coalition forces face almost daily attacks in the Sunni triangle."[74] The United States needs to find a way to enhance the security situation in order for the rebuilding process to be successful. If it cannot, the result will be a repeat of the situation in Algeria.

Mostar, Bosnia–Herzegovina

After the war in Bosnia, the European Union was charged with rebuilding the city of Mostar. The group that led the reconstruction had to reconcile the warring Christians and Muslims, create a sense of security, hold elections, establish a city council, and repair homes, public buildings, schools, hospitals, clinics, water pipes, and bridges.[75] This was an enormous undertaking that started in 1994 and is still taking place today.

The mission has been largely successful in its tasks. One thing that was crucial to the rebuilding process was building relationships with the local technical elites. John Yarwood, author of *Rebuilding Mostar: Rebuilding in a War Zone*, said:

We were reliant on their cooperation to get things done. The scope for resentment, misunderstanding and obstruction was much greater than I had found in other foreign projects. No amount of technical skill would compensate for bad human relations. I feel this was the real achievement, next to which the technicalities take second place."[76]

This group built local relationships with Christians and Muslims who fought each other for years in civil war and continued to fire upon their enemies even during the reconstruction phase of the project.

Yarwood went on to say that a fundamental part of the rebuilding was to understand the cultural and psychological perspectives of the parties at hand and base the goals of the project on their perspective. There was a need to remove the ideals or preconceptions of the donor country. Similarly in Iraq, the United States needs to understand the perspectives of the Iraqis.

At the lecture by Charles Tripp referred to earlier in this paper, an audience member native to Iraq mentioned why people from Fallujah are so anti-US. The reason is not because they are loyalists to Saddam Hussein, but because US troops have angered the people of Fallujah.[77] In April 2003, US troops opened fire on a group of protesters in Fallujah. The United States said that the protesters fired their guns at the troops, but that report is disputed. Several of the protesters were killed.[78] The people of Fallujah have a tradition that if one of their children is killed, they will not be buried until the enemy is dead. Revenge is fundamental to their culture.[79] The United States did not understand this aspect of the local culture, and therefore caused a disastrous situation there. In March and April 2004, the situation grew worse when Mahdi Army militiamen loyal to the radical cleric Muqtada al-Sadr brutally killed and displayed the bodies of four US contractors. This has led to a bloody standoff between the United States and the militiamen.[80] Yarwood would argue that the United States performed a cardinal sin of attempting to rebuild while not creating relationships with the locals.

One of the first postwar reconstruction reviews of the recent campaign in Iraq was performed by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). They performed an assessment mission of the rebuilding of Iraq from June 27 to July 7, 2003 at the request of Rumsfeld and Bremer.[81] Their report provides a clear account of the successes and failures of the rebuilding process and gives specific recommendations for improving the process. Their recommendations were given in July. The following table displays their recommendations and the outcomes of their recommendations at the time of the writing of this report.

Focus Area	Outcome[82]
1. Establish public safety in all regions.	It has gotten worse in all areas of the country.
2. Provide to the Iraqis a sense of ownership of the rebuilding process on national, provincial and local levels.	In some areas, such as Kirkuk, there has been a sense of ownership of the process. However, in southern areas that are thought not to be ready for self-governance, there has been a sense of US intrusion.
3. Put unemployed Iraqis to work and provide basic economic and social services to avoid increasing political and security problems.	The collapse of the government, dismissal of Baathists and dismantling of the army has increased discontent throughout Iraq. Unemployment rates remained near 75 percent, three months after the report was published.
4. Decentralize businesses.	Over 150 industries have been decentralized. The lifting of sanctions has flooded the markets with new commercial growth. Effects are being felt throughout the country.
5. Change the political mindsets of Iraqis.	In the north, people are happy with the occupation. However, in the rest of the country, Iraqis are extremely displeased with and distrust the Americans.
6. Get other countries involved in the rebuilding process.	Recent summits have gotten other countries to pledge more money to Iraq. However, attacks on aid agencies have forced international organizations to leave Iraq. This includes a skeleton UN workforce in Baghdad.
7. Make money more forthcoming and more flexible.	An $87 billion aid package to Iraq and Afghanistan was passed since the writing of the report.

The significance of this report is that the United States still has a myriad of tasks left to accomplish. By no means will rebuilding be a short process, with immediate results. Following are six recommendations, which lay out a specific path to aid in the reconstruction of Iraq.

Recommendations

Maintain an occupying force, but push it outside of the urban areas. By moving the troops outside the cities, they will be able to secure vital transport and infrastructure. Building a larger Iraqi army more quickly

will become necessary to maintain security within the cities. The sooner US troops get out of the urban areas, the less animosity there will be towards the occupation. It will also allow Iraqis to govern Iraqis.

Cancel nonvital contracts with US contractors. Give the jobs that are cancelled to the Iraqis themselves. Provide them with technical assistance and funds to purchase the materials, and then let them do the work. Most importantly, build relationships with local officials. Remember that the Marshall Plan did not come into effect until three years after the end of World War II. It is still possible to forge relationships with Iraqis only a half a year from the end of the Iraq War.

This step will provide the Iraqis with a greater sense of ownership of rebuilding, and provide them with jobs. Currently many projects run by US contractors are inefficient and have left the Iraqis frustrated by the contractors' ineptness. Furthermore, the contractors typically charge more than a local Iraqi would charge for the same work. Canceling nonvital contracts will also decrease the overall amount of aid that would be necessary for US taxpayers to give Iraq. Furthermore, it will remove the foreign US faces from areas that are hostile to the occupation.

Iraqis have the local knowledge to handle reconstruction. As opposed to the Kuwaitis, who let the United States do all of the reconstruction in their country, Iraqis want to take part in the process. Such a strategy is similar to making the Europeans do the reconstruction in Europe with the Marshall Plan and the Lebanese rebuilding Beirut themselves.

Broaden the coalition of countries. If more countries pledge sending troops to the region, the morale of US troops will improve—largely because some US troops will be able to return to the United States, at least for temporary periods.

One way to encourage other countries to pledge support is to ask for small amounts of military and financial aid. Asking for smaller amounts of aid, or less dangerous assignments for troops from other countries will be possible because troops would not be as present in urban areas and the rebuilding process will cost less because of the use of Iraqi labor.

Allow Iraqis to decide on local and provincial issues with only US technical assistance, and allow them to help shape national policy. Adopting this approach will allow Iraqis to have control over issues that affect them directly. Providing technical assistance in shaping local and provincial governments should accompany this recommendation. Iraqis have not experienced full local control, with the government until recently being highly centralized. US know-how would be welcome in providing assistance in shaping local governments.

The United States should have a larger say on issues concerning national government, because the central focus of invading Iraq was to change their national power structure. It would seem illogical not to try to shape Iraqi national policy to be friendlier towards US strategic policy. This is similar to the post–World War II Japanese rebuilding experience. The Iraqis should, however, be the main shapers of national policy. This will effectively hand Iraq back to Iraqis and should help speed up the rebuilding process.

Encourage quelling of ethnic tensions through conflict resolution. Eliminating the threat of civil war is crucial to the stability of Iraq. Short of creating a security state, conflict resolution is the best way to keep the different ethnic groups from attacking one another. Accomplishing this measure would require that the United Nations send a conflict resolution task force to come into Iraq. In order for the United Nations to make such a commitment, the security situation in Iraq must be stable enough to be plausible for the United Nations to increase its role in the area. Pursuing conflict resolution would not add to the US responsibilities in the region, because the United Nations would handle it. The result of bringing in conflict resolution teams would be increased security through a lack of violence and a more stable national situation.

Be Patient. Complete reconstruction cannot occur overnight. Expecting that Iraqi businesses and government would be functioning perfectly only six months after the war is woefully optimistic. Even a country such as Kuwait, which allowed the United States to do as it pleased in its reconstruction after the 1991 Gulf War, needed a few years to be fully functioning again. Outlining realistic goals and objectives is critical in winning public opinion.

Iraq today is in a tense situation. Attacks by leaders of resistance to US occupation occur daily. Progress seems to be stifled. Certain regions of the country, though, have seen a rebirth of Iraqi culture. The most pressing problem is to spread a healthy situation throughout the country and quell the violence.

Based on an analysis of historical examples of rebuilding after wars, this author has suggested several recommendations. These historical comparisons are relevant to the current Iraqi situation because each situation is an extension of the past. The effects of the British occupation of Iraq in 1919 still have ramifications to the present state of Iraq. Learning through the study of previous lessons can steer the rebuilding away from making the same mistakes. Likewise, positive examples in Japan and Europe after World War II can be modeled.

Lastly, this paper has introduced six recommendations for determining the future of Iraq. These recommendations are based on the experiences of previous postwar rebuilding situations. If used in Iraq, they may help solve some of the fundamental issues confounding the CPA. They provide an alternative to the current mode of thinking and can change a chaotic situation in Iraq. If these strategies are implemented, the probability is higher that Iraq will become a functioning member of the world community and a grateful ally of the United States.

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