

State-Building in Iraq

by Hafsteinn Hafsteinsson

Whether the 2003 invasion of Iraq was principally strategic or humanitarian, the United States' involvement in Iraq has become a complex state-building mission. While there is agreement within the international community on the importance of rebuilding a democratic Iraq, there are many conflicting viewpoints on how this operation should proceed.

State-building involves more than just the creation of new governmental institutions. The success of Iraq's post-war reconstruction will be measured not only by the immediate process of Iraqi democratization, but also by the ability of the Iraqi people to preserve democracy once coalition forces have left. For some scholars, the perpetuation of democratic freedom depends on the creation of a separate Iraqi police keeping force, public electoral participation, and the emergence of civil society. These and other developments would instill in Iraqis a shared sense of ownership for their newly reconstructed nation.

The immediate challenge facing American forces after the invasion was establishing legitimate order in Iraq. While it undoubtedly drew upon past nation-building operations undertaken throughout history, the United States also recognized that Iraq was a unique case deserving new tactics. To fill the void created by Hussein's expulsion, the U.S. established the Coalition Provisional Authority which attempted to stabilize Iraq so that democracy could take root. Central to the survival of a democratic Iraq is the transfer of power to and the recognition of sovereignty among different Iraqi social groups forming the new body of Iraqi politics.

U.S. Congress

Joseph A. Christoff; Emerging Threats and International Relations United States. Congress. House. Committee on Government Reform. Subcommittee on National Security and Office United States. Government Accountability. 2005. Rebuilding Iraq. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Accountability Office.

Joseph A. Christoff and General Accounting Office. 2004. Iraq's transitional law. Washington, DC: U.S. General Accounting Office.

Gives overview of transitional law in Iraq. Argues that while the Iraqi transitional law provides a road map for the creation of a permanent, unified and democratic Iraqi government, there are several key issues which remain unresolved concerning the transfer of power from an interim government to a permanent Iraqi government.

Committee on Government Reform United States. United States Congress. House. 2004. Unprecedented challenges: the complex task of coordinating contracts amid the chaos and the rebuilding of Iraq: hearings before the Committee on Government Reform, House of Representatives, One Hundred Eighth Congress, second session, March 11, June 15, and July 22, 2004. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O.
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS57040>.

Hearing before the Committee on Government Reform concerning the difficulties involved in coordinating defense contracts in an unstable Iraq.

Committee on Government Reform. United States Congress. House. 2004. Winning the peace: coalition efforts to restore Iraq: hearing before the Committee on Government Reform, House of Representatives, One Hundred Eighth Congress, first session, October 8, 2003. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS48166>.

Hearing before the Committee on Government Reform on the American-led coalition efforts to restore peace, freedom, security and dignity to the Iraqi people.

Emerging Threats and International Relations United States. Congress. House. Committee on Government Reform. Subcommittee on National Security. 2005. Building Iraqi security forces: hearing before the Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations of the Committee on Government Reform, House of Representatives, One Hundred Ninth Congress, first session, March 14, 2005. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS62736>.

Hearing before the Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations of the Committee on Government Reform concerning the rebuilding/retraining of Iraqi security forces. Discusses the strategy of employing Iraqi security forces as quickly as possible in insurgency conflicts while redefining the role of the Coalition forces as strictly advisory. Highlights the challenges inherent in the transfer of security responsibilities from multinational coalition forces to local Iraqi military and police forces.

Emerging Threats and International Relations United States. Congress. House. Committee on Government Reform. Subcommittee on National Security. 2004. Iraq: winning hearts and minds: hearing before the Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations of the Committee on Government Reform, House of Representatives, One Hundred Eighth Congress, second session, June 15, 2004. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS58370>.

Hearing before the Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations of the Committee on Government Reform addressing the importance of winning hearts and minds in Iraq.

Committee on International Relations United States. Congress. House. 2004. The imminent transfer of sovereignty in Iraq: hearing before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, One Hundred Eighth Congress, second session, May 13, 2004. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS57107>.

Hearing before the Committee on International Relations concerning the transfer of sovereignty in Iraq and the role of the United States in bringing about a successful democratic Iraqi state.

Committee on Banking Housing and Urban Affairs Subcommittee on International Trade and Finance United States. Congress. Senate. 2005. Financial reconstruction in Iraq: hearings before the Subcommittee on International Trade and Finance of the Committee on Banking, Housing,

and Urban Affairs, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, first and second session, on economic stability, job creation, and transition to independence leading to self-government in Iraq, September 16, November 4, 2003, and February 11, 2004. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O.
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS60406>.

Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Trade and Finance of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs addressing the significant effects that the development of the Iraqi economy will have upon the formation of a democratic Iraq. Analyzes efforts undertaken by Coalition forces to stabilize the Iraqi economy.

Committee on Foreign Relations United States. Congress. Senate. 2004. Iraq's transition: the way ahead: hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, second session. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS59004>;
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS57721>; <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS57722>;
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS60735>.

Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations stressing that the success of reconstruction efforts in Iraq is of vital American national interest. Claims that the United States must take every measure available to ensure success in Iraq in order to restore and maintain a positive reputation in the international community.

Committee on Foreign Relations United States. Congress. Senate. 2004. Iraq, next steps: how can democratic institutions succeed in Iraq and the Middle East? hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, first session, September 24, 2003. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS44789>; <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS44790>.

Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations concerning the transfer of sovereignty to the Iraqi people and the efficacy of democratic institutions in Iraq.

Committee on Foreign Relations United States. Congress. Senate. 2004. Iraq, next steps: how to internationalize Iraq and organize the U.S. government to administer reconstruction efforts: hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, first session, September 23, 2003. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS45702>;
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS45703>.

Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations addressing the need for greater international participation in the reconstruction of Iraq.

Committee on Foreign Relations United States. Congress. Senate. 2004. Iraq, next steps: what will an Iraq 5-year plan look like? hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, first session, September 24, 2003. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS44808>; <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS44813>.

Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations addressing the possibility of a five-year reconstruction plan in Iraq.

William Matthews. 2003. "Funding the transformation." *Armed Forces Journal International*. 141(5): 8.

Abstract: Reports on the Congress' budget for military defense in the U.S. for fiscal year 2004. Defense Department's procurement spending; Congress' approval of emergency spending bill to pay for military operations and reconstruction in Iraq and Afghanistan; Issues concerning the long-term affordability of the government's defense plans.

William Matthews. 2003. "The high cost of peace Postwar Iraq will drain federal coffers, Army ranks." *Armed Forces Journal International*. 140(10): 11.

Abstract: Reports on the cost of post-war reconstruction in Iraq to the U.S. Federal spending on the post-combat phase of the Iraqi operation; Estimates on the cost of combat to the U.S. for fiscal 2003; Tasks of U.S. troops in the post-conflict phase; Spending for economic restoration efforts.

Government Accountability Office United States. 2004. Foreign regimes' assets: the United States faces challenges in recovering assets, but has mechanisms that could guide future efforts: report to congressional requesters. Washington, D.C.: The Office.
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS55574>.

David M. Walker; Committee on Government Reform United States. Congress. House. 2004. Contract management. Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office.

Testimony before the Committee on Government Reform evaluating the management and allocation of defense contracts in Iraqi reconstruction efforts.

Iraqi Politics

Coalition Provisional Authority. 2004. Coalition Provisional Authority memorandum [sic] number 10. Baghdad, Iraq: Coalition Provisional Authority.

Brief memo detailing the implementation of a rewards program in Iraq for any information relevant to the recovery of Iraqi state and former regime assets.

Coalition Provisional Authority. 2004. Coalition Provisional Authority order number 76. Baghdad, Iraq: Coalition Provisional Authority.

Order given by the Coalition Provisional Authority providing for both the consolidation and the reorganization of specified Iraqi state-owned enterprises into newly formed governmental ministries and departments.

Coalition Provisional Authority and Iraq Council. Governing. 2004. Law of Administration for the State of Iraq for the Transitional Period. Baghdad: Coalition Provisional Authority.
<http://news.findlaw.com/hdocs/docs/iraq/30804interimconst.html>.

Approved by the Iraqi Governing Council as an interim constitution to be in effect until a permanent constitution is adopted in 2005. Specifies laws established to aid in governance of a transitional Iraqi state until an elected government takes over. Includes separate chapters on fundamental principles, fundamental rights, the Iraqi transitional government, the transitional legislative, executive and judicial authorities, the Special Tribunal and national commissions; regions, governorates and municipalities; and the transitional period.

Celeste J. Ward and United States Institute Of Peace. 2005. The Coalition Provisional Authority's experience with governance in Iraq: lessons identified. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.

Stephen Blackwell. 2005. "Between Tradition and Transition: State Building, Society and Security in the Old and New Iraq." *Middle Eastern Studies*. 41(3): 445.

Abstract: Compares the post-war reconstruction of Iraq under the American-led coalition forces and the formation of modern Iraq under British mandate. Interpretation of Iraqi history as either preordained by inherent contradictions exacerbated by the evolution from Ottoman district to British mandate to independent state, or a case of a viable polity hijacked by a ruthless and tyrannical regime; Legacy of the British colonial rule and mandate system; Analogy of the divide-and-rule tactics of the British and the Balkan ethnic animosities with that of former President Saddam Hussein in controlling the conflicting aspirations of the Sunni, Shia, and Kurdish populations; Perspectives on the position of American policies in Iraq.

James F. Dobbins. 2003. "America's Role in Nation-building: From Germany to Iraq." *Survival (Oxford University Press / UK)*. 45(4): 87.

Abstract: Examines the role of the United States in nation-building operations from the end of the Second World War to the U.S.-Iraq war. Attempt to determine why the U.S. government's learning curve appears so flat in spite of its substantial and recent experience in nation-building; Six major nation-building operations led by the U.S. since the end of the Cold War; Use of military force in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin a transition to democracy.

Toby Dodge. 2004. "A Sovereign Iraq?" *Survival (Oxford University Press / UK)*. 46(3): 39.

Abstract: The passing of U.N. Resolution 1546 and the granting of sovereignty to the Interim Iraqi Government were heralded in June 2004 as marking a watershed in both international and national attitudes to Iraq. In spite of the protracted negotiations in New York, the delivery of international legal sovereignty back to Baghdad was the most straightforward aspect of the whole Iraqi problem. Domestic sovereignty, the ability of the new Iraqi government to rule its population, is a long way off. The United States and the international community, through choice or necessity, will continue to be intimately involved in the day-to-day domestic politics of Iraq for many years to come.

Phebe Marr. 2003. "Where Is Iraq Headed?" *American Foreign Policy Interests*. 25(5): 365.

Abstract: Discusses the political developments in Iraq since the United States' invasion of the country in March 2003. Groups likely to compete for political control; Factions of the Shi'ah Muslims; Iraqi clerics; Shi'ite Islamic parties; Arab sunnis; Remnants of the former ruling party Ba'th Party; Kurdish minority in Iraq; Turkman groups; Former Iraqi exiles; Common goals for various competing political groups in Iraq; Role of the U.S. in reconstruction of Iraq.

United States Institute of Peace. 2004. Postconflict Iraq: a race for stability, reconstruction, and legitimacy. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr120.pdf>.

Studies the institutional and social aspects which are shaping the politics of reconstruction in Iraq. Traces the evolution of the Coalition Provisional Authority and the Governing Council. Addresses the obstacles of dismantling old power structures. Discusses the promising development of an Iraqi civil society and the conflicts involved in this new political order. Argues that the full comprehension of historical Iraqi authoritarianism and new social forces is essential for the creation of democracy in Iraq.

Program Rule of Law and United States Institute Of Peace. 2005. Iraq's constitutional process: shaping a vision for the country's future. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr132.pdf>.

A report drafted by the Rule of Law Program addressing lessons learned from past constitution-building processes and how these lessons affect the formation of an Iraqi constitution. Discusses how the incorporation of civil society groups in the constitutional process can lead to a more inclusive, stable Iraq. Recommends that the Iraqi National Assembly use a model of strong public participation in the drafting of the constitution in order to develop a sense of ownership and commitment among the Iraqi people.

Alan Schwartz and United States Institute Of Peace. 2005. Iraq election scenarios: anticipating alternative futures. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.
<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr142.html>.

Rolf Schwarz and Oliver Jütersonke. 2005. "Divisible Sovereignty and the Reconstruction of Iraq." *Third World Quarterly*. 26(4/5): 649.

Abstract: Seeking to make sense of conflicting views regarding the continued relevance of the notion of sovereignty, this article argues that there is a discrepancy between international norms and practices. This discrepancy is rooted in conflicting understandings of the term sovereignty. By building on the link between sovereignty, the state of emergency, and the dialectic of auctoritas and potestas, this article proposes a new reading of sovereignty based on an understanding taken from Hugo Grotius. The argument formulated posits that the current political impasse in Iraq can only be adequately analysed through the lens of divisible sovereignty, and that such a perspective will aid in judging future developments in Iraq and in forecasting the political success or failure of post-war reconstruction there.

Recommendations

Andrew Arato. 2003. "The Occupation of Iraq and the Difficult Transition from Dictatorship." *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory*. 10(3): 408.

Abstract: It is argued in this paper that the current U.S. strategy threatens to close the small window of opportunity that might have existed for democratic regime change. Unless the Shi'ite movement is successful against

the occupation and turns in a democratic and national direction, a pseudo-democratic puppet government and/or the dismemberment of Iraq are more likely than any representative government linked to the rule of law.

Sultan Barakat. 2005. "Post-Saddam Iraq: deconstructing a regime, reconstructing a nation." *Third World Quarterly*. 26(4/5): 571.

Abstract: The reconstruction of Iraq, following its invasion and occupation by the USA and its allies in 2003, presents a challenge to the consensus view of post-war reconstruction that has emerged in the wake of the Cold War, in that in Iraq reconstruction is being seen as integral to a military strategy and external strategic interest. Iraq itself also presents a very different context in terms of its human and economic development, resources and recent history compared with other nations that have been the subject of reconstruction interventions. This paper draws on four key tenets of post-war reconstruction: understanding the context (historical, cultural, regional); developing a shared national vision of the future; developing collaborative governance; and inducing development as a framework for analysing the nature of the reconstruction attempted in Iraq. It traces the difficulties of effecting a peaceful transition to the failure to understand the implications of attempting to impose a pre-determined plan in the fragile conditions of Iraq, post-Saddam. Nevertheless, despite these many mistakes, the paper concludes by suggesting that a way forward can still be found.

Sultan Barakat; Margaret Chard and Richard Jones. 2005. "Attributing Value: evaluating success and failure in post-war reconstruction." *Third World Quarterly*. 26(4/5): 831.

Abstract: External analysts are already trying to evaluate the impact of the reconstruction strategies of the occupying powers in Iraq. However, those with long experience in this field caution against a rush to judgment and emphasises that it will be the Iraqis themselves who will eventually make a value judgment on how the occupation has affected their nation. The paper seeks to define a possible approach to facilitating such an evaluation at the appropriate time. Study of current evaluation theory and practice leads to the conclusion that aid evaluation, particularly in post-war contexts, tends to be almost exclusively geared to the purposes of project accountability and performance. Thus it largely fails to question the culturally and ideologically determined assumptions of value which underpin post-war reconstruction interventions. As a result a satisfactory methodology for the evaluation of the long-term impact has not been developed. Concluding that a participatory approach is the key to developing such a methodology, the methodological challenges to participatory evaluation are defined, paying particular attention to approaches, attitudes and indicators.

Kjell Bjork and Richard Jones. 2005. "Overcoming Dilemmas Created by the 21st Century Mercenaries: conceptualising the use of private security companies in Iraq." *Third World Quarterly*. 26(4/5): 777.

Abstract: In the past private security companies have taken responsibility for protecting reconstruction and aid activities during and after conflict. However, the extensive private sector involvement in the reconstruction of Iraq, in addition to expanding aid activities, means that the use of private security companies is at an unprecedented level. Consequently the boundaries between civilian and military activities are becoming blurred, which creates new dangers for humanitarian assistance. Despite the increased number of private security companies in operation, their role is poorly conceptualised, discussed only as part of the overall security response rather than as a vital component of the delivery of aid and of the extensive private sector-led reconstruction programme. To conceptualise the protection of private sector reconstruction and NGO activity, the article examines three interrelated perspectives "the confusion between military intervention and humanitarian aid, the advent of the armed humanitarian and the need to understand the perceptions of the local population. The article confirms the link between the use of private

security companies for reconstruction and NGO activities and the exacerbation of conflict. Therefore NGOs and organisations working in the private sector need to differentiate their efforts from the military campaigns which by doing so limits the violent consequences of negative perceptions.

Adeed Dawisha. 2004. "Iraq: Setbacks, Advances, Prospects." *Journal of Democracy*. 15(1): 5.

Abstract: Examines the setbacks affecting the U.S.-led efforts to reconstruct Iraq into a functional law-governed and democratic society. Difficulties encountered by coalition forces; Accounts of the deterioration in security; Factors affecting political pluralism upon which democracy can be built.

Adeed Dawisha and Karen Dawisha. 2003. "How to Build a Democratic Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*. 82(3): 36.

Abstract: This article explores postwar Iraq and suggests that the job of building a democratic system in Iraq, although difficult, may not be quite as hard as many critics of the war have warned. The authors suggest that Iraq today possesses several features that will facilitate the reconstruction effort. The authors present ideas of what a blueprint for a future democratic Iraq should look like, emphasizing that it must reflect the unique features of Iraqi society. They suggest that democratic Iraq must have a federal system of government. Furthermore, the authors explore both advantages and disadvantages of executive branches of government for Iraq, the type of elections that Iraqi's should use, and the importance of a fully developed middle class for an effective and sustainable democracy.

Graham Day and Christopher Freeman. 2003. "Policekeeping is the Key: Rebuilding the Internal Security Architecture of Postwar Iraq." *International Affairs*. 79(2): 299.

Abstract: The main problem following a U.S.-led international intervention in Iraq will be re-establishing widespread and sustainable governance. It is probable that with the removal of repressive political authority, state control will falter and crime rates boom. This can be countered through an international civil administration with law and order as a guiding mandating principle. Order could be ensured by "policekeeping," via a large "blue force" of primarily Muslim gendarmerie from surrounding nations. Reliance on military peacekeeping is precarious because of the political sensitivities in the case of Iraq. The blue force would form the foundation of the new internal security architecture in Iraq, and would act to prevent fragmentation and civil war. A further vital task would be the development of domestic judicial and policing capacity, which provide an exit strategy for the international mission and the beginnings of a representative and regionally devolved governance structure. These tasks could be financed through a modification of the current oil for food programme, finally transferring this wealth back into Iraqi society. The goal would be to construct a self-sustaining democratic and economically functional state governed by the rule of law, one that can serve as a political beacon for the region.

William Dudley. 2004. Iraq: opposing viewpoints. San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.

Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research. 2004. Iraq: reconstruction and future role. Abu Dhabi.

Francis Fukuyama. 2004. "The Imperative of State-Building." *Journal of Democracy*. 15(2): 17.

Abstract: Argues that state-building must become a priority for the world community. Weak or failed states as root of serious global problems, including AIDS, drug trafficking and terrorism; Failure of democratic government; Major responsibility for nation- and state-building assumed by the U.S. in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Roger MacGinty. 2003. "The pre-war reconstruction of post-war Iraq." *Third World Quarterly*. 24(4): 601.

Abstract: The period before the March-April 2003 war on Iraq witnessed unprecedented preparation for post-war reconstruction. This 'pre-war reconstruction' or 'pre-emptive reconstruction' confronts those involved in humanitarian activity with urgent practical and ethical questions. This article begins with an outline of the development of post-war reconstruction as a specific area of focus for humanitarian organisations and academia, before examining the pre-war plans for the reconstruction of post-war Iraq. It argues that it is not enough to be cynical about possible U.S. motivations for planning for the post-war reconstruction of Iraq. Instead, pre-war reconstruction offers a number of opportunities for a critique of developments in humanitarianism and U.S. foreign policy. But pre-war reconstruction also carries with it a number of pitfalls, not least the reframing of warfare as a non-destructive activity.

Tareq Ismael and Jacqueline Ismael. 2005. "Whither Iraq? Beyond Saddam, sanctions and occupation." *Third World Quarterly*. 26(4/5): 609.

Abstract: The question of Iraq's future in the wake of 35 years of dictatorship and 13 years of sanctions is a major problem on the global agenda. This question is complicated by numerous factors, not the least of which are military occupation by the world's sole superpower, growing resistance and hostility to the presence of foreign troops and contractors, and the post-occupation influx of international terrorist groups into Iraq. To address the question of "whither Iraq," this paper represents an effort to identify guideposts to Iraq's future that are manifest in its present. These guideposts are identified as a function of the interplay between national, regional and international political dynamics. Iraq's future is situated in an interaction between history and contemporary political dynamics. The USA's policy of nation-building and state-building in Iraq are examined against two earlier models of political reconstruction there: British and Baathist. Using the guideposts revealed, four scenarios are posited based on different sets of assumptions about the state of state- and nation building.

Chappell Lawson. 2003. "How Best to Build Democracy: Laying a Foundation for the New Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*. 82(4): 206.

Abstract: This section presents a response to the article "How to Build a Democratic Iraq," by Adeed Dawisha and Karen Dawisha, published in the May/June 2003 issue of "Foreign Affairs." The article contains a series of recommendations and admonitions for the democratic reconstruction of Iraq after the war. The following recommendations draw on the experiences of other democratizing countries. One of the biggest dangers facing post-war Iraq is the prospect of its becoming a classic petro-state, in which vast revenues from the sale of oil leads to a shaky national government. Such states are characterized by massive corruption, fiscal profligacy and vicious zero-sum competition for control of oil revenues. Another key component to the transition process will be to create an effective electoral system. Once an electoral system is established, politicians respond with remarkable predictability to the incentives it produces. Dawisha and Dawisha advocate a parliamentary system for Iraq, but one potential pitfall of such a system is the power it grants to the bureaucracy. A democratic Iraq will require a competent, well-trained and well-equipped police force that is distinct and separate from the military. The military's official mission should be confined to external defense rather than internal security. Finally, rebuilders of Iraq should encourage the training of civilians in military matters so that they can oversee budgets, procurement, and the like.

Kanan Makiya. 2003. "A Model for Post Saddam Iraq." *Journal of Democracy*. 14(3): 5.

Abstract: Focuses on the rebuilding of Iraq after the removal of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and the commitment of the United States in securing a transition to and consolidation of democracy in the country. Federalism in Iraq; Ethnicity and statehood; Demilitarization after the depose of President Hussein's regime.

Debra A. Miller. 2004. Rebuilding Iraq. Farmington Hills, MI: Lucent Books.