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# Rebuilding the Iraqi Military

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## *A Phased Transition*

Rebuilding the Iraqi military will involve a phased transition:

- Phase I: **US military dominance to provide stability, security, and order.**
- Phase II: **Transitional process involving a growing role for civilian administration. Over time, there will be a gradually increasing transfer of responsibilities for various functions to other countries in the coalition, possibly to UN organizations, and ultimately to Iraqis (who will initially be in an advisory role).**
- Phase III: **All post war responsibilities are in the hands of a popularly supported, broad based, Iraqi government**

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## *Variables: Reforming vs. Creating a New Army*

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- How regime change is effected.
  - If military leadership plays a positive role in effecting regime change, more of the existing military structure will survive the conflict.
  - U.S. emphasis would be on reforming structure, perhaps reducing its size.
- How the conflict is terminated.
  - Formal surrender by a high-ranking military officer may preserve some of the existing military structure from disintegration.
- What happens to the Iraqi military in the process.
  - Desertions may reduce size of the Iraqi military -- whole units may disappear.
  - If so, U.S. emphasis might be on creating a new army.



# PHASE I

## Provide Stability, Security, and Order

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# *De-Ba'athifying the Military (Phase I)*

- Eliminate current intelligence/security organizations and elite military units.
  - Saddam's bodyguards.
  - Special Security Organization (SSO).
  - Special Republican Guard.
  - Saddam's Fedayeen.
  - Qods force.
- Determine fate of personnel from these organizations.
  - Prosecute some for human rights abuses.
  - Retrain in various civilian skills facilitating reintegration.
    - Employment is crucial to averting crime and terrorism.
    - Must ensure they do not engage in subversion against a post-Saddam government.

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## *Retain Forces to Build Upon (Phase I)*

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- Retain (after vetting).
  - Civilian police.
  - General Security (reorganized as a domestic security).
  - General Intelligence (reorganized as a civilian foreign intelligence organization).
  - Military Intelligence.
  - Republican Guard (disestablish the Republic Guard, but integrate some of the personnel into the new Iraqi army).
  - Regular Army.
  - The Border Guard.
- Suspend conscription.

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## *Disarm, Demobilize, Reintegrate (Phase I)*

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- Disarm: Troops to return to and stay in garrison.
  - U.S./coalition forces to collect and stockpile arms or supervise destruction in place.
- Demobilize: How many troops must be demobilized will depend on what happens to the Iraqi army during the conflict.
  - Desertions may have already reduced the size of the force sufficiently.
  - If not, may wish to maintain a larger force than ultimately desirable.
    - Troops may be used for reconstruction projects in the interim.
- Reintegrate: Pace of demobilization determined by
  - Ability to provide training for civilian jobs.
  - State of the economy (number of jobs available).

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## PHASE II

# Increase Role of Civilian Administration

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## *Civilian Police (Phase II)*

- Civilian police force will gain the internal security role.
  - Armed Forces will not retain this responsibility.
  - Civilian police may have atrophied under Saddam -- may require rebuilding.
- After dismantling by coalition, all police and security forces will need reform.
  - Vet all members of the police and security forces and remove human rights offenders.
  - Make forces more professional and effective.
  - Establish the rule of law.
  - Create mechanisms for accountability to community/elected representatives.
- Campaign to induce Iraqis to turn in weapons (e.g., buy-back program).

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## *Establishing a New Military (Phase II)*

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- Principle: professional force based on merit, not ethnicity or religion.
- However, in the interim, ensure all sectarian, and ethnic blocs are represented.
  - Accomplish through an informal quota-type system.
    - Over time, the officer corps should reflect the make-up of Iraqi society.
  - This will require recruitment or promotion of Shi'a and Kurdish officers.
- Re-establish and re-organize regular army units after thorough vetting.
  - Release arms from stockpiles to these units.
- Provide professional military education.
  - Inculcate respect for civilian control over the military.
  - Support new political institutions, and respect for human and civil rights.

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## *Establishing New Security Organizations (Phase II)*

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- Principle: Establish professional security organizations:
  - Break tie to Ba'ath party.
  - Focus on issues of national security:
    - Detecting and preventing interference from Iran, Ansar al Islam.
    - Dealing with threats from Ba'ath party remnants.
    - Preventing criminalization of the economy (i.e., avoiding problems faced by Russia in aftermath of fall of Communism.)
- Will required close supervision by the Civil Administrator.

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