The Politics of Reconstructing Iraq

- Strategy for International Response
- Session 4
- Course Number: 11.948
- Department of Urban Studies and Planning
- MIT
Strategy for International Response
Characters of Post Conflict Environment

- Post-Conflict Environment
  - Chaos on the ground
  - Chaos of international response
    - Different institutions
      - International organizations
      - International financial institutions
      - Non-governmental organizations
    - Many different institutions with different:
      - Agenda
      - Expertise
      - Resources
      - Working style and culture

Strategy for International Response

Aims

- Aims of the Strategic Approach:
  - Ensure unity of efforts is essential for success
  - Maximize cooperation
  - Maximize the likelihood of successful assistance
  - Minimize the exacerbating problems on the ground
One. The people of the country in question must own the reconstruction process and be its prime movers

- Indigenous governance structures are often very weak or nonexistent
- Local human resources base is greatly diminished through war, displacement, and forgone investment in people due to destroyed or under-funded education and health system
  - For that, in the beginning outside actors play disproportionately large role in the reconstruction efforts
Strategy for International Response
Principles and Operational Guidelines (One)

In order to achieve indigenous ownership of the reconstruction mission, international community should follow two key operational guidelines:

- **Leadership roles in the reconstruction** effort must be given to host country nationals at the *earliest* possible stage of the process. (civil society)

- International actors should seek out host country counterparts from day one. If host country counterparts do not exist, international actors should help to create them.
Two. A coherent international strategy based on internal and external parties’ interests is crucial

- Today, there is no general process or models for strategy development and coordination exist among major international actors.
- Any strategy development in these countries should be based on three assumptions:
  1. All involved must recognize that post-conflict reconstruction is not a technical or “normal” developmental process, but rather a fundamentally political one.
  2. Any outside intervention must be designed with the interests of all involved key actors, both within the country and outside.
  3. Only a small team of key actors working in-country will be able to effectively leverage international resources and influence the interests of key actors.
Accordingly, the international community should adopt three key operational guidelines:

1. In order to ensure strategic coherence throughout the process, international organizations and countries should designate top international and national leadership and deploy them to the field as soon as possible.

2. Representative of the international community in partnership with host country representative should conduct joint assessments of needs so that all players have a common frame of reference.

3. Based on this joint assessment, international and indigenous representatives on the ground should develop a strategy for addressing priority needs and objectives and provide strategy suggestions to help shape any pledging conference.
Strategy for International Response
Examples for Joint Need Assessment for Iraq (Two)


Topics Covered:
Development Framework
  Context
  Macroeconomic Framework
  Transition to a Modern Market Economy
  Iraqi Institutional and Administrative Framework
Sector Properties
  Education
  Infrastructure
  Agriculture, Water Resources, and Food Security
  Finance and Private Sector Development
  Mine Action
  Government Institutions, Rule of Law, Civil Society and Media
  Cross Cutting Themes – Human Rights, Gender, Environment
Reconstruction Costs

Topics Covered:
Introduction
  Overall Description
  Brief trend analysis over the past 15-20 years
Current Status and Issues
  Urban Management Sub-Sector
  Housing Sub-Sector
  Land Management Sub-Sector
Needs and Priorities for the Sector
  Strategic Vision
  Medium and Long Term Needs and Proposed Policy/Institutional Actions
  2004 Needs and Proposed Policy/Institutional Actions
Cross Cutting Issues
  Geographical Variation and Strategy
  Gender Issues
  Environmental Issues
  Employment
  Internally Displaced Persons, Vulnerable Groups and Human Rights
  Institutional Capacity Gaps and Requirements
Three. The international community must address the problem of post-conflict reconstruction holistically, building and deploying capacity to address a broad range of interrelated tasks (four pillars)

- “There is no strictly military solution to the problems we face…it requires that we move together on the political front, on the economic front, on the reconstruction front in a manner that is synchronized and coordinated. If we don’t do that, I do not believe that we can be successful. So you can pay the military to stay there, but you are only paying us forever.” (General John Abizaid, the regional commander of U.S. forces)
Strategy for International Response
Principles and Operational Guidelines (Four)

Four. Security is the sine qua non of post-conflict reconstruction

1. If security are not met, both the peace in a given country and the intervention intended to promote it are doomed to fail.
2. The need for civil policing
3. The need for a core troops to provide the stability under the supervision of the U.N.
Five. Success is made on the ground

1. The key to effective international involvement in post-conflict reconstruction efforts is empowering and organizing representative in the field

2. Donors and international organizations need to begin to structure their post-conflict authorities to develop maximum power, money, and authority to their representatives in the field

3. “country teams” should be created that include representatives not only from the UN system and/or the lead nation, but also the major donors, multilateral development banks, and key NGOs
Six. Needs must be rigorously prioritized and activities sequenced accordingly

- Dire post-conflict environments rife with needs often lead locals and international interveners to determine that “everything is a priority.” “every task is a priority”
- Host country leaders and outside actors should agree on top priorities
- Prioritize needs and pay serious attention to the sequencing of the various aspects of intervention
Seven. International interventions are extraordinary and should take all necessary measures to avoid undermining local leaders, institutions, and processes.

- A large international presence, if not managed properly, can have such consequences as:
  - Encouraging dependency both physical and psychological
  - Distorting the local economy, including markets for goods, labor, real estate, and currency
  - Distorting normal norms, values, and practice
Operational Guidelines that the international community should follow:

1. Hiring locals to do as much of the reconstruction as possible

1. The international actors should establish salary structures for local hires that are competitive, but not exorbitant

2. International actors should balance their desire for a “light footprint” with the need to have sufficient presence on the ground to help shift the balance of power toward key groups and individuals. Local reformers have more local support.
Strategy for International Response
Principles and Operational Guidelines (Eight)

Eight. Mechanisms are needed to rapidly mobilize and coordinate needed resources and sustain them for appropriate periods of time

- Bilateral donors, international organizations
- International financial institutions, and non-governmental organizations are generally more eager to script their own role in post-conflict reconstruction than to coordinate with other international or local actors
  - flexible reconstruction assistance and move resources quickly
Nine. Accountability is essential for both host country and international actors

- Chaos exists after a conflict because no legal or institutional framework has the authority to hold people accountable in economic, political, and personal affairs.
- The influx of foreign resources into a resource-scarce environment raises the potential corruption and tests the accountability of both local and international actors.
  - Training for internal legal requirements within the organizations: operating procedures, and codes of conduct.
  - Training for the host country legal requirements.
Strategy for International Response
Principles and Operational Guidelines (Ten)

Ten. The timing of an operation must be driven by circumstances on the ground, not by artificial deadlines or by externally driven bureaucratic imperatives

- Fielding appropriate resources quickly enables international actors to maximize their leverage when the peace is both most fragile and most malleable
Strategy for International Response
Principles and Operational Guidelines (Ten)

Timing

- **Getting in**
  - To act rapidly while the opportunity for establishing rule of law is greatest.

- **Transitioning**
  - To sustain political support and enable smoother transitions from one phase of an operation to the next, requires establishing measures of success in the beginning of a mission and evaluation progress constantly

- **Getting out**
  - Achieving success is the only true exit strategy