The Iraq Quagmire

The Mounting Costs of War and the Case for Bringing Home the Troops

A Study by the Institute for Policy Studies and
Foreign Policy In Focus

By Phyllis Bennis and Erik Leaver
and the IPS Iraq Task Force

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IPS

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Key Findings

Key Findings

"The Iraq Quagmire" is the most comprehensive accounting of the mounting costs and consequences of the Iraq War on the United States, Iraq, and the world. Among its major findings are stark figures that quantify the continuing of costs since the Iraqi elections, a period that the Bush administration claimed would be characterized by a reduction in the human and economic costs.

Vietnam Echoes

- According to current estimates, the cost of the Iraq War could exceed $700 billion.
  In current dollars, the Vietnam War cost U.S. taxpayers $600 billion.

- Operations costs in Iraq are estimated at $5.6 billion per month in 2005.
  By comparison, the average cost of U.S. operations in Vietnam over the eight-year war was $5.1 billion per month, adjusting for inflation.

- Staying in Iraq and Afghanistan at current levels would nearly double the projected federal budget deficit over the next decade.

- Since 2001, the U.S. has deployed more than 1 million troops to Iraq and Afghanistan.

- Broken down per person in the United States, the cost so far is $727, making the Iraq War the most expensive military effort in the last 60 years.

- The number of journalists killed reporting the Iraq War (66) has exceeded the number of journalists killed reporting on the Vietnam War (63).

A New Kind of Quagmire

- More than 210,000 of the National Guard's 330,000 soldiers have served in Iraq and Afghanistan.

- Guard mobilizations average 460 days.

- Nearly a third of active-duty troops, 341,000 men and women, have served two or more overseas tours.

Cost to Iraq

- The U.S. controls 106 military bases across Iraq. Congress has budgeted $236 million for permanent base construction in FY2005.

- At least 23,589 to 26,705 Iraqi civilians have been killed.

- On average 155 members of the Iraqi security forces have died every month since the January 2005 elections, up from an average of 65 before they were held.

- Suicide attack rates rose to 50 per month in the first five months of 2005, up from 20 per month in 2003 and 48 in 2004.

- Iraq's resistance forces remain at 16,000-40,000 even with the U.S. coalition killing or capturing 1,600 resistance members per month.

And the World's Less Safe

- The State Department reported that the number of "significant" terrorist attacks reached a record 655 in 2004, up from 175 in 2003.

- The Iraq War has weakened the UN's authority and credibility.

Highlights of The Iraq Quagmire

I. Costs to the United States

A. Human Costs to the U.S. and Allies

U.S. Military Deaths: Between the start of war on March 19, 2003 and August 22, 2005 2,060 coalition forces have been killed, including 1,866 U.S. military personnel. Over 14,065 U.S. troops have been wounded, 13,523 (96 percent) since May 1, 2003.

Contractor Deaths: There have been 255 civilian contractor deaths since the "end of major combat" on May 1, 2003, including 91 identified as Americans.

Journalist Deaths: Sixty-six international media workers have been killed in Iraq as of August 28, 2005. U.S. forces are responsible for at least eleven deaths, including employees from ABC, CNN, *Reuters*, BBC, ITN, Arab TV stations al-Arabiya and al-Jazeera and Spanish station Telecinco.

B. Security Costs

Terrorist Recruitment and Action: The State Department found that the number of "significant" international terrorist attacks in 2004 reached 655, three times the previous record of 175 in 2003. Terrorist incidents in Iraq also increased by a factor of nine—from 22 attacks in 2003 to 198 in 2004.

Overstretch of Military: Since 2001, the U.S. military has deployed more than 1 million troops for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, with 341,000 or nearly a third, serving two or more overseas tours. In August 2005 Army recruitment remained at 11 percent behind its yearly goal. The Reserve stands at 20 percent behind its goals and the Army National Guard is 23 percent short of its goals.

Security Costs Due to Loss of First Responders: Roughly 48,000 members of the National Guard and Reserve are currently serving in Iraq—making up nearly 35 percent of the total U.S. forces there. Their deployment puts a particularly heavy burden on their home communities because many are "first responders," including police officers, firefighters, and emergency medical personnel. For example, 44 percent of the country's police forces have lost officers to Iraq. In some states, the absence of so many Guard troops has raised concerns about the ability to handle fires and other natural disasters.

Use of Private Military Contractors: The Department of Defense estimates that there are at least 60 private security providers with perhaps as many as 25,000 employees. Of the 44 incidents of abuse that have been documented at Abu Ghraib prison, 16 have been tied to private contractors. While numerous soldiers have been court-martialed for their roles in the scandal, no contractor has been brought up on charges.

C. Economic Costs

The Bill So Far: Congress has already approved four spending bills for Iraq with funds totaling $204.4 billion and is in the process of approving a "bridge fund" for $45.3 billion to cover operations until another supplemental spending package can be passed, most likely slated for Spring 2006. Broken down per person in the United States, the cost so far is $727, making the Iraq War the most expensive military effort in the last 60 years.

Long-term Impact on U.S. Economy: In August 2005, the Congressional Budget Office estimated that the cost of continuing the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan at current levels would nearly double the projected federal budget deficit over the next ten years. According to current estimates, during that time the cost of the Iraq War could exceed $700 billion.

Economic Impact on Military Families: Since the beginning of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, more than 210,000 of the National Guard's 330,000 soldiers have been called up, with an average mobilization of 460 days. Government studies show that about half of all reservists and Guard members report a loss of income when they go on active duty—typically more than $4,000 a year. About 30,000 small business owners alone have been called to service and are especially likely to fall victim to the adverse economic effects of military deployment.

D. Social Costs

U.S. Budget and Social Programs: The Administration's FY 2006 budget, which does not include any funding for the Iraq War, takes a hard line with domestic spending—slashing or eliminating more than 150 federal programs. The $204.4 billion appropriated thus far for the war in Iraq could have purchased any of the following desperately needed services in our country: 46,458,805 uninsured people receiving health care or 3,545,016 elementary school teachers or 27,093,473 Head Start places for children or 1,841,833 affordable housing units or 24,072 new elementary schools or 39,665,748 scholarships for university students or 3,204,265 port container inspectors.

Social Costs to the Military/Troop Morale: As of May 2005, stop-loss orders are affecting 14,082 soldiers—almost 10 percent of the entire forces serving in Iraq with no end date set for the use of these orders. Long deployments and high levels of soldier's stress extend to family life. In 2004, 3,325 Army officer's marriages ended in divorce—up 78 percent from 2003, the year of the Iraq invasion and more than 3.5 times the number in 2000.

Costs to Veteran Health Care: The Veterans Affairs department projected that 23,553 veterans would return from Iraq and Afghanistan in 2005 and seek medical care. But in June 2005, the VA Secretary, Jim Nicholson, revised this number to 103,000. The miscalculation has led to a shortfall of $273 million in the VA budget for 2005 and may result in a loss of $2.6 billion in 2006.

Mental Health Costs: In July 2005 the Army's surgeon general reported that 30 percent of U.S. troops have developed stress-related mental health problems three to four months after coming home from the Iraq War. Because about 1 million

American troops have served so far in the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan some experts predict that the number eventually requiring mental health treatment could exceed 100,000.

II. Costs to Iraq

A. Human Costs to Iraqis

Iraqi Civilian Deaths: As of August 22, 2005, between 23,589 and 26,705 civilians have been killed as a direct result of the U.S. invasion and ensuing occupation of Iraq. But the actual death toll may be much higher. The British medical journal, *The Lancet*, reported in October 2004 that Iraq suffered 98,000 "excess deaths" from March 2003 to September 2004.

Iraqi Civilians Wounded: The Project on Defense Alternatives estimates the number of wounded between 100,000 and 120,000.

Iraqi Police and Security Forces Killed: Iraq Coalition Casualty Count reports that 2,945 Iraqi military and police forces have been killed since the war started while other reports estimate up to 6,000 have been killed. Up until December 2004, the monthly death figure was 65 but in 2005 the average has been 155 and the death toll reached a high of 304 in July 2005.

B. Security Costs

Failure to Train Security Forces: In June 2004 the State Department reported that 145,317 Iraqi troops were trained but one year later, State Department reports only note an additional 35,000 security forces were added to the ranks. The readiness of these troops cannot be ascertained. A March 2005 GAO report noted that "the departments of State and Defense no longer report on the extent to which Iraqi security forces are equipped with their required weapons, vehicles, communications equipment, and body armor."

Rise in the Resistance: Despite 40,000-50,000 deaths and arrests, the resistance continues to thrive. The number of resistance fighters in Iraq increased from 5,000 in November 2003 to "no more than 20,000" in July 2005 and Iraq's national intelligence service director estimates there are more than 200,000 sympathizers. Resistance attacks have risen 23 percent in the last four months. The rise in suicide attacks has skyrocketed. In 2003 there were 20, in 2004 there were 48 and in the first five months of 2005 there have been more than 50.

Rise in Crime: Baghdad's central morgue counted 8,035 deaths by unnatural causes in 2004, up from 6,012 in 2003 and 1,800 before the war in 2002. 2005 is turning out to be even deadlier with the Baghdad morgue reporting 1,100 in July 2005.

C. Economic Costs

Unemployment: Unemployment figures today range from 20 percent to 60 percent. By comparison, during the Great Depression, U.S. unemployment peaked at 25 percent. Up to 60 percent of Iraqis depend on food handouts and the average income has dropped from $3,000 in the 1980s to $800 in 2004.

Corporate War Profiteering: Most of Iraq's reconstruction has been contracted out to U.S. companies, rather than experienced Iraqi firms. U.S. auditors and the media have documented numerous cases of fraud, waste, and incompetence. The most egregious problems are attributed to Halliburton which has been awarded more than $10 billion in contracts. Pentagon auditors found that Halliburton failed to account adequately for $1.8 billion in charges for feeding and housing troops.

Iraq's Oil Economy: Iraq's oil production remains stalled at levels lower than before the U.S. invasion. In 2003, Iraq's oil production dropped to 1.33 million barrels per day, down from 2.04 million one year earlier. In July 2005, oil production remained below pre-war levels. Iraq continues to import half its gasoline and thousands of tons of heating fuel, cooking gas and other refined products.

D. Social Costs

Electricity: By late July 2004, Iraq exceeded its pre-war electricity levels, providing nearly 5,000 megawatts of electricity across the country but since that date, levels have failed to improve; the average production in July 2005 was 4,446 megawatts

Health: A joint Iraqi-United Nations report released in May 2005 found that "the estimated number of persons living with a chronic health problem directly caused by war is 223,000 ... in the ongoing war, more children, elderly, and women have been disabled than in previous wars."

Environment: During the war, water and sewage systems were destroyed, thousands of bombs were dropped leaving unexploded ordnance (UXO) strewn across the country, and the fragile desert ecosystem was damaged by tanks and U.S. temporary military outposts. Post-war looting further contributed to the damage. Three thousand nuclear compound storage barrels were looted and 5,000 barrels of chemicals were spilt, burned, or stolen. It is estimated that more than 12 million mines and UXO units are still present.

E. Human Rights Costs

Despite problems at U.S. detention centers, the use of arbitrary arrests continues. The average prisoner level in June 2005 was 10,783, up from 7,837 at the time of the January 2005 elections, and double that of the June 2004 level of 5,335. The U.S. is

expanding three existing facilities and opening a fourth, at a cost of $50 million with the goal of being able to detain 16,000 long-term prisoners. Illustrating the problems caused by widespread sweeps of arrests without cause, review processes indicate that six out of every 10 Iraqis arrested are released without charges.

F. Sovereignty Costs

Economic and Political Sovereignty: Despite the January elections, the country has severely limited political and economic independence. The transitional government has limited ability to reverse the 100 orders by former CPA head Paul Bremer that, among other things, allow for the privatization of Iraq's state-owned enterprises and prohibit preferences for domestic firms in bidding on reconstruction work.

Military Sovereignty: Currently, the U.S. operates out of approximately 106 locations across the country. In May 2005, plans for concentrating U.S. troops into four massive bases positioned geographically in the North, South, East and West were reported and the most recent spending bill in Congress for the Iraq War contained $236 million for building permanent facilities.

III. Costs to the World

A. Human Costs

While Americans make up the vast majority of military and contractor personnel in Iraq, other U.S.-allied "coalition" troops from the U.K., Italy, Poland and other countries have suffered 194 war casualties in Iraq. The focus on Iraq has diverted international resources and attention away from humanitarian crises such as in Sudan.

B. Disabling International Law

The unilateral U.S. decision to go to war in Iraq violated the United Nations Charter, setting a dangerous precedent for other countries to seize any opportunity to respond militarily to claimed threats, whether real or contrived, that must be "preempted." The U.S. military has also violated the Geneva Convention, making it more likely that in the future, other nations will ignore these protections in their treatment of civilian populations and detainees.

C. Undermining the United Nations

The efforts of the Bush administration to gain UN acceptance of an Iraqi government that was not elected but rather installed by occupying forces undermines the entire notion of national sovereignty as the basis for the UN Charter.

D. Enforcing Coalitions

Faced with opposition in the UN Security Council, the U.S. government attempted to create the illusion of multilateral support for the war by pressuring other governments to join a so-called "Coalition of the Willing." This not only circumvented UN authority, but also undermined democracy in many coalition countries, where public opposition to the war was as high as 90 percent. As of the middle of July 2005, only 26 countries of the original 45 members of the "Coalition of the Willing" had even token forces in Iraq, in addition to the United States.

E. Costs to the Global Economy

The $204.4 billion spent by the U.S. government on the war could have cut world hunger in half and covered HIV/AIDS medicine, childhood immunization and clean water and sanitation needs of the developing world for almost three years.

F. Undermining Global Security and Disarmament

The U.S.-led war and occupation have galvanized international terrorist organizations, placing people not only in Iraq but around the world at greater risk of attack.

Global Increase in Military Spending: In 2002 world military spending was $795 billion. With the skyrocketing costs of the war in Iraq, worldwide military spending soared to an estimated $956 billion in 2003 and in 2004, the figure spiked again to $1.035 trillion.

G. Global Environmental Costs

U.S.-fired depleted uranium weapons have contributed to pollution of Iraq's land and water, with inevitable spillover effects in other countries. The heavily polluted Tigris River, for example, flows through Iraq, Iran and Kuwait.

H. Human Rights

The Justice Department memo assuring the White House that torture was legal stands in stark violation of the International Convention Against Torture (of which the United States is a signatory). This, combined with the widely publicized mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. military and intelligence officials, gave new license for torture and mistreatment by governments around the world.

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Introduction

We have just passed thirty months of war and occupation in Iraq. None of the milestones we were told would be the beginning of the end of the war—the taking of Baghdad, "mission accomplished," the arrest of Saddam Hussein, the so-called "transfer of sovereignty," the Iraqi elections and the effort to craft a constitution—have lessened the violence and death in Iraq. To the contrary, the war's toll in lives, in treasure, in human rights, continues to rise. The costs of war, to Americans, to Iraqis, to the world, are mounting.

The Iraq War has divided people in the U.S. Many of those divisions are diminishing as more and more people who believe the war was wrong, who understand the war was based on false claims, who want to protect U.S. troops, are finding common ground in the call to end the war, end the occupation and bring the troops home.

Iraq policy is no longer a partisan issue. Both Democrats and Republicans are joining those questioning the very basis of the war. Discussions are underway in the halls of Congress and in homes and schools and workplaces across the United States about ending the war—how to bring home the troops, how to end the quagmire, whether to withdraw now or months from now. Six months ago in official circles the words "withdraw," "quagmire" and "exit strategy" were avoided altogether, or spoken only in whispers. Today 60 percent of Americans believe the President's handling of the war is wrong. 60 percent of Americans want to bring the troops home and 33 percent want them all brought home immediately. Iraqis want that too; close to half of Iraq's elected parliamentarians have called for the "departure" of foreign troops.

Yet many people are still uncertain about the next steps. Even if the war was wrong, many wonder, will it be better or worse—for Americans, for Iraqis, for the whole world—if the U.S. troops come home? We believe that a national and indeed an international discussion must go forward to figure out how to end the war and bring the troops home. We believe that such a discussion must start with a full and comprehensive accounting of the costs of this war, the costs of the invasion and the occupation.

Cindy Sheehan's vigil outside President Bush's ranch has brought the human cost of the war into all our living rooms. Most Americans are somewhat aware of the body count for the United States, now amounting to 1,866 dead and 14,065 wounded as of August 22, 2005. Yet most are not aware that the number of Iraqi civilians killed is more than 10 times the number of Americans who have lost their lives. Most don't know how many children could have obtained health insurance or how many elemen-

tary school teachers could have been hired with the $204.4 billion of U.S. tax dollars spent on the war so far. Most don't know the enormous financial burden shouldered by the majority of U.S. military families. Most are barely aware of the legion of other costs-economic, human, environmental, legal, social and more-born by millions of people in Iraq, in the U.S. and around the world.

The findings of this report offer evidence that we have paid a very high price for the war and we have all become less secure at home and in the world.

This report looks comprehensively at the human, economic, social, security, environmental, and human rights costs of this war and the ensuing occupation. The Iraq Task Force of the Institute for Policy Studies has scoured sources seeking the most accurate accounts we could find. Measuring the costs for the United States (Chapter 1) was the easiest, as more and more information is being reported on to the public. By contrast, in looking at the war's consequences for Iraq (Chapter 2), even such basic facts as how many people have been killed since the fighting began are only partially available. Yet, as difficult as it is to get accurate statistics on a country in the midst of war and occupation, a good overall assessment has been possible. The costs to the rest of the world (Chapter 3) were perhaps the most difficult to quantify, as some of the broader consequences are still emerging. Yet, we think we offer some useful and provocative categories to begin to understand such longer-term costs.

Chapter 4 is our exit strategy: a plan to bring the troops home and internationalize the peace. Like many in and around the peace movement, we start from the understanding that the U.S. occupation is the cause, not the solution, to war and violence in Iraq. We believe that any strategy of what to do about the Iraq War must start with recognizing what the costs of the war have been so far. And so we conclude our analysis of the costs of war with the call to bring the troops home. All of them. Now.

But like many in and around the peace movement, we also recognize that the call to bring the troops home is not enough. We owe more than that to the people of Iraq. That is why we call for internationalizing the peace—after we bring our troops home and end the occupation. Then we can begin the long and difficult effort to help in the healing, instead of the destruction, of Iraq, and the healing, instead of the destruction, of the lives of U.S. troops. New exit strategies are appearing rapidly from think tanks, academics, citizens, and members of Congress. We welcome that as an important and healthy development. We believe the debate over exit strategies is a useful one, whether in congress, in the classroom, around the dinner table or anywhere else.

We believe that our plan to bring the troops home and internationalize the peace offers the best chance of ending the war and helping to repay our huge debt to the people of Iraq and to our returning soldiers, themselves made victims of this war. But we also understand that whatever the plan, it must be based on knowledge. Knowledge of the staggering costs in lives, in money, in human rights, and so much more of this illegal war. Knowledge that this war has made all of us—the U.S., Iraqis, and the rest of the world—less safe. It is time to share the information, to open the debate and to work towards the common ground that will be required to bring the troops home and internationalize the peace.

Phyllis Bennis, Erik Leaver and the IPS Iraq Task Force

August 31, 2005

I. Costs to the United States

A. Human Costs to the U.S. and Allies

U .S. Military Deaths and Injuries

Between the start of war on March 19, 2003 and August 22, 2005, 2,060 coalition forces have been killed, including 1,866 U.S. military personnel.[1] The average rate of military casualties (dead and wounded) incurred by U.S. forces in Iraq has been higher during the 2005 "post-election" period than during any period excluding the "transition." Since January 31, 2005 (the day after Iraq's election), there have been 491 casualties per month compared to 482 for the initial invasion phase, 415 for the official occupation, and 868 for the transition period.[2] U.S. deaths have continued steadily despite the introduction of limited Iraqi "sovereignty."

Members of the Army National Guard have been hit particularly hard in the post-election period, with an average of 13.3 soldiers dying per month compared to 1 per month during the invasion, 7 during the direct occupation, and 10.7 during the transition period.[3]

Chart 1: Army National Guard Deaths Per Month

			13.3
12			
		10.7	
10			
8			
	7		
6			
4			
2			
1			
0			
Invasion March 20-May 1, 2003	Occupation May 2, 2003-June 28, 2004	Transition June 29, 2004-Jan. 30, 2005	Post-Election Jan. 31, 2005-Aug. 2005
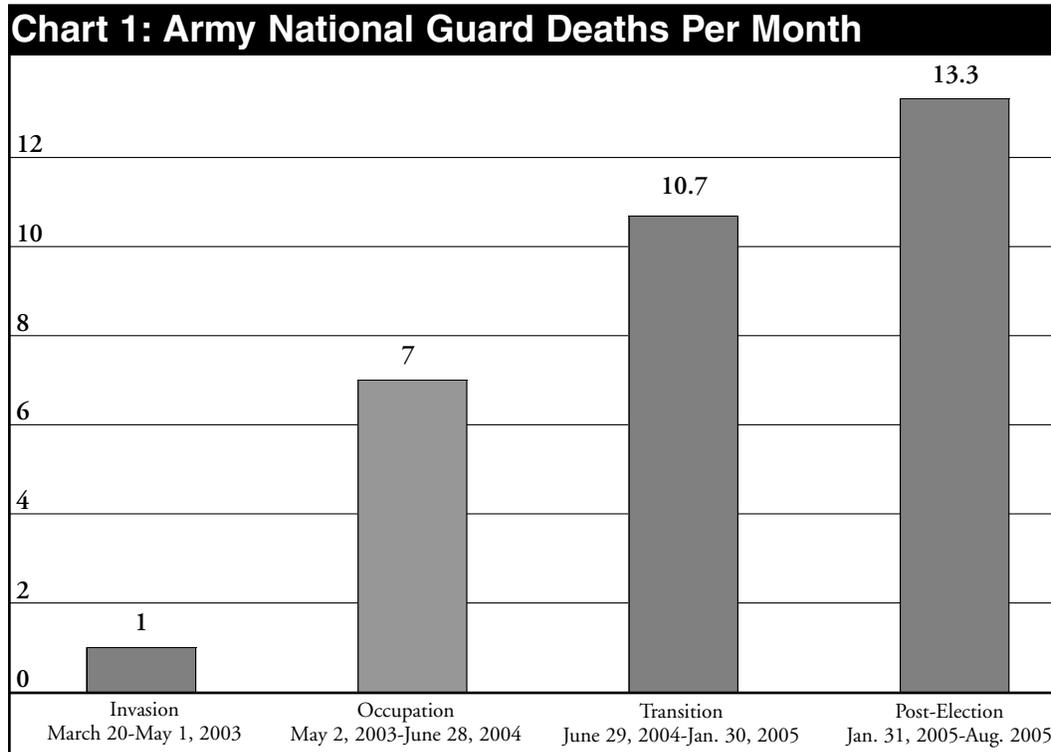
A total of 14,065 U.S. troops have been wounded as of August 22, 2005, 13,523 (96 percent) since May 1, 2003.[4] The average number of resistance attacks per day more than doubled from 28.1 in the months prior to the June 28 "transition" to 62 up until the January 2005 election. Despite promises of decreased violence after the elections from the White House, the post-election number of daily attacks has remained at 62.[5] Attacks are not expected to subside, as the resistance likely has vast supplies of weapons obtained during the widespread looting of ammunition dumps and bases following the fall of the Saddam Hussein regime. Randolph Gangle, the head of the Marine Corps' Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities, predicts that "If [the U.S.] has the political will and stamina to stay, I could see this thing going on for 10 years."[6]

Contractor Deaths

The casualty numbers in Iraq are likely undercounted since the U.S. government does not track deaths among private military contractors, even when the individuals are killed while carrying out missions traditionally reserved for the military.[7] Independent groups, however, have tried to track such deaths, and estimate that there have been 255 civilian contractor deaths since the "end of major combat" on May 1, 2003, including 91 identified as Americans.[8] By contrast, only seven private contractors were killed in the 1991 Gulf War.[9]

Journalist Deaths

Iraq is currently the most dangerous place in the world to work as a journalist. The total number of international media workers killed in Iraq, as of August 28, 2005, is 66.[10] In comparison, 63 journalists were killed reporting in the Vietnam War.[11] U.S. forces are responsible for at least eleven deaths, including employees from ABC, CNN, Reuters, BBC, ITN, Arab TV stations al-Arabiya and al-Jazeera and Spanish station Telecinco.[12] Another source of threat to journalists has come from resistance fighters who have targeted foreigners, including journalists, and Iraqis who work for them. Two U.S. journalists have died at the hands of the resistance.

B. Security Costs

The U.S. action in Iraq has failed to stabilize the country, and moreover, has severely damaged America's reputation in the region and around the world.

Retired Marine General Anthony Zinni, former commander of the U.S. Central Command[13]

Terrorist Recruitment

As both the 9/11 Commission and the Senate Intelligence Committee found, there were no operational ties between al Qaeda agents and Saddam Hussein prior to the

U.S. invasion. While no Iraqi terror threat previously existed, a National Intelligence Officer for Transnational Threats at the CIA said in January 2005 that the Iraq War has now provided terrorists with "a training ground, a recruitment ground, the opportunity for enhancing technical skills."[14] Others at the CIA agree. A May 2005 assessment says Iraq may prove to be an even more effective training ground for Islamic extremists than Afghanistan was.[15]

Experts from the non-partisan London think tank, Chatham House, wrote in July 2005, "[The Iraq War] gave a boost to the al-Qaeda network's propaganda, recruitment and fundraising, caused a major split in the coalition, provided an ideal targeting and training area for al-Qaeda-linked terrorists and deflected resources and assistance that could have been deployed to assist the Karzai government and to bring bin Laden to justice."[16]

While foreign fighters are seen as the most violent groups in Iraq, their numbers have been estimated to be around 1,000 out of a resistance ranging between 16,000 and 40,000. Instead of being long-term mercenaries, new investigations by the Saudi Arabian government and an Israeli think tank found that the majority of foreign fighters are not former terrorists and instead became radicalized by the war itself—a troubling statistic given that according to the Bush administration, one major goal of this war is to stem future terrorism.[17]

The American public shares the view that the Iraq War has made America less safe. In a July 2005 poll, nearly half of the public say that the war in Iraq has hurt the war on terrorism, the highest percentage expressing that view since the war began in 2003.[18] And 45 percent believe that the war has raised the chances for terrorist attacks in the U.S., up from 36 percent in the Fall of 2004.[19]

Data collected by the State Department and the National Counterterrorism Center confirms these fears. The number of "significant" attacks in 2004 reached 655, three times the previous record of 175 in 2003.[20] Terrorist incidents in Iraq also increased by a factor of nine—from 22 attacks in 2003 to 198 in 2004.[21]

Overstretch of Military

Since 2001, the U.S. military has deployed more than 1 million troops for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, with 341,000 or nearly a third, serving two or more overseas tours.[22] The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have compromised U.S. security by putting severe strains on its forces. The International Institute for Strategic Studies noted in its annual report, *The Military Balance*, "Operations in Iraq in particular have shown that the U.S. military lacks the necessary quantity of personnel with the skills needed in those tasks which have dominated operations in the post-conflict phase."[23]

This judgment has now been confirmed publicly in the U.S. by the highest military authorities. In the Pentagon's annual risk assessment, presented to Congress on May 2, 2005, Gen. Richard B. Myers, Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, testified that these wars are making it difficult for the military to maintain high standards in conflicts elsewhere around the world, including in the military war against terrorism.[24]

Reserves of personnel and equipment are being depleted at a greater rate than they can be replenished, according to senior military officials. Army supplies in Southwest Asia are exhausted, as are about half of total Army and Marine equipment stored on board ships. These supplies will not be replaced until the Iraq War ends, Army officials said in March 2005.[25]

A higher percentage (27 percent) of the force is now serving overseas, half of them in combat zones, than at any time since the Vietnam War.[26] A study by the Rand Corporation, commissioned by the Army, concludes that the longer and more frequent deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan threaten the Army's ability to retain and recruit an adequate force.[27] In August 2005 Army recruitment remained at 11 percent behind its yearly goal. The Reserve stands at 20 percent behind its goals and the Army National Guard is 23 percent short of its goals.[28] DoD has noted that in the future that the Army Reserves will be particularly hard hit since fewer active Army soldiers leaving active duty are joining the reserves.[29]

Who is leaving is also important. The Government Accountability Office reported in July 2005 that more special-operations personnel left the military last year than at any time since the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks.[30]

To alleviate staffing problems in the Army Guard and Reserve, in July 2005 the Pentagon asked to raise the maximum age for enlistment from 35 to 42.[31] Yet director of the Guard Lt. Gen. Roger Schultz said career Guardsmen are quitting at a rate of 20 percent.[32]

Security Costs Due to Military and CPA Mistakes

Mistakes were made at virtually every turn, and as the principal nation promoting the conflict and managing its aftermath, the United States bears the chief blame.

Larry Diamond, former senior adviser to the Coalition Provisional Authority[33]

In May 2004, retired Marine General Anthony Zinni, former commander of the U.S. Central Command, outlined Bush Administration mistakes that have left the United States at greater security risk than before the war. These included abandoning the existing policy of containment, manufacturing a false rationale for war, abandon-

ing traditional U.S. allies, propping up and trusting the Iraqi exiles, and failing to plan for post-war Iraq.[34]

Despite overwhelming intelligence warnings from within the Administration that chaos could erupt after Saddam's overthrow, the Administration moved into Iraq without sufficient plans in place.[35] In remarks about the period immediately following the fall of Saddam Hussein, Army Secretary Thomas White said, "we immediately found ourselves shorthanded in the aftermath. We sat there and watched people dismantle and run off with the country basically."[36] Post-war looting led to chaos in the streets and resulted in the loss of confidence in the U.S. by Iraqis.

Roughly 48,000 members of the National Guard and Reserve are currently serving in Iraq—making up nearly 35 percent of the total U.S. forces there.

The U.S. move to disband the Iraqi army and police forces and to dismiss tens of thousands of Iraq civil servants after the regime collapsed added fuel to the fire resulting in thousands of unemployed and disaffected Iraqis. Sanctions against tens of thousands of former low-level Ba'ath Party members also fed flames of resentment. Meanwhile, the Coalition Provisional Authority brought Iraqi expatriates, whose support on the ground was shallow, into the governing council process while ignoring many indigenous leaders with popular political bases.[37]

The former marine commandant and head of U.S. Central Command, Retired General Joseph Hoare, told a *Guardian* newspaper reporter: "The idea that this is going to go the way these guys planned is ludicrous. There are no good options. We're conducting a campaign as though it were being conducted in Iowa, no sense of the realities on the ground. It's so unrealistic for anyone who knows that part of the world. The priorities are just all wrong."[38]

Security Costs Due to Loss of First Responders

Roughly 48,000 members of the National Guard and Reserve are currently serving in Iraq—making up nearly 35 percent of the total U.S. forces there.[39]

The deployment of these Guard and Reserve troops puts a particularly heavy burden on their home communities because many of them serve as so-called "first responders," a category including police officers, firefighters, and emergency medical personnel. A poll conducted by the Police Executive Research Forum found that 44 percent of police forces across the nation lost officers as a result of deployment to Iraq. Eighty percent of U.S. law enforcement agencies are staffed with 20 or fewer officers.[40]

Hence, a few officers deployed at the same time can dramatically disrupt a municipality's ability to respond to emergencies.

There are also strong fears about how the absence of so many Guard and Reserve troops may affect states' ability to handle natural disasters. The problem is not just the shortage of personnel, but also equipment. For example, in Montana, half of its Army National Guard units are deployed in Iraq but 10 of the Guards' 12 Black Hawk helicopters are in Iraq. Gov. Brian Schweitzer said: "We have two Chinooks, but I don't have flight crews for them. They're all in Iraq."[41] A similar situation exists in Oregon. An Oregon Guard spokesman said: "We're still going to be there [fighting fires]. It's just going to take longer to get there."[42]

New Pentagon plans may make the situation even worse. A proposed overhaul of more than two dozen Air National Guard units, would retire existing aircraft, leaving more than two dozen states without emergency aircraft to fight fires, recover from hurricanes and cope with other natural disasters.[43]

Use of Private Military Contractors

The Department of Defense estimates that there are at least 60 private military security providers with perhaps as many as 25,000 employees.[44] To put this in perspective, at the end of the Persian Gulf War, the ratio of soldiers to contractors was 100:1; in the Iraq War, this ratio has now become 10:1, according to Peter Singer, author of a book on the privatization of military jobs.[45] Aside from the U.S. military, private companies supply more trainers and security forces to Iraq than all remaining members of the "coalition of the willing" combined.[46]

There are at least 60 private security providers with perhaps as many as 25,000 employees.

The expanded use of private contractors in Iraq poses a variety of potential costs for the United States. In financial terms, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) estimated that by the end of 2004 the U.S. spent more than $766 million for private security providers. But the GAO also reported: "Neither the Department of State, nor DoD, nor USAID ... have complete data on the costs associated with using private security providers."

In military terms the growth in use of contractors means that work that has been traditionally carried out by the military, from training the Iraqi army to guarding installations and convoys, is now contracted out to private companies that often lack sufficient training and are not accountable to the same policy guidelines and review systems as military personnel.[47] While informal channels of communication exist

between security contractors and the military, the GAO reports: "Both U.S. Central Command officials and military personnel previously stationed in Iraq told us that there is no command and control relationship...."[48] This has led to a number of incidents where contractors and the military engage one another. In the first five months of 2005, there were 20 reported friendly fire incidents and this number is likely to be much higher as many go unreported.[49] One recent example of this was seen in June 2005 when 19 security contractors were detained after reportedly firing on U.S. troops.[50]

The most serious concern is the lack of government oversight over contractors. The lack of contractor oversight and training not only increases the likelihood that taxpayer money will be misused, it also increases the chances that unaccountable contractors will violate international laws and standards, abuse Iraqis with impunity and further damage the United States' reputation and credibility.

Of the 44 incidents of abuse that have been documented at Abu Ghraib prison, 16 have been tied to private contractors.[51] An Army Inspector General Report, issued on July 21, 2004, found that 11 of the 31 interrogators employed by the firm CACI International who were involved in the abuse lacked proper training in military policies and techniques.[52] While numerous soldiers have been court-martialed for their roles in the scandal, no contractor has been brought up on charges.[53] Nevertheless, the U.S. Army awarded another $23 million contract in August 2004 to the company to continue providing interrogators for Iraq prisoners. When questioned about the decision, the Army simply stated that coalition forces were "satisfied" with CACI's performance and they needed the companies' help to relieve "a huge backlog of work."[54]

The U.S. government now requires security contractors to have a copy of the U.S. government's guidebook "Rules on the Use of Force" and various rules and regulations are stipulated in a recent Defense Department report.[55] There is no evidence, however, that the U.S. military can verify that contractors read or understand the rules and to date no enforcement mechanisms have been applied.[56]

Low U.S. Credibility Threatens Security

Credibility in the International Community: Discontent abroad with America and its policies rose after the beginning of the Iraq War and has not abated. A Pew Global Attitudes Survey from June 2005 reports, "The United States remains broadly disliked in most countries.... The magnitude of America's image problem is such that even popular U.S. policies have done little to repair it.[57] A survey of 23 nations found that the country most viewed as having a negative influence on the world was the U.S.[58] Americans understand the extent of this problem. Only 26 percent of the American public thinks the country is well-liked around the world.[59]

Credibility in Iraq: Days before the January 2005 elections in Iraq, surveys reported that 82 percent of Sunnis and 69 percent of Shi'a favored U.S. forces withdrawing either immediately or after an elected government was in place.[60] A survey taken by the U.S. military in February 2005 noted that 71 percent opposed the presence of the U.S. coalition and that 76 percent thought U.S. military forces were not improving the situation in Iraq.[61] While most Iraqis are troubled by the lack of services, those who think the country is moving in the wrong direction overwhelmingly cite the security/instability problem, followed next by the presence of the occupation.[62]

Credibility in the U.S.: Nearly 60 percent of the U.S. public now thinks that the war with Iraq has made the U.S. less safe from terrorism, the highest response since the war began.[63] Fifty-six percent believe that the war is going badly and one in three adults think the U.S. should withdraw all of its troops.[64] Overall, 56 percent think the U.S. should withdraw some or all of its troops. Fifty-eight percent do not think that the U.S. can establish a stable democratic government in Iraq.[65]

C. Economic Costs

In 2002, White House Economic Advisor Lawrence Lindsey was fired after predicting that an Iraq war would cost between $100 billion and $200 billion. Later that year, budget director Mitchell Daniels called Lindsey's prediction a "historical benchmark" rather than a "budget estimate" in an attempt to distance the Administration from Lindsey's forecast. Daniels then predicted the war would cost between $50 and $60 billion.[66]

As it turned out, Lindsey low-balled the cost. Congress has already approved four spending bills for Iraq with funds totaling $204.4 billion and is in the process of

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Box 1

Breakdown of Economic Costs of War: (in $billions)

	Military Operations	Reconstruction	Total
April 2003 Emergency Supplemental	48.5	3.3	51.8
November 2003 Emergency Supplemental	54.7	18.4	73.1
June 2004 Emergency Supplemental	21.5	0	21.5
April 2005 Emergency Supplemental	58.0	0	58.0
Total	**182.7**	**21.7**	**204.4**

approving a "bridge fund" for $45.3 billion to cover operations until another supplemental spending package can be passed, most likely slated for Spring 2006.[67] Broken down per person in the United States, the cost so far is $727, the most expensive military effort in the last 60 years.[68] Instead of being paid for with funds from the regular operating budget, funding for the war is being financed with deficit spending.[69]

To put Iraq War spending figures in perspective, the monthly cost of the Iraq and Afghan wars now rivals the average monthly cost of the Vietnam War. Operations costs in Iraq are estimated at $5.6 billion per month in 2005 while the average cost of U.S. operations in Vietnam over the eight-year war was $5.1 billion per month, adjusting for inflation.[70] While fewer troops are in Iraq, the weapons they use are more expensive and they are paid more than their counterparts who served in Vietnam.[71] In current dollars, the Vietnam War cost $600 billion. According to current estimates, the cost of the Iraq War could exceed $700 billion.[72]

In part the costs are so high because few coalition partners are contributing financially. In the first Gulf War, the war cost just over $60 billion but allied nations contributed $54 billion—nearly 90 percent of the total cost.[73] In Iraq today, the U.S. is bearing almost all of the financial costs other than those bourne by Iraqis. Costs are only expected to rise as there is a growing need to repair and replace military equipment.

These expenses have long-term effects on the U.S. economy. In August 2005, the Congressional Budget Office estimated that the cost of continuing the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan at current levels would nearly double the projected federal budget deficit over the next 10 years.[74]

Economic Impact on Military Families

Since the beginning of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, more than 210,000 of the National Guard's 330,000 soldiers have been called up, with an average mobilization of 460 days.[75] The Pentagon is dependent on these support soldiers to supplement full-time troops, placing reservists in jobs of both frontline combat and military policing in greater numbers than in any other war since WWII.

For many families of Guardsmen and Reservists remaining back home, long deployments has meant struggling to survive on military salaries that are significantly lower than civilian salaries. Government studies show that about half of all reservists and Guard members report a loss of income when they go on active duty—typically more than $4,000 a year.[76] Facing the loss of a breadwinner for extended periods, military families are dealing with economic hardships that are leading to unemployment, bankruptcy, hunger, and poor housing conditions.[77]

Thirty-thousand small business owners who have been sent to Iraq are especially likely to fall victim to the adverse economic effects of military deployment.[78] At the moment, Congress offers no tax credit to small businesses that suffer economically when their employees are called for service, often forcing companies to downsize and cut the jobs of the part-time soldiers.

The Uniformed Services Employment and Reemployment Rights Act prohibits discrimination against part-time soldiers, requiring that employers guarantee jobs for their employees once they return from deployment. Yet the U.S. Labor Department reports that more than 4,400 service members have filed complaints against employers for violations of the Act. Some progress is being made. The Labor Department says it has helped reduce the number of returning soldiers who lose their jobs due to illegal employer actions from 1 in 54 during the Gulf War to 1 in 67 today by informing more employers of the law.[79] But the California vice chairman of Employer Support of the Guard and Reserve noted: "When the tides go out, that's not a problem. But when the tide comes back in—that's a problem."[80] The GAO has noted problems with the military's program for returning soldiers: "Members of the Reserves and National Guard ... generally receive no employment preparation."[81]

As a result of their decreased salaries, more Reservist and Guardsmen families have been forced to rely on emergency food support programs. Retired Colonel Dennis Spiegel of the Army Emergency Relief reported a "several hundred percent" increase in requests for access to food stamps and subsidized meals between 2002 and 2003. Just in Thurston County, Washington—site of the Fort Lewis military base—more than 250 military families depend on the Women, Infants and Children (WIC) nutrition program for food stamps. In response to the growing demand, hunger associations nationwide have collaborated with the National Guard to provide emergency relief to military families that have never before experienced prolonged periods of low income.[82]

Sometimes soldiers don't even receive the wages that they are due. The Government Accountability Office has documented at least one pay problem in 95 percent of audited case studies of units that were mobilized, deployed, and demobilized some time during the 18-month period from August 2002 through January 2004. Both over- and under-payments were documented, and mistakes sometimes persisted for more than a year. Pay problems, like receiving late tax exemption benefits, have profound adverse impact on soldiers and their families. Soldiers often have to navigate the system to inquire about pay and benefits errors while deployed in hostile Iraq territories.[83] In the 824th Quartermaster Company, for example, 49 soldiers did not receive the hardship duty pay they were entitled to until three months after arriving at their overseas deployment.[84] And the GAO has found that injured and ill Reservists

and Guardsmen have been inappropriately removed from active duty status, causing them to lose pay.[85] Such problems have taken a toll on soldiers' morale, caused considerable hardship to families, heaped unnecessary burdens on soldiers in already stressful situations in Iraq, and contributed to some soldiers' reluctance to re-enlist.[86]

Due to decreased salaries and pay problems, soldiers have been particularly vulnerable to predatory lending practices. In a 2004 DoD survey, 12 percent of servicemembers said that they or their spouse had used, during the last 12 months, at least one of four types of loans: payday, rent-to-own, automobile title pawn, or tax refund.[87] While the military provides financial counseling that warns about these types of loans, the GAO found that some military installation newsletters carry advertisements for businesses with names such as Military Financial and Armed Forces Loans.[88]

Economic Impact on Contractor Families

Although private military contractors tend to be far better paid than military personnel, they and their families face significant problems of their own. Almost half of all injury and death claims filed by U.S. government contractors this year were for incidents that occurred in Iraq.[89] The Defense Base Act requires all U.S. government contractors and subcontractors to obtain workers' compensation insurance for civilian employees working overseas, but insurance companies are not required to provide coverage. To provide an incentive for insurers to offer coverage, The War Hazards Compensation Act requires the federal government to reimburse private insurance carriers for death or injury workers compensation payouts of $250-$1,000 per week for "war-risk hazards." While Labor Department officials say they do not have a cost estimate for reimbursement of Iraq-related claims this year, they say they expect payouts to cost the government "multimillions."[90] Yet even with the guaranteed reimbursement for a war-related injury or death, the spike in claims is leading many insurers to deny coverage, due to the many months it takes the federal government to investigate and reimburse claims paid out by insurance companies.[91]

D. Social Costs

War Spending Impact on U.S. Budget and Social Programs

The Bush administration's combination of massive spending on the war and tax cuts for the wealthy means less money for social spending. The Administration's FY 2006 budget, which does not include any funding for the Iraq War, takes a hard line with domestic spending—slashing or eliminating more than 150 federal programs.[92] It also virtually freezes funding for domestic discretionary programs other than homeland security.[93] Among the programs the Bush administration seeks to eliminate: vocational and adult education, a number of programs associated with community

development, environmental protection agency grants, low-income home energy assistance, disease control, substance abuse, Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and public safety[94]

The Administration's budget priorities have privileged a war of choice over essential human needs at home. While job growth has gradually improved over the past several months, worker wages are now failing to keep up with inflation.[95] At least 36 million Americans live in households that frequently do not have enough money to afford food or do not know from where or when their next meal is coming.[96] A third of the country—or nearly 95 million people—face serious housing problems including unsustainable rising costs, overcrowding, inadequate living conditions, and homelessness.[97] One out of every eight children in the United States lacks health insurance.[98] The president's own "No Child Left Behind" education initiative has been under-funded by $27 billion, forcing cuts in after-school programs, literacy assistance, and aid to smaller schools.[99]

The $204.4 billion appropriated thus far for the Iraq War could have purchased any of the following desperately needed services in our country:

46,458,805 People receiving health care; or

3,545,016 Elementary school teachers; or

27,093,473 Head Start places for children; or

1,841,833 Affordable housing units; or

24,072 New elementary schools; or

39,665,748 Scholarships for university students; or

3,204,265 Port container inspectors.[100]

Social Costs to the Military / Troop Morale

With troops stretched in Afghanistan, Iraq, and other parts of the world, U.S. military personnel have had to spend far more time enduring the highly dangerous and rigorous conditions of Iraq than expected. The average tour of duty in Iraq has been 15 months, compared, for example, to less than six months during the Persian Gulf War.[101] But many soldiers have served two terms, and in August 2005 Gen. Richard Myers warned: "Third tours for active-duty service-members might be needed."[102]

Troops are also suffering from the use of "stop-loss" orders, which allows the military to extend without consent the stay of soldiers after their formal contracts expire. Many critics cite the policy as a "back-door draft" for the military. As of May 2005, stop-loss orders are affecting 14,082 soldiers—almost 10 percent of the entire forces

serving in Iraq with no end date set for the use of these orders.[103]

Long deployments and the use of stop-loss orders are leading to low troop morale. The main source of non-combat stress reported by soldiers is long tours—52 percent of solders report high or very high concern about the issue.[104] But troubles are much deeper than just the long tours. A survey of the Illinois Army National Guard showed that, "the majority of soldiers feel they are poorly informed, inadequately cared for, and that training in their units is boring and unorganized."[105]

Long deployments and high levels of soldier's stress extend to family life. With 60 percent of the Army married, divorce rates have been rapidly rising.[106] In 2004, 3,325 Army officer's marriages ended in divorce—up 78 percent from 2003, the year of the Iraq invasion and more than 3.5 times the number in 2000.[107]

Box 2
The Cost of War in One State: Ohio

It used to be said that war was good for the U.S. economy.

Economists credit World War II, for example, with helping lift the United States out of the Great Depression. The same boost isn't being felt this time around.

Uncertainty created by the Iraq War has slowed business spending and slowed economic recovery, more than offsetting big increases in war-related government spending.

Ohio's unemployment rate, while rebounding from its staggering of 6.3 percent in the year following the invasion of Iraq, still remains high at 5.7 percent. The number of Ohioans living below the 200% of poverty line stands at 28 percent.

With the Iraq War and the previous Gulf War—relatively short conflicts—there hasn't been enough spending to overcome the negative drags on the economy, said Paul Poast, an Ohio State University senior lecturer who teaches a class on the economics of war.

He also noted that in past wars, civilian production plants had to be converted to military needs. Today, there are established military contractors to handle the demands of war.

One visible effect of the war is represented by the thousand of Ohioans who had to leave their full-time jobs to fulfill their military obligations.

As of August 22, 2005, 420 Ohio Guardsmen were deployed to Iraq, and 140 more to Kuwait.

"The sacrifice that our soldiers and airmen had to make was great, but the same sacrifice was made by their employers," said James Sims, deputy director of public affairs for the Ohio National Guard.

Ohio Taxpayers are shelling out $7.5 billion for the war in Iraq. That same amount of money could have meant health care for 4 million of Ohio's children, over 800 new elementary school teachers, or over 14 million Ohio homes equipped with renewable electricity in these times of skyrocketing oil prices.

Sources: Mark Niquette, "War in Iraq Failed to Boost Ohio Economy," *Columbus Dispatch*, March 19, 2004; "Federal Budget Trade-offs: Ohio," National Priorities Project Database, May 26, 2005; Author interview with James Sims, August 24, 2005; "Local Area Unemployment Statistics: Ohio," U.S. Department of Labor, July 2005.

The Iraq War is also causing parents to be less supportive of youth enrolling in the military. In November 2004, 31 percent of parents said they would likely encourage youth to join the military. By May 2005, this number dropped further, to 25 percent. Drops in enlistment have been seen greatest in women and in African-American men. Only 7 percent of women and 11 percent of African-American men said they were inclined to enter the service.[108] These statistics indicate a real challenge for diversity in the military in future years.

Veteran Health Care Costs

Veteran healthcare is a continuing cost of war.

Paralyzed Veterans' of America Legislative Director Richard Fuller

Though there are many issues and costs for soldiers who return from duty, healthcare is at the top of the list.[109] As of August 22, 2005, 14,065 soldiers have been injured during the course of the war, with nearly half unable to return to duty and in need of immediate assistance from the Veterans' Affairs (VA) healthcare system.[110] Ninety-three percent of active-duty soldiers, 96 percent of reserves, and 89 percent of National Guard have engaged in a firefight in Iraq, explaining the high injury rate.[111] But as was the case in the Persian Gulf War, many others are likely suffering from undetectable injuries or ailments that will only surface years from now.

While the good news is that 90 percent of troops suffering serious injuries have survived their wounds, compared to 76 percent in Vietnam and 70 percent in WWII, currently, VA healthcare is not prepared for the swelling number of claims from soldiers returning from Iraq.[112] As of February 2005, the VA reported that 85,857 of the 360,674 veterans of wars in Iraq and Afghanistan who separated from active duty, or 24 percent, had sought healthcare from the VA.[113] And the number is rapidly increasing. The VA projected that 23,553 veterans would return from Iraq and Afghanistan in 2005 and seek medical care. In June 2005, the VA Secretary, Jim Nicholson, revised this number to 103,000.[114] The miscalculation has led to a shortfall of $273 million in the VA budget for 2005 and may result in a loss of $2.6 billion in 2006.[115] Those seeking health care often have long waits. As of August 13, 2005 there were 352,216 cases pending and 20 percent of these cases had been pending for over 180 days.[116]

> *The VA projected that 23,553 veterans from Iraq and Afghanistan would seek medical care in 2005. In June 2005, the VA revised this number to 103,000.*

A major cost is the care for amputees. Six percent of injuries suffered by U.S. troops have involved amputations, twice the rate of recent wars.[117] Through April 2005, Army hospitals treated 240 amputees, 15 percent of whom lost two or more limbs.[118] The Department of Veterans Affairs is investing $7.2 million over five years for research on artificial limbs.[119]

When injured soldiers attempt to transition back to civilian life with their new physical disability, they are met with a multitude of obstacles. Testifying before the House Total Force Subcommittee, Corporal Victor Thibeault was particularly concerned about the lack of aides who specialize in easing the transition.[120] Transitional support, and the lack of it, is a major issue for these veterans.

Mental Health Costs

In July 2005 the Army's surgeon general reported that 30 percent in a survey of U.S. troops have developed stress-related mental health problems three to four months after coming home from the Iraq War.[121] Surveys show 19 to 21 percent of troops who have returned from combat, experience severe symptoms of depression, anxiety or post-traumatic stress disorder.[122] The *New England Journal of Medicine* attributes the high level of psychological problems to the normal stresses of war, but also to the fact that soldiers in Iraq are experiencing more contact with "the enemy" and exposure to "terrorist attacks" than the troops during the Gulf War.[123] Because about 1 million American troops have served so far in the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, according to Pentagon figures, some experts predict that the number eventually requiring mental health treatment could exceed 100,000.[124]

This study corroborates the findings of a January 2005 Army report which identified the following problems:

- *Extensive Mental Health Problems:* Soldiers screened positive for traumatic stress (10 percent), anxiety (7.3 percent), and depression (6.9 percent).

- *Greater Need for Services:* Almost half of soldiers surveyed reported not knowing how to obtain services. Of those soldiers wanting help, only 40 percent had received any assistance.[125]

E. Human Rights Costs

Since the attacks on September 11, 2001, the United States government has violated civil liberties by expanding its powers under the auspices of needing to protect the country from further terrorist attacks. While many of these new developments began in the immediate aftermath of the September 11, 2001 attacks, they have continued and in many cases deepened since the Iraq War began.

The rights of Arabs, Arab-Americans, Muslims and immigrant communities remain particularly at risk. One example is in enforcement of the U.S. government's "No Fly" watch lists distributed to airlines. Many Arab names are similar, and anyone with a name phonetically similar to the names on the list will be stopped at the airport, regardless of age or gender. Recent stories documented instances of families denied boarding rights because an infant's name was similar to that of someone on the Transportation Security Agency (TSA) watch list. According to the American Civil Liberties Union the government provides insufficient information about people on the lists, so innocent passengers, even babies, can be caught up in the security sweep if they happen to have the same name as someone on the lists.[126]

Kareem Shora, Legal Director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee notes: "ADC gets more complaints about employment discrimination than any other problem, and it is the one with the greatest impact on Arabs and Muslims. Bosses calling them a "camel jockey," losing jobs, harassment at work, not getting promotions, professors not getting tenure etc. This may seem like a private sector problem, but it is also reflects a lesser adherence to federal anti-discrimination and employment regulations, when it comes to Arabs and Muslims. Since September 11 and the Iraq War, it has become easier to get away with it with Arabs and Muslims."[127]

Government Surveillance

The USA PATRIOT Act not only has expanded the government's ability to conduct surveillances on its own citizens, but it has rigorously overhauled many of the checks and balances that once protected United States citizens from such invasive procedures.

The government's newly obtained power to conduct secret searches has been readily used on activists and anti-war protestors. Numerous cases have come to light about the FBI and local police departments spying on people who they believe might use "peaceful techniques (that) can create a climate of disorder".[128]

Many police departments across the country have authorized such tactics as keeping files on anti-war activists, videotaping demonstrations, and having plain clothes officers infiltrate rallies and meetings.[129]

The FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force has been used to interrogate political protestors and activists, and their friends and families. Three young protestors in Missouri were targeted by the Joint Terrorism Task Force and were subpoenaed to testify before a federal grand jury the same exact day that they were planning on exercising their constitutional right to free speech in Boston during the Democratic Convention. Their families were questioned (and were asked about their son's political activities) and were interrogated. Surveillance on the young men increased after the questionings.[130]

According to Mark Silverstein at the ACLU: "These JTTF visits are an abuse of power, designed to intimidate these kids from exercising their constitutional right to protest government policies."[131]

Right to Free Speech and Assembly

As political protest surged in the lead-up to military action in Iraq and continues today, many protest activities are faced with increased limits on freedom of speech and

assembly in violation of the First Amendment. In the name of terrorism-prevention and public safety, authorities have denied anti-war groups permits to march, positioned permitted demonstrators far from the target of the protest, and denied access to permitted demonstrations through strategically placed barricades and personnel.[132]

The capacity of local, state or federal officials to call upon terrorism-prevention to alter the time, place, and manner of political activity opens the gates for unhindered curtailment of First Amendment protections and the human right to free speech.[133]

From large demonstrations in New York City, to smaller gatherings in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the right to free speech and to assemble has often been violated. In 2003, the American Civil Liberties Union issued a report about a demonstration that was scheduled to be a rally in opposition to the impending war in Iraq. The report details how the anti-war coalition, United for Peace and Justice, tried to secure a permit for a march and rally, but was denied. Instead the organization was issued a limited permit for a stationary rally in a far-off location.[134]

In addition to the initial denial of the permit, barriers were put in place blocking entrances to the rally. There were also reports of the New York City Police Department using physical force ("use of horses, pepper spray, batons, and arrests") against peaceful protestors.

Right to Due Process

Illegal detentions of United States citizens and legal immigrants have become a common practice since September 11, 2001 and continue throughout the Iraq War. The Justice Department after the 9-11 attacks held 70 men under the new "material witness" law that allows for the arrest and detention of individuals who might have information about a crime. All but one of these men were Muslim and none were held because they were criminal suspects.[135]

Most of these men were never brought to court and many of their rights to due process were violated. According to Human Rights Watch and the ACLU: "Many were not informed of the reason for their arrest, allowed immediate access to a lawyer, nor permitted to see the evidence used against them."[136]

In May 2004, a converted Muslim man named Brandon Mayfield, who was a lawyer in Oregon, was arrested because the FBI had connected his fingerprints to the bombings that occurred in Madrid on March 11, 2004. He too was held as a "material witness" for two weeks. Eventually, the FBI stated that they were mistaken and that his fingerprints did not match. He was released, but the FBI also admitted that his home was searched secretly.[137]

Box 3

The Price of War Profiteering: A Case Study of Halliburton

The U.S. government's Iraq reconstruction process has cost both Iraqis and Americans. Instead of boosting Iraqi self-determination by granting contracts to experienced Iraqi businesses, the U.S. government has favored U.S. firms with strong political ties. Major contracts worth billions of dollars have been awarded with limited or no competition. Employees of the U.S. contractors have been lightning rods for terrorist attacks. As a result, USAID reports that 20-25 percent of funding for Iraq redevelopment projects is now being siphoned off to pay for the costs of security.[1]

Meanwhile, U.S. auditors and the media have documented numerous cases of fraud, waste, and incompetence. The most egregious problems are attributed to Halliburton, Vice President Dick Cheney's former firm and the largest recipient of Iraq-related contracts.

Based on research by the Center for Corporate Policy (http://www.corporatepolicy.org)

2002: Halliburton 2002 Annual Report: "We expect growth opportunities to exist for additional security and defense support to government agencies in the United States and other countries. Demand for these services is expected to grow as a result of the armed conflict in the Middle East."

11/15/2002: Long before the start of the war, the Office of the Secretary of Defense awarded a classified $1.8 million task order to Halliburton for Iraqi oil field planning.[2]

3/24/2003: Contract awarded to Halliburton subsidiary Kellogg Brown and Root (KBR) to extinguish oil fires and evaluate and repair Iraq's petroleum infrastructure. The no-bid, "cost-plus" contract was estimated to cost up to $7 billion over two years, with profits of up to 7 percent.[3] The Administration argued that only KBR could begin implementing the plan on extremely short notice, but CBS News later reported that other qualified companies had attempted to bid on the contract but were shut out of the process.[4]

4/22/2003: Reports reveal that KBR did not actually extinguish Iraqi oil well fires during the war, but instead subcontracted the work to two other U.S. firms, Boots & Coots International Well Control and Wild Well Control.[5]

10/2003: A Pentagon report documents unsanitary conditions at mess halls and kitchens run by Halliburton in Iraq. The report complains that Halliburton had been ordered to fix these conditions but had failed to do so.[6]

12/10/2003: Army Corps documents show that Halliburton charged $2.64 a gallon for fuel it imported from Kuwait—more than twice the cost of fuel imported from Kuwait by the Iraqi state oil company and the Pentagon's Defense Energy Support Center. The over-charge amounted to approximately $61 million.[7]

12/19/2003: Lt. Gen. Robert Flowers, Commander of the Army Corps of Engineers, cleared KBR of wrongdoing in the Kuwait fuel delivery contract because it lifted a requirement that Halliburton provide data justifying its pricing.[8] Rep. Henry Waxman (D-CA) called the ruling "incomprehensible" and said "it appears the administration is deliberately sabotaging the government's ability to audit Halliburton."[9]

1/13/2004: A Defense Contract Audit Agency memo to the Army Corps of Engineers labeled as "inadequate" KBR's system for estimating the cost of ongoing work in order to justify payments.[10]

1/15/2004: The Defense Department's top auditor asked the Pentagon to open a formal investigation into whether Halliburton overcharged for fuel deliveries into Iraq.[11]

1/19/2004: Despite the widening probe into Halliburton by Defense Department auditors, the Army Corps of Engineers awarded the company a competitively bid contract valued at $1.2 billion to continue to rebuild damaged oil infrastructure in Southern Iraq (this replaced Halliburton's previous oil infrastructure contract).[12]

1/23/04: Halliburton revealed to the Pentagon that two of its employees took kickbacks valued at $6 million in return for awarding a Kuwaiti company lucrative work supplying U.S. troops in Iraq.[13]

2/2/2004: KBR over-charged $16 million for meals served to troops at a military base in Kuwait. KBR's Saudi subcontractor, Tamimi Global, billed for 42,000 meals per day in July but served only 14,000 meals per day.[14]

2/4/2004: Halliburton notified the Department of Defense that it had over-billed by an additional $11.4 million in 2003 at four other dining sites in the region, for a total of nearly $28 million.[15]

2/13/04: The GAO said that Halliburton claimed it would cost $2.7 billion to provide food and logistics services to U.S. troops, but lopped $700 million off the estimate after questioning by the Defense Department.[16]

Box 3: cont.

5/16/04: Pentagon auditors announced that they were recommending the withholding of nearly $160 million in bursements for meals that Halliburton had charged the government but never served.[17]

6/14/04: The GAO issued a report charging that the Pentagon had violated procurement laws by issuing the Nov. 2002 task order to Halliburton to develop plans for Iraqi oil. This task order had paved the way for Halliburton to receive the $7 billion, no-bid contract to extinguish oil fires and rebuild Iraq's oil infrastructure.

6/14/04: Former Halliburton employees issued statements charging that the company had routinely wasted money. They claimed that the company had paid $45 each for cases of Coke and $100 per bag of laundry and instructied personnel to abandon nearly new $85,000 trucks when they got flat tires and to overstate hours worked in company timecards.[18]

8/11/04: Pentagon auditors found that Halliburton failed to account adequately for $1.8 billion in charges for feeding and housing troops.[19]

9/7/04: The *Wall Street Journal* reported that the U.S. military had recommended the termination of Halliburton's Iraq contract.[20]

10/24/04: *Time* magazine reports that Bunnatine Greenhouse, a top contracting specialist for the Army Corps of Engineers, is seeking whistleblower status after her objections to Halliburton's involvement in and the noncompetitive awarding of the $7 billion Restore Iraqi Oil contract were ignored. Greenhouse's lawyer charges that her superiors have tried to silence her.[21]

10/26/04: Halliburton is sued by two subcontractors for refusing to pay $20.4 million for food services and other work near the city of Tikrit.[22]

10/28/04: An audit by the CPA's Inspector General charges that KBR could not account for 42.8 percent of a random sample of over 3,000 items worth over $3 million.[23]

11/11/04: Internal U.S. embassy documents in Kuwait suggest that KBR employees were openly soliciting bribes from anyone who wanted to get a share of the multi-billion dollar contracts that KBR oversees.[24]

12/9/04: Rep. Henry Waxman (D-CA) releases information indicating that Halliburton's total contract revenues for the war in Iraq have exceeded $10 billion. Merrill Lynch estimated at a global energy conference the month before that Halliburton's total government service contracts around the world are worth over $21 billion.[25]

3/14/05: Rep. Waxman and Rep. John Dingell (D-MI) reveal that a Defense Contract Audit Agency audit found $108 million in overcharges and other questionable costs.[26]

3/22/05: A GAO report calls for increased oversight by the Pentagon over Halliburton's biggest contract.[27]

3/05: The family of a former Halliburton truck driver files suit against the company for wrongful death.[28]

3/31/05: Paul Wolfowitz, Deputy Secretary of Defense, is nominated as head of the World Bank, a position that puts him on the board of an international monitoring board responsible for overseeing U.S. disbursement of funds to Halliburton, a conflict of interest.[29]

4/22/05: Halliburton announces it is done with oil restoration work in Iraq, a year earlier than it had previously estimated, despite the fact that the infrastructure remains far from restored.[30]

5/24/05: Halliburton employees injured in Iraq are denied disability benefits because the company uses an offshore subsidiary in the Cayman Islands.[31]

6/16/05: Halliburton gets $30 million contract to build new Guantanamo, Cuba, jail, the same week that Vice President Cheney defends the jail after U.S. lawmakers said it had created an image problem for the U.S..[32]

6/29/05: More Halliburton whistleblowers testify before Congress about contract abuses in Iraq.[33] Rep. Henry Waxman and Senator Byron Dorgan (D-ND) co-release a report documenting an extra $1.4 billion in "questioned" and "unsupported" expenditures by Halliburton's KBR subsidiary in Iraq, and eight examples of "preferential treatment" given to the company for its work in Iraq.[34]

7/05: After auditors find that $8.8 billion in Iraqi oil revenue money cannot be accounted for, the Pentagon releases documents after they were originally redacted at the request of Halliburton.[35]

7/6/05: The Army orders $5 billion in additional logistics support work in Iraq from Halliburton for the next year, $1 billion above what the Army paid for similar services the previous year.[36]

ENDNOTES: THE PRICE OF WAR PROFITEERING: A CASE STUDY OF HALLIBURTON

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II. Costs to Iraq

Iraq and Iraqis have paid by far the highest price for the U.S. war and occupation.

With the collapse of earlier justifications regarding non-existent weapons of mass destruction and non-existent operational ties between Iraq and al Qaeda, the Bush administration turned to "democracy for Iraq" to justify the war. But almost nine months after the Iraqi elections, few steps have been taken to honor the courage that Iraqis showed in going to the polls. Democracy remains a distant fantasy as 160,000 foreign troops and up to 25,000 private military contractors continue to occupy the country, permanent U.S. military bases are being constructed, 100 executive orders issued by former CPA head Paul Bremer remain in effect, and hundreds of U.S. "advisors" operate within Iraqi ministries.

While the removal of brutal dictator Saddam Hussein was no doubt a welcome development for most Iraqis, the costs of this war have been extremely high and there is no end in sight. Estimates range from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands of Iraqis killed. The streets of Baghdad and other cities remain dangerous war zones. Clean water, electricity, and even gasoline in this oil-rich country are all in even shorter supply than during the dark years of economic sanctions. Women face new restrictions and new dangers. Thousands of Iraqis remain imprisoned in U.S.-controlled jails that are now infamous worldwide for mistreatment and torture of detainees. And Iraq remains mired in all of the indignity that military occupation brings. Even Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld said in June 2005: "Iraq is 'statistically' no safer today than it was after Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein was overthrown."[1] Iraqis are indeed paying a high price.

A. Human Costs to Iraqis

Iraqi Civilian Deaths

The U.S. military refuses to monitor or even estimate the number of Iraqi civilian casualties.

As Gen. Tommy Franks described the Pentagon's approach earlier in Afghanistan: "We don't do body counts."[2] Brig. Gen. Mark Kimmitt, the U.S. military's deputy director of operations, said U.S. forces do not have the capacity to track Iraqi civilian casualties.[3] Under the CPA, the U.S. also put pressure on the Iraqi minister of Health to cease civilian counts.[4] The failure of the United States to count Iraqi civilians dehumanizes the very people the Administration claims they are liberating.[5] "Americans

think that only their dead count, but what is happening to the Iraqis is a disaster," said a senior Iraqi Health Ministry official.[6]

Iraq Body Count (IBC), a group of academics and researchers, has compiled accounts of civilian casualties during the war based on confirmed news reports. IBC researchers have determined that as of August 22, 2005, between 23,589 and 26,705 civilians have been killed as a direct result of the U.S. invasion and ensuing occupation of Iraq.[7] During this same timeframe, the Iraq Ministry of Interior estimated that resistance violence has claimed the lives of 12,000 Iraqi civilians.[8]

But the actual death toll may be much higher. Iraq Body Count's methodology is very conservative using only confirmed press accounts. The British medical journal, *The Lancet*, reported in October 2004 that Iraq suffered 98,000 "excess deaths" from March 2003 to September 2004.[9] Researchers estimated that 60,000 of those deaths are attributed to violence, mainly reported to be caused by U.S. air attacks. Other deaths are attributed to increases in diseases and accidents attributed to the effects of the war.

Iraqi Civilians Wounded

Historically, the number of wounded in war is about three times as many as those killed, suggesting that roughly 70,000 Iraqis have been wounded as of August 2005. But for U.S. troops in Iraq, seven have been wounded for every one killed, so this estimate of Iraqi wounded is likely low. The Project on Defense Alternatives estimates the number of wounded between 100,000 and 120,000.[10] Furthermore, Iraq's hospitals and health system have been understaffed and overwhelmed throughout the war and occupation, meaning that injured Iraqis may not have requested or received medical care.

Iraqi Resistance Forces Killed

During "major combat" operations (March 20, 2003 to May 2, 2003), between 4,895 and 6,370 Iraqi soldiers and resistance fighters were killed.[11] While the Pentagon has released estimates on resistance deaths and arrests from time to time, there have been no official comprehensive accounts released. A Brookings study based on government figures estimates that 40,000 suspected resistance fighters have been detained or killed as of June 2005 and retired Gen. Jack Keane noted at a July 2005 meeting at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy that more than 50,000 resistance forces had been killed.[12]

Iraqi Police and Security Forces Personnel Killed

Iraq Coalition Casualty Count reports that 2,945 soldiers and police officers have been killed since the war started while other reports estimate up to 6,000 have been killed.[13] Even based upon the more conservative numbers, the toll has increased dramatically since the January 2005 elections. Up until December 2004, the monthly death figure was 65 but in 2005 the average has been 155 and the death toll reached a high of 304 in July 2005.[14]

Iraqi Civilian Kidnappings

About 5,000 cases of Iraqi civilian kidnappings have been recorded since the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime.[15]

B. Security Costs

Failure to Train Iraqi Police and Army

Occupation forces, Iraqi police and National Guard have largely failed to provide security for the Iraqi people.

With the formal end of occupation, the U.S. strategy has been to train as many Iraqis as possible with the goal of replacing U.S. forces with Iraqis. But progress has been slow. In June 2004 the State Department reported that 145,317 troops were trained while August 2005 State Department reports note 179,800 security forces have been trained.[16] Many critics argue that many of these forces are poorly trained and the figures include unauthorized absences. In February 2005, Anthony

The departments of State and Defense no longer report on the extent to which Iraqi security forces are equipped.

Cordesman of the Center for Strategic and International Studies testified in the Senate: "Only some elements of the army, a few elements of the national guard, and the special security forces can take on insurgents in offensive operations with U.S. support." Furthermore, the readiness of these troops cannot be ascertained. A March 2005 GAO report noted that "the departments of State and Defense no longer report on the extent to which Iraqi security forces are equipped with their required weapons, vehicles, communications equipment, and body armor."[17]

A major flaw with the training of Iraqi security forces is that U.S. training programs have few standards. The GAO reported just after the "transition" that: "Commanders had wide latitude in terms of training police and did not uniformly adopt the Transition Integration Program. They were free to establish their own curriculum and

requirements for policies, which varied in depth and scope. Training could last between three days and three weeks."[18]

In addition to the lack of training, the Department of Defense has failed to develop effective coordination with Iraqi forces. Cordesman notes: "The U.S. failed to treat the Iraqis as partners in the counterinsurgency effort for nearly a year."[19] These problems were seen as one factor in the fiasco of the April 2004 uprising, during which some sectors of Iraqi forces had up to 80 percent desertion rates.[20] Even when coordination has happened, new worries have arisen about the Iraqi Ministry of Defense being capable of adequately overseeing its troops.[21] Despite these problems, in May 2005 the U.S. Congress approved an additional $5.7 billion for training Iraqi soldiers, police and other security forces.[22]

The Rise in the Resistance

Despite 40,000-50,000 deaths and arrests, the resistance continues to thrive. The number of resistance fighters in Iraq increased from 5,000 in November 2003 to "no more than 20,000" in July 2005 and Iraq's national intelligence service director estimates there are more than 200,000 sympathizers.[23] Many in the resistance appear to be motivated by nationalism and opposition to foreign occupations. But resistance forces have also grown in composition to encompass not only former regime loyalists and foreign terrorists, but also Sunni Islamic extremists, and Shi'a radicals.[24]

The GAO reports: "According to senior military officials, the insurgency in Iraq—particularly the Sunni insurgency—has grown in number, complexity, and intensity over the past 18 months." Brookings' Iraq Index confirms that the average number of attacks per month has nearly doubled since the election, with an average of 70 attacks a day in May-July 2005.[25] The rise in suicide attacks has skyrocketed in 2005. Before the U.S. invasion Iraq had never experienced a suicide terrorist attack. In 2003 there were 20, in 2004 there were 48 and in the first five months of 2005 there was more than 50.[26]

Chart 2: Estimated Strength of Iraqi Resistance

	November 2003	August 2005
	5,000	20,000
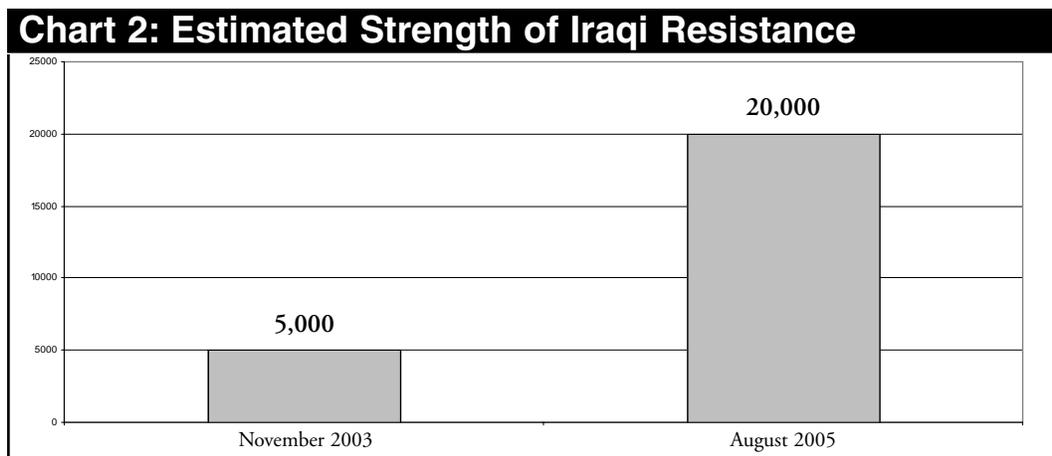
The Rise in Violence and Crime

Occupying forces are obligated under international law to provide for the basic needs, including security, of the civilian population under occupation. However, U.S. troops have failed to meet this responsibility. U.S. troops have not protected Iraqis from the escalation of violent crime that has plagued Iraq since the U.S. invasion. Criminal acts such as murder, rape, and kidnapping skyrocketed after March 2003, forcing children to stay home from school and women to stay off the streets at night.[27] Although comprehensive crime statistics are not available, Baghdad's central morgue counted 8,035 deaths by unnatural causes in 2004, up from 6,012 in 2003 and 1,800 before the war in 2002.[28] 2005 is turning out to be even deadlier with the Baghdad morgue reporting 1,100 such deaths in July 2005 alone.[29]

C. Economic Costs

Unemployment

By the summer of 2003, the unemployment rate in Iraq had doubled, from 30 percent before the war to 60 percent.[30] This rapid increase in unemployment was largely the result of the CPA's decision to disband Iraq's military and dismantle much of Iraq's state bureaucracy in the guise of a "de-Ba'athification" campaign. The CPA's Labor Ministry estimated that the Ba'athist purge combined with the army demobilization put 750,000 people out of work.[31]

Unemployment figures today range from 20 percent to 60 percent. By comparison, during the Great Depression, U.S. unemployment peaked at 25 percent. The effects have been disastrous for the Iraqi people. Up to 60 percent of the population depends on food handouts and the average income has dropped from $3,000 in the 1980s to $800 in 2004.[32] The Iraqi government, under budgetary pressures, recently warned that government ministries "can carry out their duties with only about 40-60 percent of their employees."[33] This would be devastating as the government employs nearly one-half of Iraq's 6.5 million strong workforce.[34]

The U.S. government says it has tried to respond by involving more Iraqis in reconstruction, but acknowledges that it is only employing 122,533 Iraqis in the civilian sector.[35] Furthermore, only $7.7 billion out of $18.4 billion slated for reconstruction has been spent by August 2005.[36]

It is clear that high levels of unemployment are fueling the resistance by putting, in the words of one U.S. Army officer: "too many angry young men, with no hope for the future, on the street."[37] This has become a deadly combination as the going rate in parts of Baghdad for planting roadside bombs is between $100-300 while the salary for an Iraqi soldier can reach $340 per month.[38] The International Crisis Group

notes: "Unemployment is the main problem and main source of resentment. It's a vicious circle: Lack of security leads to lack of reconstruction, which leads to lack of jobs, which leads back to lack of security."[39]

Corporate War Profiteering

Most of Iraq's reconstruction has been contracted out to American companies, rather than Iraqi or regional companies. Several of these companies, such as Halliburton and Bechtel, have close ties to officials within the Bush administration and have been awarded no-bid and expensive "cost-plus" contracts.[40] For example, an audit conducted by the special inspector general for Iraq reconstruction (a former Bush campaign team member) found: "The office had paid a contractor twice for the same work. A U.S. official was allowed to handle millions of dollars in cash weeks after he was fired for incompetence. Of the $119.9 million allocated for regional projects, $89.4 million was disbursed without contracts or other documentation."[41]

More importantly, the work that has been done has been substandard, extremely expensive, and has proceeded far too slowly. For example, Bechtel's work on schools in Iraq was described in a leaked Army report as: "Lousy paint job. Major clean-up work required. Bathrooms in poor condition." Inspections of facilities found that school bathrooms in supposedly "repaired" schools were overflowing with sewage.[42]

Halliburton, the recipient of the largest U.S. contracts, has provided particularly sluggish, uncoordinated, and over-priced services in Iraq.[43] (*See Box 3, pp. 22-3.*) Congressional committees such as the House Government Reform Committee have discovered that many of the companies responsible for oversight of Iraqi reconstruction contracts had direct business ties and conflicts of interest with the companies they were meant to be overseeing.[44] Besides wasting U.S. taxpayer funds, such practices have had a deleterious impact on Iraq's economy, preventing local involvement in reconstruction and keeping unemployment high.

Iraq's Oil Economy

Testifying before Congress in March 2003, former Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz said: "Oil revenues of Iraq could bring between $50-100 billion over the course of the next two or three years." This prediction has proved to be wildly optimistic. Iraq's export revenues totaled only $8 billion in 2003, $17 billion in 2004, and are predicted to reach just over $20 billion in 2005.[45] The Department of Energy has reported that revenue forecasts are "complicated by high levels of uncertainty regarding future Iraqi oil exports, as well as continuing attacks on oil infrastructure."[46] Mismanagement of oil activities, including the failure of U.S. authorities to install metering equipment, resulted in huge losses, according to the International

Advisory and Monitoring Board for Iraq.[47] A recent audit by the board found 618,000 tons of Iraqi oil worth $69 million missing.[48]

Oil production levels are not only lower than predicted by Wolfowitz, they are even lower than before the U.S. invasion. In 2003, Iraq's oil production dropped to 1.33 million barrels per day, down from 2.04 million one year earlier.[49] In July 2005, oil production remained below pre-war levels and Iraq continues to import half its gasoline and thousands of tons of heating fuel, cooking gas and other refined products.[50]

Although Iraq possesses the third-largest proven oil reserves in the world (and is widely speculated to have much more unexplored capacity), the ongoing violence has prevented Iraq from capitalizing on its oil assets. Even with more than 14,000 security guards deployed along pipelines, attacks have been frequent.[51] The quality of these troops has been brought into question. The GAO noted in a July 2005 report, "[Department of] State indicated that this force was not staffed, trained or equipped to patrol pipelines."[52] Since June 2003, there have been at least 255 attacks on Iraq's oil infrastructure.[53] Iraq has lost about $11.35 billion to date because of damage to oil sector infrastructure and lost revenue in the last two years.[54]

Since June 2003, there have been at least 255 attacks on Iraq's oil infrastructure. Iraq has lost about $11.35 billion to date because of damage to oil sector.

Iraqi control over its oil industry was undermined by UN Resolution 1546, which keeps in place protections from prosecution granted to oil companies under UN Resolution 1483. It does exclude from immunity those companies that sign contracts after June 28, 2004 but this simply means that U.S.-chosen companies will enjoy protection but those chosen by the Iraqi people will not.

Further weakening Iraqi sovereignty over oil, President Bush signed Executive Order 13303 in May 2003 and reaffirmed it in May 2004, thus revoking international environmental protections for oil spills or other ecological disasters, and granting blanket immunity to U.S. corporations that gain possession or control of Iraqi oil or products through any means. There is no cutoff date for the immunity, which renders "the judicial process ... null and void." Hence, if any damages occur from oil companies, Iraqi citizens have no legal recourse.[55]

D. Social Costs

Electricity

While U.S. officials knew that restoring electricity would be key to starting reconstruction, planners underestimated the time, money, and security needed to rebuild

the electric system after war and a decade of sanctions and were quick to promise a restoration of services to the Iraqi people.

These heightened expectations have caused much anger toward the occupation. The Center for Strategic and International Studies reports: "Most Iraqis equate the coalition's inability to develop an adequately functioning electrical system with the slow pace of reconstruction more generally ... Iraqis who are sweltering in 120-degree heat with many hours of blackouts a day do not feel that Iraq is being reconstructed."[56] In an April 2005 poll that asked what the government's priorities should be, Iraqi's put "inadequate electricity" first, ahead of "crime," which was fourth, "the presence of coalition forces," which ranked seventh, and "terrorists," which ranked eighth.[57]

By late July 2004, Iraq reached a major milestone in exceeding its pre-war electricity levels, providing nearly 5,000 megawatts of electricity across the country but since that date, production levels have failed to improve; the average production in July 2005 was 4,446 megawatts, despite reaching a new daily high on July 14 of over 5,300 megawatts.[58] Even if production reached the pre-war levels, it would lag far behind the current demand of 7,000-8,000 megawatts needed.[59] Iraqis are taking the matter into their own hands running private generators. A senior analyst at the Environment Ministry estimates that the number of gas-fired generators has increased 50-fold in the capital.[60]

Health

Thirty years ago the Iraqi health system was considered the finest in the Middle East. Wars and over a decade of sanctions put the health sector in shambles. Making matters worse, many hospitals lost critical equipment during 2003 post-invasion looting.[61] Although the war led to the lifting of the sanctions which permitted imports of medical equipment and medicines and recent claims from the Iraqi Ministry of Health that more drugs and better equipment is available, doctors on the ground still see "no such improvement.[62]

Indeed the health statistics on the ground in Iraq are stunning. A joint Iraqi-United Nations report released in May 2005 found that "the estimated number of persons living with a chronic health problem directly caused by war is 223,000 ... in the ongoing war, more children, elderly, and women have been disabled than in previous wars."[63] The report found: "Almost a quarter of the children between six months and five years suffer from chronic malnutrition, 12 percent suffer from general malnutrition and eight percent suffer from acute malnutrition.[64] A February 2005 report studying Iraqi hospitals noted that nearly one-half of the hospitals surveyed: "Lacked

disinfectants/detergents, gloves, masks and gowns, and have inadequate hand washing facilities."[65]

Education

Similar to other sectors of Iraq, the Iraqi education system has languished over the past 20 years. In January 2004, the Ministry of Education (MoE) reported that out of more than 15,000 existing school buildings, 80 percent required significant reconstruction.[66] The war caused varying degrees of damage and post-war looting resulted in widespread loss of ceiling fans, lighting, furniture, school desks, fences, doors, glass, blackboards, cabinets, electric cables, school radio stations, telephones, refrigerators, air coolers and conditioners. A program director at USAID noted: "Libraries here are empty."[67] A May 2005 United Nations University report noted that only 40 percent of the infrastructure destroyed is being rebuilt and that 2,000 university labs need to be re-equipped and 30,000 computers need to be procured.[68]

A 2005 UN Development Program/Iraq Ministry of Planning report notes the impact of neglect and war on the education system: "Low enrollment rates and high repetition rates are widespread, and the stagnation in literacy levels for both men and women are concerning. The gender gap in education persists, and the poor educational performance of women in some governorates is alarming."[69]

Environment

During the war, water and sewage systems were destroyed, thousands of bombs were dropped leaving unexploded ordnance (UXO) strewn across the country, the fragile desert ecosystem was damaged by tanks and U.S. temporary military outposts, well fires spewed smoke across the country, and ocean ports were clogged from bombed ships.[70] Post-war looting further contributed to the damage. At the Tuwaitha complex 3,000 nuclear compound storage barrels were looted and in the Dora depot 5,000 barrels of chemicals were spilt, burned, or stolen.[71]

Little progress is being made in repairing the environment. It is estimated that more than 12 million mines and UXO units are still present.[72] And while some of Iraq's marshes are slowly recovering, damage is difficult to repair.[73]

Adding to the wealth of health care problems is the toxic environment war is leaving behind. The Pentagon estimates that U.S. and British forces used 1,100 to 2,200 tons of weaponry made from depleted uranium (DU), a toxic and radioactive material, during the March 2003 bombing campaign, far more than the roughly 375 tons dropped during the 1991 Gulf War.[74] Most governments, including NATO and U.S. allies such as Germany, Canada, the Czech Republic, Norway and the Netherlands have foresworn the use of DU weapons. Many scientists and observers attribute the

mysterious Gulf War Syndrome among U.S. soldiers and the rapid increase of cancer in southern Iraq to the use of DU.[75] For example the number of serious child birth defects in Basra has increased sevenfold since 1991.[76]

Whereas during the first Gulf War much of the DU was dropped on desert battle-fields, in 2003 the vast majority of the toxic weapons were deployed in heavily populated urban areas such as Baghdad.[77] While Great Britain has provided the United Nations Environment Program's (UNEP) with maps pointing out the locations for the DU they fired, the U.S. military has not disclosed the location of their munitions, exposing the Iraqi people to possible contamination. The head of UNEP's Iraq Task Force expressed concern saying: "There has been no proper clean up in Iraq since wars in 2003 and 1991. There is still depleted uranium and other chemicals on the ground."[78] UNEP is training Iraqis to conduct studies on radiation from depleted uranium sources as the security situation is too grave for UNEP officials to operate on the ground.[79]

The Pentagon estimates that U.S. and British forces used 1,100 to 2,200 tons of weaponry made from depleted uranium.

The depleted uranium residue remains behind when DU-filled weapons are fired, and has been linked to a range of serious diseases including leukemia and other cancers, birth defects and other problems among Iraqi civilians and GIs during the Gulf War.[80]

E. Human Rights Costs

President Bush claimed that "Iraq is free of rape rooms and torture chambers," on October 8, 2003.[81] Yet the photos of torture at Abu Ghraib Prison revealed in 2004 told the world a different story.

The International Committee of the Red Cross documented the U.S. military engaging in harsh prisoner interrogation techniques such as: "Hooding, beating with hard objects...stripp[ing] [prisoners] naked for several days while being held in solitary confinement ... [and] threats ... of reprisals against family members ... and imminent execution."[82] Such actions fall within the definition of torture established by the International Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, to which the United States is a signatory. Torture is defined in the Convention as: "An act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person," for a purpose such as obtaining information or a confession, punishment, intimidation or coercion.

Other reports suggest that the abuse extends beyond Abu Ghraib, revealing overall flaws in U.S. operations.[83] In April 2005 Human Rights Watch expressed concern that the U.S. still has not stopped the use of illegal coercive interrogation. They noted, "In January 2005, Attorney General Alberto Gonzales claimed in a written response during his confirmation hearings that the prohibition on cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment does not apply to U.S. personnel in the treatment of non-citizens abroad."[84]

Iraqi security forces are also committing torture. A January Human Rights Watch Report and the U.S. State Department's annual human rights report noted unlawful arrests, long-term incommunicado detention, torture and other ill-treatment of prisoners.[85] Even the Iraqi government has acknowledged that: "Some of its new security forces were resorting to the sort of torture and abuses of detainees seen under Saddam Hussein."[86] And Amnesty International has also drawn attention to the widespread war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by armed groups opposing the occupation.[87]

Prison populations have been booming in 2005. The average prisoner level in June 2005 was 10,783, up from 7,837 at the time of the January 2005 elections, and double that of the June 2004 level of 5,335.[88] Looking at future growth, the U.S. is expanding three existing facilities and opening a fourth, at a cost of $50 million with the goal of being able to detain 16,000 long-term prisoners.[89] Illustrating the use of widespread sweeps of arrests without cause, review processes indicate that six out of every 10 Iraqis arrested are released.[90]

Women's Rights

Since the start of the 2003 Iraq War, Iraqi women have been pushed back into the home due to escalating violence. Although Saddam Hussein's dictatorship was not characterized by a feminist agenda, women maintained greater access to educational and professional opportunities than almost anywhere else in the Arab world. The draft constitution to be voted on in October 2005 contains language that may undermine Iraqi women's rights to full equality by allowing religious law to become primary in future legal systems.

The atmosphere of violence and general lawlessness has increased the number of acts of genital mutilation, honor crimes, and domestic violence.[91] And with decreasing jobs in the public sector, in which 72 percent of women held jobs, the deteriorating economic situation has led to an increase in prostitution and backstreet abortions.[92] Hanny Megally, former Executive Director of the Middle East and North Africa division of Human Rights Watch, states: "Women and girls today in Baghdad are scared, and many are not going to schools or jobs or looking for work. If Iraqi

women are to participate in post-war society, their physical security needs to be an urgent priority."[93]

Women are targeted by all sides of the war. Iraqi women who are employed by the U.S. military forces, such as laundry women or translators, have been targeted and killed by Iraqi resistance forces.[94] In addition, Amnesty Internatinal reported: "Women have been subjected to sexual threats by members of the US-led forces, and some women detained by U.S. forces have been sexually abused, possibly raped."[95]

Female political leaders and human rights activists have been targeted especially. Shi'a Muslim legislator Sheikha Lamea Khaddouri, a widely-known human rights activist, had survived two previous assassination attempts before she was killed on April 27, 2005.[96] Other prominent women have been targeted in recent months. Human rights activist and adviser at the Ministry of Municipalities and Public Affairs, Amal al-Ma'amalachi, was killed last November 20, 2004. She was a co-founder of the Advisory Committee for Women's Affairs in Iraq and the Independent Iraqi Women's Assembly.[97]

After the government of Saddam Hussein fell, the Iraqi people were promised better treatment. Yet, sexual violence has discouraged women from leaving home to work or attend school, and U.S. and Iraqi authorities are failing to make rape and abductions a priority in order to ensure public security. As the occupying power, the U.S.-led forces have post-war responsibilities to protect Iraqi citizens.

F. Sovereignty Costs

Despite the many successes of the January 2005 elections, far too little progress has been made in handing sovereignty to the Iraqi people. Neither the elections nor the upcoming constitution changes the reality of 138,000 U.S. troops and another 23,000 coalition troops occupying the country, or the reality of U.S. control of Iraq's political and economic life.

Political Sovereignty

In national elections, Iraqis took the valiant step of voting in order to change the course of events. While the jubilation in the streets was very real, it masked another reality—more than two-thirds of the Shi'ites wanted U.S. forces out of Iraq either immediately or once the elected government is in place.

The election did not change U.S. domination of Iraq. The U.S.-imposed Transitional Administrative Law, implemented under the official U.S. occupation, remains the law of the land even with the election. Amending that law requires super-

majorities of the assembly as well as a unanimous agreement by the presidency council, almost impossible given the range of constituencies that must be satisfied. On March 13, 2004, Yochi Dreazen and Christopher Cooper reported in *The Wall Street Journal* that chiefs of key commissions, including Iraq's Inspector General, the Commission on Public Integrity, the Communication and Media Commission and others, were appointed by U.S. pro-consul Paul Bremer with five-year terms and can only be dismissed for cause. The Council of Judges, as well as individual judges and prosecutors, were selected, vetted and trained by the U.S. occupation, and are dominated by long-time U.S.-backed exiles.

As the National Assembly plans a referendum on the proposed constitution under the watchful eyes of the U.S. and Iraqis vote for a new government (planned for December 2005), the Bush administration continues to control the largest pot of money available in Iraq: $18.4 billion in U.S. taxpayer money allocated for reconstruction, the largest military and the rules governing Iraq's economy. Both the money and the rules are overseen by U.S.-appointed auditors and inspectors general who sit in every Iraqi ministry holding five-year terms and sweeping authority over contracts and regulations.

The U.S. now maintains one of the largest U.S. embassies in the world in Iraq, with nearly 1,000 American staffers.[98] And today, the U.S. is constructing a new compound for the embassy to be completed in the next two years, at an estimated cost of $1.2 billion to the U.S. taxpayers.[99] The embassy is supplemented by U.S. diplomatic offices in four regions of Iraq. A perhaps even more blatant obstacle to Iraq's political sovereignty is the fact that 200 U.S. and international advisors remain as "embedded consultants" with various Iraqi ministries.[100] And the CIA has refused to hand control of Iraq's intelligence service to the Iraqi government.[101] With control over much of the funds for Iraq and effective control over the military situation remaining in U.S. hands, these U.S. advisors, while not directly in charge, will continue to exert strong influence over the decisions of Iraqi officials.

Despite what many U.S. officials state, militarily, the United States is planning for a long term stay in Iraq.[102] Currently, the U.S. operates out of approximately 106 locations across the country.[103] Originally many of these were designated with unabashed names like "Camp Slayer," "Forward Operating Base Steel Dragon," and "Camp Headhunter." But by late 2004 many were renamed to more subtle names like Camp Prosperity, Camp Liberty, and Camp Freedom.[104] In May 2005, plans for concentrating U.S. troops into four massive bases positioned geographically in the North, South, East and West were reported and the most recent spending bill in Congress for the Iraq War contained $236.5 million for base construction.[105]

Box 4: Permanent Miliary Construction Projects in Iraq

Project Title and Location	Description	Amount Received
Hospital Facility Camp Anaconda	Current hospital's field generators are not designed to "sustain long-term operations."	$39,000,000
Hardened Ammunition Bunker Muthanna Facility	Encapsulation of ammunition bunkers, "sealing entrances, manholes, ventilation shafts with reinforced concrete."	$39,000,000
Main Supply Route Aspen	Construction of a "59.7 mile paved two-lane asphalt road" to serve as a supply route to Kuwait.	$36,000,000
Troop Medical Clinic Camp Marez	Provides for a new medical clinic because the current clinic does not meet "long term needs."	$2,900,000
Combat Support Hospital Camp Marez	The current hospital is located on Marez Airfield, which is being returned to the Iraqi government "within the year." After that, "there will be no existing medical facilities" in the north.	$9,900,000
CMU Barracks Camp Marez	Construction of "concrete masonry unit barracks." Currently, personnel are living in tents and trailers. "Tents need to be replaced approximately every two years, and the trailers will have to be replaced every 3-5 years."	$9,300,000
CMU Barracks Various Locations	Construction of "concrete masonry unit" buildings. Currently, personnel are living in tents and trailers. "Tents need to be replaced approximately every two years, and the trailers will have to be replaced every 3-5 years."	$55,200,000
Battalion and Company Headquarters, Camp Anaconda	Construction of operations buildings because: "Existing facilities are relocatable buildings."	$7,800,000
Medical Facility Camp Warrior	Construction of a "Level 3 Medical Clinic....The current mobile units are located in tents that are not suitable as long-term medical facilities."	$7,500,000
CMU Barracks Camp Hope	Construction of "concrete masonry barracks....Currently, personnel are living in tents and relocatable buildings and the tents need to be replaced approximately every two years, and the trailers will have to be replaced every 3-5 years."	$2,500,00
CMU Barracks Camp Taji	Construction of "concrete masonry barracks....Currently, personnel are living in tents and relocatable buildings and the tents need to be replaced approximately every two years, and the trailers will have to be replaced every 3-5 years."	$24,000,000
Battalion/Tactical Operations Building Camp Warrior	Construction of operations buildings. "Failure to construct these facilities will require soldiers…to work out of substandard and temporary facilities…."	$6,100,000
Repair/Install Airfield Lighting Balad Air Force Base	Repairing of a lighting system at Balad Air Base…to ensure the "continued support of the War on Terrorism" because a "temporary" system is currently being used.	$25,000,000
Total		$236,500,00

*Bases considered to be "permanent" were made by the authors best judgment based on the language that the Department of Defense used in their own justifications in the FY 2005 Supplemental Request for Operation Iraqi Freedom, Operation Enduring Freedom, and Operation Unified Assistance.

Sources: Department of Defense, "FY 2005 Supplemental Request for Operation Iraqi Freedom, Operation Enduring Freedom, and Operation Unified Assistance," Department of Defense, February 2005; and, "Conference Report on H.R. 126," U.S. House of Representatives, May 2005.

The spending bill actually spells out the permanent nature of new construction. A justification document states: "This proposal will allow the Army to provide temporary facilities, and in some very limited cases, permanent facilities.... These facilities include barracks, administrative space, vehicle maintenance facilities, aviation facilities, mobilization-demobilization barracks, and community support facilities."[106]

President George W. Bush uses democracy as an issue to justify a continued U.S. presence in Iraq in many speeches. Yet the new military construction is decidedly undemocratic. Iraqis have virtually no input into these plans. Unlike the Status of Forces agreements the U.S. has with goverments hosting its other overseas bases (except in Saudi Arabia), there are no formal agreements on the terms that the U.S. can erect facilities with the new government.

Economic Sovereignty

During occupation, the Bush administration has violated its obligations as an occupying power under the Hague and Geneva Conventions to provide for basic life necessities without fundamentally altering Iraq's economic laws. The head of the now defunct CPA, Paul Bremer, passed 100 orders that, among other things, give U.S. corporations virtual free reign over the Iraqi economy while largely excluding Iraqis from a reconstruction effort which has failed to provide for their basic needs.[107]

The Bremer Orders give preference to U.S. corporations over the development of the Iraqi economy in a variety of ways, including:

- Denying Iraq the ability to give preference to Iraqi companies or employees in the reconstruction effort. On a more basic level, state-owned Iraqi companies are actually prohibited from bidding;

- Permitting the full privatization of Iraq's state-owned enterprises and 100 percent foreign ownership of Iraqi companies;

- Allowing foreign products to flood the Iraqi market which has, in turn, forced local producers out of business;

- Preventing restrictions on capital flows; and,

- Failing to require that contractors provide services first and receive payment second.[108]

In addition to these orders, Iraq has also been saddled with conditions from loans with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Elimination of the 14-year-old food ration program (despite the fact that many Iraqis still depend on it as their primary, if not only, source of food) is spelled out in the IMF loan agreement as well as a plan

to end fuel subsidies within the next four years.[109] Further privatization efforts are also included with the ultimate aim of joining the World Trade Organization.[110]

The UN through Resolution 1483 further reinforced U.S. influence over the Iraqi economy by creating the "Development Fund for Iraq"(DFI) to administer proceeds from the export sales of Iraq's oil, as well as funds remaining from the UN Oil-for-Food Program and other assets seized from the defunct regime. While the Bush administration was very vocal in the media saying that Iraqi oil belongs to the Iraqi people, the CPA spent nearly all of the funds in the account, nearly $20 billion, with virtually no scrutiny.[111]

Limited oversight of the DFI came through the UN-created International Advisory and Monitoring Board (IAMB). Though billed as "the eyes and ears of the international community," the first audit reports were not released to the public until July 15, 2004, two weeks after the CPA was dissolved. The audit noted that the metering of oil extracted from Iraq was not functioning, so it was impossible to tell if it had all been accounted for. It also noted that only one of the IAMB members was an Iraqi and that he had attended only two of the 43 meetings.[112] The CPA's own Inspector General found that at least $8.8 billion in Iraqi funds could not be accounted for.[113]

III. Costs to the World

A. Human Costs

Coalition Deaths

While Americans make up the vast majority of military and contractor personnel in Iraq, other U.S.-allied "coalition" troops continue to suffer war casualties in Iraq. As of the August 22, 2005, the total non-U.S. coalition casualties numbered 194.[1] The Pentagon does not track non-U.S. citizen military or civilian contractors killed or wounded in Iraq, but independent accounts show at least 164 non-U.S. contractors killed as of August 24, 2005.[2]

Diversion of Resources

In addition to the direct human costs, the Iraq War continues to drain attention and vital resources away from other international problems. One result is the world community's continuing inability to respond effectively to emergencies, including continuing humanitarian crises in Sudan, Liberia, Palestine, Niger, Colombia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. United Nations attention, peacekeepers, diplomatic talent, political support, humanitarian assistance, reconstruction and development monies all are scarce as the world focuses its attention on Iraq.

Box 5
Non-U.S. Coalition Casualties
United Kingdom 66
Italy .27
Spain 11
Poland 17
Ukraine 18
Bulgaria 13
Slovakia 3
Thailand 2
Netherlands 2
Denmark 1
El Salvador 2
Estonia 2
Hungarian 1
Latvia 1
Kazakhstan 1
Total **194**

Kidnapping

Since April 2004, when the pattern of kidnapping of foreign nationals began, the total number of kidnappings climbed to 210 by August 18, 2005 (the exact dates of 13 abductions are unknown).[3] Forty-two have been killed and the status of 68 was unknown.[4] While the costs have been high to foreign nationals, the Iraqi Interior Ministry estimates that 5,000 Iraqis were kidnapped between December 2003 and April 2005.[5]

B. Undermining International Law

The U.S. war in Iraq violates major tenets of international law. In a September 15, 2004, interview regarding the Iraq war, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan said: "From the [UN] Charter point of view, it was illegal."[6] The UN Charter's otherwise absolute prohibition against war allows only two exceptions: if the Security Council

itself calls for armed action (Chapter VII, Article 42), or in self-defense (Article 51) "if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations" (and then only "until" such time that "the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security"). Neither the terms of Article 42 nor of Article 51 were met in the case of Iraq. The violation is particularly egregious since the extensive pre-war claims made by the Bush administration and by Prime Minister Tony Blair in Britain, regarding the "imminent" threat ostensibly posed by Iraq's alleged stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction turned out to be false. Charles Duelfer, the chief of the U.S. Iraq Survey Group overseeing 1,500 analysts searching for WMD in Iraq after the U.S. invaded and occupied the country, determined that "Iraq had no WMD, only intentions" to create them.[7]

Pre-emptive War

In waging war in Iraq, the Administration has sought to legitimize the notion of pre-emptive and even preventive war as the basis for its international relations. In addition to undermining the restrictions on war imposed by the United Nations Charter and the Nuremberg rulings, the Iraq War set a dangerous precedent for other countries to act as military aggressors in the future, seizing any opportunity to respond militarily to claimed threats, whether real or contrived, that must be "pre-empted." The Iraq War has set the stage for military anarchy and uncontrolled nationalist ambition and militarism.

Legitimating Mercenaries

Mercenaries have been around as long as warfare. But the role of mercenaries, or "private military contractors," in the Iraq War has surpassed all precedents. There are up to 25,000 armed mercenaries from all over the world working for, with, and alongside the U.S.-led "coalition" forces in Iraq, making them the largest military contingent after the U.S. They outnumber all other non-U.S. forces combined.[8]

This is a particularly dangerous trend because they operate outside of the military command structure and are thus virtually certain to be exempt from accountability to international law, such as the Geneva Conventions, the Convention Against Torture, or the statutes of the International Criminal Court. They also are immune from accountability to Iraqi law; according to the GAO, the U.S. occupation's Coalition Provisional Authority order number 17 (revised) states that "contractors (including private security providers) will generally be immune from the Iraqi legal process for acts performed in accordance with the terms and conditions of their contracts."[9] There are no indications that the post-election transitional government in Iraq has changed or abrogated that order.

Unilateralism

Just two weeks before the war, President Bush stated: "When it comes to our security, we really don't need anybody's permission."[10] The unilateral U.S. decision to go to war in Iraq thus led to what must be termed an aggressive or preventive war. While calling the Iraq War a "pre-emptive" war, based on the false claim that Baghdad had dangerous stockpiles of WMDs, the war was actually launched on a preventive basis—it was a war of aggression, which Nuremberg prosecutor Justice Robert Jackson identified as the worst crime, from which all other war crimes stem. Iraq was not in fact a preemptive war—because that would require an imminent threat, which we know did not exist in Iraq. In fact, years before the war in Iraq began contesting views were already common that challenged the "imminent threat" claim. Those views existed within U.S. intelligence agencies, as well as among academic experts, outside analysts, other countries' intelligence resources and many more arenas. The reports of David Kay, head of the UN arms inspection team, and of Charles Duelfer of the U.S. arms search team, provide additional proof that the "imminent threat" claim was false.

The Rules of War

The tactics of the war also violate major tenets of international law, primarily those of the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions regarding protection of civilian populations in time of war, treatment of populations under military occupation, and the laws of war themselves regarding proportionality and illegal weapons and tactics. The bombing of civilian population centers and religious sites violates Geneva's requirements. Use of depleted uranium (DU) weapons violates the Convention's prohibitions against disproportionate use of force since it is known that the effects of DU extend far beyond the targeted sites and military personnel to harm water systems, agricultural and residential land, and civilian populations for many years.

During the occupation of Iraq, the U.S. military continues to violate the Geneva Convention prohibitions regarding collective punishment. Those violations include the use of imposed curfews, closures of whole towns and neighborhoods, demolition of houses, and the arrest or kidnapping of family members of wanted militants to use as hostages to force the wanted men to turn themselves in. Extrajudicial killing of Iraqi opposition political leaders remains a violation of the Geneva Convention's prohibition against such assassination by an occupying power.

The U.S. occupation also violates the Fourth Geneva Convention's obligation on the occupying power to provide for the humanitarian requirements of the occupied population. One reason for Iraqi antagonism to the U.S. occupation is the widespread memory of how the Iraqi regime managed to quickly reconstruct the country's basic infrastructure after both the Iran-Iraq War and the first Gulf War of 1991. The

inability of the U.S.—the wealthiest and most powerful country in the world—to provide sufficient clean water, electricity, gasoline, etc., to the Iraqi people stokes ever greater resentment. Simply claiming that resistance forces are attacking oil pipelines does not abrogate Washington's obligation to provide for the Iraqi people's needs.

C. Undermining the United Nations

Many in the Bush administration believed that the Iraq War would weaken the United Nations. While the Administration had systematically attacked the legitimacy and credibility of the UN from the moment it took office in January 2001, those attacks escalated in the run-up to the Iraq War even as the UN, from the Security Council to the General Assembly to the Secretary General and the Secretariat, continued to defy the U.S. call to war.

"Given the current highly charged atmosphere, the United States would regard a General Assembly session on Iraq as unhelpful and as directed against the United States."

The UN's credibility in much of the world actually increased as it defied U.S. demands to support war in Iraq. But its attempt to operate in Iraq during the U.S. war and occupation undermined the credibility and independence of the United Nations because many perceived it to be a sign of UN approval of U.S. government actions. On August 19, 2003, the UN paid a grim human price for its decision to remain in Iraq under U.S. occupation, when a truck bomb destroyed the UN's Baghdad headquarters, killing 22 staff members, including the Secretary General's Special Envoy Sergio Vieira de Mello.

Attempting to make the UN "Irrelevant"

In his September 12, 2002 speech at the General Assembly, Bush continued his claim that the UN would be "irrelevant" if it did not join the war. "Are Security Council resolutions to be honored and enforced or cast aside without consequence? Will the United Nations serve the purpose of its founding or will it be irrelevant?"[11] A month later he followed that up with a warning that the UN must act to join his war, or risk becoming a "debating society."[12]

As the war came closer and the global organization still refused to back the U.S.-UK assault, the attacks on the United Nations grew sharper. On February 9, 2003, President Bush told a Republican audience that "it's a moment of truth for the United Nations. The United Nations gets to decide, shortly, whether or not it is going to be relevant, in terms of keeping the peace, whether or not its words mean anything."[13] A month later, on March 6, 2003, Bush taunted the UN, saying: "The fundamental

question facing the Security Council is, will its words mean anything? When the Security Council speaks, will the words have merit and weight? If we need to act, we will act, and we really don't need United Nations approval to do so."[14]

Bush's aides waged even sharper attacks on the United Nations. Three days after the United States launched its war on Iraq, then-Chairman of the Defense Policy Board, Richard Perle, celebrated what he saw as a key accomplishment of the war in an article titled: "Thank God for the Death of the UN." He cheered at the prospect that the war would expose what he called "the intellectual wreckage of the liberal conceit of safety through international law administered by international institutions."[15]

Undercutting Democracy and Diplomacy

In the U.S. effort to win Security Council support for the war, the Bush administration undermined always-tenuous UN democracy and diplomacy by threatening member states to cease their opposition to a UN endorsement of the war. In a move which was reportedly used against many other countries as well, the U.S. ambassador to South Africa sent a March 18, 2003 letter to that country's deputy foreign minister explicitly demanding that South Africa not participate in or support any effort even to convene an emergency General Assembly meeting on the Iraq war. The language was harshly threatening: "Given the current highly charged atmosphere, the United States would regard a General Assembly session on Iraq as unhelpful and as directed against the United States. Please know that this question as well as your position on it is important to the U.S."[16]

Rejection of Inspections

Before the war, the United States refused to accept the reports of the UN arms inspectors as legitimate. During the U.S. occupation of Iraq, the Bush administration refused to allow UN inspectors back into the country, despite the fact that the United States had signed on to UN resolutions continuing the mandate of the UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), and despite the fact that UNMOVIC, working outside of Iraq, continued to find new information regarding Iraq's destroyed weapons programs. In its rejection of UNMOVIC, the United States undermined the legitimacy of the UN as a centerpiece of global disarmament.

Unilateral "Multilateralism"

After the invasion of Iraq, Washington's decision to go back to the United Nations at all, after dismissing the global organization as "irrelevant" when it stood defiant of war, reflected a thoroughly tactical, rather than law-based, approach to the UN. In the eyes of the world community, the relevance and centrality of the United Nations had

remained not only intact but strengthened through that defiance. Unfortunately, that increased recognition of the UN's value in global diplomacy was undercut once again in May 2003, when the Security Council accepted, albeit reluctantly, the U.S.-UK resolution "recognizing" the existing U.S.-UK occupation of Iraq.

In the June 2004 "transfer of sovereignty," the Bush administration again needed the UN's imprimatur, this time to legitimize the new interim government. While Washington once more acted on tactical rather than international law grounds, its grudging return to the UN still reflected the world's insistence on multilateral approaches.

In fact, however, the U.S.-drafted resolution continued to violate international norms. It called on the UN to accept as "sovereign" a government possessing only the fiction of sovereignty. The Iraqi interim government was not elected, but rather was installed by and remained dependent for its survival on the U.S.-led occupying forces controlling its country. The resolution then gave that unelected body the authority to decide how long the occupation forces would remain in Iraq. Such a decision undermined not only the UN as an institution, but the entire notion of national sovereignty that serves as the basis for the United Nations Charter.

Cutting Deals

The Security Council's acceptance of the 2004 U.S.-UK resolution recognizing the U.S.-imposed "interim government" in Iraq and changing the name (but not the reality) of the U.S.-dominated occupation force to a "multi-national force" reflected new U.S. pressures, including bribes as well as threats, on the UN as a whole. There were also specific bribes and threats brought to bear on individual Council members. Germany attempted to leverage its support for the U.S.-UK resolution to win U.S. backing for Berlin's longstanding goal of a permanent Security Council seat. In early June 2004 the German Chancellor's foreign policy advisor told journalists that they already "have four of the five permanent members" as well as the necessary two-thirds support of the General Assembly, and therefore in the fall 2004 session Germany will "push through" a resolution for a seat.[17] By September 2004 Germany had joined with Japan, Brazil and India in a high-profile joint campaign for new permanent seats for all four countries. But Germany's effort collapsed even before the September 2005 UN summit, when Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice made clear that the U.S. would support only Japan's bid, and that Berlin's anti-war stance would result in a U.S. refusal to consider a permanent Security Council seat for Germany.

Undermining Legitimacy

The Iraqi elections orchestrated by and held under control of the U.S. and "coalition" occupation forces took place in January 2005. At the end of May, a month after the new "transitional government" was sworn in, Iraq's transitional Foreign Minister Hoshyar Zebari, acting under the authority granted to him by the June 2004 resolution, requested the UN Security Council to extend the mandate of the U.S.-led occupation forces beyond the existing December 31, 2005 deadline.[18] The Council agreed unanimously to do so, although the decision was taken in the form of a Council statement, rather than in an official resolution. Such statements have less diplomatic stature than a resolution, and sometimes reflect Council members' unease at having a public vote on the record.

But resolution or not, in thus granting the global organization's endorsement of the occupation, the Council took another step towards undermining the notional independence and even legitimacy of the United Nations. A group comprising almost half of the Iraqi parliamentarians elected under U.S. control issued a statement less than two weeks later asserting that their government's request to the UN actually contradicted the majority will of the Iraqi people who wished for the "departure" of the occupation, and, since the extension request was made without consulting the parliament itself, it was without legitimacy.

The statement said:

"As the National Assembly is the legitimate representative of the Iraqi people and the guardian of its interests, and as the voice of the people, especially with regard to repeated demands for the departure of the occupation, we note that these demands have earlier been made in more than one session but have blatantly been ignored from the Chair. Worse still is the Government's request to the UN Security Council to extend the presence of the occupation forces, made without consultation with the people's representative in the National Assembly who hold the right to make such fateful decisions.

"In line with our historic responsibility, we reject the legitimation of the occupation and we repeat our demand for the departure of the occupation forces, especially since our national forces have been able to break the back of terrorism and to notably establish its presence in the Iraqi street and to recover the state's dignity and the citizen's trust in the security forces leading to the noble objectives in an Iraq whose sovereignty is not embellished.

"Peace and God's Mercy and Blessings be Upon You.[19]

Undermining Morale

Overall, the UN secretariat and other staff felt betrayed by the organization's acquiescence to U.S. pressure to remain involved in Iraq under conditions of U.S. occupation. Following the lethal August 19, 2003 Baghdad bombing of UN headquarters, the staff union demanded that the organization stay out of Iraq, at least until serious protection could be provided, something virtually impossible under conditions of occupation. Annan agreed, compromising with the U.S. to send a small token team into Iraq, with a larger contingent working on humanitarian issues from outside Iraq's borders, in Jordan and elsewhere. But many still believed that the UN was being bent to Washington's will in Iraq. When right-wing forces in the U.S., largely in Congress and the media, began a concerted attack on the UN primarily because of its refusal to have endorsed the war in the first place, the sense of being besieged grew. By February 2005 even the *The New York Times* admitted that staff morale had been "badly shaken by the United Nations' protracted role in Iraq."[20]

D. Enforcing Coalitions

The U.S. effort to create what the Bush administration called a "coalition of the willing" to endorse the Iraq War, despite massive popular and governmental, as well as overwhelming UN opposition, led to a further undermining of the UN's authority over issues of global peace and security. Individual countries were pressured to join the coalition, turning it into a "coalition of the coerced."

Coalition of the Coerced

On March 18, 2003, Secretary of State Colin Powell released a list of 30 countries that he claimed had agreed to be publicly identified as members of the U.S.-led coalition. However, according to *The Washington Post*, officials of at least one of these countries, Colombia, were apparently unaware that they had been designated as a coalition partner. It is not known how many other governments first learned of their membership in the coalition through the media. At the same time the State Department claimed that an additional 15 countries had joined the "coalition," but were unwilling to be publicly identified.[21] It is clear that in putting together their "coalition," the U.S. frequently substituted coercion and subterfuge for actual diplomacy.
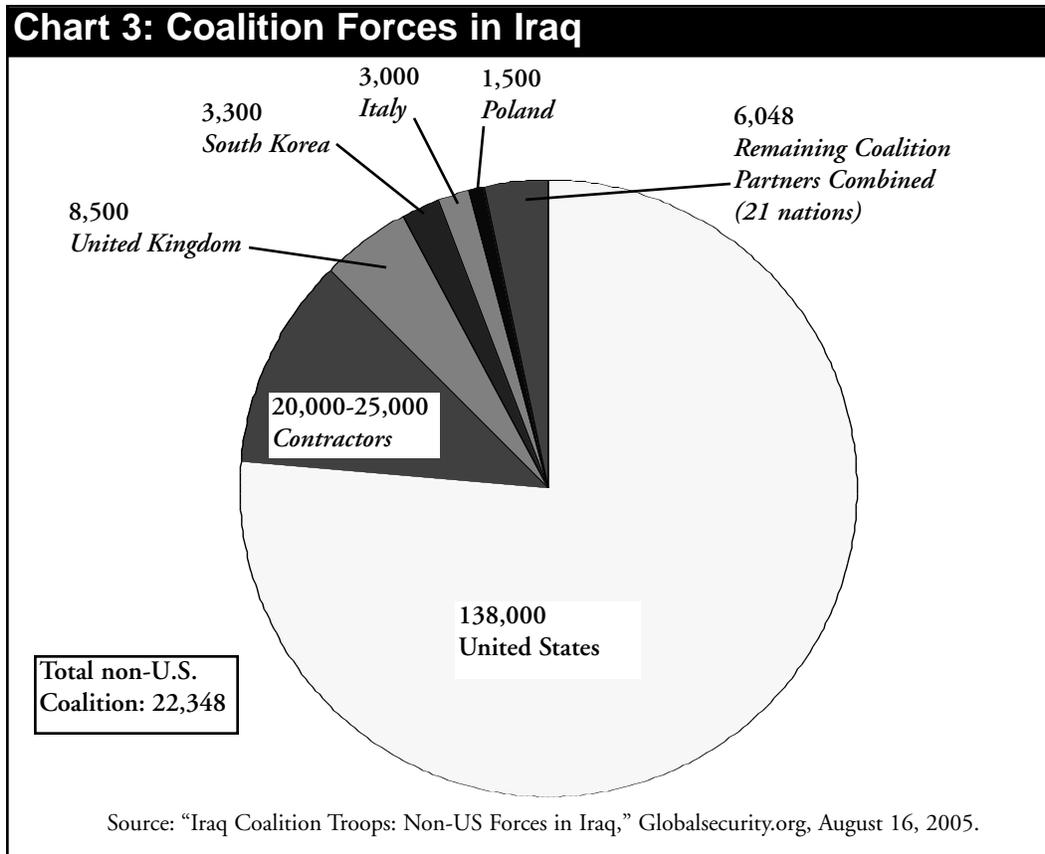
As of July 2005, there were 26 "coalition" countries with at least token numbers of troops on the ground in Iraq. The total number of non-U.S. coalition forces was less than 23,000; of these, 17 were largely impoverished eastern European, former Soviet and Warsaw Bloc countries, including Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Ukraine.[22] All but Poland

maintained very small, and politically important but militarily irrelevant contingents. (Mongolia kept its 180 troops under U.S. command in Iraq. It may or may not be relevant that, according to the Pentagon's American Forces Press Service, "the last time Mongolian soldiers were in Iraq was in 1258. They destroyed Baghdad then."[23])

Superficial Support

Many governments joining the original "coalition" did so in opposition to the vast majority of their deeply anti-war citizenry. Other governments, including Hungary and the Netherlands, allowed their names to be placed on the coalition list, while at the same time reassuring their citizens that they would not actually support the military action in any substantive way. In both ways U.S. pressure on governments to join the coalition undermined democracy in many of those countries, since public opposition to the war ranged as high as 90 percent, thus forcing "willing" governments to go to war against the wishes of their own populations.

In February 2005, for example, Australian Prime Minister John Howard gave in to Bush administration pressure to send 450 additional troops to Iraq, despite his pre-election pledge four months earlier that he would not send any more soldiers. As *The New York Times* pointed out, almost 10 percent of the entire Australian population

Chart 3: Coalition Forces in Iraq

3,000
Italy

1,500
Poland

3,300
South Korea

6,048
Remaining Coalition Partners Combined (21 nations)

8,500
United Kingdom

20,000-25,000
Contractors

138,000
United States

Total non-U.S. Coalition: 22,348

Source: "Iraq Coalition Troops: Non-US Forces in Iraq," Globalsecurity.org, August 16, 2005.

had demonstrated against the war before the U.S.-UK invasion, and Howard admitted that his decision "will be unpopular with many people." He pointedly did not mention the Bush administration when announcing the troop increase, claiming that the troops were being sent at the request of Japan and Britain.[24]

Even in Britain, Washington's closest ally, democracy was undermined. Bush's partnership with Tony Blair resulted in levels of governmental deception in Britain almost equal to that in the U.S. In the quickly infamous "Downing Street Memo," made public on May 1, 2005, top Blair aides made clear that as early as eight months before the invasion of Iraq, and months before Bush had gone to Congress or the UN seeking support for the war, London knew that the Bush administration was already planning to invade and knew it was on false pretenses: "Military action was now seen as inevitable. Bush wanted to remove Saddam, through military action, justified by the conjunction of terrorism and WMD. But the intelligence and facts were being fixed around the policy."[25] So Blair's insistence on joining Bush's war was based on "threats" London knew to be false, thus further undermining British democracy.

One indicator of the artificial character of the so-called "coalition" is the number of allies who have left the coalition, or refused to renew their tiny troop commitments. Another indication of "coalition" weakness is evident in examining the lack of global representation among the allied countries. Despite the Administration's claims that this alliance represented a strong global mandate for the war, the 30 countries on the State Department's original coalition list, even when combined with the United States, made up less than 20 percent of the world's population. Moreover, since polls showed strong majorities opposed to the war in virtually all countries except the United States and Israel, the Administration was highly disingenuous when it suggested that more than a billion people supported the war.

Since the original coalition list was drawn up, a few additional countries joined the coalition, but eleven countries have withdrawn their forces. While Nicaragua was the first to withdraw, serious unraveling began with the withdrawal of Spain's 1,300 troops after the spring 2004 defeat of the pro-war Aznar government. Spain's pull-out led Honduras and the Dominican Republic to recall their small contingents soon after. Then the entire Philippines contingent was withdrawn after kidnappers threatened to execute a captured Filipino contract worker. By the end of September 2004, Norway, New Zealand, and Thailand had all pulled out.[26] By the end of the year, the Kingdom of Tonga's 40 soldiers were brought home and the entire Hungarian contingent was ordered home by the Hungarian parliament.[27] And by February 2005 Portugal withdrew its forces. The last 12 Moldovan soldiers were also pulled out in February 2005.[28]

Eastern European and former Soviet countries with hopes of joining the EU and NATO in the future, remained the most committed to the U.S. war, but even Poland, perhaps the most loyal to the Iraq War, announced pull-out plans to be completed by the end of 2005.[29] Bulgaria also planned to withdraw by the end of the year, and Ukraine, despite the new government's overwhelming gratitude to the U.S. for backing the "orange revolution" that brought it to power early in 2005, announced its entire contingent would be out by the end of the year, or perhaps as early as October 2005.[30]

Seven countries have already reduced their already small contingents—often to risibly tiny symbolic levels—such as Moldova's original deployment of 42 soldiers, later reduced to twelve before their full withdrawal. The other six include Ukraine, Norway (from 150 to 10), Bulgaria, Poland, Italy, and the Netherlands, which was left with four soldiers in Iraq by March 2005. Among other "coalition" members, Estonia maintained 35 soldiers, and Kazakhstan supplied 27 engineers in Iraq. [31]

Since the war began, 11 countries have withrawn troops and 7 countries have reduced troop levels to less than 100.

The Bush administration's key political allies—Britain, Australia, Italy, Japan—maintained their troops in Iraq, but as of August 2005 even some of them started to look shaky. On July 21, Italy's parliament approved funds to extend the deployment of Italian troops in Iraq until the end of 2005, but despite that, on August 13, the Italian daily *La Stampa* reported that Italy had already begun withdrawing from Iraq—earlier than expected. Tokyo continued its deployment of 600 "self-defense" troops in Iraq, primarily engineers (guarding them was the main assignment of the Australian contingent); but Japan's opposition Democratic Party announced on August 16, that if elected in the September 2005 elections, it would pull out Japan's entire contingent in December.[32]

E. Costs to the Global Economy

The Iraq War was sold to the American public as quick and inexpensive, requiring little U.S. investment and soon effectively paying for itself through Iraqi oil revenues. In fact, the war has been anything but cheap, and the economic costs to the world are perhaps the gravest.

Wasting Billions

While the U.S. has used Iraqi funds (oil revenues and frozen assets from around the world) to pay the billions of dollars to U.S. and other western contractors in Iraq, the

U.S. has paid for the vast majority of the Pentagon's direct dollar costs of the war itself. As is evident in Section One of this report, those costs have had a huge impact on the U.S. economy and people. But the consequences of those expenditures are also global. By pouring $204.4 billion into the war and occupation in Iraq (costs through August 2005), the U.S. government diminished the resources available for real economic, humanitarian and reconstruction aid around the world.

To put the U.S. war costs in perspective, consider that:

• The UN's Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimates that it would only need $24 billion annually to cut world hunger in half. That would translate to 400 million people currently malnourished gaining access to sufficient food, many for the first time in their lives.[33]

• The director of UNAIDS needs only $10 billion annually to launch a truly global, comprehensive program to respond to HIV/AIDS.[34]

• The UN Children's Organization UNICEF estimates that it would take a mere $2.8 billion annually to provide immunization for every child in the developing world.[35]

• To provide clean water and functioning sewage systems to the world's population, the World Water Council estimates an annual cost of $37 billion.[36]

Combined, these efforts to provide basic food, HIV/AIDS medicine, childhood immunization and clean water and sanitation, would cost $74 billion dollars a year. That means that the $204.4 billion the United States is spending for war in Iraq could provide those basic necessities to impoverished people around the world for almost three years.

Rising Oil Prices

The Iraq War is also at least one causal factor in the increase in oil prices. This development has already shaken world stock markets and consumer confidence. If oil prices remain high for a prolonged period, the strain on nearly every sector of the global economy could be severe. According to the British magazine *The Economist*: "If oil is only $10 a barrel higher than it would otherwise have been, and stays there a while, prices in general will rise, output and incomes will be reduced, and unemployment, at least for a while, will be raised. That vicious combination of higher inflation and lower growth—stagflation, to recall a term from the 1970s—is about the worst scenario an economic policy-maker can contemplate."[37] By the middle of 2005, with oil prices spiking at close to $70 per barrel and gasoline at the pump averaging $2.50 per gallon across the United States, oil prices were already far higher than *The Economist*'s "$10 a barrel higher." Whether *The Economist*'s "vicious combination" comes to pass remains to be seen.

One industry that is feeling the pinch is the airline industry. The International Air Transport Association announced in mid-2004 that if oil prices remained $36 per barrel or higher, world airlines will face increased costs of $1 billion or more per month, further damaging an industry still struggling to recover after September 11.[38] A year later, with the price of oil doubling, the situation is even more dire. The Northwest Airlines mechanics' strike in the U.S., that began in August 2005 opposing the company's efforts to impose a 25 percent salary cut, may be only the first in the global air industry.

F. Undermining Global Security and Disarmament

Rise in Global Terrorism

While the Bush administration has claimed that the war in Iraq has "made Americans safer," people around the world (including Americans) are more insecure than ever. Bush administration documents demonstrate that terrorism is a greater threat today than it was before the Iraq war.

Data collected by the State Department and the National Counterterrorism Center report that the number of "significant" attacks in 2004 reached 655, three times the previous record of 175 in 2003.[39] "Significant" attacks in Iraq also increased by a factor of nine—from 22 attacks in 2003 to 198 in 2004.[40]

The British International Institute for Strategic Studies noted in its annual report, *The Military Balance*: "Overall, risks of terrorism to Westerners and Western assets in Arab countries appeared to increase after the Iraq War began in March 2005.... Accordingly, the Iraq intervention was always likely in the short term to enhance jihadist recruitment and intensify al-Qaeda's motivation to encourage and assist terrorist operations.... Conservative intelligence estimates indicate that al-Qaeda is present in more than 60 countries.... Although half of al-Qaeda's 30 senior leaders and perhaps 2,000 rank-and-file members have been killed or captured, a rump leadership is still intact and over 18,000 potential terrorists at large."[41]

A study of 462 suicide attacks in several countries showed that the common element was not religion but: "A clear strategic objective: to withdraw military forces from the territory that the terrorists view as their homeland."[42] The study's author noted: "It's American policy that's underneath this, not Islamic fundamentalism."[43]

A New Haven for Terrorists

While the Ba'athist regime in Iraq was brutal and repressive at home, international terrorism was not its hallmark. The State Department's "Patterns of Global Terrorism" reports had not held Iraq responsible for an international terrorist attack

at least since 1993 when some officials blamed Baghdad for a disputed (and failed) attack on former U.S. President George H.W. Bush. Now Iraq has become what the country never was before: a focal point of international terrorists who have been galvanized by the U.S. occupation. As a result, people around the world are at greater risk.

In particular, citizens of countries whose governments are supporting Washington's war (as well as Americans) face even higher levels of risk. The July 7, 2005 bombings of the London bus and subway system that killed 56 people demonstrated that very clearly. A few weeks later, one of several alleged would-be perpetrators arrested for attempting to carry out a similar set of attacks said specifically that the failed bombings of July 21 were in response to the U.S.-British occupation of Iraq.[44]

In the introduction to the second chapter of its 2004 "Country Reports," (released in April 2005, replacing "Patterns of Global Terrorism") the State Department focused on the narrow issue of terrorist dangers allegedly posed by states the U.S. claimed were sponsors of terrorism. "Notably, 2004 was marked by progress in decreasing the threat from states that sponsor terrorism. Iraq's designation as a state sponsor of terrorism was formally rescinded

The number of "significant" attacks in 2004 reached 655, three times the previous record of 175 in 2003.

in October 2004."[45] Similarly, the State Department's fact sheet on "progress in the war against terror," issued on the third anniversary of the September 11 attacks, makes the claim that that "progress against terror" included positive developments in Iraq. "Three years ago," it states, "the ruler of Iraq was a sworn enemy of America, who provided a safe haven for terrorists, had used weapons of mass destruction, and turned his nation into a prison."[46] There was no recognition of the transformation, acknowledged in other venues, of Iraq into the newest mobilization, training center and "safe haven" for global terrorists.

Setting a Dangerous Precedent

Global security is also threatened by other nations mimicking U.S. unilateralism and claiming their own versions of the legitimacy of preventive war. The United States thus provides a model for other unstable countries and regions to turn towards preventive or preemptive war as a legitimate option. The U.S. war in Iraq could provide a legitimating example for a possible Indian decision to attack Pakistan, for Rwanda to go to war against Congo, for Armenia to attack Azerbaijan, or for any other potential aggressor interested in escalating a local conflict. More immediately, the proliferation of this threat is evident in the position asserted by Russian Defense

Minister Sergei Ivanov, who claimed the right of preemptive strikes anywhere in the world in response to the deadly September 2004 school hostage crisis in Beslan in southern Russia.[47]

Global Increase in Military Spending

While it is difficult to isolate international costs of the Iraq war from the costs of the broader U.S. "war on terrorism," it is still useful to document the global increases in military spending since the start of the Iraq war and occupation. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), in 2002 world military spending was $795 billion. With the skyrocketing costs of the war in Iraq, worldwide military spending soared to an estimated $956 billion in 2003. By 2004, SIPRI estimated that figure had spiked again to $1.035 trillion in current dollars. That amount was just 6 percent lower than global military spending at the 1987–88 peak of the Cold War.[48]

The United States, according to SIPRI, makes up 47 percent of the total world military spending, and accounts for nearly three-fourths of the worldwide growth in military spending, due largely to Iraq War expenditures and other efforts to cement U.S. global military dominance.

According to SIPRI, by 2004 most countries in the Middle East had also increased military spending due to heightened tension in the region over Iraq and the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.[49] Beyond the U.S. and the Middle East, major military spenders such as China, Japan and Russia also increased their expenditures between 1999 and 2003, and are projected to continue to do so through 2008.[50]

Missing Illicit Materials

The United States justified its preventive strike on Iraq under the guise of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Despite years of post-invasion searching in Iraq, no WMDs were ever found. But the Iraq War has actually increased the challenges facing global efforts at disarmament or even non-proliferation. The UN's UNMOVIC and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) arms inspectors reported in June 2004 that a number of sites in Iraq known to have contained equipment and material that could have been used to produce banned WMDs and long-range missiles were either cleaned out or destroyed. The material, some of it discovered in a scrapyard in the Dutch port of Rotterdam, had been earlier identified and tagged by UN arms inspectors when they were still working in Iraq.[51]

Nuclear Proliferation

The looted sites included the Tuwaitha Nuclear Research Center, where the IAEA had catalogued and placed under seal tons of partially enriched and natural uranium. In the post-invasion looting, the Center was stripped of computers and much equipment; it is unclear whether potential nuclear materials were also taken. According to *The Washington Post*: "the war has dispersed the country's most dangerous technologies beyond anyone's knowledge or control."[52] The Tuwaitha Center had been sealed off by the IAEA, but an expert familiar with UN nuclear inspections said the Marines apparently broke the IAEA seals designed to ensure the materials would not be diverted for weapons use or end up in the wrong hands.[53] The UN arms inspectors had been forced to withdraw from Iraq on the eve of the U.S. invasion; once the Marines left Tuwaitha, the Center was vulnerable to looting because of the broken seals.

The Bush administration's "preventive war" against Iraq, based largely on false claims regarding Iraq's supposed nuclear weapons program, has proved a dangerous precedent undermining Washington's putative claims of a commitment to non-proliferation. Throughout 2004 the administration ratcheted up similar charges against Iran, claiming that Tehran was hiding an illegal program to produce nuclear weapons. But in a conclusion remarkably similar to that after the invasion of Iraq, when no WMDs and particularly no nuclear weapons programs were found, Bush's claimed evidence, bolstered by a year of intensive media coverage, turned out to be false. Citing a "senior Western diplomat," *The Washington Post* reported that the UN's nuclear watchdog agency determined: "Traces of highly enriched uranium on centrifuge parts ... were from imported equipment rather than from any enrichment activities by Iran.... The findings support Iran's claims that the material entered the country with centrifuge parts provided by Pakistan."[54]

G. Global Environmental Costs

Poisoning the Region's Water

While environmental damage from the war is concentrated within Iraq, devastating Iraq's land, water and people, spill-over is inevitable as water, sand and air move across Iraq's borders. The Tigris River, for example, flows down to the Shaat al-Arab entry point where Iraq, Iran and Kuwait all empty into the Persian Gulf. Hence, contamination of the Tigris threatens not only Iraq but neighboring countries and those further away as well.

According to a June 2004 report by Dr. Husni Mohammed, an Iraqi who holds a PhD in Environmental and Biological Science and has researched the condition of the Tigris River: "The Tigris River water is a concentrated cocktail of pesticides, fertilizers, oil, gasoline and heavy metals, reports. Raw sewage mixes with particles from anti-

quated piping and U.S.-fired depleted uranium munitions, plus remnants from untold amounts of other chemicals released by American and Iraqi weaponry used since the 1991 Gulf War."[55]

Radiation Dangers

Radioactive scrap iron from Iraq threatens all of the neighboring countries. Jordan's Minister of the Environment, Khalid Irani, announced in June 2005 that his government "has taken strict precautionary measures to prevent scrap iron affected by radiation from entering Jordanian territory." The Jordanian nuclear energy commission was concerned about such material coming in specifically from Iraq.[56]

H. Undermining Human Rights

On a global scale, the war in Iraq has undermined human rights. The dismissive attitude towards the Geneva Conventions—reflected both in White House Counsel Alberto Gonzales' statement that the Conventions are "quaint" and the Bush administration's more fully articulated rejection of the Conventions concluding that they do not apply to prisoners held in the Guantanamo prison facility began during the immediate post-September 11 period and particularly in the Afghanistan war and continued during the Iraq War. The global implications of the Abu Ghraib torture scandal, as well as exposure of major abuse in Guantanamo and the range of still-secret prisons run by U.S. forces around the world, are extremely serious. They provide a dangerous example to other nations that it is somehow acceptable to hold only low-ranking individual soldiers accountable while granting functional impunity to all higher-ranking officers and military and political policymakers.

The public U.S. refusal to abide by the recommendations of the International Committee of the Red Cross regarding violations of the Geneva Conventions in the Pentagon's detention facilities in Iraq undermines the authority of the world's leading humanitarian organization and sets a dangerous precedent for other recalcitrant governments. Because the ICRC is charged with implementing the Geneva Conventions, such weakening of its authority seriously damages the rule of law on a global scale.

Rewarding Human Rights Violators

The escalation of what the Bush administration continues to call the "global war on terror" into Iraq has included continuing efforts to diplomatically rehabilitate and embrace dictators and human rights violators around the world. The post-September 11 embrace of General Pervez Musharraf continues, on the grounds that the Pakistani dictator is "assisting" in the hunt for al-Qaeda terrorists on the Pakistan-Afghan border.

Further east, in early 2005 the Bush administration announced the resumption of military training of Indonesia's armed forces for the first time since those ties were severed in 1992 over Jakarta's brutal crackdown in East Timor. While threatening the newly-independent fragile government in East Timor with the loss of desperately needed U.S. aid if it did not agree to a bilateral treaty promising never to turn U.S. citizens over to the International Criminal Court, the State Department welcomed Indonesia's military with no such conditions. According to *The New York Times:* "The decision caps a quiet lobbying campaign by top Pentagon officials led by Deputy Defense Secretary Paul D. Wolfowitz, who has openly advocated the view that Congressional restrictions on military-to-military contacts with countries like Indonesia and Pakistan were hurting American interests more than helping them."[57]

Legitimating Occupation

The normalization of the U.S. occupation of Iraq in U.S. discourse—referring to U.S. troops as "liberators" rather than occupiers and to the occupation itself as a step towards "democracy"—has strengthened in some circles the sense that military occupation, at least in the Middle East, may be normal as well. The "dual occupations," of Iraq by the U.S. and of Palestine by Israel, were both waged without UN authority, both are characterized by major violations of the UN Charter, neither have brought about liberation or democracy for the occupied population (nor security for the people of the occupier nation). The claim that the military occupation of Iraq somehow means security for Americans and Britons matches the claim that Israel's occupation of the West Bank and East Jerusalem and the post-"disengagement" continuing siege of Gaza will somehow protect Israelis; both claims are false.

In March-April 2002, a year before the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Israel reoccupied Palestinian cities across the West Bank. In Jenin, Human Rights Watch concluded: "Israeli forces committed serious violations of international humanitarian law, some amounting prima facie to war crimes."[58] The assault on Jenin included the deaths of dozens of Palestinian civilians, including seven women and nine children.[59] A year later, days after the invasion of Iraq had begun, it was revealed in the British press that the Pentagon viewed the invasion of Jenin as a model for urban warfare in Iraq, and that U.S. military officials had met with Israeli officials to learn their tactics.[60] According to Alex Fishman, a military analyst for the Israeli daily *Yediot Ahronot*, U.S. military officials had traveled to Jenin after the attack there to "see how to work with a military bulldozer—used on buildings Israel suspects of housing militants—and Israeli experts had been to the U.S. to pass on some of their experience of dealing with suicide bombers.... 'The Americans are going to have to learn how to cope with that problem, and they have good teachers: the allies that they so very much do not want to mention by name.'"[61]

Torturing Prisoners: Setting an Abysmal Example

The widely publicized humiliation, torture, and brutalization of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. intelligence officials and guards gave new license for torture and mistreatment by governments around the world, particularly U.S. allies, who found a new reply to whatever small-scale U.S. pressure might be brought to bear regarding human rights violations. Those governments would simply reply that what they were doing wasn't nearly as bad as what the Americans were doing in Iraq, so who were Americans to tell them anything?

The refusal of the U.S. investigators to assign responsibility for the torture above the level of the prison commander, including top generals as well as the top leadership of the Pentagon and the White House, legitimizes any other nation's refusal to hold its own top officials accountable for human rights violations carried out by underlings.

Ignoring International Human Rights Law

The refusal to investigate further up the administration hierarchy was particularly damaging to international human rights norms because of specific statements in the legal memorandum requested by Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld. The memo stated: "President Bush was not bound by either an international treaty prohibiting torture or by a federal anti-torture law because he had the authority as commander in chief to approve any technique needed to protect the nation's security."[62] While that memo was drafted in reference to the "war on terrorism," specifically regarding prisoners from Afghanistan held at Guantanamo, the consistent administration claim that the Iraq War is "ground zero" of the war on terrorism made it inevitable that such findings would be viewed by U.S. troops and others as applicable in Iraq as well.

The memo drafted largely by then White House Counsel Alberto Gonzales, assuring the White House that torture was legal stands in stark violation of the international Convention Against Torture, of which the United States is a signatory. While the U.S. press has focused on the divergent definitions of torture between the White House and the Pentagon, both U.S. versions violate the only internationally recognized definition: that contained in the Convention Against Torture. That convention defines torture much more broadly as: "An act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person." All of the compet-

> *"President Bush was not bound by either an international treaty prohibiting torture or by a federal anti-torture law because he had the authority as commander in chief to approve any technique needed to protect the nation's security."*

ing U.S. definitions stand in violation of that Convention. Gonzales' role in drafting the memo took on new significance in February 2005 when he was named Attorney General.

The fact that the Bush administration ignored existing treaty obligations and created its own public legitimation for the use of torture outlawed under international law, gives every government in the world the right to similarly embrace its own use of torture against its own citizens or the populations of countries or territories it occupies, as "exceptions" to the global prohibition. That phenomenon was particularly strengthened as the U.S. increased its reliance on "extraordinary rendition," the practice of outsourcing intensive interrogation, up to and including the use of torture, of terror suspects to governments known to routinely practice torture, such as Uzbekistan, Jordan and even Syria.

Weakening the International Criminal Court

The scandal demonstrated the weakness, as well as the potential, of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Despite problems of imposing the Court's jurisdiction over the U.S., including the Abu Ghraib scandal, the ICC still provided a useful, if unused, example of how international jurisdiction might have been brought to bear to hold U.S. and "coalition" troops accountable to the international community as a whole for their violations of the laws of war and the Geneva Conventions. This accountability would apply as well to political leaders in the U.S. and "coalition" countries, and to the currently unaccountable private military contractors.

In August 2005 the U.S. escalated military and economic aid cuts to governments that refused to sign bilateral agreements to shield all U.S. personnel—military and political—from any potential jurisdiction by the ICC. The Bush administration had already "unsigned" the ICC treaty (reluctantly signed by President Clinton in December 2000), but began insisting that other nations sign bilateral commitments promising that under no circumstances would they ever send an American—even if he or she was charged with genocide or other heinous crimes against humanity and even if U.S. courts refused to hold that person accountable—to face trial in The Hague. More than 100 governments, most of them in impoverished and U.S.-dependent countries threatened with severe cuts in U.S. assistance if they refused, have signed such agreements with the U.S. Many of the 53 governments that did refuse faced such cuts in their military or economic aid (though NATO and other allies were exempt from the threat).

The result, as the Bush administration grew more nervous that some governments and many people around the world viewed the invasion and occupation of Iraq as potentially a criminal, rather than simply unpopular action, was that the administra-

tion slashed aid to more than two dozen countries. Ecuador's president said: "absolutely no one is going to make me cower," and his government lost $15 million since 2003; Quito may lose another $7 million in 2005. Uruguay has lost $1.5 million since 2003, Costa Rica about $300,000, Peru $4 million, and Bolivia $1.5 million.[63] Since December 2004 the aid cuts include not only military but social and health programs including AIDS education and refugee assistance. Some countries, like the impoverished island nation of Dominica, caved in under the pressure. According to Dominica's ambassador to the UN, Crispin Gregoire: "We were reeling from the impact of lost aid, and our economy was not in the greatest shape. The government decided to yield and we ended up signing."[64]

False Democracy

As the Bush administration's initial justifications for the Iraq War were revealed as false (stockpiles of WMDs, Iraqi links to al Qaeda and September 11, nuclear weapons programs, etc.) the only remaining pretext was the claim that the war was "bringing democracy" not just to Iraq but to the whole Middle East. It was an audacious claim, in which the administration took credit for any Lebanese or Palestinians wanting to vote, for every Syrian who might wish for real elections, for any Egyptian activist who might believe in democracy.

In March 2005, the Egyptian feminist and novelist Nawal al-Sadaawi responded to President Bush's bragging that his policies, specifically his invasion and occupation of Iraq, were somehow responsible for the new moves towards "democracy" across the Middle East. Speaking on the radio program *Democracy Now!* she said:

"We did a lot of demonstrations. Last December, I was in the streets with the people in demonstrations, and the demonstrations in the last few months were continuous. And we were collecting signatures to change the Constitution. So we were fighting for years. And then they come and tell us, that's because Condoleezza Rice made a pressure on Mubarak or George Bush made a pressure on Mubarak. This is—I call this a new type of imperialism, because they do not only take our resources, our oil, our materials, so they take also our efforts, our struggle for freedom. They take it and rob it of us, and they say that they are bringing us democracy and freedom. This is a big lie."[65]

IV. Bring the Troops Home and Internationalize the Peace

Two and a Half Years of War

The Iraq War has, like the Vietnam War of a generation ago, sorely divided the people of the United States.

The invasion, occupation and continuing war has cost the U.S. dearly. More than 1,850 young women and men serving in the U.S. military have died. Over 7,000 have been seriously injured. Thousands are returning home with grievous mental and emotional damage. Civil rights, particularly those of Muslims, Arab immigrants and Arab-Americans, have been shredded. The $204.4 billion in U.S. tax dollars spent on the war (and counting) has wrought havoc on the economy and is posed to further escalate the deficit.

As this report has illustrated, Iraqis have suffered far more. Iraq has been shattered by military assaults, and continues to languish under a violent occupation and brutal war. Cities such as Fallujah, population 300,000, have been virtually destroyed by U.S. military forces. The ruin of Fallujah, and so much of Iraq, by U.S. forces recalls the words of the great writer Tacitus, who followed Rome's legionnaires as they laid waste to the empire's far-flung cities. "The Romans brought devastation," he wrote, "and they called it peace."

Around the world the vast majority of people and governments stand opposed to this war. In Iraq, close to half the members of the U.S.-backed interim parliament has signed a June 12 statement calling for the "departure" of the occupation forces. In the U.S., a majority of people, and increasing numbers of political and military leaders, believe the war is not worth the price. One-third of Americans understand the only solution is to end the occupation and bring all the troops home now. But many others are uncertain what to do. They wonder, even if the war is wrong, will it make things worse if the U.S. pulls out? Having invaded and occupied Iraq, what are our responsibilities to the Iraqi people?

We believe we must end the war, end the occupation and bring the troops home. Then we can begin the work of internationalizing the peace, and making good on our obligations to the people of Iraq.

Why Bringing the Troops Home is the Only Viable Option

Ending the U.S. occupation of Iraq is the only solution to the war. Instead of helping make Iraq safer and more stable U.S. troops are the primary cause of the violence. As long as U.S. troops remain in Iraq, the resistance—and the violence—will flourish.

The Iraqi resistance has grown larger and stronger in response to the U.S. invasion and occupation. In November 2003 the Pentagon estimated that there were about 5,000 Iraqi resistance fighters. Today, estimates range from 16,000 to 40,000 fighters with upwards of 200,000 supporters.

Resistance attacks are killing far more Iraqi civilians than U.S. troops, but most of the attacks remain focused on institutions and individuals associated with—and thus viewed as collaborating with—the U.S. occupation forces. They include police officers, other security forces, officials of the U.S.-backed interim government, translators, and civilian employees of the U.S. and "coalition" militaries. As our report demonstrates, resistance attacks have also increased in strength and in numbers. Attacks per month have more than quadrupled from June 2003 to June 2005.

The dynamics of the fighting between the resistance and the U.S., and the horrific human costs that are being exacted, are unlikely to change in the near term as the Administration remains stubbornly committed to continuing the occupation. But both parts of the Bush administration's claimed plan, democratization and putting Iraqis in charge of their own security, are failing because of the occupation.

While President Bush has made the issue of democracy central in justifying continued U.S. occupation, few steps have been taken towards true democratization. While elections were an important first step, they lacked real legitimacy because they were held under conditions of foreign military occupation. Iraqis still have little say in day-to-day decisions, including oversight over U.S. operations, or control over reconstruction projects. More dangerously, the U.S.-shaped elections appear to have deepened Iraq's sectarian divisions pitting Shi'a against Sunni against Kurd. These divisions stalled the formation of the government for months and continue to slow progress toward building a national consensus for a new constitution. U.S. attempts to move the process quickly are rightly seen as interfering in the political process and those politicians seen as collaborating with the U.S. increasingly are targeted by the resistance.

Certainly Iraqis need to be in charge of their own security. But that can only happen in a truly sovereign nation. U.S. officials dismantled the existing security forces on May 17, 2003, soon after invading Iraq. But the new Iraqi police and military forces the U.S. is trying to create have failed to provide security for the Iraqi people

and the situation appears to be only worsening. Iraq's security forces are fighting in a war that puts anyone who is physically near or associated with the U.S. occupation at greatest risk. At the same time, soldiers and police officers lack adequate training. One measure of the problem can be seen in their death toll, with estimates ranging from 3,000 to 6,000—two to three times greater than the number of U.S. losses. As long as the U.S. is leading a war on the ground in Iraq, U.S.-sponsored Iraqi security forces cannot succeed.

Iraqi history provides a lesson of caution. The British ruled Iraq, officially under a League of Nations mandate from 1922 until 1932, and unofficially through pro-British generals and the British-backed monarchy from 1932 until the 1958 revolution. Their emphasis was on controlling Iraq's oil through a strong, pro-British military. The resulting primacy of the military within Iraqi society helped set the political stage for the ascendancy of the Iraqi Ba'ath party and eventually that of Saddam Hussein. Making a priority out of building up Iraq's military and police capacity may look attractive at the moment, but in the longer term it may set the stage for new problems.

What Will Happen When the U.S. Troops are Withdrawn?

No one can say with certainty what will happen when U.S. troops leave. But if the Administration continues to "Stay the Course," U.S. troops will continue to die and they will continue to kill. Iraq's reconstruction will remain stalled and the country's overall situation will remain dire.

While there is no absolute certainty about all the consequences of full withdrawal, likely developments can be anticipated. The resistance is multi-faceted. It includes an amalgam of Iraqi nationalists, democratic and otherwise, outraged by the illegal foreign occupation of their country. Some are disgruntled former Ba'athists. Others are Iraqi Islamists, both Shi'a and Sunni, holding a range of religious views who see fighting the U.S. occupation of Iraq as both a national and religious obligation. And some are foreign fighters, allied with some Iraqis, apparently mostly extreme fundamentalist Islamists, who see an opportunity to transform Iraq into part of an Islamic caliphate.

To the extent that the resistance is unified at all among its disparate ethnic, religious and political sectors, the unity appears limited to shared opposition to the U.S. occupation. Without the occupation as an outside enemy, the majority of the resistance, those motivated by nationalism and opposition to foreign troops, will likely cease fighting. Those much smaller sectors of the resistance that are motivated

Box 6: A Plan for Withdrawal: Policy Directions for the U.S.

The first priority for the U.S. is to announce its intention for an immediate and complete withdrawal of troops, military contractors and U.S. corporations backing the U.S. occupation.

In the short period between the announcement of a date certain for troop withdrawal and its completion:

The U.S. Administration should:

Move to the borders. Order the military to cease all offensive actions and depart from population centers. In the process of moving out of the country altogether, U.S. troops should immediately redeploy towards the Iraqi borders, and work more systematically with Iraqi troops to secure the borders.

Scrap permanent bases. Close the permanent and/or long-term military bases the U.S. has established in Iraq. A parallel congressional resolution should assert the principle of non-interference and non-intervention for the U.S. in Iraq, and support the full and complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq.

Let go of Iraq's oil. Declare that it has no intention of maintaining control, officially or through surrogates, over Iraq's oil, oil fields or oil production capacity. While the Administration has announced this before, the claim could never be taken seriously while the U.S. occupation remains in control of Iraq.

Downsize in Baghdad. Announce that the U.S. embassy in Baghdad will be reduced to "normal" size and authority. All U.S. advisers currently seconded to Iraqi ministries should be withdrawn. If requested, the U.S. should pay for international technical advisers chosen by Iraqis to assist in government ministries and for the constitution and government building processes. Support for the growth of Iraq's democratic institutions in a new political culture is clearly a job for the United Nations after the withdrawal of U.S. troops, in conjunction with a host of nongovernmental organizations, all accountable to Iraqis.

Support Negotiations. As with any guerrilla war, the Iraqi resistance is unlikely to be defeated by military means. The occupation of Iraq is will likely end in a negotiated settlement of some kind. Political and diplomatic solutions must be the key components to change the terrible situation Iraqis are in today. The U.S. should express full willingness to negotiate with the Iraqi resistance, both political and military, over the mechanisms of withdrawal. Equally important, the U.S. should endorse, though not attempt to control, a dialogue between the resistance and U.S.-backed Iraqi leaders.

The Congress should:

Slash spending. Cut off U.S. spending for the Iraq War, starting with a cut-off of Pentagon funding for all military costs except for direct personal protection of U.S. troops, such as body armor and vehicle armor, and transport costs for the withdrawal out of Iraq.

Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Current training programs run by Department of Defense and by their contractors have limited human rights components and lack oversight. Funds earmarked for equipping the Iraqi military should be turned over to Iraqi control as soon as a truly independent, post-occupation government is functioning.

End the profiteering. Halt the rampant war profiteering that has caused widespread waste, fraud, and abuse. To do this, the U.S. must stop awarding no-bid contracts and open-ended, "cost-plus," multi-billion dollar contracts such as those awarded to Halliburton and Bechtel, and cancel the existing contracts. Until those cancellations are complete, increase oversight over the military and its contractors.

Turn over reconstruction to Iraqis. The U.S. government and its contractors have failed to restore public safety, public services, strengthen institutions, or provide jobs. Following both the Iran-Iraq War of the 1980s and the first Gulf War of 1991, Iraq rebuilt its ravaged infrastructure in roughly one year. Part of the reason for widespread Iraqi anger at the U.S. is rooted in exasperation at the failure of the wealthy and powerful U.S. to do the same. By giving Iraqis control over reconstruction funds, more Iraqis will get jobs and projects will be better targeted to the needs of Iraqis. Lowering the unemployment rate will also weaken resistance recruitment efforts.

The Administration and Congress should:

Return the money. Return any funds remaining in the U.S.-controlled Development Fund for Iraq to Iraq, including any funds spent that cannot be accounted for, as soon as a truly independent government, created only after the U.S. withdrawal, is functioning. The fund, created from Iraqi oil (including Oil for Food funds) and other assets seized by the U.S. invasion forces in Spring 2003 as well as frozen accounts transferred from other countries to U.S. control, has so far paid for virtually all of the U.S.-controlled reconstruction projects in Iraq. In the meantime control of the fund should be turned over to the United Nations.

Support reconstruction. Create a U.S.-financed multi-billion dollar fund for reparations and reconstruction in Iraq. Initial control of that fund, separate from the Development Fund for Iraq which is made up of Iraqi money, should be placed in the hands of the United Nations, with the clear understanding that it will be turned over to Iraqi control as soon as a post-occupation independent government is functioning.

Relinquish control over Iraq's economy. Announce that debt cancellation for Iraq will not be contingent on Iraqi acceptance of IMF-imposed structural adjustment programs or other austerity measures aimed at forcibly privatizing and liberalizing Iraq's economy. The U.S.-imposed privatization and deregulation laws should be nullified, all decisions regarding the trajectory of Iraq's post-war economy should revert to Iraqi hands.

largely by religious extremism and who are responsible for some of the worst violence against civilians will likely become isolated from the broader sectors of the resistance. One probable result will be a significant reduction—though not an immediate end—of violence, because the broader nationalist resistance will stop fighting with the departure of their key targets, the U.S. occupation and its Iraqi supporters.

It is certainly possible that the withdrawal of U.S. troops would lead to the collapse of at least some parts of the current government. But some of its institutions, including the police, the military and other security agencies, could well survive with different people, untainted by association with the U.S. occupation, emerging from within them to assert new leadership. And without an outside enemy occupying the country, it is also more likely that the kind of secular nationalism long dominant in Iraq would again prevail as the most influential (though certainly not sole) political force in the emerging Iraqi polity, as opposed to the virulent Islamist and narrow ethnic tendencies currently on the rise among Iraqis facing the desperation of occupation, repression and growing impoverishment.

Minimize Chances of Civil War and Resistance Fighting

The most important step towards preventing civil war and stopping the resistance requires withdrawing U.S. troops from Iraq, and thus diminishing the overall level of violence by removing its primary target. It is unlikely, however, that the violence will completely disappear with the end of the occupation, or that the Iraqi military can rebuild itself instantly as U.S. troops are withdrawn. As a result, there will be a need for international assistance—including some temporary kind of peacekeeping and/or security assistance until Iraq's own security forces become viable. That temporary on-the-ground security assistance cannot be imposed by U.S. (or U.S.-led "coalition") forces. Truly multilateral regional and international organizations must provide it and the Iraqis must ask for it.

A combination of United Nations blue helmet peacekeepers, along with temporary forces accountable to the Arab League and/or the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) would provide international legitimacy as well as regional accountability. The effect would be to reduce regional tensions and encourage neighboring countries to provide support throughout Iraq's reconstruction process.

Washington rejected an offer from Saudi Arabia to help create a regional force in Iraq. But clearly there is willingness from other countries in the region to get involved. Since the U.S. went into Iraq in opposition to the governments (and especially the populations) of neighboring states, despite the fact that one of the claimed goals of invasion was "spreading democracy" in the Middle East, it is not surprising that the

war and occupation have significantly increased regional antagonism towards the U.S. Additionally, persistent U.S. hostility towards Iran and Syria continues to hurt the prospects for post-occupation regional cooperation. Once the Iraq occupation ends, though not before, U.S. efforts to repair its damaged standing in the region might have a chance of success. A serious U.S. effort to support regional (the Arab League and the OIC, which includes both Iran and Turkey) and international (especially United Nations) efforts, without attempting to control them, would be an important start.

Internationalizing the Reconstruction

The obligations of U.S., British, Australian, Italian and other "coalition" members to Iraq go far beyond the withdrawal of U.S. and "coalition" troops and the end of the illegal occupation. The U.S. in particular owes a massive financial debt to Iraq. Over time that obligation must be to repay Iraq for the cost of the collapse of their economy as a result of the U.S.-orchestrated 1990-2003 economic sanctions; for the damage of the 2003 invasion and continued occupation; and promised post-war U.S. reconstruction funds far beyond the pittance so far released.

After the war the U.S. must accept primary responsibility for supporting—financially and diplomatically, but without exerting control—a truly international campaign to help reconstruct Iraq. The initial UN estimate for repair of war damage to Iraq, not including reconstruction from sanctions-caused damage or from additional damage during occupation, was $200 billion. With the additional damage of the last year, particularly the destruction of Fallujah, Washington must be prepared to fund all of those projects, with British, Australian, Italian and other coalition help, paying at least the equivalent to what the U.S. and its allies have paid to destroy Iraq.

But meeting its obligation to pay for the full cost of Iraq's reconstruction does not give the U.S. the right to control how those funds are used, nor to keep U.S. or "coalition" soldiers, U.S. military contractors, or U.S. corporations on the ground in Iraq. The principle must be that Iraqi workers and companies are the primary recipients of U.S. funds, and only those Iraqi entities would have the right to subcontract or recruit regional or broader international assistance based on their own assessment of needs.

Looking Forward

All possible scenarios in today's war-ravaged Iraq pose potential risks. Having waged an illegal invasion and occupation of Iraq, the U.S. has no perfect options. Maintaining the U.S. occupation, with U.S. troops killing and dying in Iraq, is the worst possible choice. It violates U.S. and international law, as well as the UN Charter and the Geneva Conventions. Clearly this is not the way forward.

A January 2005 Zogby poll found that 82% of Sunnis and 69% of Shiites favor U.S. withdrawal either immediately or after an elected government is in place. Any chance for peace and stability in the Middle East, as well as security at home, must start with an end to the U.S. occupation and the return home of U.S. troops. How that withdrawal is done will be our legacy. What we propose is that that legacy be based upon giving the Iraqis true control over their political, economic and security conditions. That means that withdrawal of troops and ending the occupation of Iraq isn't the last step—it is only the first, and necessary, step in a long commitment the U.S. will have to this country.

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