United States Institute of Peace Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Iraq Experience Project

MARK YANAWAY EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Interviewed by: Bernie Engel
Initial interview date: July 14, 2004
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Col. Yanaway was assigned to serve as a plans officer with the 308 Civil Affairs Brigade in Baghdad. His Iraq experience was in governance and security. Col. Yanaway has Master degrees in education and in anthropology (with a focus on the Middle East). He speaks Arabic. He is a high school social studies teacher. Prior to his assignment to Iraq he had no specific training or experience relevant to his assignment.

Col. Yanaway was assigned to a Civil Affairs Brigade but found that unit underutilized. He sought out useful work with the plans office of the Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF).

He found that little useful work had been done to plan for post-hostilities actions.

As Arabic speaker, of which there were too few, he was assigned as liaison between the Iraq Governing Council (IGC) and CJTF primarily on security issues.

Col. Yanaway found it extremely difficult to coordinate actions between the military and the CPA particularly with regard to providing weapons and other equipment to members of the Iraqi Governing Council.

He noted that there was a distinct lack of enthusiasm on the part of the military for post hostilities/occupation work and that, initially at least, the civilian side -beginning with Jay Garner- was greatly under-staffed.

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Q: Would you tell us your professional background, particularly in relation to what you were assigned to do in Iraq. What was your job and your location in Iraq?

YANAWAY: It's very complicated. I started out assigned as a plans officer for the 308 Civil Affairs Brigade. During the war in Kuwait I worked with the plans group for Fifth Corps developing some of the plans for post hostilities such as they were prior to the termination of conflict. Then we moved into Baghdad. Our brigade was underutilized, very underutilized. So, I walked across the street to the plans office, C5 for CJTF7 [Combined Joint Task Force] and starting in June, about June 28th or so, I started working with C5 and CJTF7 and in that capacity as a strategist helped develop the post-hostilities plan. Subsequently when the Governing Council stood up - and because I speak Arabic - they, General Sanchez had me become his liaison to the Iraqi Governing Council after we had some difficulties between our soldiers and the members of the council. It was the bulk of my duty from that point on to act as liaison between the Iraqi Governing Council and CJTF7 primarily on security issues, although other things would come into play.

Q: Did you have any Iraq assignments or specific training before you went?

YANAWAY: No, other than the fact that I speak Arabic and I've excavated in the Middle East. My anthropology background is as an archeologist in Middle Eastern archeology, nothing specific to Iraq.

Q: Okay, let's just get some specifics down. Your period of service in Iraq was?

YANAWAY: I arrived about the 22nd of February of 2003 and left the 24th of February, 2004.

Q: First question. In the area where you worked, describe the local regional infrastructure during Saddam's regime. Describe the relationship between local security organizations with the central authority. What was their relationship with other parts of the judicial system? What was the prewar level of crime, violence, oppression required to

maintain order and what were the prewar popular attitudes for public safety for this constant _____?

YANAWAY: I'm going to talk about when I was in Baghdad working at the CPA Palace. The CPA Palace was the main administrative center of Baghdad and that area was not, a common citizen couldn't enter it. There were security forces located throughout the area, you know, a cop on every corner, basically. Also, military forces defending the area and providing security, so it was a very secure area. The people who lived there were supporters of the Saddam regime. They'd get villas provided by Saddam and get to live in this very protected area where there was very little crime. When he left and all the security forces left, there was a vacuum and while some of his previous supporters stayed to protect their properties, a lot of other people moved in as squatters. Initially there was a great deal of turmoil and it caused no end of difficulty later because there was basically a land grab going on. Everybody who could was moving in, grabbing a house and saying it was theirs and of course to the average American soldier how does he know whether it's theirs or not? He can't read Arabic, you know, so even if there was a deed and plenty of deeds were waived in their faces, he couldn't tell whether it said that person owned that property or not. There were also suddenly no police to protect it and so crime rose dramatically.

On the other hand this became our administrative center and we had very quickly suppressed any crime moving in that area. It became the infamous green zone and you had a battalion of mechanized forces with tanks and Bradleys that defended the perimeter of the green zone and inside that you then had compounds, the convention center, the Iragi palace and later the Governing Council's compound each of which had a Gurkha company sized element that protected it and within the republican palace was the Blackwater security and various other contract security organizations running around. There were many levels of security and it was just as secure post hostilities within the green zone as it was pre hostilities. Getting into or out of it is a challenge to the Iraqis of course and that's where a lot of my job came in was the Iraqi governing officials would have to enter this area to be able to conduct business. Their compound was unique in that it had two entrances. One entrance from the green zone side which is the one the coalition forces typically used, one entrance from outside of the green zone so that they could enter directly from Baghdad which is where most of them lived into the green zone. There was only one Governing Council member that had a property within the green zone and that was Mas'ud Barzani [head of the Kurdish Democratic Party and a member of the Governing Council], although he was rarely at it.

The other Governing Council members especially the ones who were working with us early on grabbed many properties within Baghdad; Ahmad Chalabi and the Iraqi National Congress [INC] grabbed all kinds of properties. Iyad Allawi with the Iraqi National Accord [INA] grabbed properties...

Q: Iyad Allawi who was the prime minister?

YANAWAY: Allawi who is prime minister now. Aziz al-Hakim with the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq also known as SCIRI, S-C-I-R-I who I did a great deal of work with grabbed large numbers of properties throughout the whole country.

Q: Now, when you say grabbed, did they put relatives to live in those homes or how did they actually do it?

YANAWAY: With SCIRI, the PUK, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and the KDP, the Kurdish Democratic Party, they all three had militias. They put troops on the ground at these properties and those militias were working with us, less so the SCIRI troops also known as the BADR Corps, its Arabic group meaning like "to seize" or "the initiative". The name is sort of like "the initiative". Especially the Kurdish people were working with us and so their troops grabbed these properties and controlled them by de facto having troops on the ground. We later developed, or CJTF7 developed, a process by which former government or Baath party properties could be given over to political organizations, but it was a long and drawn out process and by then some of these major parties had already grabbed lots of them and the de facto became the reality on the ground. In those cases it got so complicated that eventually the government's team for the CPA said no more political parties are getting any more properties because some parties had large numbers of properties. Other parties had no properties and how do you equitably distribute them when some parties patently need large numbers of properties? SCIRI was a very broad-based organization. A need for large numbers of properties, whereas the INC had very little Iraqi support, didn't really need many properties, but it grabbed a bunch in the beginning because Ahmad Chalabi had 500 or so CIA trained thugs - I have to call them thugs - other people might not, but I will, (I've met them) who had grabbed a large number of properties, especially around Baghdad, for him.

Q: You're kind of giving a broad brush approach here.

YANAWAY: Very broad brush.

Q: Now, let's try to get a bit more specific and skip to question three on the list of security questions. What was the role of the coalition military in law enforcement? What was the role of military police, reservists, police background, combat troops, etc.? What was the role/effectiveness of the Iraqi civil defense corps in other Iraqi military organizations? Tell us a little bit more specific here.

YANAWAY: This is more specific. You know, when we arrived we were the law and it didn't take too long for some coalition troops to realize that the only law that existed was them. There wasn't anybody who was going to stop them from driving their Humvee

over the median in the road or driving the wrong way down a road or parking it on the sidewalk or going as fast as they wanted. So, there was this tendency among many of the soldiers to exceed what should have been good behavior. They did many things that they would not have done in the United States because there was no, you know, no policeman was going to pull them over.

Q: What about the U.S. military guys?

YANAWAY: Well, the U.S. military police, of course, were terribly stressed because their job included route security and we were guarding convoys coming up from Kuwait and that was really their primary focus early on. Later it becomes the prisons and getting the police stations stood up again and the police out patrolling again and if you start thinking about, well, you didn't have that many military police there and their job is securing all the roads in Iraq and securing all the police station in Iraq and all the courts in Iraq and all the prisons in Iraq and getting all of those things functioning again. Everyday law enforcement, of criminal infractions, just fell by the wayside. There are not enough of them to do that? So, the guy who is doing it is "Joe Snuffy" the infantryman whose got absolutely no law enforcement training other than what he's seen on Court TV and has certain incentives to go his own way.

Q: This is something I think from my perspective, we didn't read much about this in the papers here. Was this, are we talking about troops running amuck or are we just talking about isolated events?

YANAWAY: I think and I don't have statistical information on how many troops were running amuck and how many weren't. I suspect that the vast majority of U.S. forces were well behaved and did not run amuck. We know that there were soldiers who found money and decided to keep it. We know there were soldiers who found gold and decided to keep it. We know there were soldiers who found weapons and decided to keep them and ship them into the United States and in some cases we caught them. Did we in all cases? I suspect not. There's probably soldiers who got away with things. Certainly there are Iragi complaints and I received hundreds of complaints through the Governing Council from the friends of members of the Governing Council and from the Governing Council themselves of U.S. soldiers who took weapons or took money in the course of a raid and those sort of make sense. You know, a soldier raids a house, finds a weapon. He secures it. He finds some money, which may have been used, for nefarious purposes. He secures it. He finds gold jewelry, which is a medium of exchange in Iraq, and Arabic cultures, and he secures it. Well, does it ever get back to the Iragi? Probably not. Not always because the soldier is trying to keep it for himself. The chain of custody is something that military police know about, but "Joe Snuffy" doesn't and so all this stuff would be gathered up, but who knows who it belonged to to begin with because nobody put a capture tag on it and said we collected this from this person at that house. That just didn't happen. Iragis were having things taken. There was no accountability of who

should get it back.

Q: Maybe it gets lost.

YANAWAY: So it sort of gets lost and it's sitting in a company safe somewhere and there is probably all kinds of money and gold and weapons sitting in company safes that is unaccounted for to this day. With the weapons as an aside, a lot of times weapons would be secured from somebody who legitimately had possessed the weapons. Iraqis were allowed to have a weapon in their home under the CPA order. A reasonable number of weapons is what the CPA order originally said. Later it was amended to one weapon per adult, but that could be with six adults in a house, six weapons. AK47s were legal weapons, but a soldier raiding a house would take it, it would never get back to the house and then later when we had difficulties arming the ICDC [Iraqi Civil Defense Corps] and the police forces and all these other forces who were demanding weapons to do their jobs, you know, these seized weapons would then be issued to members of the police force or the ICDC, etc. and if a weapon wasn't immediately returned to its owner.

Q: It never was going to.

YANAWAY: It was never going to be because it got issued to a police man or ICDC member or a policeman and it was gone. We had this sort of weapons cycling, cycling in and out of our hands and commanders having some incentive. I'm not saying that all of them did this of course, probably few of them did, but certainly some of them did, going out and conducting raids to secure weapons to arm their police and their ICDC who were providing security in their sectors. Of course this caused trouble because oftentimes they were raiding the political parties' offices where there were often lots of weapons in order to provide security for the government. Well, the government had security until you took their guns and gave them to your security.

Q: This leads right into another question on my list for security. You kind of described the situation. In order to improve it what kind of technical assistance, equipment and training would be required to improve the operational effect of the Iraqi police? What was provided by what country and organization? Assess the appropriateness and quality of international assistance and training in Iraq, it says in Jordan.

YANAWAY: In Jordan, yes, I know the program.

Q: Okay, and was any effort made at institution building at the interior ministry provincial and local levels? Again, it's a big question.

YANAWAY: A very big question. Certainly efforts were made in all levels to improve security. It was the primary focus. Probably every soldier interacted. My focus was [the] security of the Governing Council members. What were we doing to secure that?

Initially we promised to provide them with weapons.

Q: Them, their people?

YANAWAY: Yes. Soon after I took the job we said, let's make some decisions and there had been no decisions on what was adequate security for a member of the Governing Council and it varied dramatically for the members. Some members like Mas'ud Barzani and Jalab Kalabani and the PUK and the KDP had huge, huge militias numbering in the tens of thousands. They did not require any security. They traveled with a hundred armed guys with machine guns and RPGs [Rocket Propelled Grenade launcher]. They didn't need anybody to secure them. They were fine. Ahmad Chalabi had his thugs trained by the CIA, well trained. He was fine, the same with Iyad Allawi. He had his guys also trained by the CIA, so he was fine. On the other hand you had people like Songhul Chapouk or Aqila al-Hashimi who had nobody with any training, no security, were not used to having to have security, didn't understand anything about security and were huge targets as we found with Aqila al-Hashimi when she was killed later.

We immediately, after [the Iraqi Governing Council's] forming said, well, what security do they need? We said, well, we'll set up a baseline, because you had to give everything equally to the Governing Council members even the guys who had plenty of security wanted their free stuff, too, right? If you're going to give free stuff to them, you've got to give free stuff to them. It's got to be equal. We figured this out early on. We decided we'd give 12 paid security guards to each. They would select the security guards. We would provide 12 weapons to each, AK47s, which was the weapon most typically found. We wanted to provide cars, three cars to each, which was what we originally felt was adequate. You'd have the principal in one [car], a front car, and a back car. Radios for the members. That's where, making that plan was fine, but now you had to fund it and finance it and resource it. The chain then just got crazy.

Where do you get the weapons? Well, there's weapons all over the place, but the local commanders on the ground want to give their weapons to their police and their ICDC. They don't want to give them to the Iraqi Governing Council. They're getting no value added from the Iraqi Governing Council and so the local commanders weren't going to give any weapons. We then went through cutting a number of "fragos", (fragmentary orders) from the CJTF7 headquarters to the first armored division which was the division in charge of Baghdad where we were requesting, not requesting, we were demanding that they provide weapons to the members of the Iraqi Governing Council. A fragmentary order, the "frago" initially called for 300 weapons, 25 times 12. We turned over a [weapons] issue by the first armored division to the Iraqi Governing Council. When they showed up, they, the first armored division complained and somebody on the staff decided that unilaterally somebody in the staff, don't know who it was decided to change the number from 300 to... it was a lower number. I don't remember whether it was 50 or 150, but it wasn't 300 anymore when the order actually was published. These orders

[were] published and its not the same number and they also demanded that the names of the people who were going to be issued the weapons be provided so that a weapons authorization card could be provided at the same time which made a certain amount of sense because [if] the person didn't have a weapons authorization card and they roamed the street with a weapon, a U.S. soldier would take it. So, you had to have the weapons authorization card to go along with the weapon, and to have that you had to have the name of a person to go on the card.

Well, then you had to go back to the Governing Council and say what are the names of your 12 guys and some organizations could provide them very guickly and other organizations hadn't even begun to think about who their people would be and so the names would come in in dribs and drabs. I would send the names to the first armored division and the first armored division would task one of the local battalions to then provide the weapon and the card. This coordination all had to go across the "sipper" Internet because sipper, secret Internet, U.S. only secret Internet. I'd have to go from the Governing Council to the CPA palace where I had access to the secret internet, transmit this information to the brigade, second brigade of the first armored division which was handling the green zone. They would write the card. Bring the weapons. The first time they came they showed up with only 30 weapons and they were all junk. They were the worst weapons this brigade had I'm sure, but they'd given all their best weapons to their guys. When I went to the Iragis, you know these are the guys who are going to lead the Iraqi government, and I said, "Here's your weapon". I hand them a piece of junk and in some cases there was concrete in the barrels, they had been demilitarized. Some of them just did not work, period. This is what we gave them. What kind of a message were we sending as to the importance of this Governing Council to the U.S. people?

Q: Let me go back just a second, this original order, the "frago"...

YANAWAY: Yes.

Q: Came from what individual or what organization?

YANAWAY: CJTF7 under General Sanchez, so ostensibly it was under the signature of General Sanchez.

Q: Okay, so you have a general officer ordering a subordinate commander to carry out a task?

YANAWAY: Yes.

Q: The subordinate commander and his staff are essentially not listed?

YANAWAY: Correct.

Q: Did anybody go back to Sanchez and say, General Sanchez, is this the order...

YANAWAY: Oh, absolutely. I mean, I don't go back to talk to General Sanchez myself, I have to go through a chain of command. I would go through the operations officer. The "chops", the "forward" was a Colonel Bomar (PH) at the time, but this process would take not hours or minutes. It would take days and even weeks for it to go back up and then finally Sanchez said to just frigging do it. I paraphrase. Then still it didn't get done.

Q: I presume Sanchez has a zillion other things on his plate so he's not exactly focusing...

YANAWAY: Well, exactly. This is not, this isn't a great issue and it doesn't become a great issue until Aqila al-Hashimi death. With Aqila al-Hashimi there's suddenly some focus on it. It isn't all a military issue. When we said we were going to give them cars, the State Department said, all right give them cars, we've got all these food program cars that are scheduled to come in and we'll give them some of those. Those cars got tied up in bureaucracy and they didn't arrive until December. Meanwhile we keep promising they're going to get cars, but they never get cars and the military is providing security and cars and military troops to three of the members. We were providing troops for Ahmad Shya'a al-Barak and for Raja' al-Khuza'i and for Songhul Chapouk. Raja' al-Khuza'i also knew Songhul Chapouk from Kirkuk, has a certain rhyme to it. She also wasn't the brightest light, so we made a lot of fun.

We had military troops and military vehicles for these people and not for the others. The military wants to get out of that mission understandably. The troops who are actually doing the mission, those guys want to stay on the mission because they're actually living the high life. It's not too bad. You're driving around in an air-conditioned vehicle. You only have to work when the guy is actually traveling. You get to spend your time out and about among the Iraqi people and for the most part it is safe to go out in Iraq. It's not like every time you turn around somebody is shooting at you. You can go to a restaurant in Iraq and have a meal.

Q: In uniform?

YANAWAY: In uniform. Absolutely. In some places especially in the north, they have American flags on the walls of their restaurants. You don't hear about that either, but they're there in the Kurdish areas and flying over houses in the Kurdish areas and even over the Kurdish Ministry of Peshmurga which is the equivalent of the defense ministry. There is an American flag flying over it. Perfectly safe to go out and about among the Iraqi people up there and in the south for the most part you're safe also. Around Baghdad you've got to be a little more selective, but the members of the Governing Council meet in areas that were safe and in areas that you know, and so the people on this mission, they didn't want to get off it either, but their commanders wanted them off it

because they wanted to use them for other things. There's always this pushing of getting them off that.

Q: What was being done to make the Iraqis more effective?

YANAWAY: We wanted them to take over their security.

Q: Right.

YANAWAY: We started up a training program, which was contracted out to a South African firm, and it was a six-week training program. We would put people into the training program, train them for six weeks, they'd come out and they'd be great security guards. Personal security attachment for the members of the Iragi Governing Council. Well, the thing got organized, the Iraqis couldn't figure out who they were going to have on their security detachments and the date that the class was going to start was in question and when finally it got locked down it was a weekend and all of the Iragi Governing Council members were gone and they were going to start on Monday come hell or high water and the fact that the Iraqi Governing Council members weren't around to give us the names of the people who were going to be in the class or to tell the people in the class they were going to be in the class, had absolutely no bearing on the start date. The class started and it was full mostly of policemen so that they would fill up the class as opposed to members of the PSDs [Personal Security Detachments] of the Governing Council members who really needed it. Although, I'm talking about 50 or so were trained in the first class. They couldn't even train the whole group in total, and Agila al-Hashimi incident happens while the first class is in session and half of her people because she actually got her names in because she lived in Baghdad and we were able to get a hold of her. Half of her people were there at that class the day that she was murdered.

Q: Let me ask you a quick question. You indicate you are an Arabic speaker?

YANAWAY: Yes.

Q: In your view, were there enough people in your area where you were working, enough people who had language ability or was a lack thereof a great contributor to problems?

YANAWAY: A huge contributor and not just language, but culture. There's a story I like to tell that people ask me about.

Q: Stories are great.

YANAWAY: I was walking after a security committee meeting with Iraqi Governing Council security committee meeting which was chaired by Iyad Allawi and we were walking after the meeting back to our cars, me and this Colonel Janisek (PH), who was

working in the J3 or C3 of CJTF7. We walked past some gardeners and he said, "They're always glowering. They always look so mad." about the gardeners and the Iraqi people in general. I said, watch this. I walked up to them and I said [Arabic phrase] which means good morning. That's it. Good morning and they all looked up and were like [Arabic phrase], [Arabic phrase], which are other flowery ways of responding good morning. Their faces had brightened. It was immediately apparent that they were happy that somebody had acknowledged that they existed because the Iraqi Governing Council members never did. These were just common laborers and American soldiers never did because they couldn't speak the language. Just the fact that I acknowledge that they existed made them happy.

Then we went on for a little bit and I asked them how they were and things like that, but just this huge impact from a couple of simple words. It didn't really have anything to do with our job, but think about how those guys felt when they went home that night and what they may have told their families about the American who said hello and spoke to them. As I thought about that later I would observe at checkpoints, and at the checkpoints where the troops bothered to learn enough Iragi dialect to say "stop", "hold out your arms", "turn around", just some simple phrases at those checkpoints things ran smoothly. The people waited in line patiently. They understood what was going on. They knew it was a soldier's job and the soldier was treating them with a certain amount of respect and dignity and there wasn't a lot of yelling and screaming because there was enough communication that the people knew what was expected of them. The checkpoints where soldiers felt that the way to get an Iraqi to do something was to yell at them louder in English and maybe throw in some invective, things did not go smoothly. Iraqis recognize invective. They've seen American movies. They knew they were getting sworn at and they didn't understand why they were getting sworn at in many cases. Those checkpoints just didn't work.

Eventually we had enough translators that most checkpoints would have an Iraqi translator or a member of the Iraqi Civil Defense Corps, the ICDC, who spoke enough English and Iraqi to be able to interact. By the time I left most checkpoints actually had ICDCs who initially would screen people and the Americans just sort of provided quality control on the screening of the people coming in and out and going through checkpoints and so things improved. But initially, we absolutely did not have enough people.

Q: When we were talking earlier about the assistance of cars and this kind of stuff. Was this all coming from the U.S. or were you trying to get, you said South Africans were training, but who else was providing either equipment and/or training of significance?

YANAWAY: The only other significant equipment and training we allegedly got was from the British. They provided an armored car that would rotate among the presidents. The presidency consisted of nine members of the Iraqi Governing Council and was rotating every month. By about the third month we had this car from the British that

would go to the president of the month so that person would have an armored vehicle to travel in. Some of them already had armored vehicles Mas'ud Barzani and Jalal Talabani; some of the biggies already had them. And al-Aziz al-Hakim eventually got an armored car from the Iranians. That was one of my little side tasks was getting his armored car in through customs. The Iranians sent it to Kuwait and then they wanted to get it from Kuwait into Iraq, but it was an Iranian car, so it took a little bit, but we got his car in for him.

Q: Go back a little bit, I just wanted to make sure we have it down. Your work in the unit you were associated with. How did you relate to this CPA and the coalition of the military? Who were you actually working for?

YANAWAY: That's complicated. I was mobilized as a member of the 308 Civil Affairs Brigade as a plans officer for the brigade, but the brigade was completely underutilized and I got bored. So, I walked across the street to the C5, plans section of the CJTF7 and said put me to work.

Q: CJTF7 is?

YANAWAY: Combined Joint Task Force Seven. That was the organization General Sanchez commanded. They did. They put me to work as a strategist and I was working with Lieutenant Colonel Winston Mann (PH), Lieutenant Colonel Johnny Born (PH), the British on writing the joint CPA, CJTF7 strategy with post hostilities, which had never been written.

Q: That covered more than just security.

YANAWAY: That covered everything.

Q: That covered everything. That's more like a governance area.

YANAWAY: Yes, more like governance. Winston Mann (PH) had been part of JTF4 Joint Task Force 4 that was supposed to write the post hostilities piece, had mobilized down this CLFC, Combined Land Forces Central, I don't know. It's the Centcom (PH) land, central command land command. It's the Third Army is what it is. They had been stood up by Third Army to write the first hostilities plan. They never did. Winston Mann (PH) was familiar with what they had done when it came over to us.

Q: He was the British officer?

YANAWAY: No, Winston Mann (PH), American. We worked with CPA. It was then CPA by then, Dayton Maxwell of CPA and the British guy Dennis... what's his last name? I can picture him perfectly. I can't think of his last name. We wrote the joint

CPA CJTF7 post-hostilities thing that the New York Times published right after Bremer [US Ambassador and head Administrator of the CPA] arrived here in the United States with it in front of congress.

Q: What kind of institution were you trying to create as part of this plan and how far down did you go in terms of your ideas for institutions and sub-institutions and the elements of a civil society and a new civil society?

YANAWAY: The original ORHA [Organization for Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance] plan had six pillars. ORHA was Jay Garner's organization. When Jay Garner went, the name went with him and it was called OCPA for a short period of time, [standing for either] "Office" or "Organization of Coalition Provisional Authority" and that was shorted to "CPA" the "Coalition Provisional Authority". By the time Bremer was in place and things had settled down and that's when I arrived. They originally gave me an OCPA badge. Soon thereafter it changed to a CPA badge. It was just a name change.

Q: You had your six pillars.

YANAWAY: Six pillars.

Q: As opposed to seven pillars, right?

YANAWAY: Yes, seven dwarfs. When we wrote the plan and really divided it down to four, there were two pillars that were kind of, we said... they said cross all the others, those [two pillars] were "Strategic Communications", [which] cut across all four. You couldn't do the other four without an information campaign. And [the second of the big two was] "Civil Society", which also cut across [the other] four. We felt that by building the other four, you were building a Civil Society. The idea of Civil Society was incorporated in all the other four pillars, which were: "Governance", "Economy", "Emergency Services" (which was called "Emergency Services", but for me it would be easier to think of it as "Public Facilities") and... [did I say] "Security"? Security, Emergency Procedures, Governance, and Economy. So, those were the four [other pillars]. Within those four we then broke it down. The Security piece was especially well broken down because CJTF7 had been working on that piece prior to our effort. The other pieces in large part depended on CPA and their expertise to tell us what was needed for the Governance piece, the Economy piece or the Emergency Services piece. We got down first to major tasks and then to subtasks and in many cases into sub-subtasks that were going to take us into building prisons. And in building prisons what do you have to do to get the prisons? You've got to have food. You've got to have prison guards. The prison guards need training. You have to pay them. That level of detail.

Q: To what extent did you build onto what had been already set up in Iraq in terms of

their own civil society and to what extent did you try to create something totally new?

YANAWAY: I think in many cases it was creating something new. The army and the police force had disappeared. We used former police stations and former prisons in some cases, but not in all cases. Like in Mosul, General Petraeus built a whole new prison from the ground up. Tastefully starting in tents and eventually moving into temporary buildings and installing new wiring because the older facilities had been so badly looted and were in such bad shape, there was no sense in even trying to reestablish them in an old facility. With police stations, more often we used the old station. But it usually had to be completely rebuilt. With the police force, we encouraged former policemen to come in, but the way they had done policing wasn't the way our military policemen were familiar with. What they usually had done as policemen was they sat on a corner. The lragi idea of policing was to stick a policeman on every corner of every block.

That's not the way we think about policing. We think about people going out on patrol and interacting with the people and arresting malcontents, putting them on trial. It was just this totally alien concept to them, but that was the police system that we started building and continue to build in Iraq. We're not, if you go up into the Kurdish area in the north where the policemen are Kurds, you'll see the old Iraqi style police in action. As you drive along the highway about every mile, there's an Iraqi or a Kurdish policeman standing by the side of the road. What's he doing? Don't know. He's standing by the side of the road, but he's in effect suppressing crime because he's visible, he's there. At every corner as you drive, there is another Kurdish policeman.

Q: Did you have Iraqis working with you to get input? There may have been for all we know a reason behind...

YANAWAY: There was no Iraqi actually working on the strategic plan, on the core strategic planning group. It's probably not the best way to do it because there wasn't a lot of cultural input. There were... in the working... in each of those four pillars that we did set up, we set up a working group and they worked on their section. And within those working groups there were Iraqis.

Q: I'm going to switch the tape here. This is an interview with Colonel Mark Yanaway. This is tape one, side two. We were talking about the Iragi input.

YANAWAY: Yes, yes. The Iraqi input. Within those working groups there were some Iraqis and on each of the CPA ministry teams there were Iraqis, although a lot of times they were expatriate Iraqis, American Iraqis coming back to Iraq being paid under a DOD contract to help. They were Iraqis, but some of them hadn't lived in Iraq in 20 or 30 years so they weren't really familiar with the Iraq of today. They were familiar with the Iraq of decades ago, which wasn't the same Iraq. It was better, but it still wasn't fabulous. There were a couple of cases where there were Iraqis from the former regime

who were there working. They probably provided the best input, although in its defense, the Iraq under Saddam wasn't working. It wasn't meeting the needs of the people. That kind of policing wasn't protecting the people; it was protecting the regime. It had the side effect of suppressing a little bit of crime, but there was open to rampant graft and corruption and getting through that is going to create, is going to require a change in mindset and so reestablishing a police force from the bottom up and an army from the bottom up may in the end not be bad things, because you can reestablish them without that graft in corruption. "Insh'Allah"; "God willing".

Q: Although harking back to what you said earlier about the various members of the Governing Council grabbing properties and that kind of stuff doesn't give you a real good warm and fuzzy....

YANAWAY: No, it doesn't.

Q: Let's get specific. In the area that we were just talking about, you're preparing the plan. We've got the transition of the government. Can you talk about any specific successes or failures of your effort? What lesson did you draw from the experience? What specific prior training and orientation would have been helpful either to you [or] in your attitude toward others who were involved in the same efforts that you were involved in. What advice would you pass on for future operations?

YANAWAY: Another very broad question.

Q: Yes, and I've got others as well, so don't take that as the end. Do you want to take a break because if you do...

YANAWAY: No, that's all right. What was a particular success? The justice system I think ends up being a success, the courts, the reestablishment of the courts, the authority of the courts is something that while ongoing, I think [is] working. There are courts, there are judges sitting there, making decisions, the decisions are being upheld and that's a success. I think the establishment of free and independent newspapers has been a huge success. One hundred and fifty newspapers. There used to be one voice in Iraq. Now you have 150 voices and they're all different. Independent satellite TV. Within months of our arrival every house sprouted a satellite TV dish where before none were allowed to have them.

Q: Where were they getting these from?

YANAWAY: They were coming in from Jordan, from Saudi Arabia, from Iran, from Turkey, from Syria. I mean truckloads of the things coming in.

Q: There was enough hard currency in the country?

YANAWAY: Absolutely. Absolutely. I mean satellite TV; they're all over the place. Internet cafes opening up all over the country. Many Iraqis now have access to the internet, they have access to satellite TV, they have access to a variety of voices in the newspaper and I think that is part of the creation of a civil society and that part has been a overwhelming success to the point that they're never going to be able to put that genie back in the box.

Q: Is this something that you personally and/or the organization that you were involved in had something to do with, or would this have happened independently? In other words, did you...

YANAWAY: It would have happened independent of my actions certainly. I don't know that it would have happened independent of the CPA actions because in the civil society piece of the reconstruction plan we wanted to encourage the creation of a variety of media outlets. The fact that we went in and said we can print a newspaper and your newspaper can say what it wants, even if it is anti-coalition... there's a big change, you know? Our troops couldn't just go around and shut down a newspaper. Actually they could... they could have, but we didn't do that and we consciously didn't go around shutting around every single newspaper that wrote a bad story about us or telling them what they could write. They were free to write what they wanted and that is a conscious decision on our part and part of the creation of a civil society, an important part. We also didn't restrict what people broadcast on the radio. We didn't restrict. The Governing Council tried a couple of times. They passed a resolution in the 90 series, I believe ([a series] of resolutions from the Governing Council), banning Al Jazeera and Al Arabia, you may remember it in the news. We basically told them no because the Governing Council remembered the way Saddam controlled the media and wanted to control it the same way. I think you will see that Allawi in the coming months is going to try to take that kind of control of the media. I don't think he's going to be able to at this point, which I think in the end will be a good thing for Iraq. I mean, Al Jazira and Al Arabia don't always say things that are complimentary to our efforts and say things that are probably hurtful to our efforts, but in the end the Iraqi people can say the coalition... when they say something it's not going through these media filters like under Saddam. Under Saddam "Baghdad Bob" is the spokesman. We called him Baghdad Bob, the guy who said, no, they're not in the airport. The tanks are driving over to the airport, that guy. He's still alive and free by the way. He was not arrested. He's wandering around Baghdad.

Q: Not a lot of street credit I wouldn't think.

YANAWAY: No, but who believed him by the end? Nobody believed him and the regime had no, it spoke with no authority whereas the coalition, when it said something it had much more authority because we did a lot of free give and take. That part of it was conscious.

Q: What about failures?

YANAWAY: Failures. So many. So many failures. I think we massively failed to protect the members of the Governing Council adequately. It was all bureaucratic. Why couldn't we give them some cars? The army units were picking up SUVs and stuff like this by the truckload. If I wanted an SUV as an Army Lieutenant Colonel I could go to KBR and draw one. I could, my unit had a bunch of them. Some of them we rented in Kuwait and taken into the country with us. You know, I didn't have any difficulty getting a car for me, [but] getting cars for them seemed to be impossible with all of the resources of Defense and State. Getting them an adequate weapon was just impossible. It was unthinkable that we should give them an American weapon for some reason. I mean, we had Berettas, 9mm Berettas which actually would have been better for their personal security detachments to have than AK47s which aren't concealable. [We could have] given them body armor. The whole time I was there we were not able to get them body armor. We eventually had a shipment of Glock pistols come in. They were for the members of the Governing Council. Three hundred allocated for the members of the Governing Council, but the Ministry of Interior senior advisor who controlled them would not allow me to issue them to the members of the Governing Council until their security had gone through a one week course on how to use a pistol. That's crazy. These guys are carrying AK47s and stuff, carrying weapons and to some extent, it's not really our say-so who is going to be their security guard and how well trained, it's the member. If the members are satisfied with their training, just give them the pistol, but they wouldn't give them the pistol until they'd gone through a one week training course. Well, you know, [during] that one week training course the guy's got to be fed and housed and paid. And he's not available to work.

Q: Who's going to take care of that?

YANAWAY: Then, when we got all the names of the people to go through the names of the one week training course, well they started having contracting difficulties with the South Africans, to let the contract, and they couldn't run the course. For months they were unable to run the course that they had to get in order to get the pistols. Isn't that insane?

Q: That's what it sounds like.

YANAWAY: You know, and it's all bureaucracy.

Q: Not Iraqi bureaucracy.

YANAWAY: This is American bureaucracy. We should have just given them the pistols. Here's your 12 pistols, here's your 12 pistols and we should have just given

them the cars. We had cars. We had pistols. We had rifles. Getting those out of the people who controlled them to provide them to the Iraqi Governing Council just seemed to be it was like pulling teeth all the time. Regularly the only way something would get done in CPA is if it got to the level of Ambassador Kennedy or Ambassador Bremer, especially with the Governing Council. Admittedly they often involved fairly big decisions. Thousands and even millions of dollars [are] being spent. Some guy lower down on the totem pole didn't want to make the decision, but it seemed like every time I needed a decision I had to go to Ambassador Kennedy or Ambassador Bremer to get them to approve it. Then sometimes they had to follow up personally with the guy who was implementing it because he didn't believe "Joe Snuffy", or Lieutenant Colonel Mark Yanaway.

Q: Well, you seem to be implying that there was a friction between the civilian side of the CPA and the military?

YANAWAY: Oh, there was.

Q: Was it all pervasive?

YANAWAY: It was a huge friction and it stemmed from a misunderstanding early on. A military figure, we're going to fight the war. That's what militaries do. May 1st, hostilities are ended, we're all going to go home and CPA is going to take over running the country. Okay? Well, May 1st came along and CPA had under 1,000 people on the ground and the military had over 100,000 people on the ground and the Iraqi government had completely evaporated along with their security forces. So, the only force on the ground that could do anything was the military, but the military is all sitting there thinking the CPA is going to start taking over everything and they're going to be able to go home. Every month the military would say, well, the CPA is going to do that, the CPA is going to do that. The CPA doesn't have the people to do that. The CPA was never up to full strength in its entire existence and most of the people on its staff were actually military. Civil affairs guys in uniform formed about 10% of its staff. Civil affairs not in uniform formed about another 10% of its staff.

Q: In addition to not having the numbers, were the lines of authority and the lines of responsibility clearly drawn and enforced with the lack of clarity a contributing factor to some discretion?

YANAWAY: It was probably some contribution, although I think a lot of it was the military being in self-denial. We expected CPA to take over. The local commander on the ground was like, I'm not in charge of running the government. CPA is in charge of running the government. Well, under international law, when a government doesn't exist, the local commander who controls the ground is in charge of running the government. I mean, so that brigade commander controls that piece of ground, sorry dude, you may not

want to be the local government, but you are the local government and you control all the firepower. There's no civilian government to take over and CPA is totally incapable of doing it because they don't have the people. They don't even have enough people to run the national [government], never mind the regional and local governments. By the time I left they were only beginning to stand up provincial governments. They were never going to get down to the local governments. It was self-denial and those military commanders saying, "We're not in charge..." really you are in charge.

Q: Let's go back a little bit on the security side and do that same question about specific successes and failures, the efforts in the security area, at least as far as you're concerned for the Governing Council. You obviously lost one member, but...

YANAWAY: On the Governing Council our failure to provide them with the resources they needed to protect themselves. That was a huge failure. If we had at the very beginning provided them with 12 rifles and three cars and three radios and 12 sets of body armor which in the greater scheme of things is not that much. I mean we provided the Bulgarians with all of their trucks and all of their pay and their transportation into theater, there were about 300 of them. So then we could say Bulgaria is on our side. Why couldn't we have put an equal effort into the Iraqi Governing Council so we could say the Iraqis were on our side (for a lot less money by the way)? It really would not have been a huge sum in the greater scheme of things. Also providing advice, just providing them with advice on how to secure their houses, where to put concrete barriers. A little training on how to be a security guard would have gone a long way.

Q: Understanding that bureaucracy within the U.S. governing structure is a pain in the neck and always has been and always will be, what about the use of the contractors, what was it Blackstone?

YANAWAY: Blackwater.

Q: Blackwater. These other companies, would it have been better just to kind of turn it over to them and let them run it?

YANAWAY: It might have been better had we said, all right, here is X number of million dollars, you need to provide them with three cars apiece, three radios apiece, X number of rifles, pistols and training on security. If we'd said, you provide the whole package, but the whole time I think we were trying to do it on the cheap by providing them captured weapons that don't cost anything. You just capture someone and you give it to them. Of course we were giving them junk when we could find it. You know? So, that didn't work. We never gave them 12 weapons apiece. Never did. We gave them about 30 junk AK47s and later the KDP came out with 75 AK47s, beautiful. The KDP in Barzani (PH) group, donated these. They all first flew them down on helicopters. I picked them up and distributed them; three each to the members. Those were probably the best weapons

they got. Eventually we were able to get I don't know 40 or 50 Glocks out to various members and they loved the Glocks. That was all the weapons we ever distributed. We eventually did distribute cars to them. I don't know if we ever did radios or body armor. I had a police friend send me body armor, which I distributed personally.

Q: Did the insurgency in any way affect your activities on a day to day basis? I call it the insurgency... the violence?

YANAWAY: Personally?

Q: Well, the work you were doing.

YANAWAY: Well, it certainly affected the work I was doing. The Governing Council members would have to get from wherever they were living to the Governing Council on a daily basis and to do that they'd have to go through places where there was an insurgency. They had to get through the American checkpoints. We had huge difficulties trying to get them recognition so they could come through the checkpoints quickly and not have to sit in long lines like the rest of the Iraqis which only made sense because of course they were huge targets and if you're sitting out in a line outside of the checkpoint, well, where are all these bombs going off?

Q: Wait, let me see if I understand this right. You're talking about the Governing Council of Iraq and they've got to sit in the same checkpoint line as the gardener who is coming in?

YANAWAY: Yes, absolutely.

Q: Nobody raised this as an issue?

YANAWAY: The issue got raised. It got raised fairly early on and I eventually got a frago cut authorizing them access, but the local commanders yelled and screamed about it as a security violation and the deputy commandant of CJTF7 Major General Galanetti (PH) immediately yelled and screamed also. He was yelling and pulled me in on the carpet to say, "What are we trying to do? Get Americans killed? Because these are Iraqis driving into the green zone without their vehicles being searched." That's the deputy commander one step below Sanchez. On the military side it was so focused on security they had, it basically took Ambassador Bremer stepping in to say "These guys have got to get in and you've got to knock this off" before we started to get some resolution of that issue and by the time I left our soldiers were still occasionally stopping them because to them an Iraqi is an Iraqi.

Q: There was no thought to just setting up a separate lane to run them through?

YANAWAY: Well, there is a coalition lane. This is the part that just caused the Iraqis so much grief. They'd see an American like me. If I was in my uniform in an SUV, a civilian vehicle, but I was in my uniform, American troops would just wave me through the checkpoint. I wouldn't even have to show an ID card because I was a white man in a military uniform. They got to sit in a line and sometimes be searched. It just galled them. They have their own entrance to their part of the compound, which obviated a lot of those problems, but it... yes.

Q: I think we've actually been through most of the questions here. Let's just give you an opportunity at this point to say whatever you want to say about lessons you might have drawn from the experience. What would you recommend in training or orientation for people if this country were ever put in this situation again? How a future operation could be effectively run, at least on the governance and security side. This is your shot at it.

YANAWAY: You have to have a plan for post-hostilities before you reach post-hostilities. There was no plan for post hostilities for this operation until July, August of 2003. That plan was not a complete plan. I mean it was fairly detailed. It was a fairly good plan. It was a really good starting point, but it was a starting point that we really should have had before the operation, another sort of vignette. In February of 2003 as we were sitting in Kuwait looking at this, I went up to the CJTF7 planning staff and I said, what are we going to use for currency when this is over? No answer. I was just some major from a civil affairs brigade, so the question probably never went any further than that.

In the summer of 2003, they started running out of the Saddam currency because money wears out and they stopped printing it in April, right? So, we actually started up the printing presses to print money with Saddam's face on it from like August until October when the new currency came out. We were printing money because nobody had thought to ask what currency are we going to use. A basic question. A basic question that should have been answered before the war ever started.

Q: But are the military officers trained to think about those questions?

YANAWAY: Civil affairs officers are. They are trained to do that. I think they did ask the question and the answer was not forthcoming. I know I asked the question. I personally asked the question. There was no answer. Part of that is the focus was on the war and they were fighting it and there were war-fighters doing the planning. And they want... the glory is all in the war. There's no glory in the afterwards. Nobody wanted to listen to a civil affairs reservists. There's always civil affairs reservists. Pretty much all, 96%. Nobody wanted to listen to this reserve guy coming out of nowhere about something that you didn't want to do anyway because you expected to be home. Everybody, they were going to fight the war and then all the troops are going to go home and CPA is going to run everything, right? There's nobody on CPA. Garner at that

point, I don't think his staff was 300 people, you know? They were busy trying to figure out where they were going to set up their computer and what office supplies they needed, not worrying about post hostilities plans. There were some plans out there and they were rejected for whatever reasons. I don't know that they would have been any better, in some cases parts of them would have.

Q: The people who were doing whatever plans were out there, were these people who had any working knowledge of the Middle East in general, or Iraq in particular, who had any background in Iraqi society?

YANAWAY: The guys that I met from JTF4, which was the army, and I didn't meet all of them. I don't know all of them, so I can't speak for them, but the guys that I met have none.

Q: Have none.

YANAWAY: None. Zero. Zip. Didn't know anything about the Middle East other than what the average army officer who is probably better educated than the average American on world affairs and culture and stuff knows.

Q: Was there cooperation either in the early planning stages or when you were actively working in Iraq between the State Department Bureau of Middle Eastern Affairs or the Iraqi desk or others with some expertise in this area? Was there an interchange of ideas?

YANAWAY: Not to my knowledge. You know, you read about it in the paper, and I have to I assume that its true, that there was a State Department plan out there that was pushed aside in favor of the Defense Department plan which is simply everything is going to be wonderful and there would be a liberation instead of an occupation and basically everything would fall into place. That appears to be what happened because it was Department of Defense guys who didn't have an understanding of the culture or experience in the area for the most part who were undertaking this stuff. On the CJTF7 plan staff I was the expert for Middle Eastern culture, for Iraqi culture and especially for the Shia. I don't have any special education. I'm an archeologist. I could tell you about the Byzantines or the Philistines and the Arcadians and stuff like that, but I'm not a modern Middle Eastern area studies guy. I was all they had on the plan staff. I was the only guy who spoke Arabic and had had any sort of formal training in the Middle East on the CJTF7 plan staff. Now, admittedly CJTF7 should not have been the organization responsible for the plan. It should have been CPA. CPA did have some people who were very experienced Middle Eastern specialists. One of the things was they had an Ambassador Horan...

O: Hume Horan?

YANAWAY: Horan. Yes. Speaks Arabic like a poet. Knows the culture, but he didn't engage in the creation of the plans or anything afterwards. He engaged in interacting with Iraqis on a personal level. He was out to dinner a lot and probably helping our effort on that personal level, but all of his expertise wasn't being utilized at the planning level. There I saw a lot of the state Iraqi specialists came over and schmoozed, which is I guess what diplomats do, but we really could have used that expertise at the planning level and among the planners who didn't understand the culture.

Q: Well, do you have any last minute thoughts you want to pass out? I think we've pretty much gone through the questions here. If you have any final thoughts... there's lots more I'd like to ask you personally. Can you suggest any other returnees that we can interview, people that you think would usefully contribute to this record we're trying to make here?

YANAWAY: You could talk to A. Heather Coyne. She would be a fabulous person. She worked with local governance in women's issues especially in Baghdad. She has very stated opinions, also very educated Arabic speaker. Joe Rice, Lieutenant Colonel Joe Rice. Then Sergeant Rachel Rowe. You would think oh, she's just a sergeant, but she's. R-O-E. She's actually a lawyer who did a great deal of work setting up in Najaf a legal system and now working with the Iraqi criminal court. She's going to be going back, both Coyne and her are going back to Baghdad. They just came back from Iraq. They're both going back to work for the UN or other people. The judge who is trying Saddam is a good friend of hers. So, she had some impact on the trial of Saddam.

Q: Great.

YANAWAY: I think if you got those three you'd...

Q: Okay. Well, we'll pass these on to the powers that be in this project.

YANAWAY: If you search on Roe she'll come up in the newspaper a lot. Joe Rice probably will come up, too and Coyne might.

Q: Well, we'll give it a shot. Let me turn this off.