

THE FUND FOR PEACE

A WAY OUT:  
THE UNION OF  
IRAQI STATES



REPORT #7  
2003-2007

PAULINE H. BAKER



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# A WAY OUT: THE UNION OF IRAQI STATES

Report #7

March 2003 to June 2007

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# A WAY OUT: THE UNION OF IRAQI STATES

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## **Preface**

Although there have been many reports on Iraq, the Fund for Peace (FfP) is contributing to the debate by providing a systematic evaluation of Iraqi progress, or lack thereof, using specific metrics for measuring social, economic, and political stabilization since the invasion in April 2003. Applying CAST (the Conflict Analysis System Tool), the analytical framework developed by the FfP to assess societies at risk of internal conflict and state collapse, this series of reports evaluates Iraq's progress toward sustainable security – the state at which the country is largely peaceful and capable of governing itself without external military or administrative oversight.<sup>1</sup>

The methodology employed is detailed in the Methodological Note at the end of this report. Briefly, it is based on independent ratings of twelve top conflict indicators enumerated in the attached charts, five core political institutions (military, police, civil service, system of justice and leadership,) and “stings” (unanticipated events and factors.) The purpose of the ratings is to trace patterns and trends over time. Ratings are reviewed carefully, based on information gleaned from open-source English and Arabic language scores, government reports, diverse organizations and groups that have conducted site visits in Iraq, and various scholars and journalists.

Although research assistants and staff at the FfP have contributed to the report, the conclusions are entirely the responsibility of the author. She has been ably assisted in these reports by outstanding students who have brought creative skills, thoughtful insights, and critical minds to a topic that is highly complex and controversial. For this report, special thanks go to Ariana Sarar from Gonzaga University and Kathleen Gillen from Lehigh University for their excellent research assistance.

Pauline H. Baker  
July 2007

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<sup>1</sup> For another application of the CAST methodology, see the “Failed States Index” in *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2007 issue. Additional details on the methodology and prior reports on Iraq can be obtained on the Fund for Peace website: [www.fundforpeace.org](http://www.fundforpeace.org).

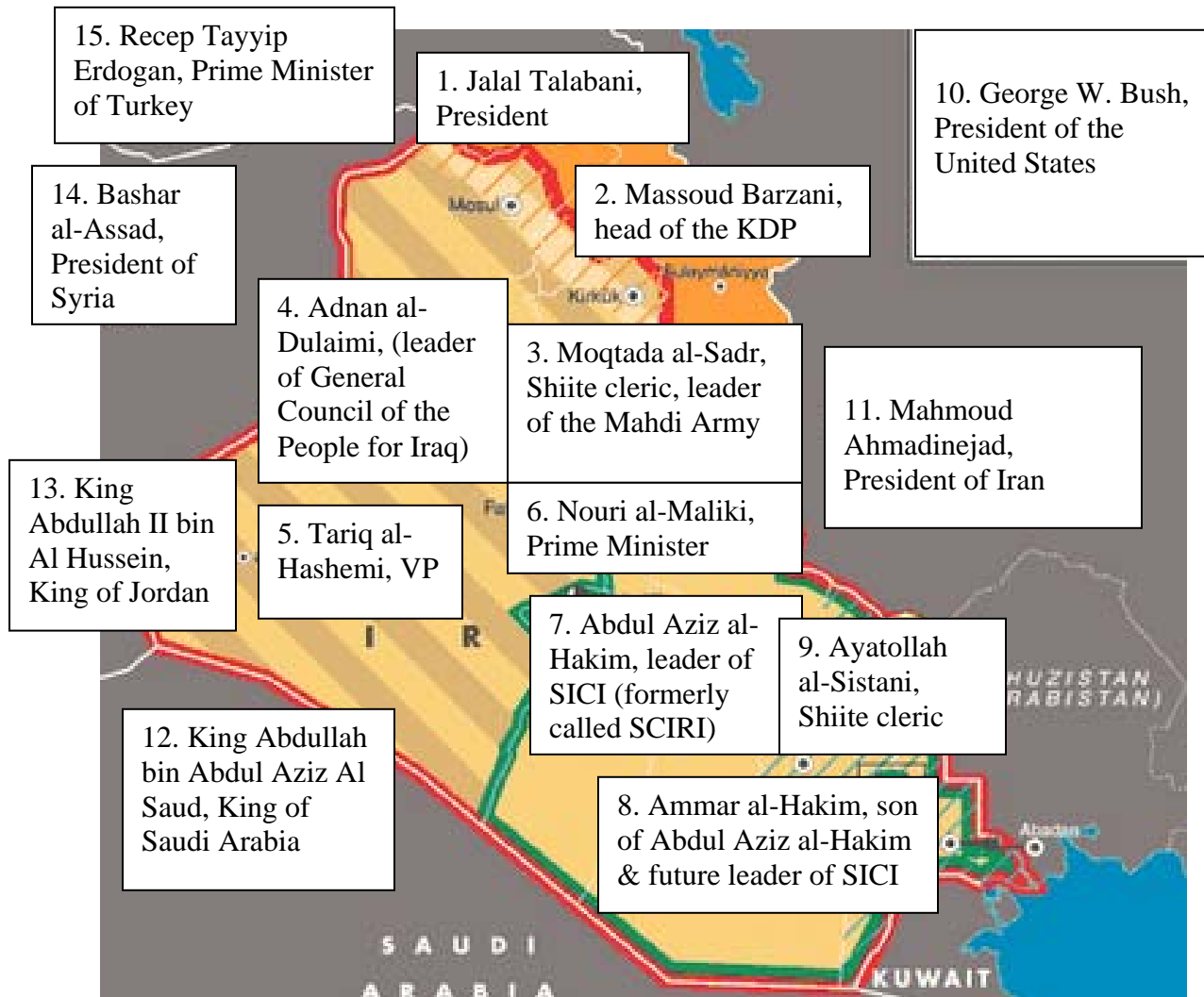
# POWER BROKERS



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# POWER BROKERS



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## Executive Summary and Recommendations

### A Way Out: The Union of Iraqi States

Iraq is disintegrating violently. While there may be pockets of improvement from the “surge,” these are transitory and limited achievements that are about four years too late. These achievements have not diminished the level of violence in the country as a whole, encouraged political reconciliation, limited militia activity, or stopped the spate of vengeance killings that are occurring every day, nor are they likely to do so with more time. Rather than fight fragmentation, it would be better to manage the trend with a view toward establishing an entirely new political order. A “Union of Iraqi States,” in which each of the three major Iraqi ethno-sectarian groups becomes independent but remains part of a larger economic union, could be a way out. It has the potential to divide power and share wealth among Iraq’s peoples and permit U.S. troops to be withdrawn responsibly.

These are the conclusions of the latest Fund for Peace report on Iraq, the seventh in the series. The multi-volume analysis underscores how long fragmentation has been going on as measured by the twelve social, economic and political/military indicators since the April 2003 overthrow of Saddam Hussein. While there was some volatility in the ratings immediately after the invasion, which carried some hope for improvement, the trend lines since then have crept steadily upward toward higher risk of internal conflict. On a scale of one to 10, with 10 being the highest risk of conflict and one being the least, two-thirds of the indicators were rated a 10 and one-third a nine. Cumulatively, this means that Iraq is close to total collapse. (See Graph 1: Iraq Indicator total, Pre-War – June 2007).<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, the conflict is threatening to enflame the entire Middle East. King Abdullah of Jordan warned that we could be facing three civil wars in the region: Iraq, Lebanon, and the Palestinians. Besides radicalizing Islamic populations, the war in Iraq is posing new security problems. Attacks on Turkey by Kurdish rebels operating from Iraq have provoked Ankara to mass almost as many Turkish troops on the Iraqi border as there are U.S. troops in Iraq.<sup>3</sup> Iranian military support to militias in Iraq is increasing, according to U.S. sources. Syria and Jordan are inundated by Iraqis refugees. And Saudi Arabia is distancing itself from the U.S., as it watches with growing concern the rise of Iranian hegemony and a resurgence of the Shia.

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<sup>2</sup> Iraq came in second, just behind Sudan, in the 2007 FFP Failed States Index. *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2007). In 2006, it was ranked fourth.

<sup>3</sup> “Iraqi warns of Kurdish threat,” *The New York Times*, 7/9/2007.



Within Iraq, the population is segregating itself into the equivalent of Iraqi “Bantustans” based on ethno-religious affiliations. As a recent report from the Brookings Institution put it, “the impetus for ethno-sectarian flight comes from the ethno-sectarian nature of the killing, rather than armed conflict *per se*.... [Iraqis] are seeking security...where militias of their own group tend to be in control.”<sup>4</sup> The U.S. is abetting the process in an attempt to quell the killing and gain local allies. American troops are creating “gated communities” in many Baghdad neighborhoods, erecting a three-mile wall to discourage inter-communal violence in the city and forming alliances with local Sunni tribal groups to fight Al Qaeda, a strategy to gain allies in particular areas in the short term at the risk of heightening civil conflict nationally in the long term. Militias whom the U.S. is arming now could turn their guns on the central government later. As a recent CSIS report concluded, “After hundreds of billions of dollars,...the trend lines are clear: the central government is less and less relevant to what happens in Iraq, and [Iraqi] regional leaders – call them warlords, if you like – are grabbing the upper hand.”<sup>5</sup>

The U.S. debate over Iraq exhibits two characteristics typical of American foreign policy. The first is an unwillingness of government officials to face up to facts on the ground if they contradict preconceived ideas of what they think “should” be the right outcome -- in this case, a united, multiethnic democracy. As noble as this goal is, it is grasping for straws to believe that it is achievable in the chaos that reigns in Iraq today. When internal war descends into systematic vengeance-seeking violence against civilians, such policies can worsen the conflict by hardening group identities and fostering faster fragmentation.

Detailed plans for training local forces were developed under the leadership of Gen. George W. Casey, Jr. to get Iraqis to take more responsibility for security and reduce American forces, but it failed to take root largely due to the sectarian nature of the forces themselves. With Ambassador Ryan Crocker, Gen. David H. Petraeus introduced a more sophisticated counter-insurgency strategy aimed at protecting civilians and isolating insurgents through localized security measures. Perhaps Petraeus’ strategy might have worked after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, when there was a security vacuum and local militias had not yet been formed. However, this approach, like its predecessor, is based on the notion that we merely need to give local authorities the time to achieve national reconciliation in pursuit of a multiethnic democracy to achieve sustainable security. Unfortunately, the political will and capacity of the central government to achieve lasting reconciliation do not exist. To the contrary, Iraqi political groups are dividing further within each ethno-sectarian faction rather than coming together.

A related characteristic of U.S. foreign policy is the tendency to “pick winners” who we think are imbued with the power to miraculously save the situation. There is a school of

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<sup>4</sup> Edward P. Joseph and Michael E. O’Hanlon, “The Case for Soft Partition in Iraq,” **Analysis Paper**, Number 12, June 2007, Brookings Institution, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Jon B. Alterman, “Thinking Small,” **Middle East Notes and Comments**, CSIS, July/August 2000, p.1.

thought that holds that leaders matter more than underlying social forces in critical transitions or crises; in truth, of course, both are important. But where exemplary leaders are not available, then social forces take over. It is fanciful to think that we can find in Iraq the kind of non-violent, bridge-building figures of integrity, such as Nelson Mandela or Vaclav Havel, who can turn the situation around.

Some are advocating just that, however. One foreign affairs analyst, for example, advocates support for a “nascent bloc of Iraqi nationalists who, against all odds, are working to put together a pan-Iraq coalition that would *topple* (italics mine) the U.S.-backed government of Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki.”<sup>6</sup> This is an idea said to be favored by some in the administration. There are three problems with this scenario. It is too late, it inflates the influence of the bloc and its leader, and it could strike the fatal blow that would push the country into total collapse.

We have already tried to pick winners in Iraq. The first time was when we picked Ahmed Chalabi, who had aspirations of leading after he convinced the U.S. that Saddam Hussein had WMDs and that our liberation of the Iraq would be welcomed across the country. We all know what that produced. The second time was when we backed Iyad Allawi as Prime Minister in a short-lived term that failed to reduce the violence or advance political reconciliation. There is no reason to believe that he could do any better the second time around. His party, the Iraqi National List holds 13 % of the ministerial posts and 11% of the seats in Parliament; it garnered only 14% of the votes in the most recent parliamentary elections.

The third time we tried picking winners was when National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley contemplated a plan to replace Maliki in a memo that was leaked to the *New York Times* in November 2006. Cooler heads in the administration correctly recognized that this might result in collapsing the central government entirely. Anyone picked by the U.S. to replace Maliki will automatically be deemed illegitimate. Thus, President Bush restated his full support of Maliki, despite his failure to make progress on the benchmarks they agreed upon.

No amount of reshuffling the deck will save a disintegrating Iraq. We should put aside preconceived notions about preferred outcomes, such as a multinational democracy, and accept a more workable outcome, such as partitioning the country into three states. This at least holds the potential to reduce the violence by offering a positive vision of how Iraqis can live side by side, if not together. Neither the Bush Administration nor the Baker-Hamilton recommendations offer such a vision. The former keeps trying to stay the course, while the latter formulated a way for the U.S. to get out irrespective of what follows in the wake of our departure.

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<sup>6</sup> Robert Dreyfuss, [thenation.com](http://thenation.com), June 27, 2007.

This is understandable. Domestic pressure for the U.S. to withdraw is coming to a head, and the window of opportunity for leaving something behind that could be constructive is narrowing fast. The question is: can we draw down the U.S. military presence and simultaneously nurture a new political order that will bring stability?

It may well be too late, but one path is worth exploring. Les Gelb, president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations, proposed full partition shortly after the war began. Senator Joe Biden proposed a soft partition about a year ago.<sup>7</sup> Though not originally in favor of partition, the Fund for Peace advocated a “managed partition” last year. Whatever we call it, separating the main ethnic-religious groups is now being considered seriously in the debate over the merits of “hard” (complete sovereignty for three states) versus “soft” (loose confederation) partition to reduce the sectarian violence and allow a reduction in the presence of foreign troops.

One version of a managed partition is a European-style “Union of Iraqi States” whose three component parts would have political independence but be linked economically, like the European Union. This would ensure that none of the major ethnic-religious groups would be dominated by the other, as each would have its own government and security forces. However, if they are linked in a larger economic entity, they would enjoy free trade and commerce, an attractive environment for international investment, and they would endorse common principles, such as protection of minority rights and free movement of labor and capital. The critical question of sharing oil revenues that is currently dividing the country could be resolved by an equitable formula negotiated with, and enforced by, the international community that would provide each state with a guaranteed share of the income, based on criteria used in other oil-producing states, such as need, population and derivation.<sup>8</sup>

Iraq’s neighbors and other international stakeholders would have to be part of the bargain, guaranteeing financial support, border security, military non-aggression pacts (including preventing rebel activity) and diplomatic recognition. They, too, could benefit from this arrangement.

Iran would benefit because Iraq could never again be able to wage war against it. Turkey would benefit by getting guarantees from the international community to stop Kurdish rebels from infiltration. Jordan and Syria would benefit by being able to return Iraqi refugees flooding into their countries. And the U.S. and its allies would benefit by bringing their troops home without leaving chaos, civil war and regional disorder behind.

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<sup>7</sup> Among others who have advocated partition, David Phillips, author of **Losing Iraq** (2005) and Peter Galbraith, former U.S. Ambassador to Croatia and U.N. Ambassador to East Timor, who wrote **The End of Iraq** (2006), are two who have commented extensively on the subject.

<sup>8</sup> Further details on a managed partition are contained in the Fund for Peace report #6, “Lessons Learned from Iraq 2003-2006; Where Do We Go From Here?” at [www.fundforpeace.org](http://www.fundforpeace.org).

The losers would be the foreign terrorists, whose presence would no longer be necessary, a feature that would turn the populace against them. The rationale for fighting would likewise dry up for internal insurgents, with the occupation ending and self-rule on the horizon. Not all players are likely to jump on board, at least not at first. And there would be bitter-enders who would fight to the finish. But such forces would be marginalized as the majority of the local population grasps for a light at the end of the tunnel.

The three states would each be very different. We might not like all the outcomes. However, Iraqis would not be fighting each other and the country would not be the seedbed for terrorists and insurgents who destabilize the region, create horrific violence every day, and bleed our forces on their battlefields. Indeed, if the recent shift of the Sunni tribal chiefs against Al Qaeda is real, then an independent Sunni-dominated state would probably deprive foreign terrorists of a base in their nascent state. Neither Kurdistan in the north nor a supra-Shiite state in the south would be hospitable havens either. Managed partition could be a real set back for Al Qaeda.

Will there be difficult problems? Of course. But they would not be more complex than what Iraq and the region will confront with violent disintegration or the sudden departure of U.S. troops, as U.S. Ambassador Ryan C. Crocker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Hoshiyar Zebari recently warned.

Will it be easy? Not by a long shot. Such transitions never are. Although the negotiated partition of a state into separate entities is never ideal, it recently ended two wars. Over a decade ago, the international community helped to end the bloodiest war on the European continent since WWII by a managed partition of Bosnia into three separate entities within one common border, with revenue and power-sharing arrangements. Today that country remains at peace and is currently in negotiations to join the European Union, an outcome not thought imaginable at the end of the war in 1996. A managed partition was also negotiated to end Africa's longest war in southern Sudan, with the southern region due to vote on independence in a 2011 referendum. If managed partition was successful in the Balkans and Eastern Africa, why not in Iraq?

Would it result in more violence? Probably no more than what Iraq is experiencing now or will likely experience in the future if current trends continue. Handled right, a managed partition would likely result in the violence dropping sharply.<sup>9</sup>

How could such a solution be implemented? Henry A. Kissinger provided a framework in a recent piece for the *Washington Post*.<sup>10</sup> Although he does not endorse partition

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<sup>9</sup> See the Fund for Peace reports on Iraq, especially No. 6: "Lessons Learned from Iraq 2003-2006: Where Do We Go From Here?" [www.fundforpeace.org](http://www.fundforpeace.org). The specifics of a managed partition are discussed. Also see Edward P. Joseph and Michael O'Hanlon, "The Case for Soft Partition in Iraq," *op.cit.* for a detailed discussion of the logistics of demographic separation.

outright, he contemplates it as a possible result, asserting that the internal parties that have been having blood feuds for centuries “need the buttress of a diplomatic process that could provide international support for carrying out any internal agreements reached or to contain conflict if the internal parties cannot agree and Iraq breaks up.”

Kissinger proposes a three-tiered international effort that includes intensified negotiations among the Iraqi parties, a regional forum, and a broader conference to establish the peacekeeping and verification dimensions for the “eventual participation of friendly countries with a big stake in the outcome.” A foreign ministers’ conference similar to the one that met at Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt could kick-off the multilateral diplomacy that Kissinger advocates, with managed partition as one of the options put on the table. Alternatively, the UN, which is going to increase its presence in Iraq, could also introduce the idea. Perhaps it would have the effect of driving internal parties to compromise more to avoid partition. But if not, then this and other versions of new political order should be considered.

Ultimately, of course, it is up to the Iraqis to decide the fate of their nation. We can ease that choice by mounting a multilateral diplomatic offensive based on fresh ideas. Rather than pick winners, stay the course, or pull out – these being the only three options now being considered – managed partition could salvage something from this long ordeal. It could leave us with some influence in the area, contain terrorism, allow us to start bringing our troops home in a responsible way, avert a bloodbath in the wake of troop withdrawal, and shift our role from war-fighting to state-building.

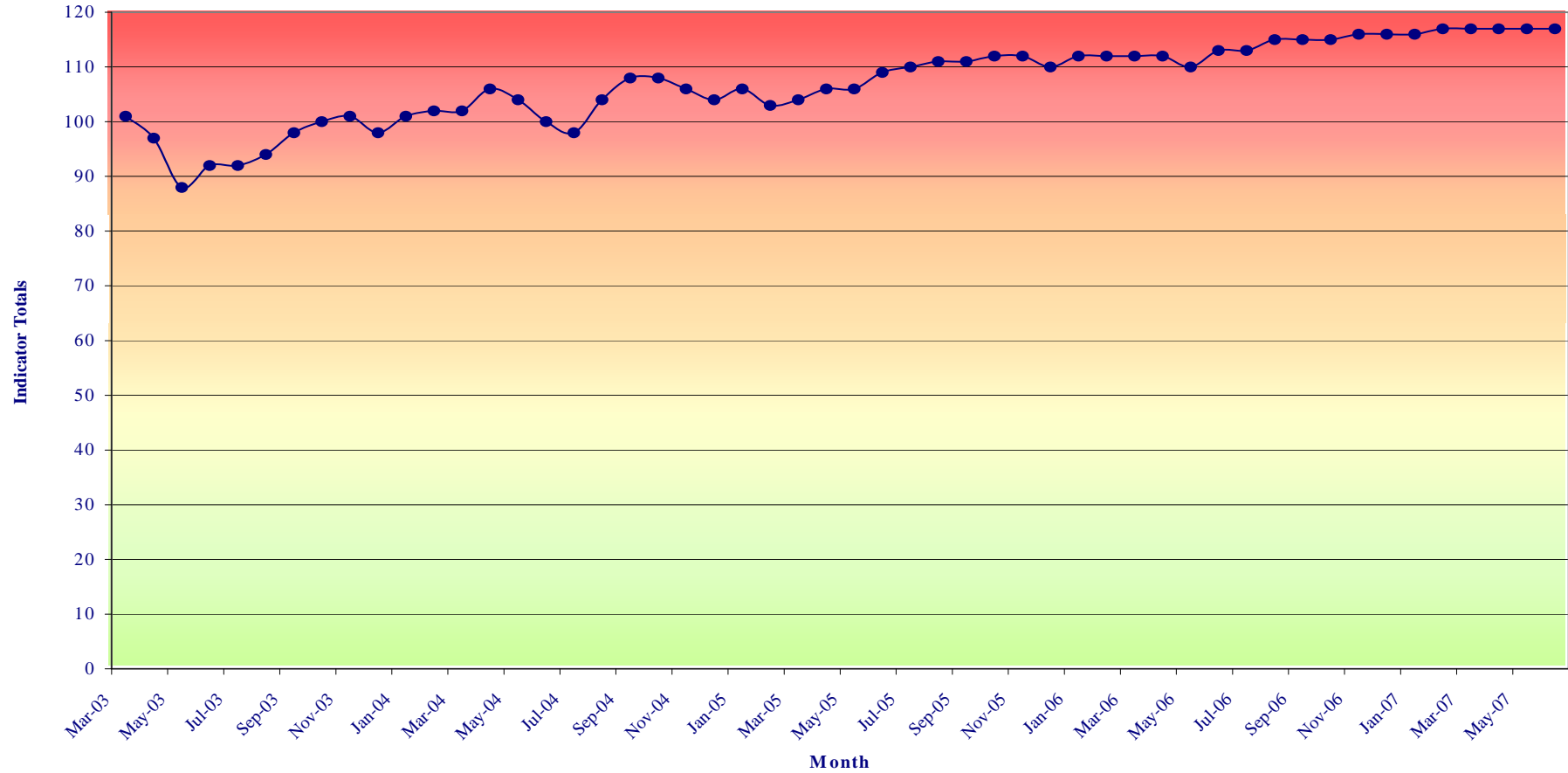
However, it would take strong and committed U.S. diplomatic leadership to make this happen. If this is lacking, then the trends we have identified in this series of reports will culminate in an uncontrollable and violent partition. Under those circumstances, the only question is how, and how violently, it will break up.

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<sup>10</sup> “The Way Back from Iraq,” *The Washington Post*, 7/10/2007.



Graph 1



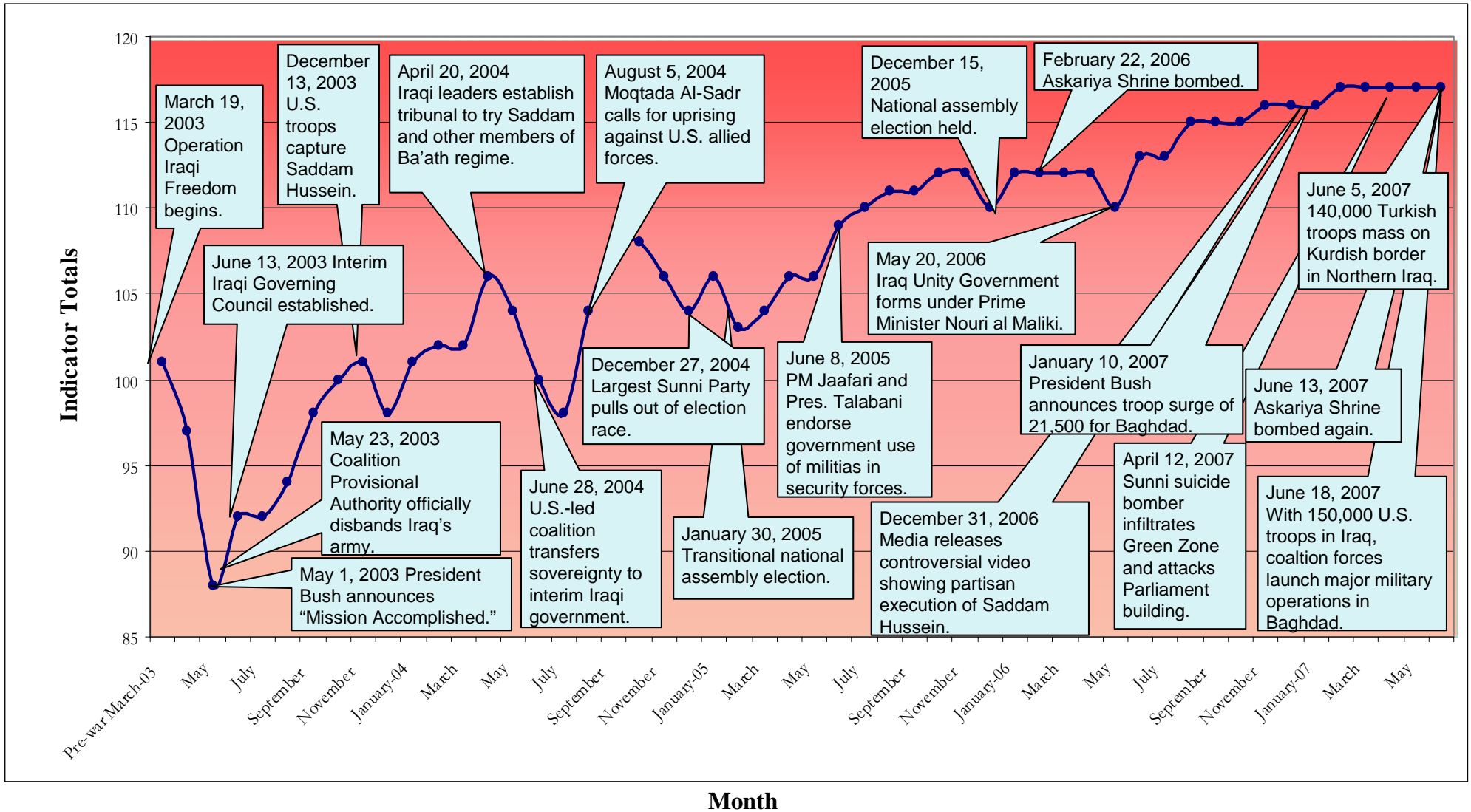
Legend

Month	
91-120	Alert
61-90	Warning
31-60	Monitoring
1-30	Sustainable

\* Scores are depicted on the basis of every two months.

# Graph 2

## IRAQ FOUR-YEAR TREND LINE PRE-WAR - JUNE 2007



\*Graph is an enlargement of Graph 1 Iraq Indicator Totals (Pre-war through June 2007)





## Pre-war through December 2004

Indicator	Pre-war												2004											
	Pre-war	April/03	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January/04	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December		
1. Mounting Demographic Pressures	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9		
2. Massive Movement of Refugees or Internally Displaced Persons	8	8	6	6	6	5	9	9	8	7	9	9	9	9	8	8	7	9	9	9	9	9		
3. Legacy of Vengeance-Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia	9	6	6	8	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	8	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	8		
4. Chronic and Sustained Human Flight	7	7	6	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	8	8	8	8	8		
5. Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines	7	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8		
6. Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline	9	10	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	8		
7. Criminalization and/or Delegitimization of the State	10	10	10	10	10	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	10	9	7	7	8	9	9	9	9		
8. Progressive Deterioration of Public Services	7	9	8	8	7	8	8	7	7	7	7	8	8	9	9	9	8	8	9	9	8	8		
9. Suspension or Arbitrary Application of Human Rights	10	5	5	6	6	6	6	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	8	9	9	9	9	9	9		
10. Security Apparatus Operates as a "State Within a State"	10	8	5	6	7	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	9	10	10	10	10	10	9	9		
11. Rise of Factionalized Elites	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	10	9	9	9	9	9	7	7	9	9	9	9	9	9		
12. Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10		
<b>Total:</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>104</b>		

## January 2005 through June 2007

Indicator	2005												2006												2007					
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January/06	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June
1. Mounting Demographic Pressures	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
2. Massive Movement of Refugees or Internally Displaced Persons	9	9	8	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
3. Legacy of Vengeance-Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia	9	8	9	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
4. Chronic and Sustained Human Flight	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	
5. Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	
6. Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline	8	7	7	7	7	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	
7. Criminalization and/or Delegitimization of the State	9	9	10	10	9	9	9	9	10	10	9	10	10	10	10	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
8. Progressive Deterioration of Public Services	8	8	8	8	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	
9. Suspension or Arbitrary Application of Human Rights	9	9	9	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
10. Security Apparatus Operates as a "State Within a State"	10	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
11. Rise of Factionalized Elites	9	9	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	9	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
12. Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
<b>Total:</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>117</b>		

**Iraq**  
**October 2006**

**1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures***  
**Rating: 10**

Civilian populations continue to be the primary target of Sunni and Shiite militia group attacks.<sup>11</sup> Militiamen target marketplaces, mosques and shopping centers with the aim of instilling fear into civilian groups and causing maximum casualties.<sup>12</sup> The violence has driven people in the thousands from their homes particularly in Baghdad, Anbar, Ninewa, Diyala, Babylon and Wassit, causing long-lasting political, social, and economic impacts.<sup>13</sup>

The displacement of people accompanied by such extreme violence is creating a massive humanitarian crisis, straining the health sector, overcrowding the schools, and taxing the already poor infrastructure. This is exhausting for both the displaced families and the Iraqi families trying to aid them in host communities.<sup>14</sup> The International Organization for Migration estimates that more than 1.5 million IDPs lack the most basic services, such as shelter, drinking water, sanitation, health services, and education.<sup>15</sup>

Tensions between IDPs and host communities have risen in the past month. In Kerbala, borders were closed except to those originally from Kerbala.<sup>16</sup> Still, entrance is restricted for many with origins in the province. Najaf has also restricted settlement in Najaf City.<sup>17</sup> An increase in violence in some governorates has been attributed to the influx of recently displaced persons.<sup>18</sup>

Children are particularly affected by displacement and violence. Unable to safely attend schools in many parts of Iraq, many children are without any education.<sup>19</sup> Lack of money has forced many more Iraqi children and youth to seek employment.<sup>20</sup> Post-traumatic stress syndrome is quite common among youth—causing sleeping disorders, incessant crying, violent nightmares, and uncontrollable anger or unexplainable acts of violence.<sup>21</sup> Reports of rape against children, especially boys, are high.<sup>22</sup> Increased drug use among Iraqi youth is also believed to be symptomatic of the instability and violence persistent in much of Iraq.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> “Iraq events of 2006,” Human Rights Watch, 1/2007.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>13</sup> “Iraq displacement 2006 year in review,” International Organization for Migration, 1/2007.

<sup>14</sup> “Iraq displacement,” UNHCR, 10/13/2006.

<sup>15</sup> “Iraq displacement 2006 year in review,” International Organization for Migration, 1/2007.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*

**2. *Massive Movement of Refugees or Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)***  
**Rating: 10**

The rise in sectarian violence, crime and a lack of security has resulted in a sharp increase in the number of Iraqis fleeing their homes and country.<sup>24</sup> The International Organization for Migration estimates that approximately 9,000 people are forced to leave their homes every week since the February bombing of the Shiite Askariya Shrine in Samarra.<sup>25</sup> Other sources report an exodus of more than 50,000 Iraqis a month, with some central provinces experiencing a ten-fold increase in IDPs since January 2006.<sup>26</sup>

Iraqis living in certain religiously and ethnically mixed neighborhoods are being ethnically cleansed from their homes as armed militias engage in power struggles for territorial control.<sup>27</sup> Direct threats against their lives, as well as generalized fear, find many Iraqis fleeing their homes to more homogenized communities.<sup>28</sup> Shia living in central Iraq have fled south, while Sunnis living in the south have escaped to the upper-center region of Iraq, primarily the Anbar province;<sup>29</sup> Christians are leaving for Ninewa, and Kurds seek shelter in Diyala and Kirkuk.<sup>30</sup> Militia infighting, as well as military operations, particularly in Ramadi and Falluja, has destroyed the homes of many.<sup>31</sup>

Attacks like the October 19<sup>th</sup> mortar strike targeting a Palestinian community living in Baghdad have driven Palestinians from their homes. An attempt to reach those injured in the attack was halted when militiamen attacked an ambulance sent to the Al Baladiya neighborhood.<sup>32</sup> Under Saddam Hussein's regime, Palestinians received preferential treatment, but since the fall of the regime, Palestinians have become a target for sectarian violence.<sup>33</sup>

**3. *Legacy of Vengeance-Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia***  
**Rating: 10**

While terrorist bombings, kidnappings and sectarian murders are up 22 percent from September,<sup>34</sup> during October, the month of Ramadan, an obvious change in the nature of violence is also visible.<sup>35</sup> In the first ten days of October, death squads have killed 770 Iraqis.<sup>36</sup> In northwest Baghdad, U.S. forces investigated 40 sectarian killings and 57

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<sup>24</sup> "Iraq displacement," UNHCR, 10/13/2006.

<sup>25</sup> "Iraq can't wait," *The Washington Post*, 10/23/2006.

<sup>26</sup> "Iraq displacement," UNHCR, 10/13/2006.

<sup>27</sup> "Iraq displacement 2006 year in review," International Organization for Migration, 1/2007.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>32</sup> "UNHCR alarmed by increased violence against Palestinians in Iraq," UNHCR, 10/20/2006.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>34</sup> "U.S. says violence in Baghdad rises, foiling campaign," *The New York Times*, 10/20/2006.

<sup>35</sup> "Reconciliation progressing in Iraq, coalition officials say," *The Washington File*, 10/10/2006.

<sup>36</sup> "All time high in Baghdad violence," *USA Today*, 10/12/2006.

bodies, many of which were mutilated and showed signs of torture.<sup>37</sup> Sunnis have witnessed government-supported death squads that kill and ethnically cleanse their fellow Sunnis.<sup>38</sup> CBS news reporter Lara Logan reported that the Ministry of Health, controlled by followers of Moqtada al-Sadr, oversees the systematic killing of Sunni patients and the subsequent disposal of their bodies into mass graves.<sup>39</sup>

General George W. Casey Jr. stated on October 11 that violence in Iraq has peaked in the past weeks, despite the redeployment of several thousand additional U.S. and Iraqi troops to Baghdad in August.<sup>40</sup> Though there was an initial reduction in violence that coincided with troop reassignment, General Casey reports that in October, “The levels of violence are as high as they have been.”<sup>41</sup> The heightened sectarian violence is undermining any possible move towards reconciliation. Instead, growing sectarian attacks give new reasons to seek vengeance.<sup>42</sup> Where multi-ethnic communities have become killing grounds,<sup>43</sup> prospects for compromise are significantly diminished.<sup>44</sup> Despite an attempt by Prime Minister Nouri Al-Maliki to end sectarian violence in Baghdad by establishing district communities tasked with monitoring and addressing Sunni-Shia violence,<sup>45</sup> Sunnis and Shiites and their various offshoots are keeping militias as an insurance policy.<sup>46</sup>

Hostility towards Palestinians was underscored October 19<sup>th</sup> when mortar attacks hit a Palestinian community inside Baghdad leaving four dead, a dozen injured, and many displaced.<sup>47</sup> Militiamen have warned Palestinians to leave the neighborhood and it is estimated that only 4,000 Palestinians remain in what once was a community of nearly 8,000.<sup>48</sup>

#### **4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight*** **Rating: 9**

Chaos, unrelenting violence and assassinations have driven much of the professional class out of Iraq.<sup>49</sup> The education system in some areas of Iraq is near collapse as teachers, professors and students escape the growing insurgency.<sup>50</sup> Scores of educators in Baghdad as well as Mosul and Amariya have opted to resign, applied for extended

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<sup>37</sup> “All time high in Baghdad violence,” *USA Today*, 10/12/2006.

<sup>38</sup> “Facing our failure in Iraq,” *The Washington Post*, 10/09/2006.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>40</sup> “Top U.S. officer in Iraq see spike in violence,” *The New York Times*, 10/12/2006.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>42</sup> “Iraq can’t wait,” *The Washington Post*, 10/28/2006.

<sup>43</sup> “The agony of Iraq,” *National Post*, 10/28/2006.

<sup>44</sup> “Iraq can’t wait,” *The Washington Post*, 10/23/2006.

<sup>45</sup> “Reconciliation progressing in Iraq, coalition officials say,” *The Washington File*, 10/10/2006.

<sup>46</sup> “Facing our failure in Iraq,” *The Washington Post*, 10/09/2006.

<sup>47</sup> “UNHCR alarmed by increased violence against Palestinians in Iraq,” UNHCR, 10/20/2006.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>49</sup> “Schools near collapse as teachers, pupils flee,” *Financial Times*, 10/06/2006.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*

vacation or sick leave, or sought refuge in other countries.<sup>51</sup> The result is empty classrooms and in areas that are the hardest hit, only half to a third of the student body are attending classes.<sup>52</sup>

Professionals teaching in the areas of health and the sciences are often the targets of assassination. The College of Medicine and Dentistry postponed its start date as a result of the emigration of teachers.<sup>53</sup> From Basra to Kirkuk, militia groups have infiltrated universities, intimidating female students and professors for not wearing traditional Islamic dress.<sup>54</sup>

Iraq's judicial system is not unaffected by militia pressures and insurgent violence. In 2006 at least eleven judges were killed.<sup>55</sup> Intimidation from militias and the fear of reprisals for judgments issued have made it all the more difficult to find judges in Iraq.<sup>56</sup> "We can't do our jobs properly," states one Iraqi judge. "They [militias] are controlling everything everywhere, and they do whatever they want."<sup>57</sup>

The security situation in Iraq has also caused many doctors and health care professionals to flee Iraq.<sup>58</sup> An estimated 12,000 physicians have left Iraq since 2003.<sup>59</sup> Reports of doctors being beaten are frequent and still more accounts have surfaced of physicians being killed or assassinated.<sup>60</sup> The Brookings Institution estimates that 2,000 doctors have been murdered and 250 kidnapped since 2003,<sup>61</sup> resulting in a vast exodus of both medical specialists and students of medicine.<sup>62</sup>

## **5. Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines**

### **Rating: 8**

The Sunni population has been significantly marginalized politically and socio-economically since the newly elected government was installed. Sunni representation in the Iraqi national government affords little voice in policy making, placing the Sunnis further on the periphery.<sup>63</sup> "Of the 51 members of the Baghdad Provincial Council, which runs the city's services, just one is Sunni."<sup>64</sup> The resulting change in status and political

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<sup>51</sup> "Schools near collapse as teachers, pupils flee," *Financial Times*, 10/06/2006.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>53</sup> "Human Rights situation in Iraq," UNAMI, 10/2006.

<sup>54</sup> "Schools near collapse as teachers, pupils flee," *Financial Times*, 10/06/2006.

<sup>55</sup> "Judicial system far from independent," Global Policy Forum, 10/10/2006.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>58</sup> "As doctors flee war-torn Iraq, so, too, must the sick and the hurt," *Seattle Times*, 10/23/2006.

<sup>59</sup> "Iraq Index," The Brookings Institution, 10/2006

<sup>60</sup> "As doctors flee war-torn Iraq, so, too, must the sick and the hurt," *Seattle Times*, 10/23/2006.

<sup>61</sup> "Iraq Index," The Brookings Institution, 10/2006.

<sup>62</sup> "As doctors flee war-torn Iraq, so, too, must the sick and the hurt," *Seattle Times*, 10/23/2006.

<sup>63</sup> "Parliament approved measure allowing autonomous regions," *The Washington Post*, 10/26/2006.

<sup>64</sup> "The war in Iraq; Shiites making Baghdad their own, some say; Militias pushing deep in the capital to move Sunnis out," *The Houston Chronicle*, 12/08/2006.

power has subsequently marginalized the Sunnis economically.<sup>65</sup> In the once middle class neighborhoods of Zayuna, Ghadier, and Hurriya, Shiite militiamen have intimidated, kidnapped, and killed Sunnis.<sup>66</sup> Sunnis are forced to leave their jobs and homes, and often must start again with nothing.<sup>67</sup>

6. ***Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline***  
**Rating: 9**

The Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction states that the process of transferring control of reconstruction projects to the Iraqis has broken down.<sup>68</sup> Iraq's monetary contribution to rebuilding its infrastructure is small.<sup>69</sup> Of the six billion dollar budget for reconstruction projects, only a small percentage is being spent on actual construction, while the majority of the budget is spent on administrative costs and workers' salaries.<sup>70</sup> The Ministry of Finance has been criticized for slowing the allocation of funds and for its poor job in overseeing the progress of U.S. projects that have been handed over to the Iraqi government.<sup>71</sup> Corruption and violence further complicate the execution of construction projects.

Auditors have discovered that, for many of the largest contracts with U.S. firms, anywhere from one half to a third of the funds were spent on administrative costs.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, thousands of weapons that the U.S. had provided Iraqi security forces are unaccounted for. The total number of weapons missing—including pistols, assault rifles, machine guns and rocket propelled grenade launchers—was 14,030 or 4 percent of the weapons supplied by the U.S. since 2003.<sup>73</sup>

Unemployment is extremely high, falling between 25% and 40%.<sup>74</sup> The economy continues to struggle with high inflation rates, around 25% throughout the year.<sup>75</sup>

Some positive steps towards reconstruction and economic development have been made. In recent months, electric capacity has surpassed prewar levels. However, Baghdad continues to be worse than before the war.<sup>76</sup> Iraq has met its oil target of 1.66 million barrels a day. Eighty-eight percent of U.S. construction projects have been completed and about three quarters of the \$18 billion reconstruction package allocated by Congress has

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<sup>65</sup> "Iraq Index," The Brookings Institution, 10/2006.

<sup>66</sup> "The war in Iraq; Shiites making Baghdad their own, some say; Militias pushing deep in the capital to move Sunnis out," *The Houston Chronicle*, 12/08/2006.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>68</sup> "Auditors say shift of rebuilding to Iraqis appears 'broken down,'" *The Washington Post*, 10/31/2006.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>74</sup> "Iraq Index," The Brookings Institute, 10/31/2006.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>76</sup> "Auditors say shift of rebuilding to Iraqis appears 'broken down,'" *The Washington Post*, 10/31/2006.

been spent.<sup>77</sup> Still, only six of the 142 primary health clinics funded by the U.S. are operational.<sup>78</sup>

Outside investors are beginning to engage Iraq's economy after decades of international isolation. Citigroup's Corporate and Investment Banking division, in cooperation with the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, introduced a \$70 million structured credit facility, allowing the Trade Bank of Iraq to issue letters of credit facilitating the provision of goods and services vital to Iraq's reconstruction.<sup>79</sup> Citigroup has also introduced a commercial debt reconstruction program, loaning \$130 million to support small and medium term enterprises in the Iraqi private sector.<sup>80</sup>

## **7. *Delegitimization of the State*** **Rating: 10**

With widespread distrust of the government, Iraq is finding it difficult to maintain security and govern effectively.<sup>81</sup> Ethnic and religious differences continue to impede the government's ability to rule. On October 11, parliament approved a controversial law allowing Iraq to be divided into a federation of autonomous regions.<sup>82</sup> This law is set to be implemented in eighteen months.<sup>83</sup> Many Sunnis and some Shiite Muslims stormed out of the session in protest, as the division leaves the oil rich south to the powerful majority Shiites, some of whom favor creating a Shiite super state.<sup>84</sup> Meanwhile, the relatively barren central region lacking oil is left to the Sunnis, although a search for oil is ongoing.<sup>85</sup> Critics worry that a southern Shiite super state will only weaken Maliki's already weak government and further splinter the country.<sup>86</sup>

Corruption is rampant within the Iraqi ministries. The Ministry of Interior reportedly provides refuge to militiamen responsible for abduction, torture and murder, and even grants safe haven to death squads.<sup>87</sup> The Ministry of Interior, which commands Iraq's security forces, has questionable ties with Iraq's two major Shia militia groups.<sup>88</sup> The Mahdi Army, led by radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr, and the Badr Organization are both believed to be driving forces behind the ethnic cleansing of thousands of Sunnis in

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<sup>77</sup> "Auditors say shift of rebuilding to Iraqis appears 'broken down,'" *The Washington Post*, 10/31/2006.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>79</sup> "Citigroup and OPIC announce the launch of a \$70 million structured facility to support Trade Bank of Iraq," *Business Wire*, 10/13/2006.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>81</sup> "Iraq events of 2006," Human Rights Watch, 1/2007.

<sup>82</sup> "Parliament approved measure allowing autonomous regions," *The Washington Post*, 10/12/2006.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>84</sup> "Parliament approved measure allowing autonomous regions," *The Washington Post*, 10/12/2006.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>86</sup> "Premier sets peace plan; violence rises; other developments," *World News Digest*, 10/12/2006.

<sup>87</sup> "Why withdrawal from Iraq is the worst option," *Financial Times*, 10/26/2006.

<sup>88</sup> "Iraq: end Interior Ministry death squads," Human Rights Watch, 10/29/2006.



Baghdad and other provinces.<sup>89</sup> Maliki has done little to halt the attacks or disarm the Mahdi Army as Sadr heads a large Shiite political party key to Maliki's government.<sup>90</sup>

Michael Rubin of the American Enterprise Institute reports complicity between Iraq's security forces and militia groups.<sup>91</sup> General Mohammed Kheiri, a former senior Baathist, appointed police chief of Mosul, allegedly serves as an intelligence source and arms supplier to terrorists.<sup>92</sup> The 8<sup>th</sup> Iraqi Police Unit is suspended from duty for an investigation into its involvement in the kidnapping of twenty-six Sunni food factory workers in Southwest Baghdad.<sup>93</sup> Ten of the abducted Sunnis were found murdered.<sup>94</sup>

## **8. *Progressive Deterioration of Public Services*** **Rating: 9**

Instability and violence continue to affect the state of Iraq's public services adversely, further complicating daily life for much of Iraq.<sup>95</sup> Both water supply and sanitation are deteriorating due to an increase in violence and people fleeing their homes in pursuit of safety.<sup>96</sup> The Iraqi government is unable to improve infrastructure, and the increases in population further strain already unreliable facilities.<sup>97</sup> Clean water is increasingly difficult to access, with many Iraqis traveling substantial distances to reach clean water supplies.<sup>98</sup> In addition, an increased reliance on water from streams and lakes has exacerbated the spread of disease and infection.<sup>99</sup>

Fuel is in short supply, and the electricity supply remains unreliable. The unpredictability of Iraq's power sources has left Iraqis dependent on generators for energy.<sup>100</sup> Blackouts are frequent.<sup>101</sup> For October, Baghdad averages 5.6 hours of electricity a day with Iraq receiving an estimated 11.8 hours of power a day.<sup>102</sup> Kerosene used for cooking and heating is particularly in short supply.<sup>103</sup>

Persistent insurgent attacks, power shortages, and sectarian violence continue to prevent basic health care services from being provided. Bechtel Infrastructure Corp, whose three-year reconstruction contract expires at the end of October, reports the extreme difficulty

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<sup>89</sup> "Iraq: end Interior Ministry death squads," Human Rights Watch, 10/29/2006.

<sup>90</sup> "Iraqi premier denies U.S. assertion he agreed to timelines," *The Washington Post*, 10/26/2006.

<sup>91</sup> "Why withdrawal from Iraq is the worst option," *Financial Times*, 10/26/2006.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>93</sup> "Iraq: end Interior Ministry death squads," Human Rights Watch, 10/29/2006.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>95</sup> "Warner downbeat after Iraq trip," *The Washington Post*, 10/06/2006.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>100</sup> "Iraq displacement 2006 year in review," International Organization for Migration, 1/20007.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>102</sup> "Iraq Index," The Brookings Institution, 10/31/2006.

<sup>103</sup> "Iraq displacement 2006 year in review," International Organization for Migration, 1/20007.

of working in a war zone.<sup>104</sup> The construction of health clinics has suffered greatly, the Basra children's hospital in particular.<sup>105</sup> Assassinations, kidnappings, and the systematic execution of 12 contractors and 11 concrete workers suspended Bechtel's work on the hospital.<sup>106</sup> Of the 142 primary health clinics financed by the U.S., only six are operational.<sup>107</sup>

Hospitals continue to fall victim to collateral damage in military operations and armed conflict.<sup>108</sup> Medical equipment, medications and medical supplies are diminishing.<sup>109</sup> Many doctors and health care professionals have fled Iraq after constant threats to their lives.<sup>110</sup> Pregnant women and infants, in particular, struggle to receive health care. A rising number of women are delivering babies at home, rather than in hospitals.<sup>111</sup> Women and their families fear the journey to the hospital or a possible insurgent attack on the medical facility.<sup>112</sup> The International Organization for Migration has found an increase in deaths during childbirth as a result of inadequate delivery care in homes.<sup>113</sup> Health clinics report an increase in abortions.<sup>114</sup> Reports surface of mass ethnic cleansing of Sunni patients in hospitals in Baghdad and Karbala.<sup>115</sup> Sunnis seeking health treatment are systematically killed and dumped in mass graves.<sup>116</sup>

**9. *Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights***  
**Rating: 10**

Extreme disregard for human rights and continual manipulation of the rule of law continues to characterize Iraq's civil society. UNAMI has expressed deep concern for the autonomy of Iraq's independent press, women's rights and "extra-judicial persecution of former Baath party members."<sup>117</sup> The growing militancy of extremist groups continues to limit women from participating in civil society.<sup>118</sup> Security and intimidation confine women to their homes. Restricted access to women's health services and education opportunities further marginalize women in Iraqi society.<sup>119</sup> Provinces in northern Iraq

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<sup>104</sup> "Bechtel speaks about work in a war zone," *ENR: Engineering News-Record*, 10/30/2006.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>107</sup> "Auditors say shift of rebuilding to Iraqis appears 'broken down,'" *The Washington Post*, 10/31/2006.

<sup>108</sup> "Iraq displacement 2006 year in review," International Organization for Migration, 1/20007.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>115</sup> "Facing our failures in Iraq," *The Washington Post*, 10/09/2006.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>117</sup> "Human Rights situation in Iraq," UNAMI, 10/2006.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*

report increased cases of suicide or attempted suicide among women, honor killings, kidnappings with the intent of sexual exploitation and intimidation of unveiled women.<sup>120</sup>

The Ministries of Interior and Health are under suspicion of various human rights violations.<sup>121</sup> The Ministry of Interior, responsible for Iraqi security forces, is reported to give safe haven to militia death squads responsible for the murder, kidnapping, and torture of innocent civilians.<sup>122</sup> The Ministry of Interior has shady ties with two of Iraq's major Shiite groups—the Mahdi Army and the Badr Forces, both suspected of ethnical cleansing of Sunnis in Baghdad and other provinces.<sup>123</sup> At the Medico-Legal Institute in Baghdad, Human Rights Watch examined the bodies of victims of execution-style killings to find that they were often violently tortured first.<sup>124</sup> Eyewitness accounts and ministry official statements indicate direct involvement of Interior security forces in these murders.<sup>125</sup> The lack of evidence for due process, prosecution of crimes and apprehension of criminals are equally disturbing.

The 8<sup>th</sup> Iraqi Police Unit is suspended from duty awaiting an investigation into its involvement in the abductions and killings of twenty-six Sunni factory workers in southwest Baghdad.<sup>126</sup> Ten of the kidnapped were found dead.<sup>127</sup>

UNAMI reports severe human rights violations in prisons and detention centers. Evidence indicates frequent violations of detainee rights such as “the right to a fair trial, legal representation, humane treatment and humane living conditions.”<sup>128</sup> Fifty-two Ministry of Interior officials were issued warrants for their arrests for detainee abuse in Site 4.<sup>129</sup>

The Ministry of Health, directed by Ali al-Shamari, loyal adherent to radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr, is reportedly murdering Sunni patients in hospitals and disposing of their bodies in mass graves.<sup>130</sup> U.S. intelligence reports Sadr's Mahdi Army is allowing morgues and hospitals to be used freely by Shiite death squads.<sup>131</sup> “Sunni patients are being murdered, some dragged from their beds. The militia is keeping hostages inside some hospitals, where they are tortured and executed. They are using ambulances to transport hostages and illegal weapons, and even to help their fighters escape from U.S. forces.”<sup>132</sup> Relatives are terrified of visiting their family members in hospitals. All the

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<sup>120</sup> “Human Rights situation in Iraq,” UNAMI, 10/2006.

<sup>121</sup> “Iraq: end interior ministry death squads,” Human Rights Watch, 10/29/2006.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>128</sup> “Human rights situation in Iraq,” UNAMI, 10/2006.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>130</sup> “Death squads in Iraqi hospitals,” The Osgood File CBS, 10/05/2006.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid*

while bodies are piling up in the morgues, as relatives of those killed during the war are fearful of claiming their dead for fear of being killed themselves.<sup>133</sup>

**10. Security Apparatus Operates as a “State Within a State”  
Rating: 10**

Iraq’s security forces are plagued by corruption and continue to be infiltrated by death squads and ethnically aligned militia groups.<sup>134</sup> In the first ten days of October, death squads killed 770 Iraqis.<sup>135</sup> Violence is broken down into neighborhoods where local gangs are in power, uncontrolled by their supposed political leaders.<sup>136</sup> Stryker soldiers in the Baghdad neighborhoods of Ghazaliyah and Shula say Shiite militia death squads have infiltrated their police forces.<sup>137</sup> U.S. forces believe that many Iraqi police forces are corrupt, supporting the insurgency that divides Iraq.<sup>138</sup>

Three thousand of Iraq’s national police have been dismissed in an attempt to reorganize Iraq’s security forces.<sup>139</sup> One thousand two hundred and twenty-eight have been let go because of criminal activity, human rights abuses or forgery.<sup>140</sup> Nearly 2,000 have been released for negligence.<sup>141</sup>

U.S. coalition forces in combination with Iraqi security forces have failed to achieve anything more than a temporary decline in violence, making Baghdad’s streets the bloodiest in the war.<sup>142</sup> Neighborhoods like Dora, once thought to be sealed off from militia groups, have seen a return of extremist fighting and sectarian violence.<sup>143</sup> Iraq witnessed a 22 percent increase in attacks since September during the opening weeks of Ramadan.<sup>144</sup> The passage of a law to establish a Shiite super state in southern Iraq in eighteen months prompted heavily armed insurgents to take over Ramadi’s busy streets in celebration.<sup>145</sup> Iraqi security forces remain incapable of restoring peace and security.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> “Death squads in Iraqi hospitals,” The Osgood File CBS, 10/05/2006.

<sup>134</sup> “Strykers say some Iraqi police no help or corrupt,” *Associated Press*, 10/02/2006.

<sup>135</sup> “All time high in Baghdad violence,” *USA Today*, 10/12/2006.

<sup>136</sup> “Facing our failures in Iraq,” *The Washington Post*, 10/09/2006.

<sup>137</sup> “Strykers say some Iraqi police no help or corrupt,” *Associated Press*, 10/02/2006.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>139</sup> “More than 3,000 Iraqi police sacked: ministry spokesman,” *Agence France Presse*, 10/17/2006.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>142</sup> “U.S. says violence in Baghdad rises, foiling campaign,” *The New York Times*, 10/20/2006.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>146</sup> “The drift to theocracy can only increase the chaos,” *The Financial Times*, 10/26/2006.

**11. *Rise of Factionalized Elites***  
**Rating: 10**

October has been marked by a rapid breakdown of political authority through most of Iraq. Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki has failed to consolidate power, as the Iraqi government grows increasingly factionalized along sectarian lines.<sup>147</sup> Radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr heads a large Shiite political party key to Maliki's government.<sup>148</sup> Conversely, Sadr commands the powerful Shiite militia, the Mahdi Army, who fight consistently against U.S. coalition forces.<sup>149</sup> Maliki criticized a U.S. led raid on Sadr City, a well-known Shia militia stronghold, for fear of alienating members of his Shia-led coalition.<sup>150</sup> Abdul al-Hakim, party head of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution of Iraq (SCIRI), also seeks to consolidate power through the Shiite militia, Badr Brigade.<sup>151</sup> SCIRI, Iraq's largest political party, has proceeded with a plan to create a Shiite "super region" in the south despite an agreement to include major Sunni groups in the political process.<sup>152</sup> The governing majority in Iraq, Shiite religious groups and the Kurds, are unwilling to make concessions to the Sunni minority.<sup>153</sup> Conversely, the Sunnis are unable to come forth with a united front because of their own radical elements and poor leadership.<sup>154</sup> Intra-Shia fighting, along with Sunni and Shia sectarian violence, accelerates the breakdown of political authority. Fareed Zakaria of the *Washington Post* states that, "Political leaders in Baghdad are losing control of their militias and cadres across the country."<sup>155</sup>

**12. *Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors***  
**Rating: 10**

External forces continue to play a large role in Iraq. U.S. troops in Iraq total around 147,800<sup>156</sup> while coalition forces number approximately 18,000.<sup>157</sup> In addition to international humanitarian organizations, regional neighbors such as Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Jordan, have political, economic, and security interests in the future of Iraq.<sup>158</sup> The Brookings Institution estimates around 800-2,000 foreign fighters in Iraq's insurgency.<sup>159</sup> Though foreign fighters constitute only 4-10% of the insurgency, it is believed that approximately 96% of suicide bombings originate from foreign fighters.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> "The drift to theocracy can only increase the chaos," *The Financial Times*, 10/26/2006.

<sup>148</sup> "Iraqi premier denies U.S. assertion he agreed to timelines," *The Washington Post*, 10/26/2006.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>150</sup> "Maliki Slams US over raid on Shia stronghold," *Financial Times*, 10/26/2006.

<sup>151</sup> "Iraq can't wait," *The Washington Post*, 10/26/2006.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>156</sup> "US forces in Iraq," CRS Report for Congress, 11/13/2006.

<sup>157</sup> "Iraq weekly status report," U.S. Department of State, 12/20/ 2006.

<sup>158</sup> "Talabani factor in relation to Turkey, Iraq and the US," *Turkish Weekly*, 10/12/2006.

<sup>159</sup> "Iraq Index," The Brookings Institution, 10/31/2006.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid*

Iran is allegedly providing monetary backing to Shiite insurgents as well as logistical support to the armed wing of the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution, the Badr Brigade, with the ultimate objective of ensuring that post-Saddam Iraq is friendly to the Islamic Republic.<sup>161</sup> Tactical changes, such as the recruitment of Iranian and Iraqi women to gather intelligence, are attributed to Iranian influence. These women, equipped with GPS tracking devices and other intelligence devices, are disguised as homeless persons and sent to scout out U.S. military posts.<sup>162</sup> De-Baathification has sidelined Sunnis from the political process, allowing Iranian-backed politicians to secure sensitive positions of power in Iraq's Ministries of Defense, Immigration, and Interior.<sup>163</sup>

Iraq's northern Kurdish region is of prime interest to Turkey. A sovereign Kurdish state independent of Iraq is a major concern for Turkey with its large Kurdish population in the southeast.<sup>164</sup> Turkish oil companies PetOil and Genel Enerji have signed explorative contracts with Kurdish administration in Irbil to the displeasure of Iraq's central government.<sup>165</sup> External forces continue to influence the future of Iraq and its citizens.

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<sup>161</sup> "Iranian influence in the Iraqi civil war," Mounir Elkhamri, 1/24/2007.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>164</sup> "Talabani factor in relation to Turkey, Iraq and the US," *Turkish Weekly*, 10/12/2006.

<sup>165</sup> "Iraq: Kurdish oil law poses problems for Baghdad," Radio Liberty, 11/08/2006.

## October 2006 Core 5

### 1. *Police*

#### **Rating: Poor**

Iraqi policemen still remain incapable of providing security even though the total number of trained Iraqi police has reached 180,800 by October 2006.<sup>166</sup> As of mid-October, the Coalition Police Assistance Transition Team is working to rectify the underdeveloped Iraqi police by reorganizing Iraqi's National Police.<sup>167</sup> More than 3,000 officers have been dismissed due to criminal activities, human rights abuses or forgery.<sup>168</sup>

### 2. *Leadership*

#### **Rating: Weak**

The leadership in Iraq has remained ineffective and fragmented. Loyalties to various sub-national groups are often stronger than the loyalty to Iraq as a nation-state.<sup>169</sup> In addition, Iraq's political parties are often unwilling or unable to resolve conflicts through compromise. On October 11, after the Sunni leaders' protests, the Iraqi Parliament passed a controversial federalism law allowing provinces of Iraq to be divided into autonomous regions.<sup>170</sup> Despite an attempt by Sunni leaders' walk out of the session to prevent a quorum, approximately 140 legislators out of the 275-member parliament presented and approved the law by a vote of 140 to 0.<sup>171</sup> Iraqi leaders agreed in September to postpone the law's implementation for 18 months.<sup>172</sup>

According to survey conducted by the U.S Department of State, in October 2006, there were more Iraqis who expressed lack of confidence in their government's ability to improve the situation than there were in July 2006.<sup>173</sup>

### 3. *Civil Service*

#### **Rating: Weak**

Civil service performance is lagging due to pervasive corruption in Iraqi ministries and a lack of funds. The Iraqi government is inefficient in providing basic services, such as

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<sup>166</sup>“ Iraq Index: Tracking variables of Reconstruction & Security in Post-Saddam Iraq,” The Brookings Institution, 2/15/2007.

<sup>167</sup> “More than 3,000 Iraqi police sacked: ministry spokesman,” *Agence France Press*, 10/17/2006.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>170</sup> “Reconstruction progressing in Iraq, coalition officials say,” *The Washington File*, 10/10/2006.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>173</sup>“How confident are you in the new government of Iraq to improve the situation in Iraq?” U.S. Department of State, 10/2006.

electricity, drinking water, healthcare and education. In Baghdad, there is less than two hours of electricity each day.<sup>174</sup>

#### **4. Judiciary** **Rating: Poor**

The judicial system in Iraq suffers from intimidation and lack of security. Judges are frequently threatened and attacked. According to the HRW report on Iraq, at least 11 judges have been killed in 2006, and most judges do not want to converse with reporters, even anonymously, due to fear of reprisals from militias.<sup>175</sup> A 65-year-old Iraqi judge described their situation by saying, “over the past three decades, there was just one party controlling the country’s judicial system, but now the whole system is in the hands of many political parties, especially those who have militias. They [militias] are controlling everything everywhere, and they do whatever they want. They don’t even hesitate to put pressure on us openly.”<sup>176</sup>

#### **5. Military** **Rating: Poor**

By the end of October 2006, the total number of Iraqi Security Forces reached 312,400, 22 percent more than January 2006.<sup>177</sup> Iraq has more than 277,000 troops and security forces, including 115,000 army combat soldiers.<sup>178</sup> However, the total number of trained Iraqi military personnel does not indicate that the performance of the Iraqi military is adequate. The Iraqi military is still confronted by significant challenges due to lack of military personnel, equipment, funds and logistic support.<sup>179</sup> The military has failed to prevent escalated attacks during the initial weeks of Ramadan in Baghdad and other areas of Iraq.<sup>180</sup> According to the United Nations report on Iraq, 3,709 Iraqi civilians were killed in October, the highest monthly toll since March 2003.<sup>181</sup> Iraqi Health Ministry reports that the civilian death toll recorded by hospitals and the Medical Legal Institute in Baghdad is higher than July’s previous unprecedented death toll of 3,590.

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<sup>174</sup> “How confident are you in the new government of Iraq to improve the situation in Iraq?” U.S. Department of State, 10/2006.

<sup>175</sup> “Judicial System Far from Independent,” *Global Forum Policy Report*, 10/2006.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>177</sup> “Iraq Study Group Report,” United States Institute of Peace, 12/06/2006.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>180</sup> “U.S. says violence in Baghdad rises, foiling campaign,” *The New York Times*, 10/20/2006.

<sup>181</sup> “October Most Deadly Month to Iraqis,” *The Washington Post*, 10/22/2006



## Core Five State Institutions

Police



Weak

Leadership



Poor

Civil Service



Weak

Judiciary



Poor

Military



Poor

**November 2006**

**1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures***

Rating: 10

The number of Iraqi widows is on the rise.<sup>182</sup> As a result, Iraqi women struggling to provide for themselves and their families are forced into prostitution.<sup>183</sup> Children are “trafficked outside Iraq to work as sex slaves, laborers, or unlawfully adopted by families abroad.”<sup>184</sup> The absence of a working social service system in addition to the growing sectarian conflict has particularly affected women and children.<sup>185</sup>

In Al Anbar, access to food, shelter and sanitation has severely deteriorated, causing great distress on the displaced community seeking safety in Anbar.<sup>186</sup> In an estimate by the International Organization for Migration, more than 1.5 million IDPs were found to lack drinking water, sanitation, shelter, health services and education.<sup>187</sup>

**2. *Massive Movement of Refugees and IDPs***

Rating: 10

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees estimates 1.7 million Iraqis are displaced inside Iraq, and approximately 50,000 Iraqis a month are seeking refuge in neighboring countries, though some estimates are even higher.<sup>188</sup> Iraqis are internally displaced at an increasing rate. Upwards of 80,000 to 100,000 are displaced every month.<sup>189</sup> Since the start of the 2003 U.S.-led invasion in Iraq, UNHCR estimates, “1.8 million people have fled to neighboring countries, mainly Syria and Jordan.”<sup>190</sup> A report issued by UNHCR on November 3<sup>rd</sup> stated, “1,000 Iraqis a day are crossing over into Jordan and 2,000 a day into Syria.”<sup>191</sup>

Resettlement in host countries is becoming more difficult for Iraqis. Tensions are growing between Iraqis and their host communities, and most Iraqis are legally constrained from seeking employment.<sup>192</sup> The number of Iraqis fleeing the country has gotten so high that many fear neighboring countries will close their borders. In Jordan,

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<sup>182</sup> “Human Rights Report 1 November- 31 December 2006,” *UNAMI*, 01/2007.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>187</sup> “Iraq displacement 2006 year in review,” International Organization for Migration, 1/2007.

<sup>188</sup> “Conflict in Iraq,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1/16/2007.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>190</sup> “Brain drain crippling Iraq, UNHCR says,” UPI, 11/16/2006.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>192</sup> “Conflict in Iraq,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1/16/2007.

with a population of 6 million, “Iraqi refugees account for 10 percent of its population.”<sup>193</sup>

Many Sunnis have fled to the provincial capital of Baquba as a result of Shiite death squads in Baghdad.<sup>194</sup> In turn, many Sunnis have joined the insurgency and forced out Shiites living in Baquba. Militias have displaced Sunnis in Al-Sidiyah, Al-Bayya, and Al-Almil neighborhoods southeast of Baghdad.<sup>195</sup> Al-Dulaymi, Al-Hurriyah, Al-Kazimiya, Al-Tubji, and Al-Shu’lah neighborhoods have completely forced out the Sunni population. “Shi’i families move from Al-Karkh to Al-Rasafah and Sunni families move from Al-Rasafah to Al-Karkh.”<sup>196</sup>

### **3. *Legacy of Vengeance Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia*** **Rating: 10**

Shiite militiamen reportedly abducted 150 Iraqis from the Higher Education Ministry on November 14th.<sup>197</sup> Masked gunmen sorted through identification cards and separated men named Bakr or Omar from the group, which are typically Sunni names. These men were loaded into vans and brought to a separate location where they were interrogated and separated again.<sup>198</sup> Approximately 70 of those abducted were released the following day in the Shaab district in northern Baghdad provided they could prove they were not Sunni.<sup>199</sup> Many reported being tortured and some had witnessed the murders of others.<sup>200</sup> Subsequently, however, the number of people abducted varied, according to the same source.

Sectarian violence escalates in the province of Diyala, where gunmen killed twenty-one Shiite men in front of their families.<sup>201</sup> Civilian homicide in Diyala has increased to an average of ten per day compared with four per day in April.<sup>202</sup> In only eight days, the Associated Press reported 715 Iraqis found murdered or dead.<sup>203</sup> November’s death toll surpassed October’s numbers by mid month.<sup>204</sup> UNAMI reported 3,462 violent deaths in November compared with 2,722 in October.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> “Conflict in Iraq,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1/16/2007.

<sup>194</sup> “Sectarian rifts foretell pitfalls of Iraqi troops’ taking control,” *The New York Times*, 11/12/2006.

<sup>195</sup> “Iraq officials fear division of Baghdad amid displacement reports,” *BBC*, 1/24/2007.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>197</sup> “Militia brutally sorting men by faith, abductees say,” *The News and Observer*, 11/28/2006.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>200</sup> “Leading Shiite politician, wife gunned down in Sunni area,” *The Washington Post*, 12/19/06.

<sup>201</sup> “Iraq leader struggles with sectarian violence, criticism ahead of Bush summit,” *Associated Press*, 11/26/2006.

<sup>202</sup> “Sectarian rifts foretell pitfalls of Iraqi troops’ taking control,” *The New York Times*, 11/12/2006.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>205</sup> “Human Rights Report 1 November- 31 December 2006,” *UNAMI*, 01/2007.

Sectarian violence is turning increasingly personal. “Militias come to funerals and offer to carry out revenge attacks.”<sup>206</sup> Instances of specifically targeted killings are occurring more frequently rather than random mortar attacks.<sup>207</sup> Mahdi militiamen have infiltrated police forces in the Baghdad neighborhoods of Naariya, Ur, and Sadr City.<sup>208</sup> Mahdi militiamen offer to avenge Shiite killings and give monetary support to Shiite families who have lost family members.<sup>209</sup> Sectarian killings of Sunnis are said to be underreported.<sup>210</sup>

The Christian community in Mosul encountered increased hostility.<sup>211</sup> In Kirkuk, the Sunni Mosque of Ahmad Thiab al-Nu’aymi was blown up November 16 and a video surfaced showing an Arab being beaten and killed by Kurdish security forces in Kirkuk.<sup>212</sup>

#### **4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight***

Rating: 9

Iraq’s professional class continues to be systematically targeted by militia groups, insurgents and death squads.<sup>213</sup> “The lack of viable opportunities, coupled with the devastating daily violence, has caused many of Iraq’s engineers, doctors, lawyers and professors to flee the country, while some of those who remain have been killed.”<sup>214</sup> The UN estimates 40 percent of Iraq’s middle class have fled Iraq for neighboring countries.<sup>215</sup> Many fear Iraq is in danger of losing its professional class who are a necessary component of establishing a functioning society.<sup>216</sup> More than 2 million passports have been issued to Iraqis since August 2005.<sup>217</sup>

U.S. forces have recorded 180 Sunni families fleeing Hurriya for Adel, a Sunni neighborhood in western Baghdad.<sup>218</sup>

November has seen a rise in violence targeting academics and universities. On November 14<sup>th</sup>, roughly 150 employees at the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research in central Baghdad were reportedly abducted in a mass kidnapping.<sup>219</sup> Approximately 80 gunmen dressed as police commandos stormed ministry offices in the Karrada

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<sup>206</sup> “A fresh pattern of revenge fuels Baghdad killings,” *The New York Times*, 11/20/2006.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>211</sup> “Human Rights Report 1 November- 31 December 2006,” *UNAMI*, 01/2007.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>213</sup> “Brain drain crippling Iraq, UNHCR says,” *UPI*, 11/16/2006.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>215</sup> “Conflict in Iraq,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1/16/2007.

<sup>216</sup> “Middle East brain drain,” *National Public Radio Talk of the Nation*, 11/22/2006.

<sup>217</sup> “Iraq Index,” *The Brookings Institution*, 11/30/2006.

<sup>218</sup> “The war in Iraq; Shiites making Baghdad their own, some say; Militias pushing deep in the capital to move Sunnis out,” *The Houston Chronicle*, 12/08/2006.

<sup>219</sup> “Brain drain crippling Iraq, UNHCR says,” *UPI*, 11/16/2006.

neighborhood, blindfolding and handcuffing male employees and then forcing them into unmarked police vehicles.<sup>220</sup> Around 70 of those kidnapped were reportedly released the following day, according to a spokesman of the Ministry of Higher Education.<sup>221</sup> While no one has claimed responsibility for the mass abductions, many tie Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army to the kidnappings.<sup>222</sup> In Baghdad, the Mahdi Army controls much of university life—rewriting curricula, canceling classes, intimidating academics and students, and kidnapping and murdering professors.<sup>223</sup> Students attending universities in Baghdad, Diyala, and Kirkuk are dropping out in increasing numbers, as the threat of sectarian violence is too steep.<sup>224</sup>

The Brookings Institution's Iraq Index reported that an estimated 12,000 doctors have left Iraq since the start of the war in 2003 and approximately 2,000 doctors have been killed.<sup>225</sup>

## 5. *Uneven Economic Development* **Rating: 9**

Recently disclosed details from a classified Marine Corps intelligence report exposes the growing economic and political disparity between Iraq's Shiite majority and Sunni minority.<sup>226</sup> According to the report, Iraq's Sunni minority is "embroiled in a daily fight for survival," and is increasingly relying on al-Qaeda for support against the Shiite majority and Iranian influence.<sup>227</sup> "From the Sunni perspective, their greatest fears have been realized: Iran controls Baghdad and Anbaris have been marginalized."<sup>228</sup> The Sunnis, who at one time led under Saddam Hussein, have found themselves "desperate, fearful, and impoverished" as the minority in Baghdad and Anbar province.<sup>229</sup> A growing number of Sunni political and religious leaders have fled the country or been assassinated. Though a search for oil in central Iraq is ongoing, the Sunni-dominated center is largely without oil or natural resources.<sup>230</sup> The majority Shiite government has failed to pay many of its employees located in Anbar who are primarily Sunni.<sup>231</sup> With the Ministry of Health controlled by radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr, many Shiite doctors are given preference over Sunni doctors, furthering the economic divide between Shiites and Sunnis.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> "In Iraqi colleges, fear for an already shrunken realm," *The Washington Post*, 11/16/2006.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>223</sup> "Iraq's deadliest zone: schools," *The Washington Post*, 11/27/2006.

<sup>224</sup> "In Iraqi colleges, fear for an already shrunken realm," *The Washington Post*, 11/16/2006.

<sup>225</sup> "Iraq Index," The Brookings Institution, 11/30/2006.

<sup>226</sup> "Anbar picture grows clearer, and bleaker," *The Washington Post*, 11/28/2006.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>232</sup> "Iraqis split on sectarian lines; hospitals follow," *National Public Radio*, 12/01/2006.

The distribution of electricity in Iraq is an economic consequence of political and religious power. The Sunnis, particularly those in Baghdad, enjoyed twenty-four hours of electricity, air conditioning, and satellite TV under Saddam Hussein while many Shiites had only a few hours of power a day.<sup>233</sup> The rewards of power have extended electricity outside of Baghdad. Shiites who had no power before have twelve to fourteen hours of power a day now. However, in Baghdad power levels are worse than those before the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003.<sup>234</sup>

“At least ten neighborhoods that a year ago were mixed Sunni and Shiite are now almost entirely Shiite.”<sup>235</sup> Since the bombing of a Shiite shrine in Samarra, Shiite militias have intensified attacks against Sunnis, “displacing thousands of Sunni residents.”<sup>236</sup> In the once mixed middle-class neighborhoods of Zayuna and Ghadier, Sunnis are leaving in increasing numbers.<sup>237</sup> In Hurriya, a Sunni worker reported having to leave two jobs because they were located in Shiite neighborhoods until finally being forced out by Shiite militiamen.<sup>238</sup> U.S. forces have recorded 180 Sunni families fleeing Hurriya for Adel, a Sunni neighborhood in western Baghdad.<sup>239</sup>

## 6. *Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline* **Rating: 9**

Iraq’s economy continues to suffer as insurgent attacks slow economic progress. In the past two years, Iraq’s oil industry has lost \$16 billion dollars in potential foreign investment.<sup>240</sup> According to a U.S. audit, insurgent attacks, crime and poor equipment are to blame for Iraq’s performance.<sup>241</sup>

Oil production is down in November with production levels at 2.1 million barrels a day compared with 2.26 million barrels a day the previous month.<sup>242</sup> Oil revenue is also down from \$2.45 billion in October compared to \$1.26 billion in November.<sup>243</sup> The nationwide average of hours of electricity per day decreased from 12.3 hours the previous month to 11 hours per day in November.<sup>244</sup> Baghdad saw a slight increase in the average of hours of electricity per day, up from 6.7 in October to 6.8 hours per day in November.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> “Limits of power: keeping lights on in Iraq,” *US Fed News*, 10/23/2006.

<sup>234</sup> “Iraq Index,” The Brookings Institution, 11/31/2006.

<sup>235</sup> “The war in Iraq; Shiites making Baghdad their own, some say; Militias pushing deep in the capital to move Sunnis out,” *The Houston Chronicle*, 12/08/2006.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>240</sup> “Reports: Iraq lost \$16 billion (euro 12.6 billion) on oil exports due to attacks, bad equipment,” *Associated Press*, 09/28/2006.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>242</sup> “Iraq Index,” The Brookings Institution, 11/31/2006.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid*

Unemployment remains between 25 and 40 percent.<sup>246</sup>

## 7. *Delegitimization of the State* **Rating: 10**

Increasing numbers of Sunnis voice concern over government legitimacy and representation. “Of the 51 members of the Baghdad Provincial Council, which runs the city’s services, just one is Sunni.”<sup>247</sup> In Diyala, Sunnis make up about 50 percent of the population; yet because Sunnis boycotted provincial elections last year, most of the provincial leadership is Shiite.<sup>248</sup> “We believe there are death squads that are operating, if not sponsored by the police, certainly with the knowledge of the police.”<sup>249</sup>

A recently released memo written by National Security Advisor Stephen J. Hadley casts doubt over President Maliki’s capacity to lead. “Maliki is either ignorant of what is going on, misrepresenting his intentions, or his capabilities are not yet sufficient to turn his good intentions into action.”<sup>250</sup> Maliki depends on the political support of some more extreme Shiite groups.<sup>251</sup> There is concern that Maliki’s leadership is heavily influenced by a small group of advisors from the Shiite Dawa Party.<sup>252</sup> “Reports of nondelivery of services to Sunni areas, intervention by the prime minister’s office to stop military action against Shia targets and to encourage them against Sunni ones, removal of Iraq’s most effective commanders on a sectarian basis and efforts to ensure Shia majorities in all ministries suggest a campaign to consolidate Shia power in Baghdad.”<sup>253</sup>

Moktada al-Sadr, whose followers include the largest Shiite militia, has firmly established himself inside the Iraqi government.<sup>254</sup> Parties loyal to Sadr control the majority of parliament, and five of the government ministries.<sup>255</sup> However, the more established he becomes, the less control he has over his insurgent fighters who have infiltrated Iraqi police and military forces.<sup>256</sup> Some elements of Sadr’s militia have expanded into individual uncontrollable cells.<sup>257</sup> Abu Dera, described as “the Zarqawi of the Shiites,” is one of the commanders among the more militant cells.<sup>258</sup> In Sadr City,

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<sup>246</sup> “Iraq Index,” The Brookings Institution, 11/31/2006.

<sup>247</sup> “The war in Iraq; Shiites making Baghdad their own, some say; Militias pushing deep in the capital to move Sunnis out,” *The Houston Chronicle*, 12/08/2006.

<sup>248</sup> “Sectarian rifts foretell pitfalls of Iraqi troops’ taking control,” *The New York Times*, 11/12/2006.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>250</sup> “Bush advisor ‘s memo cites doubt about Iraqi leader,” *The New York Times*, 11/29/2006.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>254</sup> “Influence rises but base frays for Iraqi cleric,” *The New York Times*, 11/13/2006.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid*

Abu Dera is alleged to be “responsible for thousands of murders of Sunnis whose bodies are surfacing daily in a giant garbage dump less than a mile from his block.”<sup>259</sup>

## **8. *Progressive Deterioration of Public Services*** **Rating: 9**

Public services in Iraq, such as electricity, clean running water, and health care, continue to lag despite more than \$38 billion in reconstruction aid from the U.S.<sup>260</sup> Violence continues to exacerbate Iraq’s already overwhelmed infrastructure. Reconstruction projects are often the target of insurgent attacks, while contractors and builders are at high risk for abduction, murder, and extortion.<sup>261</sup> Since 2003, an estimated 650 civilian contractors have died while working on reconstruction projects financed by the U.S. government.<sup>262</sup>

Insufficient planning and coordination of U.S. projects is also to blame for poor infrastructure in much of Iraq.<sup>263</sup> In Basra, a \$50 million newly constructed high-end children’s hospital stands empty because there is no water or sewer hook up.<sup>264</sup> An estimated 4.6 million children were vaccinated against polio.<sup>265</sup> Nonetheless, “Of the 120 to 150 health clinics that were supposed to be completed, only eight or nine were actually finished and turned over to the Iraqis.”<sup>266</sup> More than 100 basic health care facilities stand unfinished because of poor management and insurgent violence and almost \$70 million dollars in medical equipment for Iraqi health facilities sits unused.<sup>267</sup> Construction on 86 of 98 railway stations is complete; however, few trains run due to security concerns.<sup>268</sup>

In Baghdad, power outages are common and electricity continues to be in short supply.<sup>269</sup> Power supplies are continuously targeted by insurgent attacks. Electric lines are particularly at risk in Iraq’s remote desert regions, where insurgents carry out sophisticated attacks on high-voltage 400-kilovolt lines, causing severe damage to the national grid and virtually cutting Baghdad off from the rest of Iraq.<sup>270</sup> Since March, attacks on power lines have increased enormously, totaling as many as twelve lines down at once compared with one or two at most in March.<sup>271</sup> Many crews attempting to repair

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<sup>259</sup> “Influence rises but base frays for Iraqi cleric,” *The New York Times*, 11/13/2006.

<sup>260</sup> “Despite billions spent, rebuilding incomplete,” *The Washington Post*, 11/12/2006.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>264</sup> “T. Christian Miller talks about his new book “Blood Money,” about greed, waste and fraud undermining reconstruction of Iraq,” *Fresh Air NPR*, 09/12/2006.

<sup>265</sup> “Despite billions spent, rebuilding incomplete,” *The Washington Post*, 11/12/2007.

<sup>266</sup> “T. Christian Miller talks about his new book “Blood Money,” about greed, waste and fraud undermining reconstruction of Iraq,” *Fresh Air NPR*, 09/12/2006.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>268</sup> “Despite billions spent, rebuilding incomplete,” *The Washington Post*, 11/12/2007.

<sup>269</sup> “Iraq insurgents starve capital of electricity,” *The New York Times*, 12/19/2006.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid*



damage are attacked and killed.<sup>272</sup> Baghdad is estimated to average 6.6 hours of electricity per day as compared to 16 to 24 hours of power prewar.<sup>273</sup> The rest of Iraq averages 8.9 hours in contrast to 4 to 8 hours before the U.S.-led invasion.<sup>274</sup> Karim Wahid, the Iraqi electricity minister, devised a national emergency plan costing \$27 billion over 10 years to bring around 100 diesel-powered generators to Baghdad to sidestep the problem of insurgent attacks.<sup>275</sup> Electricity supplies will not meet demand before 2009 even in the best-case scenario.<sup>276</sup>

The Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction stated in a recent audit that, “urine and fecal matter flow through newly constructed buildings at the Baghdad Police College because of poor construction and the use of inferior plumbing materials.”<sup>277</sup>

Sectarian violence has overwhelmed the health care system in Baghdad, where drug and equipment supplies are dwindling, and many hospitals lack water and electricity.<sup>278</sup> The Iraq medical association reports, “over half of Iraq’s 34,000 doctors have fled the country and another 2,000 have reportedly been killed.”<sup>279</sup> At the Shewater General Hospital, the largest hospital in Sadr City, IVs are reused because of the extreme shortage in supplies.<sup>280</sup>

Access to drinking water is down from 12.9 million people before the war to 9.7 million.<sup>281</sup>

## **9. *Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights*** **Rating: 10**

Media in Iraq is hampered by corruption and questionable use of the media for propaganda. “Journalists and other media professionals face restrictions including a ban on attending parliament sessions, physical threats and threat of legal action.”<sup>282</sup> Al Zawra TV and Salahaddin TV were ordered to close by the Ministry of Interior for their use of hate speech to incite violence.<sup>283</sup>

Honor crimes against women continue at an alarming rate. “The KRG Human Rights Ministry stated that 239 women had “burned themselves” in the first eight months of

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<sup>272</sup> “Iraq insurgents starve capital of electricity.” *The New York Times*, 12/19/2006.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>277</sup> “Reports: Iraq lost \$16 billion (euro 12.6 billion) on oil exports due to attacks, bad equipment,” *Associated Press*, 09/28/2006.

<sup>278</sup> “Iraqis split on sectarian lines; hospitals follow,” *National Public Radio*, 11/22/2006.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>281</sup> “A nation torn apart,” *The Independent*, 1/24/2007.

<sup>282</sup> “Human Rights Report 1 November- 31 December 2006,” UNAMI, 01/2007.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid*

2006.”<sup>284</sup> The province of Sulaimaniya has the highest documented number of burn victims.<sup>285</sup> Most injuries are unlikely to be caused by cooking accidents and are rather results of abuse.

Since the selection of General Shakir Hulail Hussein al-Kaabi as leader of the Fifth Division of the Iraqi Army, reports of detainee abuse has risen greatly.<sup>286</sup> There is evidence of severe beatings and the use of electric shock on detainees in Diyala.<sup>287</sup> The Ministry of Interior and security forces are reported to have tortured detainees and subjected them to cruel and inhumane treatment.<sup>288</sup> Problems of overcrowding, poorly functioning facilities and a lack of judicial oversight are of serious concern particularly in the south.<sup>289</sup> The numbers of detainees whose cases need review greatly outnumber the capacity of Iraq’s judicial system.<sup>290</sup>

Saddam Hussein’s sentencing on November 5<sup>th</sup> brought about a series of complaints based on “serious procedural shortcomings.”<sup>291</sup> The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Louise Arbour, recommended “that the serious procedural shortcomings be redressed and that the situation of Mr. Hussein be brought in conformity with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and with the provisions of the ICCPR.”<sup>292</sup>

**10. Security Apparatus Operates as a “State Within a State”  
Rating: 10**

In Diyala, Brigade General Shakir Hulail Hussein al-Kaabi who was selected this past summer to lead the Iraqi Army’s Fifth Division with lead responsibility for security in the province.<sup>293</sup> Soon after, he produced a list of people for arrest. Those who were listed are important Sunni Arab sheiks and Sunni politicians vital to bringing the Sunni population into the political process.<sup>294</sup> In the following months, evidence of sectarian activity mounted in the Iraqi Army until American commanders concluded, “recent operations conducted by the Fifth Iraqi Army seem to be focused strictly on the Sunnis.”<sup>295</sup> In September, General Shakir had 400 people arrested, mostly Sunni.<sup>296</sup> U.S. officials estimate reasonable justification for arresting only ten percent of them.<sup>297</sup> Reports by US commanders state that “security forces are intimidating and arresting Sunnis who could

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<sup>284</sup> “Human Rights Report 1 November- 31 December 2006,” UNAMI, 01/2007.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>286</sup> “Sectarian rifts foretell pitfalls of Iraqi troops’ taking control,” *The New York Times*, 11/12/2006.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>289</sup> “Human Rights Report 1 November- 31 December 2006,” UNAMI, 01/2007.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>293</sup> “Sectarian rifts foretell pitfalls of Iraqi troops’ taking control,” *The New York Times*, 11/12/2006.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid*

be contenders for high political office.”<sup>298</sup> “Four Sunni police commanders and two key lieutenants have been killed in the past eight weeks.”<sup>299</sup> Strong connections exist between Moqtada al-Sadr and some of the Iraqi Army’s leaders and police forces.<sup>300</sup>

Sadr’s forces have grown eight fold over the past year, now with numbers around 40,000 to 60,000 fighters.<sup>301</sup> “The Iraqi army has about 134,000 men, but about half are doing only stationary guard duty. Of the half that conduct operations, only about 10 battalions are effective—well under 10,000 men.”<sup>302</sup>

Mahdi militiamen have infiltrated police forces in the Baghdad neighborhoods of Naariya, Ur, and Sadr City.<sup>303</sup> Mahdi militiamen offer to avenge Shiite killings and give monetary support to Shiite families who have lost family members.<sup>304</sup> Sectarian killings of Sunnis are said to be underreported.<sup>305</sup>

Iraqi insurgent groups have reportedly raised between \$70 and \$200 million this past year in illegal activities to fund the insurgency.<sup>306</sup> Twenty-five million dollars to \$100 million is estimated to come from oil smuggling and approximately \$36 million from ransoms paid for kidnapped persons.<sup>307</sup> Where Hussein loyalists and foreign fighters originally financed the insurgency, finances are now received largely through “a complex array of indigenous sources.”<sup>308</sup>

Iraq’s security apparatuses and its army are largely penetrated by militia organizations such as the Mahdi Army and the Badr Brigade. “The majority of the security apparatuses at the Interior Ministry are from the militias of parties in the Unified Iraqi List, foremost of which is the Badr Organization. Therefore, the Interior Ministry and the Defense Ministry are dominated by the Badr Organization, Al-Da’wah Party, and factions from Al-Sadr.”<sup>309</sup>

## **11. *Rise of Factionalized Elites*** **Rating: 10**

Radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr continues to gain considerable support among the Shiite population.<sup>310</sup> Parties loyal to Sadr control the majority of parliament and five of

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<sup>298</sup> “Sectarian rifts foretell pitfalls of Iraqi troops’ taking control,” *The New York Times*, 11/12/2006.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>301</sup> “Civil war in Iraq near, Annan says,” *The Washington Post*, 11/28/2006.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>303</sup> “A fresh pattern of revenge fuels Baghdad killings,” *The New York Times*, 11/20/2006.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>306</sup> “Iraq leader struggles with sectarian violence, criticism ahead of Bush summit,” *Associated Press*, 11/26/2006.

<sup>307</sup> “Iraq insurgency has funds to sustain itself, U.S. finds,” *The New York Times*, 11/26/2006.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>309</sup> “Iraq’s chief Sunni cleric says declaration of Islamic state propaganda,” *BBC*, 11/13/2006.

<sup>310</sup> “Influence rises but base frays for Iraqi cleric,” *The New York Times*, 11/13/2006.

the government ministries.<sup>311</sup> Sadr's political support is vital to Prime Minister Maliki's government; however, Sadr and his Mahdi Army are opposed to U.S. forces in Iraq and continue to fight against coalition troops.<sup>312</sup> In recent months, some of Sadr's followers have fragmented into more extremist militant groups.<sup>313</sup>

Abu Dera, dubbed the Zargawi of the Shiites, has gained control of many Shiites living in Sadr City.<sup>314</sup> Abu Dera is alleged to be responsible for thousands of Sunni murders, and his influence among Shiites is increasingly dangerous to political stability in Iraq.<sup>315</sup>

A recently released report by National Security Advisor Stephen J. Hadley casts doubt on Prime Minister Maliki's capacity to stabilize sectarian violence and "rise above sectarian agendas."<sup>316</sup> The influence of a small group of advisors from the Shiite Dawa party on Maliki's government is a large concern.<sup>317</sup>

Fighting among Sunni factions and a lack of strong leadership have hampered Sunni efforts to form a united political body.<sup>318</sup>

## **12. Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors** **Rating: 10**

Hezbollah has been linked to the training of members of the Mahdi Army, the armed wing of Moqtada al-Sadr's Shiite party.<sup>319</sup> Hezbollah allegedly trained approximately 1,000 to 2,000 Mahdi militiamen and other Shiite insurgents in Lebanon.<sup>320</sup> Hezbollah operatives traveled to Iraq to aid in training Shiite fighters, according to an American intelligence officer.<sup>321</sup> Iran is said to have established the relationship between Hezbollah and Shiite militants.<sup>322</sup> The Hezbollah-trained Shiite militiamen are "the best-trained fighters in the Mahdi Army," according to a Mahdi commander who sent 300 fighters of the Ali al-Hadi Brigade to Lebanon for training.<sup>323</sup> In Lebanon they learn about, "weapons, bomb-making, intelligence, assassinations, the gamut of skill sets."<sup>324</sup> Iran is believed to support to Shiite insurgents directly by supplying explosives, remotes for roadside bombs and training.<sup>325</sup> In response to Iraqi President Talabani's appeal for Iran's support, Iranian President Mahomoud Ahmadinejad promised to assist Iraq in securing

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<sup>311</sup> "Influence rises but base frays for Iraqi cleric," *The New York Times*, 11/13/2006.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>316</sup> "Text of U.S. security advisor's Iraq memo," *The New York Times*, 11/29/2006.

<sup>317</sup> "Bush advisor's memo cites doubts about Iraqi leader," *The New York Times*, 11/29/2006.

<sup>318</sup> "Iraq can't wait," *The Washington Post*, 10/26/2006.

<sup>319</sup> "Hezbollah helps Iraq Shiite army, U.S. official says," *The Washington Post*, 11/28/2006.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid*

the country.<sup>326</sup> “Definitely, the Iranian government and nation will stand next to its brother Iraq.”<sup>327</sup>

Iraq’s neighbors continue to worry that sectarian fighting in Iraq will spread outside its borders, threatening regional stability. A Syrian analyst with ties to Syrian President Bashar al-Assad stated that, should sectarian strife in Iraq spiral into full-out civil war, “Iran will get involved, Turkey will get involved, Saudi Arabia, Syria.”<sup>328</sup> Syria’s foreign minister stated that Syria was ready to support Iraq in stabilizing the insurgency and requested a timetable for the withdrawal of U.S. forces.<sup>329</sup> Iraqi political and religious leaders, as well as leadership in Egypt and Jordan, are lobbying Saudi Arabia to provide financial and military backing to Iraqi Sunnis.<sup>330</sup> Substantial support for Saudi intervention also exists within the Kingdom.<sup>331</sup> A recently leaked memo written by National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley stated Washington’s support of increased Saudi influence in moving “Sunni populations out of violence into politics” in Iraq.<sup>332</sup>

The British Defense Secretary Des Brown announced the withdrawal of many British soldiers for the coming year.<sup>333</sup> British forces that have been stationed in two of Iraq’s southern provinces plan to transfer power to Iraqi forces in the near future.<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>326</sup> “In diplomatic turn, Iraqi reaches out to Iran,” *The Washington Post*, 11/28/2006.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>328</sup> “Sectarian strife in Iraq imperils entire region, analysts warn,” *The Washington Post*, 11/28/2006.

<sup>329</sup> “Syrian foreign minister, in Baghdad, calls for timetable on U.S. troop withdrawal,” *The New York Times*, 11/20/2006.

<sup>330</sup> “Stepping into Iraq,” *The Washington Post*, 11/29/2006.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>332</sup> “Officials say Saudis major provider of finance to Iraqi Sunni insurgents,” *Associated Press Worldstream*, 12/08/2006.

<sup>333</sup> “In diplomatic turn, Iraqi reaches out to Iran,” *The Washington Post*, 11/28/2006.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid*

**November 2006**  
**Core 5**

**1. Police**  
**Rating: Poor**

Iraqi police effectiveness has disintegrated and is unable to provide adequate security due to factors such as absence without leave, attrition and insufficient funds and equipment. Moreover, police forces have been a main target of insurgency attacks. From May 1, 2003 to November 8, 2006, more than 6,100 Iraqi security forces have been killed by violent attacks.<sup>335</sup> At the Baghdad police recruiting center, 35 potential recruits were killed and more than 56 wounded by suicide bombers in November.<sup>336</sup> Police recruitment is seen as uneven, dominated by Shiites. Five senior Iraqi police officers were arrested and charged with abducting researchers at a scientific research institute in Baghdad by gunmen in police uniforms.<sup>337</sup> The Interior Ministry officer in charge of the Iraq Security Force denied police involvement, yet Sunni leaders were adamant in accusing the Shiite dominated police force.<sup>338</sup> Iraqi police forces are regarded as illegitimate by the populace, as many police officers collaborate with insurgents along religious/ethnic lines which has been a cause of corruption and human rights abuse to become entrenched.

**2. Leadership**  
**Rating: Poor**

Although the process of writing an Iraqi constitution and electing a parliamentary form of government were designed to give equal participation in government to each of the Iraqi communities, Iraqi leadership is split along ethno-sectarian lines.<sup>339</sup> Sunnis find the government less representative and protective of their interests, whereas the Kurds have maintained their distance, strengthening their own militias to protect themselves.<sup>340</sup> Continued sectarianism with increased lethality in its scope has challenged the credibility of the Iraqi government.<sup>341</sup> In November, a prominent Shiite politician and his wife were assassinated by a gunman in open sectarian violence.<sup>342</sup> A senior defense official at the Pentagon commented, "if violence cannot be contained, the spiral downward will continue and the national government [of Iraq] will lose its effectiveness . . . and then all bets will be off."<sup>343</sup> Facing the challenge of widespread corruption, sectarian violence, and malfunctioning public services, Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki has

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<sup>335</sup> "Marine report says U.S. can't win in Anbar," *The Washington Post*, 11/28/2006.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>338</sup> "Sunni needs not met, general says; Shiites say efforts foiled," *USA Today*, 11/14/2006.

<sup>339</sup> "Iraq is gone now what?" *The Washington Post*, 11/13/2006.

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>342</sup> "Leading Shiite politician, wife gunned down in Sunni area," *The Washington Post*, 11/18/2006.

<sup>343</sup> "In diplomatic turn, Iraqi reaches out to Iran," *The Washington Post*, 11/28/2006.

implemented “a major shake-up” of his cabinet, pleading before the U.N Security Council that it extends its mandate of the 160,000 multinational force in Iraq.<sup>344</sup>

**3. Civil Service**  
Rating: Weak

The Iraqi government has remained incapable of paying salaries consistently to its employees. In Anbar, an overwhelmingly Sunni Arab province in western Iraq, government officials and Iraqi forces have not been paid salaries for many months. Subsequently, many government institutions are disintegrating and corrupt.<sup>345</sup>

**4. Judiciary**  
Rating: Poor

Iraqi law enforcement agencies have been incapable of providing protection for Iraqi citizens due to infiltration of security forces by militias. Moreover, the independence of the judiciary has been weakened by constant attacks on judges and lawyers.<sup>346</sup> However, on November 5, 2006, the Iraqi High Tribunal (IHT) upheld the death sentences for Saddam Hussein and two other defendants. The execution date was set for December 30, 2006 under the scrutiny of international law.<sup>347</sup>

**5. Military**  
Rating: Poor

Iraqi military forces are deemed to lack professionalism, legitimacy, and fair representation. This is due, in part, to lack of sufficient training, military personnel, logistic support and funding. Many military officers do not show up for work and frequently leave their stations. In July 2006 the Iraqi Fifth Army Division took over the responsibility of security of Diyala Province from U.S. forces.<sup>348</sup> However, as of November 2006, U.S observers have evidence that the Iraqi Fifth Army Division regularly engages in sectarian activities and ethnically charged violence.<sup>349</sup> American Colonel Brian Jones states “security forces are intimidating and arresting Sunnis who could be contenders for high political office.” According to the reports from the U.S. Department of State, there is considerable evidence showing detainee abuses in the Iraqi Army.<sup>350</sup>

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<sup>344</sup> “The war in Iraq; Hezbollah reportedly training Shiite militia; U.S. official says Iran brought the groups together,” *The New York Times*, 11/29/2006.

<sup>345</sup> “Marine report says U.S. can’t win in Anbar,” *The Washington Post*, 11/28/2006.

<sup>346</sup> “UN assistant mission for Iraq,” UN Human Right Report, November-December 2006.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>348</sup> “Sectarian rifts foretell pitfalls of Iraqi troops’ taking control.” *The New York Times*, 11/12/2006.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid*

## Core Five State Institutions

Police



Poor

Leadership



Weak

Civil Service



Poor

Judiciary



Poor

Military



Weak



December 2006

**1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures***

**Rating: 10**

The deteriorating security situation in Iraq has had increasingly negative effects on Iraq's food distribution system.<sup>351</sup> Violence, particularly in the province of Al Anbar, has made the distribution of food to the large IDP population there, the highest number of displaced persons of all Iraq's provinces at 10,105, nearly impossible.<sup>352</sup> Many have reported receiving only half of their food rations or none at all.<sup>353</sup> Access to drinking water, shelter and sanitation is also of grave concern for many Anbaris.<sup>354</sup>

Women are also significantly affected by the continued sectarian violence. An alarming number of women are widowed, without any reliable source of income.<sup>355</sup> High unemployment and the suffering job market significantly impact the economic situation of single-parent families.<sup>356</sup>

**2. *Massive Movement of Refugees and IDPs***

**Rating: 10**

Sunnis living in the capital city of Baghdad are fleeing by the thousands.<sup>357</sup> Shiites now dominate a minimum of ten neighborhoods in Baghdad that were previously mixed Sunni and Shiite.<sup>358</sup> Sunni neighborhoods in eastern Baghdad are most susceptible to takeover by Shiite militias who have their base in Sadr City.<sup>359</sup> Baladiyah, Naariya, Huriya, Ghadier, and Zayuna neighborhoods, which were once mixed, are now overwhelmingly Shiite.<sup>360</sup> Meanwhile Shiites are leaving the Sunni dominated city of Baquba on the Diyala River to relocate to Shiite neighborhoods Naariya and Baghdad Jedidah.<sup>361</sup> In 2006, the largest number of IDPs came from the Al Anbar province totaling around 10,105.<sup>362</sup> Kerbala saw the second largest exodus at 7,570 IDPs, closely followed by Baghdad and Dohuk with 7,000 displaced in each.<sup>363</sup> The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees reported a total of 1,664,502 displaced Iraqis since the start of the war.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> "Human Rights Report," UN Assistance Mission for Iraq, 01/2007.

<sup>352</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>353</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>357</sup> "District by district, Shiites make Baghdad their own," *The New York Times*, 12/23/3006.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>362</sup> "Human Rights Report," UN Assistance Mission for Iraq, 01/2007.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid*

A Ministry of Public Works proposal to give plots of land to victims of Hussein's regime will indirectly repopulate traditionally Sunni neighborhoods with Shiite families. These neighborhoods include Abu Ghraib, Taji, Salman Pak, Husseiniya, Mahmudiya and Latifiya.<sup>365</sup>

**3. *Legacy of Vengeance Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia***  
**Rating: 10**

Sectarian violence persists at an alarming rate in the capital city of Baghdad.<sup>366</sup> In a territorial battle for control of Baghdad's traditionally mixed communities, Sunni and Shiite militia groups continue terror campaigns of intimidation, kidnappings and extra-judicial killings of civilian populations.<sup>367</sup> Sectarian violence and ethnic cleansing of civilian populations are particularly high in the Baghdad neighborhoods of Dora, Hurriyah, Al Adhamiyah, Khadimiyah, Ghazaliyah, Amariya, and Qadisiyah.<sup>368</sup> "On 9 December in Hurriya, Shiite militias torched Sunni homes causing more than 30 families to flee. The following day, some 30 armed gunmen killed nine members of two Shiite families in the western Jihad neighborhood in Baghdad."<sup>369</sup>

The Wolf Brigade, a largely autonomous commando unit consisting of predominately poor Shiites from Sadr City, have been linked to the torture and forced confessions of several Palestinians.<sup>370</sup> Lead by commander Abu Walid, the Wolf Brigade is alleged to primarily target the Palestinian population in Iraq.<sup>371</sup>

In Mosul, the Christian community has experienced a significant increase in targeted attacks by insurgent groups, as have the Kurds in the northern province of Ninawa.<sup>372</sup> Insurgent fighters killed fourteen Kurdish farmers in the northwestern town of Sinjar near the Syrian border.<sup>373</sup> In Mosul, militiamen murdered three individuals from the Shabal and Yazidi communities.<sup>374</sup>

**4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight***  
**Rating: 9**

Professionals in Iraq continue to be targeted by insurgent groups.<sup>375</sup> According to the Brookings Institution, 40 percent of the professional class has fled Iraq since the start of

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<sup>365</sup> "District by district, Shiites make Baghdad their own," *The New York Times*, 12/23/2006.

<sup>366</sup> "Human Rights Report," UN Assistance Mission for Iraq, 01/2007.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>370</sup> "Iraq's legal system staggers beneath the weight of the war," *The New York Times*, 12/17/2006.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>372</sup> "Human Rights Report," UN Assistance Mission for Iraq, 01/2007.

<sup>373</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>375</sup> "A knock on the door, a call, and doctor knows he must go." *Inter Press Service*, 12/06/2006.

the war in 2003.<sup>376</sup> Iraq's medical association reports that over half of Iraq's 34,000 doctors have left Iraq, while approximately 2,000 have been killed in insurgent fighting.<sup>377</sup>

**5. *Uneven Economic Development***  
**Rating: 9**

There is no evidence of a significant change in this indicator for the month of December.

**6. *Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline***  
**Rating: 9**

Talks on Iraqi oil distribution legislation, which will prove important for Iraq's regional and national economies, are said to be nearing a close in Baghdad.<sup>378</sup> Debate surrounds control of oil distribution and whether it is done through the central government or whether more power is given to regional governments.<sup>379</sup> Sunnis, who are primarily located in central Iraq where there is little to no oil production, have aligned themselves with the Shiites against the Kurds who are seeking regional autonomy in collection and distribution of oil revenues.<sup>380</sup> The current draft recommends a production-sharing agreement, as well as buyback contracts to improve Iraq's aged and war-damaged oil industry.<sup>381</sup> Details on how oil revenue would be distributed to Iraq's various groups have yet to be decided.<sup>382</sup> Issues still under discussion are "federal versus regional control, the sharing of oil revenues, the types of contracts that are awarded and the formation of an Iraqi national oil company to handle the country's oil production, exports and exploration."<sup>383</sup>

Oil revenue in Iraq for the month of December is \$2.46 billion, up from \$2.19 billion in November.<sup>384</sup> Overall fuel supplies, stated as a percentage of declared monthly supply goals, are at 55%.<sup>385</sup> In December, Iraq averaged 2.15 million barrels of crude oil production a day.<sup>386</sup> Crude oil exports were up to 1.45 million barrels a day from 1.44 million barrels a day in November.<sup>387</sup> Kerosene production and importation averaged 8.1 million liters a day in December, up from 6.4 million liters a day in November. Diesel production was down to 10.7 million liters a day from 11.1 million liters a day in

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<sup>376</sup> "Iraq Index" The Brookings Institution 12/31/2006.

<sup>377</sup> "Iraqis split on sectarian lines; hospitals follow." *National Public Radio*, 12/01/2006.

<sup>378</sup> "Iraqis near deal on distribution of oil revenues." *The New York Times*, 12/09/2006.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>382</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>383</sup> "Iraq is close to reaching pact on distribution of oil revenue." *The Wall Street Journal*, 12/09/2006.

<sup>384</sup> "Iraq Index." The Brookings Institution, 1/29/2007.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>386</sup> "Human Rights Report," UN Assistance Mission for Iraq, 01/2007.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid*

November.<sup>388</sup> The national average of hours of electricity per day is down to 9.2 hours from 10.9 the previous month.<sup>389</sup> Baghdad's electricity supplies are down slightly at an average of 6.7 hours of electricity per day compared with 6.9 in November.<sup>390</sup>

Unemployment remains a great obstacle in Iraq, with 25 percent to 40 percent of the population without jobs.<sup>391</sup>

## **7. *Delegitimization of the State*** **Rating: 10**

Prime Minister al Maliki's Shiite majority government has failed to unify the Shiite population as Shiites continue to grow increasingly factionalized.<sup>392</sup> Maliki's government is dependent on the political support of radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr who also heads the Mahdi Army, Iraq's largest armed militia.<sup>393</sup> The Mahdi Army's infiltration of Iraq's Ministries of Interior and Health has left much of the Sunni population fearful.<sup>394</sup> Because Sadr's support is fundamental to Maliki's leadership, disbanding the Mahdi Army is not in the interest of the Maliki government.<sup>395</sup>

Maliki extended emergency powers through the month of December. Aside from Kurdistan, the entire state of Iraq is subject to emergency laws that allow Maliki to enforce "curfews, cordon off towns and cities, and impose search operations."<sup>396</sup>

## **8. *Progressive Deterioration of Public Services*** **Rating: 9**

Sectarian fighting continues to have a severe impact on Iraq's medical system. Medicine and hospital supplies are in scarce supply, while hospitals lack even the most basic necessities such as clean water and electricity.<sup>397</sup> Emergency rooms are understaffed and overwhelmed with patients.<sup>398</sup> At Shewater General Hospital in the neighborhood of Sadr City in Baghdad, the hospital administrator readily admitted to reusing IV needles on patients because of the lack of supplies.<sup>399</sup> Furthermore, Shiite militiamen have infiltrated many hospitals, making it very dangerous for Sunnis to seek care in Iraqi medical facilities.<sup>400</sup> "At times the Mahdi Army, Moqtada al-Sadr's militia, have entered hospitals

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<sup>388</sup> "Iraq Index," The Brookings Institution, 1/29/2007.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>390</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>392</sup> "Al-Qaeda allies claim bigger base of support in Iraq," *The Washington Post*, 12/23/2006.

<sup>393</sup> "Threats wrapped in misunderstandings," *The Washington Post*, 12/07/2006.

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>396</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>397</sup> "Iraqis split on sectarian lines; hospitals follow," *National Public Radio*, 12/01/2006.

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid*

to take Sunni patients literally off their beds, sometimes in the middle of the day, detain them there, tortured and then later their bodies turn up on the streets of Baghdad.”<sup>401</sup>

Though the U.S. boasts improvements in Iraq’s school systems, such as the rehabilitation of 2,962 schools and \$100 million dollars in aid money towards education, in Baghdad, Al Anbar and Diyala provinces, violence has badly affected the education system.<sup>402</sup> Forty miles north of Baghdad, in Dujayl, five elementary teachers were abducted on their way to work.<sup>403</sup> In Mansour, a largely upper-class neighborhood with previously little violence, student attendance has dwindled to 150 students out of a 420 student body.<sup>404</sup> Known as one of Iraq’s best high schools, Baghdad Preparatory School has had hundreds of students withdraw from classes.<sup>405</sup> Militiamen and insurgent groups kidnap educators and students alike, and distribute leaflets with AK47 bullets attached as intimidation.<sup>406</sup>

**9. *Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights***  
**Rating: 10**

The judicial system in Iraq continues to be strained by the war. “The Central Criminal Court of Iraq, the system for detaining, trying and charging suspects has become another weak link in the rule of law in Iraq.”<sup>407</sup> Detainees are often tried without having the opportunity to speak to their appointed lawyer.<sup>408</sup> Many trials are heard within fifteen minutes and deliberated over for less.<sup>409</sup> Violence in Iraq makes it difficult for defense lawyers to obtain evidence or witnesses.<sup>410</sup> Bribes are customary for moving along the otherwise slow judicial process.<sup>411</sup> The number of detainees overwhelms the Iraqi prisons.<sup>412</sup> U.S. forces have released tens of thousands of detainees under pressure from the Iraqi government, only to arrest the same criminals again.<sup>413</sup> An estimated six percent, or 2,800 detainees, who were released, are recaptured.<sup>414</sup> Meanwhile detainees can be held without charges for as long as two years.<sup>415</sup> Americans have an estimated 14,000 detainees now, while the Iraqi courts have sentenced approximately 3,000.<sup>416</sup>

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<sup>401</sup> “Iraqis split on sectarian lines; hospitals follow,” *National Public Radio*, 12/01/2006.

<sup>402</sup> “A battlefield called school; Iraq violence threatens schools and teachers,” *Los Angeles Times*, 12/16/2006.

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>405</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>406</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>407</sup> “Iraq’s legal system staggers beneath the weight of the war,” *The New York Times*, 12/17/2006.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>412</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>414</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>415</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>416</sup> *Ibid*

“Political interference, threats from militants and the judges’ fear for their lives weigh heavily in many verdicts.”<sup>417</sup>

Detainees are often held in unsanitary conditions in overcrowded cells.<sup>418</sup> “Earlier this year, a United States Army unit in Baquba found 450 people, including a few women and children, living in hot, fetid cells built for 150.”<sup>419</sup> Most detainees are held in Camp Bucca in southern Iraq or Camp Cropper just outside of Baghdad, since the closing of Abu Ghraib.<sup>420</sup> Task Force 134, an American military unit formed to manage detainee operations after the Abu Ghraib prison scandal, began with only five workers to oversee 5,000 detainees.<sup>421</sup> The pressure of understaffing, combined with legal and political pressures, has led to the recommended release of 60 percent of those detained in American prisons in Iraq.<sup>422</sup> The Ministry of Human Rights reported a slight increase in the number of detainees during the month of December at 29,715, up from 29,562 in November.<sup>423</sup>

In Basra, British troops stormed a police station to find “more than 100 men were crowded into a single cell, 30 feet by 40 feet with two open toilets, two sinks and just a few blankets spread over the concrete floor.”<sup>424</sup> Many of the detainees had been tortured.<sup>425</sup> “Some had crushed hands and feet, while others had cigarette and electrical burns and a significant number had gunshot wounds to their legs and knees.”<sup>426</sup>

In Sulaimaniya, Kurdish prisoners were found in seven yard by eight yard cells with as many as thirty cellmates.<sup>427</sup> Prisoners are given very small, sometimes moldy rations, are subject to beatings by prison guards, are forbidden to have the Koran, and many have been held without trials or kept beyond their given sentence.<sup>428</sup> Prisoners reported the disappearance of several other inmates.<sup>429</sup> At the Salam Barracks Prison in Suleymania, “120 detainees went on strike to protest the delays in processing their cases, despite long periods of detention.”<sup>430</sup>

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<sup>417</sup> “Iraq’s legal system staggers beneath the weight of the war,” *The New York Times*, 12/17/2006.

<sup>418</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>419</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>422</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>423</sup> “Human Rights Report,” UN Assistance Mission for Iraq, 01/2007.

<sup>424</sup> “British soldiers storm Iraqi jail, citing torture,” *The New York Times*, 12/26/2006.

<sup>425</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>426</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>427</sup> “Hundreds disappear into the black hole of the Kurdish prison system in Iraq,” *The New York Times*, 12/26/2006.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>429</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>430</sup> “Human Rights Report,” UN Assistance Mission for Iraq, 01/2007.

**10. Security Apparatus Operates as a “State Within a State”  
Rating: 10**

The Wolf Brigade, a largely autonomous commando unit consisting of predominately poor Shiites from Sadr City, has been linked to the torture and forced confessions of several Palestinians.<sup>431</sup> Lead by commander Abu Walid, the Wolf Brigade is alleged to target primarily the Palestinian population in Iraq.<sup>432</sup>

British forces attacked a special crimes unit in Basra which was infiltrated by militia members and worked as a death squad killing political and tribal rivals.<sup>433</sup> Major Charlie Burbridge reported that, “In northern Basra, the fighting is mainly between three warring tribes. The death squads are typically related to political maneuvering and tribal gain.”<sup>434</sup> British forces arrested seven Iraqi police officers in Basra in connection with the murder of several other police officers.<sup>435</sup>

**11. Rise of Factionalized Elites  
Rating: 10**

A reported seventy percent of Sunni tribal sheiks and various other previously autonomous Sunni insurgent groups have aligned themselves with emir Abu Omar al-Baghdadi’s Islamic State of Iraq, a group connected to Al-Qaeda.<sup>436</sup> Emir Baghdadi issued a statement inviting individuals who were dismissed from their jobs under the de-Baathification policy to join the insurgency.<sup>437</sup>

Shiites continue to grow increasingly factionalized. Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, head of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, which is closely aligned with Tehran, holds thirty seats in Iraq’s parliament.<sup>438</sup> Hakim’s party, though Shiite, fiercely opposes Moqtada al-Sadr’s Shiite party, which currently provides parliamentary backing to Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki’s Islamic Dawa Party.<sup>439</sup> Hakim and Sadr have a long-standing rivalry dating back to competition for power between their fathers who were both well-known Shiite clerics.<sup>440</sup> Both Hakim and Sunni leadership view Sadr and his militia, the Mahdi Army, as the largest obstacle to peace and stability in Iraq.<sup>441</sup>

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<sup>431</sup> “Iraq’s legal system staggers beneath the weight of the war,” *The New York Times*, 12/17/2006.

<sup>432</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>433</sup> “British soldiers storm Iraqi jail, citing torture,” *The New York Times*, 12/26/2006.

<sup>434</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>435</sup> “U.S. and Iraqis agree on broad strategy says defense secretary,” *Financial Times*, 12/23/2006.

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>437</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>438</sup> “Bush to meet with head of powerful Iraq Shiite party,” *The New York Times*, 12/02/2006.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>440</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>441</sup> *Ibid*

## 12. *Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors* Rating: 10

Robert Gates, the new U.S. Secretary of Defense, who replaced Donald Rumsfeld last month, stated that the United States was not winning the war in Iraq, contrary to Bush Administration statements made in October.<sup>442</sup> The Iraq Study Group, a bipartisan commission mandated by Congress to examine US policy in Iraq, released a series of policy recommendations on December 6th.<sup>443</sup> Recommendations include a new diplomatic effort for engaging Iraq's regional neighbors, a change in the U.S.'s primary mission to preparing and supporting Iraq's army for combat operations, and a short term increase in U.S. troops and gradual withdrawal by early 2008.<sup>444</sup> Currently the U.S. has more than 140,000 troops deployed in Iraq.<sup>445</sup> U.S. President George W. Bush responded critically to ISG recommendations for engaging with Syria and Iran as well as the prospect of setting a withdrawal date for 2008.<sup>446</sup> President Bush was more open to suggestions for embedding more U.S. troops in Iraqi units as well as a possible short term increase in the deployment of U.S. troops to Iraq.<sup>447</sup>

United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan has called the sectarian fighting in Iraq a 'civil war.'<sup>448</sup> Both Iraqi President Jalal Talabani and powerful Shiite SCIRI leader Abdul Aziz al-Hakim rejected Annan's calls for a regional conference to discuss instability in Iraq.<sup>449</sup>

The Sunni insurgency is significantly funded by private Saudi citizens, who have given millions of dollars for the procurement of arms.<sup>450</sup> A specific incident found 25 million in Saudi riyals, money sent to an influential Iraqi Sunni cleric to buy weapons, specifically anti-aircraft missiles.<sup>451</sup> Saudi Arabia aims to balance Iranian influence in Iraq.<sup>452</sup> Hezbollah is believed to be training Iraqi Shiite militiamen in Lebanon with the support of Iran.<sup>453</sup>

Polish forces totaling 900 have extended their mission in Iraq until the end of 2007. South Korean forces withdrew 1,100 troops while simultaneously extending the mission of the 1,200 remaining forces for another year.<sup>454</sup>

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<sup>442</sup> "Gates says US is not winning in Iraq," *Financial Times*, 12/06/2006.

<sup>443</sup> "The Iraq Study Group Report," United States Institute of Peace, 12/06/2006.

<sup>444</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>445</sup> "Bush rejects troop reductions, endorses Maliki," *The Washington Post*, 12/1/2006.

<sup>446</sup> "Bush's reaction alarms Iraq panelist," *The Boston Globe*, 12/15/2006.

<sup>447</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>448</sup> "Annan adds his voice to a growing chorus that is calling the situation in Iraq a 'civil war,'" *The New York Times*, 12/04/2006.

<sup>449</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>450</sup> "Officials say Saudis major provider of finance to Iraqi Sunni insurgents," *Associated Press*, 12/08/2006.

<sup>451</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>452</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>453</sup> "Don't count on Iran to pick up the pieces," *The New York Times*, 12/08/2006.

<sup>454</sup> "The war in Iraq; Shiites making Baghdad their own, some say; militias pushing deep in the capital to move Sunnis out," *The New York Times*, 12/23/2006.



## December 2006

### Core 5

#### 1. *Police*

##### **Rating: Poor**

Iraq's police forces continue to be heavily infiltrated by death squads and ethnically aligned militia groups, particularly in the Baghdad neighborhoods of Naariya, Ur, and Sadr City.<sup>455</sup> Ghazaliya and Shula neighborhoods report infiltration of Shiite militiamen—mostly the Mahdi Army and the Badr Brigade—into the police forces.<sup>456</sup> In Basra, British forces attacked a Serious Crimes Unit, which acted as a death squad, targeting civilian populations.<sup>457</sup> Iraqi police officers were arrested for the slaughter of 17 police trainers.<sup>458</sup> The police trainers were murdered and their bodies were dumped in the Shuaiba area to intimidate civilians.<sup>459</sup> In the Hurriya neighborhood of Baghdad, armed policemen stormed the home of a prominent leader of a Sunni tribe, killing five men.<sup>460</sup> The officers were recognized as part of Iraq's commando unit.<sup>461</sup> An increasing number of commando units, which are predominately Shiite, have been connected to the murders of Sunni civilians.<sup>462</sup> Tortured, murdered, and dumped in Baghdad neighborhoods, around one hundred bodies are found nearly everyday, often still wearing handcuffs.<sup>463</sup> The dead bear signs of torture from chemical burns and electric drills.<sup>464</sup>

#### 2. *Leadership*

##### **Rating: Weak**

Iraqi leadership continues to be plagued by sectarian division and political power struggles. Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's government is held in place by the support of radical Shiite leader Moqtada al-Sadr who heads the Shiite Mahdi Army.<sup>465</sup> Recently, Sadr has voiced stronger criticism of Maliki's government.<sup>466</sup> Thirty parliamentarians loyal to Sadr walked out of Maliki's government on December 14<sup>th</sup> in protest of his meeting with U.S. President Bush in Jordan.<sup>467</sup> Head of the Shiite party, the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, who also holds 30 seats in Iraq's parliament, fiercely opposes Sadr's influence on the Maliki government and

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<sup>455</sup> "Civil war in Iraq near, Annan says," *The Washington Post*, 11/28/2006.

<sup>456</sup> ""Strykers say some Iraqi police no help or corrupt," *Associated Press*, 10/02/2006.

<sup>457</sup> "British seize Iraqi police in massacre probe," *Agence France Presse*, 12/22/2006.

<sup>458</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>459</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>460</sup> "Out-savaging Saddam," *Daily Mail*, 11/04/2006.

<sup>461</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>462</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>463</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>464</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>465</sup> "Bush to meet with head of powerful Iraq Shiite party," *The New York Times*, 12/02/2006.

<sup>466</sup> "Bush may boost Iraq troops by 20,000," *The Guardian*, 12/24/2006.

<sup>467</sup> "UK sends 800 troops and tanks to seize rogue police chief," *The Scotsman*, 12/23/2006.

Maliki's tolerance of the Mahdi Army.<sup>468</sup> Hakim and Sadr are representative of the intense power struggles that exist within the Shiite dominated Maliki government.<sup>469</sup>

### **3. Civil Service** **Rating: Poor**

Corruption and bureaucratic fighting within government ministries continue to weaken Iraq's civil service.<sup>470</sup> Parties loyal to radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr control five of the government ministries.<sup>471</sup> Far reaching corruption and sectarianism within the Ministries of Health and Interior, both controlled by Sadr loyalists, threaten to further weaken the Iraqi government.<sup>472</sup> Largely Shiite, Iraq's civil service remains significantly unrepresentative of much of Iraq's population.<sup>473</sup> The poor job market, extremely low wages, and a lack of resources needed to pay workers continue to have a negative impact on Iraq's civil service.<sup>474</sup>

### **4. Judiciary** **Rating: Poor**

Iraq's judicial system is extremely ineffective and widely influenced by insurgent threats and political pressure.<sup>475</sup> Insurgent violence and political corruption along with the fear of retaliation greatly affect many judges' court rulings.<sup>476</sup> Court appointed defense attorneys often do not have the opportunity to speak with their clients before going to trial.<sup>477</sup> Both evidence and witness are hard to find due to the extreme violence in Iraq, and bribes are often commonplace in Iraq's judicial system.<sup>478</sup> Detainees are sometimes held for as long as two years without any charges.<sup>479</sup>

### **5. Military** **Rating: Weak**

Iraq's military continues to lack adequate representation, professionalism, and remains largely unorganized.<sup>480</sup> Of the approximately 134,000 Iraqis enlisted in the army, only

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<sup>468</sup> "Bush to meet with head of powerful Iraq Shiite party," *The New York Times*, 12/02/2006.

<sup>469</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>470</sup> "Threats wrapped in misunderstandings," *The Washington Post*, 12/07/2006.

<sup>471</sup> "Influence rises but base frays for Iraqi cleric," *The New York Times*, 11/13/2006.

<sup>472</sup> "Threats wrapped in misunderstandings," *The Washington Post*, 12/07/2006.

<sup>473</sup> "The war in Iraq; Shiites making Baghdad their own, some say; Militias pushing deep in the capital to move Sunnis out," *The Houston Chronicle*, 12/08/2006.

<sup>474</sup> "Four years of war on Iraq's job market," *American Public Media*, 3/19/2007.

<sup>475</sup> "Iraq's legal system staggers beneath the weight of the war," *The New York Times*, 12/17/2006.

<sup>476</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>477</sup> *Ibid*

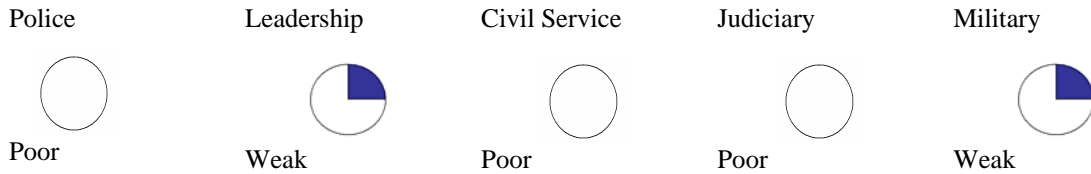
<sup>478</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>479</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>480</sup> "Civil war in Iraq near, Annan says," *The Washington Post*, 11/28/2006.

half are in posted positions.<sup>481</sup> Only ten battalions—less than 10,000 men—actually conduct operations.<sup>482</sup> The Iraqi Army’s Fifth Division in Diyala, led by General Shakir Hulail Hussein al-Kaabi, was said to be primarily targeting Sunnis who were important to the political process.<sup>483</sup> General Shakir used the army to intimidate and detain Sunnis who were potential political leaders.<sup>484</sup> Reports of detainee abuse in Diyala are also on the rise since General Shakir’s selection.<sup>485</sup> Autonomous commando units within the Iraqi Army, specifically the Wolf Brigade led by Abu Walid, are linked to the torture and forced confessions of several Palestinians.<sup>486</sup>

### Core Five State Institutions



<sup>481</sup> “Civil war in Iraq near, Annan says,” *The Washington Post*, 11/28/2006.

<sup>482</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>483</sup> “Sectarian rifts foretell pitfalls of Iraqi troops’ taking control,” *The New York Times*, 11/12/2006

<sup>484</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>485</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>486</sup> “Iraq’s legal system staggers beneath the weight of the war,” *The New York Times*, 12/17/2006.

January 2007

**1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures***  
**Rating: 10**

Although aid organizations such as UNHCR distribute essential supplies in southern areas of Iraq, local NGOs claim that much more is needed, as most displaced people are unemployed and do not have funds to buy food.<sup>487</sup> Hospitals have been hit hard with shortages of essential items and medicines since the government has not been able to provide full assistance to the southern provinces.<sup>488</sup> Health facilities and schools are poorly equipped and unable to respond to the needs of the increased number of people arriving.<sup>489</sup> Moreover, the growing number of internally displaced persons further complicates the mission of humanitarian organizations to deliver supplies and provide aid to those forced to relocate due to the war and continuing sectarian violence.<sup>490</sup>

**2. *Massive Movement of Refugees and IDPs***  
**Rating: 10**

Iraq continues to be listed as one of the prime countries generating refugees.<sup>491</sup> Last month the UNHCR warned that the scale of internal displacement in Iraq has gone beyond the capacity of humanitarian agencies.<sup>492</sup> The UNHCR estimates that two million Iraqis are now living outside the country as refugees, including those who left before 2003 but have failed to return due to the country's catastrophic situation.<sup>493</sup> Another 1.7 million Iraqis have been internally displaced.<sup>494</sup> At least 500,000 people fled their homes in 2006 as a result of the violence.<sup>495</sup> It is believed that "80,000 to 100,000 people join the ranks of internal and external refugees each month."<sup>496</sup> The Home Office has deported Iraqi-Kurdish asylum seekers to Kurdistan (northern Iraq) based on the argument that the northern parts of the country are "relatively safe."<sup>497</sup> This was disputed by the UNHCR which recently said that the security situation in the three northern governorates of Sulaymaniyah, Erbil and Duhok, "remains tense and unpredictable" and that "careful consideration" must be given before any returns are carried out."<sup>498</sup>

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<sup>487</sup> "Iraq: population influx is the biggest problem in south," *IRIN*. 01/16/07.

<sup>488</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>489</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>491</sup> "Continuing conflicts that create refugees, November 2006," *Indymedia UK*. 11/02/06

<sup>492</sup> "Iraq: Aid agencies cannot cope with displacement," *Indymedia UK*. 1/10/07.

<sup>493</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>494</sup> "US occupation turns 3.7 million Iraqis into refugees," *Indymedia UK*. 1/24/07.

<sup>495</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>496</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>497</sup> "Iraqi asylum seekers in UK, claims in progress or have been refused asylum," *Indymedia UK*. 1/03/07

<sup>498</sup> *Ibid*

In January, the UN appealed for \$60 million in emergency aid for Iraqi refugees.<sup>499</sup> Regionally, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, and Lebanon have hosted most Iraqi refugees. One million are believed to be in Syria, 700,000 in Jordan, 20,000 to 80,000 living in Egypt and 40,000 in Lebanon.<sup>500</sup> Many live in serious poverty, yet the plight of Iraqi refugees is only worsening. The UNHCR indicated that there is growing evidence that Iraqi women have resorted to engaging in prostitution. Furthermore, in late January, humanitarian agents working on the Iraqi border stated that neighboring countries such as Syria, Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon are closing their borders to Iraqis.<sup>501</sup>

**3. *Legacy of Vengeance Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia***  
**Rating: 10**

The group grievances and hostility among the Sunni, Shiite, and Kurdish communities continue to have a debilitating effect on the democratization process in Iraq. Factionalized political leaders are not able to achieve stability through most political processes, and ethnicity has become a medium for vying for political power. The Shiite-dominated government exacerbates ethnic hatred by showing scant interest in cracking down on its Shiite militias in Sunni areas.

Hostility among groups is expressed violently through assassinations of religious and political figures, attacks on places of worship, and killings of local leaders. Thousands of Iraqi soldiers and police have been deployed to protect nearly two million Shiite Muslim pilgrims observing Ashura in the city of Karbala.<sup>502</sup> Sectarian retaliation further aggravates group tension with the killing of members of rival ethnic populations, including political leaders, and with the proliferation of private self-defense militias. Insurgent attacks and sectarian strife have created a climate of constant insecurity in regions of Iraq, which, along with continued military operations, have spurred massive population displacement. According to Global Security, “Iraqi security officials say more than 50 people died in bombings and shootings that targeted Shiite Muslims involved in religious Ashura observances in Baghdad.”<sup>503</sup> Palestinian News Net also reported that, “in the nearby town of Mandali, a suicide bomber blew himself up at the gate of a Shiite mosque.”<sup>504</sup>

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<sup>499</sup> “UN makes 60 million Iraqi refugee appeal,” *BBC News: World Edition*, 01/09/07.

<sup>500</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>501</sup> “Warnings of Iraqi refugee crisis,” *BBC News*, 01/22/07.

<sup>502</sup> “Dozens of Iraqis killed near mosques,” *Palestinian News Net Tuesday*, 01/30/07.

<sup>503</sup> “Sectarian Violence Mars Religious Observance in Iraq,” *Global Security*, 01/30/2007.

<sup>504</sup> “Dozens of Iraqis killed near mosques,” *Palestinian News Net Tuesday*, 01/30/07.

**4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight***  
**Rating: 9**

Iraqi intellectuals and professional groups continue to be targeted. The Brussels Tribunal reported that 288 academics had been killed and 74 threatened as of January 14, 2007.<sup>505</sup>

The U.N reported that “roughly 40 per cent of Iraqi middle class have fled Iraq due to violence, and most of them are have no desire to return.”<sup>506</sup> American and Iraqi officials say elections on January 30<sup>th</sup> will be one step toward ending the insurgency; however, many intellectuals, including a vast majority of the middle class, fear that violence and persecution against them will continue.

**5. *Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines***  
**Rating: 9**

Economic inequality along group lines continues to exist in Iraq. Shiites are given greater access to job opportunities, education, health care and other public services. Additionally, more reconstruction projects tend to be completed in the Shiite dominated south due to the greater security present. Sunni regions are also experiencing economic decline due to the spread of violence. For example, Sunni-dominated Ramadi has been devastated by roadside bomb attacks, which increased in frequency from four a day in October to six per day by January.<sup>507</sup> Also in Ramadi, insurgents fired upon a reconstruction center.<sup>508</sup> Many Sunni neighborhoods in Baghdad that once thrived are now devastated, while Sadr City, previously a Shiite slum, is beginning to flourish under the protection of Moqtada al-Sadr’s Mahdi Army and with reconstruction projects sponsored by the Maliki government.<sup>509</sup>

**6. *Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline***  
**Rating: 9**

Economic decline in Iraq was affected by insecurity and the inability to allocate spending efficiently. The Brookings Institution’s January summary of oil and electrical production indicated that Iraq was unable to match past levels.<sup>510</sup> Oil production averaged 1.64 million barrels per day with revenues of \$0.95 billion for the month, a decrease from 1.73 million barrels and \$1.84 billion produced a year ago.<sup>511</sup>

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<sup>505</sup> “List of killed, threatened or kidnapped Iraqi Academics,” *Brussels Tribunal*. 12/24/06.

<sup>506</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>507</sup> “U.S. and Iraq confront extraordinary violence,” *Los Angeles Times*, 01/29/07.

<sup>508</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>509</sup> “Schwartz on surging into catastrophe in Iraq,” *Atlantic Free Press*, 02/13/2007.

<sup>510</sup> “Iraq Index: Tracking Variables of Reconstruction & Security in Post-Saddam Iraq,” The Brookings Institution, 1/29/07.

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid*

Just nine percent of the Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund is invested in the oil sector, yet 95 percent of Iraq's income is derived from the sale of oil and gas.<sup>512</sup> This was highlighted in a Government Accountability Office report, where U.S. Comptroller General David Walker stated that Iraq “faces difficulties in spending budgeted funds efficiently for capital goods and projects in the security, oil and electricity sectors.”<sup>513</sup> The report claimed that Iraq's oil ministry spent only \$4.0 million of \$3.6 billion in budgeted funds to repair Iraq's oil infrastructure.<sup>514</sup>

Iraqi inflation hit an average of 70 percent last year despite the government's set inflation target of 20 to 25 percent.<sup>515</sup> This was largely due to soaring fuel prices.<sup>516</sup> The Brookings Institution affirmed the high inflation level, by stating that the price of gasoline, which was at 50 dinars per liter at the end of 2005, was recorded at 400 dinars per liter in January 2007.<sup>517</sup>

Turkey set up a “permanent trade exhibition in the Iraqi Kurdish city of Arbil.”<sup>518</sup> Iraqi government officials said that one third of Iraq's \$15 billion annual imports come from Turkey, despite political strains between the two neighboring countries.<sup>519</sup> Government officials also noted that Turkey uses the relatively quiet Kurdish north as a base for its exports to Iraq, which depends on imports to meet its needs for fuel, despite its own huge oil reserves.<sup>520</sup>

Iraq entered into ongoing negotiations for a \$685 million reconstruction package loan with the IMF and World Bank, and it is proposed that Iraqi debts be forgiven by several nations.<sup>521</sup> In January, the Managing Director at the IMF said that Iraqi authorities should move towards to strengthen the dinar and reduce inflation.<sup>522</sup> Additionally, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said that the United States was trying to win support from Arab Gulf countries to write off Iraqi debts.<sup>523</sup>

According to the Tehran Times, Iran announced its plans to offer Iraq a \$1 billion loan to implement tasks of mutual interest, and to help complete reconstruction projects.<sup>524</sup> The

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<sup>512</sup> “Hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Subject: Securing America's Interests in Iraq: The Remaining Options,” *Federal News Service, Inc.*, 1/25/07.

<sup>513</sup> “Iraq's unspent billions snarl rebuilding: US watchdog,” *Agence France Presse*, 1/18/07.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>515</sup> “Iraq inflation hits 70 percent in 2006,” *Agence France Presse*, 1/28/07.

<sup>516</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>517</sup> “Iraq Index: Tracking Variables of Reconstruction & Security in Post-Saddam Iraq,” The Brookings Institution, 1/29/07.

<sup>518</sup> “Iraq-Turkey trade soars,” *Middle East and North Africa Financial Network*, 1/15/2007.

<sup>519</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>520</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>521</sup> “Managing Director recommends tighter monetary policy in Iraq,” *Middle-East and North Africa Financial Network*, 1/24/07.

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>523</sup> “Debt may be on the agenda of Rice's ME tour,” *Jubilee Iraq News*, 1/12/07.

<sup>524</sup> “Iran to offer Iraq \$1BLN loan to complete projects of mutual interest,” *Info Prod Research Ltd.* 1/1/07.

loan would be based on undisclosed terms, but would demand that Iraq employ Iranian contractors and experts in its infrastructure projects.<sup>525</sup>

## **7. *Delegitimization of the State***

**Rating: 10**

The continuing insurgency, widespread corruption, and alleged atrocities by security forces have prevented the emergence of a legitimate state. Barham Salih, the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, pointed out that corruption at the Beiji refinery has resulted in the loss of up to \$1.5 billion annually since 2003.<sup>526</sup> Salih also stated that this money is believed to be funding the insurgency.<sup>527</sup>

The Iraqi government has proved incapable of stemming violence. In January, the civilian death toll was 2,460, one of the highest recorded totals since the fall of Saddam Hussein in 2003.<sup>528</sup> Iraq was recently ranked the third most corrupt country in Transparency International's 2006 Corruption Index.<sup>529</sup> In 2005, it was ranked at 153.<sup>530</sup>

## **8. *Progressive Deterioration of Public Services***

**Rating: 9**

The U.S. government appointed a new reconstruction coordinator to oversee a new \$1.2 billion U.S. program for reconstruction and economic development in Iraq.<sup>531</sup> A U.S. Government and Accountability Office report found that, "Iraq faces difficulties in spending budgeted funds for capital goods and projects in the security, oil and electricity sectors."<sup>532</sup>

The Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction commented that it is dangerous across the country in varying degrees, except in Kurdistan.<sup>533</sup> Construction and maintenance of the electrical grid and oil facilities have been extremely difficult because crews are continually attacked.<sup>534</sup> A total of nine contractors were killed in January.<sup>535</sup> Additionally, the insurgents have used Baghdad as a repeated target, which in turn has reduced the power of the capital city to execute public services.

According to Lt. Col. Robert Ruch, the fighting in Baghdad has undermined basic services such as water and sanitation, and has disrupted commerce, making it

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<sup>525</sup> "Iran to offer Iraq \$1BLN loan to complete projects of mutual interest," Info Prod Research Ltd. 1/1/07.

<sup>526</sup> "Iraqi rebels stealing from refinery," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1/15/07.

<sup>527</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>528</sup> "A week in Iraq," Iraq Body Count, 1/28/07.

<sup>529</sup> "The 2006 Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index," Transparency International, 2006.

<sup>530</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>531</sup> "Securing, Stabalizing, and Reonstrucing Iraq," U.S. Government Accountability Office, 1/18/2007.

<sup>532</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>533</sup> "US probes deaths of five security guards in Iraq," *Agence France Presse*, 1/24/2007.

<sup>534</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>535</sup> *Ibid*



increasingly difficult for Iraqi society to function.<sup>536</sup> However, Lt. Col Ruch reported that construction of 10 schools is underway in Baghdad, and they are to open in February.<sup>537</sup>

**9. *Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights***

**Rating: 10**

The Iraqi judiciary sector continues to lack adequate facilities, investigative judges, lawyers, and security apparatus for all judicial personnel. The rule of law in Iraqi society is further threatened by constant attacks on justice sector institutions, as well as lawyers and judges.<sup>538</sup> Dr. Hakem am-Zamili, Iraqi's Deputy Health Minister, warned that "urgent action was needed to re-establish law to prevent a slide into all-out civil war. Without significant progress in the rule of law, sectarian violence will continue indefinitely and eventually spiral out of control."<sup>539</sup>

Human rights violations, such as suicide attacks, bombings, murder and kidnappings continue to be on the rise nationwide.<sup>540</sup> The civilian death toll of 2,460 in January was one of the highest recorded totals since the fall of the former regime.<sup>541</sup> Indiscriminate human rights abuses against professional groups, ethnic minorities, religious minority, women and children are widespread.<sup>542</sup> Amnesty International continued to document the widespread human rights abuses, including large-scale arrests, detention of human rights defenders, unfair trials, and torture by the Ministry of Interior security forces.<sup>543</sup> Human Rights Watch reported that Iraqi authorities have failed to address serious human rights violations carried out by its security forces.<sup>544</sup>

**10. *Security Apparatus Operates as a "State Within a State"***

**Rating: 10**

A large number of Iraqi militias and armed groups are operating as quasi-independent security forces to provide security where the Iraqi government or U.S. military cannot. In Ramadi, the capital of Anbar Province, the Iraqi police and "U.S. security forces found a welcome ally in Sunni Muslim tribal Sheiks".<sup>545</sup> Police stations had been frequently attacked and the local governing council was forced to leave the city, fleeing to

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<sup>536</sup> "Baghdad projects off to solid start but the road ahead is long," Associated Press, 1/17/07.

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>538</sup> "Bombs kill 65 students in Baghdad," Associated Press, 1/17/2007.

<sup>539</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>540</sup> "Conflict in Iraq," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1/16/2007.

<sup>541</sup> "A week in Iraq," Iraq Body Count, 1/28/07.

<sup>542</sup> "Iraq: human rights concerns," Amnesty International, 1/15/07.

<sup>543</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>544</sup> "U.S plan must rein in death squads," Human Rights Watch, 1/08/2007.

<sup>545</sup> "Sheiks Help Curb Violence in Iraq's West, U.S. Says," *The Washington Post*, 1/27/07.

Baghdad.<sup>546</sup> Since the Sunni Sheiks have not received adequate protection from the Shiite-led government, Ramadi remained a dangerous place without a functioning local government.<sup>547</sup> However, by the end of January, 1,600 police officers loyal to the Sheiks had been recruited to bring the area more security.<sup>548</sup>

In a speech marking the 86th anniversary of the formation of the Iraqi Army, Prime Minister al-Maliki revealed a new security plan to be enacted, based upon the deployment of additional Iraqi troops in Baghdad.<sup>549</sup> The increase in troops will be supported by U.S.-led coalition troops. For the first time, the government in Baghdad is sending Kurdish troops. This is controversial, and many Kurds have stated that this move could potentially exacerbate group tensions.<sup>550</sup>

**11. *Rise of Factionalized Elites***  
**Rating: 10**

The Iraqi leadership has remained fragmented and Shiite-dominated. However, Maliki is making efforts to reduce sectarian tension in Baghdad. Iraq's parliament voted to back Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's drive to improve security in Baghdad, voting for a government-led movement to curtail armed sectarian violence.<sup>551</sup> Mr. Maliki promised that security forces would take on all armed groups, regardless of religious or political affiliation. He stated, "There will be no safe haven - no school, no home, no (Sunni) mosque or Shia mosque."<sup>552</sup> However, Maliki, who was openly pressured by the Bush Administration to pass a security measure to control Baghdad, is heavily supported by Moqtada al-Sadr, a Shiite cleric. Sadr's loyalists have 30 seats in the 275-member parliament.<sup>553</sup> Thus, it is unlikely that Maliki will truly be able to provide protection to all religious sects.

**12. *Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors***  
**Rating: 10**

Foreign presence in Iraq is extensive and growing larger. Currently, with 132,000 American soldiers stationed in Iraq, President George W. Bush announced that 21,500 added U.S. troops and \$1.2 billion in reconstruction aid would be sent to Iraq.<sup>554</sup>

Newly appointed U.S. Defense Secretary, Robert M. Gates, met with British leaders and other allied countries to discuss security and rebuilding strategies in Iraq.<sup>555</sup> The British

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<sup>546</sup> "Sheiks Help Curb Violence in Iraq's West, U.S. Says," *The Washington Post*, 1/27/07.

<sup>547</sup> "Fight goes on," *Los Angeles Times*, 1/17/07.

<sup>548</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>549</sup> "Iraq: Premier's New Security Plan Carries Heavy Risks," Radio Free Europe, 1/10/07.

<sup>550</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>551</sup> "Iraqi PM wins key security vote," BBC News, 1/25/07.

<sup>552</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>553</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>554</sup> "Maliki says Iraq only needs small increase in US troops," AFX News Ltd, 1/31/07.

currently have 7,000 troops in Iraq. However, Liberal Democrats in the UK have predicted that the bill for Britain's ongoing operations in Iraq will soon pass £5 billion, or around £23.5 million a day.<sup>556</sup> Thus, it is possible that the intensity of British involvement may increase.

Other prominent actors from the region include Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, the Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia. Prince Faysal stated that the Saudi government is looking into all possibilities, including aid, which would lead to pacifying the violence between Iraqi factions.<sup>557</sup>

The UN Secretary General's Special Envoy, Syrian Ashrf Qadi, traveled to Iraq and stressed the importance of holding an "inclusive conference for national reconciliation and reconstruction."<sup>558</sup> Qadi also stressed that Iraq's neighbors, especially Syria and Iran, are willing to extend a helping hand to improve its situation.<sup>559</sup>

Iran's ambassador to Baghdad, Hassan Kazemi Qumi, outlined a plan to enhance economic and military ties with Iraq.<sup>560</sup> Iran has offered Iraqi forces training, equipment, and advisers for what he refers to as "the security fight."<sup>561</sup> Economically speaking, Qumi stated, "Iran is ready to assume major responsibility for the reconstruction of Iraq."<sup>562</sup> In response to Qumi, U.S. Vice President Dick Cheney said that there is "widespread concern throughout the region about Iran, and a lot of people in the area feel directly threatened."<sup>563</sup>

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<sup>555</sup> "U.S. defense secretary seeks support," *International Herald Tribune*, 1/16/07.

<sup>556</sup> "Iraq war bill 'soon £5 billion' claim lib dems," The Press Association Limited, 01/31/07.

<sup>557</sup> "Saudi Arabia sends envoy to Iraq to seek Iraq, Lebanon solution," BBC News, 01/31/07.

<sup>558</sup> "Syria pledges help for Iraq political process," *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, 1/28/07.

<sup>559</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>560</sup> "Iran plans to expand role in Iraq," Financial Times Information, 1/30/07.

<sup>561</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>562</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>563</sup> *Ibid*

**January 2007**  
**Core 5**

**1. *Police***  
**Rating Poor**

The Iraqi police force is influenced by Shiite favoritism and remains infiltrated by Shiite militias, despite an American training program designed to bring impartiality to the police. However, in Ramadi, the capital of Anbar province, Iraqi police and U.S. security forces found a welcome ally among Sunni Muslim tribal Sheiks.<sup>564</sup> Unable to receive protection from the Shiite-led government, 15 Ramadi tribes came together to bring local police ranks up to strength in exchange for protection against Al Qaeda.<sup>565</sup> As of January, over 1,600 police officers had been recruited to the Ramadi police force, with approximately 400 additional volunteers recruited each month.<sup>566</sup> However, without a functioning local government, Ramadi still remains dangerous.<sup>567</sup> Police in Baghdad remain unable to control the insurgency, as was illustrated by the bloody attack at Bad al-Shriji market in Baghdad. Two car bombs devastated a crowded street killing at least 79 people and wounding more than 140.<sup>568</sup>

**2. *Leadership***  
**Rating: Weak**

The Iraqi leadership remains fragmented and largely Shiite dominated. In January, Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki named Lt. Gen. Aboud Quanbar the operational commander for Baghdad.<sup>569</sup> Although al-Maliki has been pressured by the Bush administration to bring violence by Shiite extremists under control, the radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr continues to have strength and influence in the Iraqi government.

**3. *Civil Service***  
**Rating: poor**

There is no evidence to suggest a change in this institution for the month of January.

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<sup>564</sup> "Sheiks help curb violence in Iraq's west, U.S. says," *The Washington Post*. 01/27/2007.

<sup>565</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>566</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>567</sup> "Fight goes on," *Los Angeles Times*, 01/17/2007

<sup>568</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>569</sup> "U.S and Iraqis wrangle over plan for Baghdad," *The Washington Post*. 01/15/ 2007.

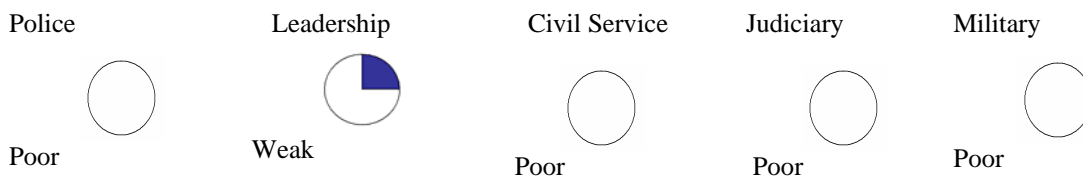
**4. Judiciary**  
**Rating: Poor**

The independence of the Iraqi judicial system remains hindered by threats, bribery, and violence. The judiciary is incapable of providing legal protection for Iraqi citizens.

**5. Military**  
**Rating: Poor**

The Iraqi military has failed to provide security. In January, Prime Minister Maliki announced that 430 Mahdi Army militiamen, who are led by Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr, were arrested in Baghdad.<sup>570</sup> However, soldiers of the Iraqi Army, which consists primarily of Shiites, are unwilling to act against the Mahdi Army, which controls Sadr City in Baghdad because of either religious loyalty or fear.<sup>571</sup> Not only do sectarian loyalties and fears obstruct the Iraqi military, but also, Iraqi soldiers still lack adequate training, equipment and motivation. For example, many Iraqi soldiers who were deployed to Baghdad to bolster security in January declined to follow the order.<sup>572</sup> Acknowledging that the government has minimal control over the troops, Maliki's administration stated that it would pay \$150 to Iraqi soldiers who followed the order and deployed to Baghdad.<sup>573</sup>

**Core Five State Institutions**



<sup>570</sup> "Key aide to Sadr arrested In Baghdad," *The Washington Post*. 01/20/2007.

<sup>571</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>572</sup> "There will be no Iraq," *The Washington Post*. 01/16/2007.

<sup>573</sup> *Ibid*

**February 2007**

**1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures***  
**Rating: 10**

Iraq's poor infrastructure and the declining security situation are adversely affecting Iraq's poor, displaced and children.<sup>574</sup> According to a report released by the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq, the Iraqi government's mechanism for distributing food rations, the Public Distribution System, "has ceased to function in some districts and is only partially functioning in others, with incomplete rations being provided."<sup>575</sup> UNAMI reports an estimated four million Iraqis to be "food insecure" and 47% of Iraqis to be "highly dependent" on food distributed by the Iraqi government.<sup>576</sup> Children are particularly affected by the poorly functioning distribution system.<sup>577</sup> "Malnutrition among children aged 6 months to 5 years in Iraq is widespread. Forty three percent of these children are suffering from a form of malnutrition: 23% suffer from chronic malnutrition, 12% suffer from general malnutrition, and 8% suffer from acute malnutrition."<sup>578</sup> Growth stunting is an adverse consequence affecting 18% of children with malnutrition.<sup>579</sup> Moreover, the conflict is significantly detrimental to Iraq's children's physical and psychosocial well-being.<sup>580</sup> A significant number of Iraqi children face mental trauma, malnutrition, and an increasing number have dropped out of school.<sup>581</sup>

Iraq's displaced population is facing extreme difficulties in accessing basic services, such as food, fresh water, shelter and sanitation.<sup>582</sup> The difficulty of finding medical services and employment are compounded for the displaced.<sup>583</sup>

**2. *Massive Movement of Refugees or Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)***  
**Rating: 10**

The United States has pledged \$18 million to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Iraq and promised to speed the resettlement of approximately 7,000 Iraqis who are awaiting relocation in third countries, largely Jordan and Syria.<sup>584</sup> According to the UN,

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<sup>574</sup> "Humanitarian briefing on the crisis in Iraq," *UNAMI*, 5/2/2007.

<sup>575</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>576</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>577</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>578</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>579</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>580</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>581</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>582</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>583</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>584</sup> "U.S. agrees to resettle refugees from Iraq," *The Washington Post*, 2/15/2007.

2 million Iraqis have fled Iraq, while around 1.7 million are internally displaced.<sup>585</sup> Finding refuge has grown more difficult as many of Iraq's neighbors have placed restrictions on who can enter, for how long, and what public services refugees can utilize.<sup>586</sup> "Jordan now bars Iraqi men ages 17 to 35 from entering," while Syria has restricted residency permits to fifteen days, whereafter refugees are considered illegal immigrants.<sup>587</sup> Some of Iraq's neighbors have placed restrictions on Iraqi children attending public schools and subject refugees to multiple searches.<sup>588</sup> According to an Iraqi official, Denmark is discussing deporting 600 of its 25,000 refugees, while England is in similar discussions.<sup>589</sup>

### **3. *Legacy of Vengeance Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia*** **Rating: 10**

Sectarian violence, targeted kidnappings, torture and ethnically charged murders are happening at an increasing frequency. A recently released U.S. National Intelligence Estimate report found that, "although Al Qaeda activities in Iraq remain a problem, they have been surpassed by Iraqi-on-Iraqi violence as the primary source of conflict."<sup>590</sup> In a stark example of ethnic cleansing by insurgent groups, two commanders belonging to radical Shiite Moqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi Militia were ousted after Sadr discovered the commanders made DVDs showing Mahdi militiamen murdering Sunnis in Baghdad.<sup>591</sup> Reports find that Shiite militias are targeting Sunni men who are recently released from detention centers and killing them on their travels from the detention center to their homes.<sup>592</sup> Militias are believed to have discovered a method for learning when detainees will be released.<sup>593</sup>

Forty civilians, many of them students, were killed at a mainly Shiite Baghdad university when a suicide bomber killed herself in the middle of campus at the busiest time of the day.<sup>594</sup> Colleges all over Iraq have seen a higher incidence of attacks as of late.<sup>595</sup> Many see this as a targeted attack orchestrated by extremist groups like Al Qaeda in Iraq to drive out the secular, educated class.<sup>596</sup>

In what has become an almost regular occurrence, two car bombs exploded in a busy, mostly Shiite Baghdad market and killed at least 60 people, injuring 131 civilians.<sup>597</sup>

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<sup>585</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>586</sup> "U.S. agrees to resettle refugees from Iraq," *The Washington Post*, 2/15/2007.

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>588</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>589</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>590</sup> "U.S. intelligence report projects deteriorating situation in Iraq," *The Washington Post*, 2/02/2007.

<sup>591</sup> "Iraq rebel cleric reins in militia; motives at issue," *The New York Times*, 2/25/2007.

<sup>592</sup> "Jailed 2 years, Iraqi tells of abuse by Americans," *The New York Times*, 2/18/2007.

<sup>593</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>594</sup> "Militant Iraqi Shiite cleric denounces security plan," *The New York Times*, 2/26/2007.

<sup>595</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>596</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>597</sup> *Ibid*

Also, in Habbaniyah, west of Baghdad, insurgents bombed a Sunni mosque killing at least forty people.<sup>598</sup> Sunni extremists are believed to be responsible, as Shiite militias are not believed to operate in the area.<sup>599</sup>

In Baghdad, twenty bodies were found bearing signs of torture.<sup>600</sup> At least one of the dead was found headless.<sup>601</sup> Kidnappings, torture and targeted killings are occurring at a staggering rate as of late.<sup>602</sup> “Over the past year, it has been common for as many as 50 bodies to turn up in the street each day, showing signs of torture and indications that the victims had been killed at close range.”<sup>603</sup>

Insurgents are using more aggressive, sophisticated tactics ranging from chlorine-laced bombs to attacking and shooting down helicopters.<sup>604</sup> Insurgents have exploded trucks carrying chlorine gas in Taji, north of Baghdad; Ramadi; and in Iraq’s capital city killing dozens.<sup>605</sup> Eight U.S. aircraft have been shot down since January 20<sup>th</sup>.<sup>606</sup>

On what would be the first anniversary of the bombing of the Golden Dome in Samarra, insurgents killed at least 80 people in two car bombings.<sup>607</sup>

#### **4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight*** **Rating: 10**

According to Nada Doumani, a spokeswoman for the International Committee of the Red Cross, “more than half of the 34,000 registered doctors in Iraq have recently left the country and hundreds have been killed.”<sup>608</sup> The number of doctors requesting to extend their unpaid leave is increasing at an alarming rate, according to the Ministry of Health.<sup>609</sup> Physicians, medical staff and pharmacists are leaving Iraq for security reasons and because the poor infrastructure and lack of equipment greatly obstruct them from doing their jobs.<sup>610</sup>

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<sup>598</sup> “At least 40 die in bombing at Sunni mosque in W. Iraq,” *The Washington Post*, 2/25/2007.

<sup>599</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>600</sup> “Dispute over Iraqi cleric, said to have gone to Iran,” *The New York Times*, 2/16/2007.

<sup>601</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>602</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>603</sup> “2 car bombs explode in busy Baghdad market, killing at least 60 people,” *The New York Times*, 2/19/2007.

<sup>604</sup> “Insurgents broaden arsenal in battles with U.S., Iraqi forces,” *The Washington Post*, 2/23/2007.

<sup>605</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>606</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>607</sup> “Iraq Report,” Winds of Change.NET, 2/12/2007.

<sup>608</sup> “Iraq: Baghdad hospitals in crisis as they lack security and drugs, say specialist,” UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 1/28/2007.

<sup>609</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>610</sup> *Ibid*



**5. Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines**  
**Rating: 9**

There is no evidence of a significant change in this indicator for the month of February.

**6. Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline**  
**Rating: 9**

The Iraqi Cabinet approved draft legislation concerning Iraq's oil reserves, oil production, foreign investment and distribution of oil profits among Iraqi populations.<sup>611</sup> Oil profits are to be disbursed to all 18 provinces on the basis of population size.<sup>612</sup> The hydrocarbon law is hotly debated among all three ethnic groups, as the Kurds want more autonomy in negotiating contracts, and the Sunnis want a guarantee they will receive an equitable share of profits.<sup>613</sup> Shiites find the issue of profit sharing with the Sunnis particularly difficult after years of living under minority rule under Saddam Hussein's regime.<sup>614</sup>

Renewed exploration of Iraq's Anbar desert has increased past estimates of oil stores in Sunni territory to upwards of one trillion cubic feet on natural gas.<sup>615</sup> The Akkas oil field "runs from Ninewa Province in the north to the border with Saudi Arabia in the south."<sup>616</sup> The prospect of such a large oil deposit in the Sunni-dominated center gives Sunnis a greater economic future, where industry has been limited to phosphate and cement production.<sup>617</sup>

According to the Brookings Institution's Iraq Index, crude oil production in Iraq was up slightly from 1.66 million barrels per day in January to 2.05 in February.<sup>618</sup> Kerosene production was up significantly, averaging 6.1 million liters per day after a sharp drop in January to 4.4 million liters per day.<sup>619</sup> Benzene production for February improved from 11.2 to 12.7 million liters per day.<sup>620</sup> Liquid petroleum outputs for the month averaged 2,962 tons per day as compared with 2,945 tons per day in January.<sup>621</sup> However, oil revenues were down from \$1.89 billion in January to \$1.20 billion in February.<sup>622</sup> According to Iraq's former oil minister, Issam Al Chalabi, violence, poor infrastructure and a shortage in electricity has kept Iraq's oil production significantly below the 2.6 million barrels per day pre-war production level.<sup>623</sup> Chalabi estimates Iraq's oil

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<sup>611</sup> "Iraq drafts deal on oil riches," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 2/27/2007.

<sup>612</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>613</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>614</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>615</sup> "Iraqi Sunni lands show new oil and gas promise," *The New York Times*, 2/19/2007.

<sup>616</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>617</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>618</sup> "Iraq Index," The Brookings Institution, 2/26/2007.

<sup>619</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>620</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>621</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>622</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>623</sup> "Ex-oil minister despairing of Iraq oil future," *Middle East Times*, 2/16/2007.

production capacity at 3 million barrels per day.<sup>624</sup> Oil is largely produced and exported in the south, since Iraq's northern pipeline from Kirkuk to Ceyhan, Turkey is deemed "mostly inoperable" due to insurgent attacks.<sup>625</sup>

Nationwide, Iraq receives an average of 9.1 hours of electricity per day, while Baghdad receives an average of 5.9 hours of electricity per day.<sup>626</sup>

Unemployment remains between 25% and 40% throughout Iraq.<sup>627</sup> Inflation is above 50%.<sup>628</sup> An estimated 54% of Iraqis live on less than US\$1 per day.<sup>629</sup> This figure includes 15% of the population who live on less than US\$0.50 per day.<sup>630</sup> A study relating unemployment to violence found "that a 2 percent increase in job satisfaction among Iraqis in Baghdad correlated to a 30 percent decline in attacks on allied forces and 17 percent decrease in civilian deaths from sectarian violence."<sup>631</sup>

## **7. Delegitimization of the State**

### **Rating: 10**

The Ministry of Interior, controlled by loyal followers of radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr, is accused of "unduly detaining tens of thousands of Sunnis, some of whom, have been tortured in detention centers."<sup>632</sup> Many of Iraq's Ministries are beset by sectarian biases and a lack of judicial oversight.<sup>633</sup> Many Sunni leaders criticize the Shiite-led government for its failure to crack down on Sadr's Shiite militia, the Mahdi Army.<sup>634</sup> Sunni leadership has accused the Maliki government of keeping important information from Sunni parliamentary and cabinet members, while Shiites are suspicious of Sunni leaking security details to insurgent groups.<sup>635</sup>

According to a report released by the U.S. Government Accountability Office, "20 to 30 percent of the Ministry of Interior staff are "ghost employees" whose salaries are collected by other officials. Corruption in Iraq poses a major challenge to building an effective Iraqi government."<sup>636</sup>

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<sup>624</sup> "Ex-oil minister despairing of Iraq oil future," *Middle East Times*, 2/16/2007.

<sup>625</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>626</sup> "Iraq Index," The Brookings Institution, 2/26/2007.

<sup>627</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>628</sup> "Derelict power plant symbol of Iraq woes," *Fort Wayne.com*, 2/11/2007.

<sup>629</sup> "Humanitarian briefing on the crisis in Iraq," *UNAMI*, 5/2/2007.

<sup>630</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>631</sup> "Military wants more civilians to help in Iraq," *The Washington Post*, 2/07/2007.

<sup>632</sup> "For eminent Sunni, lessons in weakness," *The Washington Post*, 2/10/2007.

<sup>633</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>634</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>635</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>636</sup> "Reconstruction progress hindered by contracting, security, and capacity challenges," *United States Government Accountability Office*, 2/15/2007.

Corruption is endemic in Iraq's oil industry.<sup>637</sup> A former official from the State Department's Iraq Reconstruction Management Organization (IRMO) estimates 200,000 to 500,000 barrels of oil go missing every day, translating to between \$20 million to \$30 million in losses per day.<sup>638</sup> The absence of oil meters in Iraq, which could track oil production and exports, allows for millions of dollars in oil to be stolen daily.<sup>639</sup> Without oil meters, corrupt officials can overload tankers with oil which is subsequently sold on the black market.<sup>640</sup> Insurgents also contribute to a large loss in oil profits, according to the Government Accountability Office.<sup>641</sup> The State Department estimates "about 10 percent to 30 percent of refined fuels is diverted to the black market and sold for a profit."<sup>642</sup>

Iraq's state-owned South Oil Company, which controls al Basrah Oil Terminal, where 94 percent of Iraq's oil profits were tanked last year, is run by Shiites in southern Iraq and managed by the State Oil Marketing Organization (SOMO).<sup>643</sup> SOMO refuses to disclose its sales records, export contracts and buyers' names, allowing corruption and mismanagement to easily take place.<sup>644</sup> According to a former IRMO official, calls for metering and transparency have been obstructed by powerful people within the Iraqi Oil Ministry.<sup>645</sup> Corrupt Oil Ministry workers provide insurgents with tanker truck schedules, allowing insurgent groups to attack and steal oil with greater ease.<sup>646</sup>

DynCorp International, contracted by the U.S. State Department to build a training facility for Iraqi police, is under investigation for potential fraud charges regarding a billing for 500 trailers that possibly were never constructed.<sup>647</sup> The State Department is also investigating DynCorp for \$36.4 million in weapons and equipment, including armored vehicles and body armor that has gone unaccounted for.<sup>648</sup> A State Department report has also identified a \$1.1 million billing error in DynCorp's contracts.<sup>649</sup>

## **8. *Progressive Deterioration of Public Services*** **Rating: 9**

Baghdad's health care system is plagued by a shortage of medicine, supplies and trained staff, and is constantly threatened by the dire security situation.<sup>650</sup> Nada Doumani of the International Committee of the Red Cross stated that "Armed men storm the operating

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<sup>637</sup> "Meters cost Iraq billions in stolen oil," *CBS*, 2/08/2007.

<sup>638</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>639</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>640</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>641</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>642</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>643</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>644</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>645</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>646</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>647</sup> "Reports fault oversight of Iraq police program," *Washington Post*, 1/31/2007.

<sup>648</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>649</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>650</sup> "Iraq: Baghdad hospitals in crisis as they lack security and drugs, say specialist," *UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs*, 1/28/2007.

theaters forcing doctors to treat their own patients, as a priority.”<sup>651</sup> Doctors and health care staff are often the target of kidnappers.<sup>652</sup> Of the 13 major hospitals in Baghdad, only Medical Centre City is fully operational.<sup>653</sup> The others lack both basic and sophisticated medical supplies.<sup>654</sup> Baghdad has only one functional Magnetic Resonance machine, which is used to detect structural abnormalities of the body.<sup>655</sup> Tomography and ultrasonography equipment, vital for treating victims of accidents and explosions, are in scarce supply and much of it is inoperable.<sup>656</sup> A shortage of potable water and poorly functioning sewage and water systems also threaten the health care system in Baghdad.<sup>657</sup>

In the provinces of Salaheddine, Kerbala, and Diwaniya, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) made improvements on the water and sanitation infrastructures of 21 primary health care facilities.<sup>658</sup> ICRC made repairs on the “electrical system, water pipes, water storage tanks and sanitation facilities.”<sup>659</sup> Improvements were also made on the water supply system at Al-Karamah Hospital in Baghdad.<sup>660</sup>

Many of Iraq’s oil pipelines are severely damaged by insurgent attacks.<sup>661</sup> “The northern oil pipeline from Kirkuk to Ceyhan, Turkey, is attacked enough to render it mostly inoperable.”<sup>662</sup> Insurgent attacks are largely responsible for a significant drop in January’s oil production.<sup>663</sup>

**9. *Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights***  
**Rating: 10**

Reports of abuse and corruption continue to plague Iraq’s judicial and detention systems.<sup>664</sup> Detainees can be held for years without being charged, while prison conditions are intolerable and abuse is endemic.<sup>665</sup> At the detention center Camp Bucca, detainees describe prison guards’ use of electric prods and stun guns as ‘casual’; these

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<sup>651</sup> “Iraq: Baghdad hospitals in crisis as they lack security and drugs, say specialist,” *UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs*, 1/28/2007.

<sup>652</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>653</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>654</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>655</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>656</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>657</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>658</sup> “Rehabilitation of water infrastructure in health care centers,” International Committee of the Red Cross, 1/25/2007.

<sup>659</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>660</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>661</sup> “Ex-oil minister despairing of Iraq oil future,” *Middle East Times*, 2/16/2007.

<sup>662</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>663</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>664</sup> “Jailed 2 years, Iraqi tells of abuse by Americans,” *The New York Times*, 12/18/2007.

<sup>665</sup> *Ibid.*

devices are used for as small an infraction as speaking out of turn.<sup>666</sup> One detainee reported a guard using an electric prod on his tongue.<sup>667</sup> Reports of unfit food rations and poor living conditions include overcrowded jail cells and inadequate sanitation such as toilets and showers.<sup>668</sup> Radicalization of detainees is a common response to poor treatment and detainee abuse in detention centers like Camp Bucca and Camp Cropper in Baghdad.<sup>669</sup>

## **10. Security Apparatus Operates as a “State Within a State”** **Rating: 10**

Recently, radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr’s Mahdi Army has grown increasingly factionalized as a number of Mahdi units operate autonomously of Sadr and take more extreme actions.<sup>670</sup> Sadr expelled two Mahdi commanders after discovering DVDs recording the murders of Sunnis living in Baghdad by Mahdi militiamen.<sup>671</sup> More and more rogue elements of the Mahdi Army, uncontrolled by Sadr, have emerged.<sup>672</sup> Sadr recently called for his Mahdi Army to cooperate with Iraqi-U.S. forces and turned over Mahdi militiamen who have fallen out of line<sup>673</sup>, only to denounce the Baghdad security plan led by American troops.<sup>674</sup> Sadr is believed to be in Iran.<sup>675</sup>

Abu Ayyub al-Masri, leader of the Sunni insurgent group al-Qaeda in Iraq, was injured in a gunfight with Iraqi police near Balad in Diyala Province.<sup>676</sup> Abu Abdullah al-Mujamie, Masri’s top aide was killed in the battle.<sup>677</sup>

Under the recently unveiled U.S. military plan, Operation Law and Order, civilians are banned from carrying weapons, limiting “the use of weapons in public places to official forces and licensed security guards.”<sup>678</sup> Iraqi civilians are largely skeptical of whether the security plan will actually keep them safer, as sectarian violence and ethnically targeted killings are rampant throughout much of Iraq.<sup>679</sup>

Insurgent groups using “shoulder-fired surface-to-air missiles, heavy machine guns, rocket-propelled grenades and unguided rockets that cannot be diverted by the flares helicopters disperse to fool heat-seeking systems” have shot down seven American

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<sup>666</sup> “Jailed 2 years, Iraqi tells of abuse by Americans,” *The New York Times*, 12/18/2007.

<sup>667</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>668</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>669</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>670</sup> “Iraq rebel cleric reins in militia; motives at issue,” *The New York Times*, 2/25/2007.

<sup>671</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>672</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>673</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>674</sup> “Militant Iraqi Shiite cleric denounces security push,” *The New York Times*, 2/26/2007.

<sup>675</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>676</sup> “Leader of Al-Qaeda in Iraq injured in clash, official says,” *The Washington Post*, 2/16/2007.

<sup>677</sup> “Dispute over Iraq cleric, said to have gone to Iran,” *The New York Times*, 2/16/2007.

<sup>678</sup> “Armed Iraqis war of security plan,” *The Washington Post*, 2/15/2007.

<sup>679</sup> *Ibid*

helicopters in only three weeks.<sup>680</sup> Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia claims responsibility for three of the helicopter attacks.<sup>681</sup>

## 11. *Rise of Factionalized Elites* **Rating: 10**

Shiite leader of the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq, Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, is campaigning for consolidating nine Shiite provinces into an independently run region where they have autonomous control of security and resources.<sup>682</sup> Sunni political groups have voiced strong objections against the plan for fear that the arrangement would lead to the partitioning of Iraq into three separate states.<sup>683</sup> Several Shiite parties have also rejected the plan, in particular Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr who controls the Mahdi Army.<sup>684</sup> Both Sadr and al-Hakim's parties each control thirty seats in parliament.<sup>685</sup>

Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki was at odds with Iraqi President Jalal Talabani and Vice President Tariq al-Hashimi, when Maliki dismissed the case of a Sunni woman allegedly be raped by three Iraqi policemen.<sup>686</sup> Maliki dismissed the woman's claims against the predominately Shiite security forces as a fabrication made to incite sectarian feelings and undercut Iraq's security plan.<sup>687</sup> Iraq's President and Vice President issued statements that "the courts were 'the only legitimate place to examine such allegations.'"<sup>688</sup> Four Iraqi security officers came forth admitting to raping a second Sunni woman and documenting the crime with a camera phone.<sup>689</sup>

Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani called for Iraqis to renounce sectarianism and urged the public to join together in support of a peaceful Iraq.<sup>690</sup> Sistani denied having ties to a series of edicts that were issued in his name by satellite stations and instead urged Iraqis to oppose individuals and groups who aim to incite sectarian warfare.<sup>691</sup> Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki made an appeal to Muslim and Christian clerics to reconcile religious and ethnic differences and pursue avenues of mutual benefit.<sup>692</sup>

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<sup>680</sup> "Planning is seen behind a wave of insurgent attacks on American helicopters in Iraq," *The New York Times*, 2/18/2007.

<sup>681</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>682</sup> "U.S. seizes son of a top Shi'ite, stirring uproar," *New York Times*, 2/24/2007.

<sup>683</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>684</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>685</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>686</sup> "Rape of second Sunni woman by Iraqi security forces alleged," *The Washington Post*, 2/23/2007.

<sup>687</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>688</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>689</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>690</sup> "Sistani calls for fraternity," Institute for War and Peace Reporting, 2/27/2007.

<sup>691</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>692</sup> "Maliki appeals to clerics," Institute for War and Peace Reporting, 2/2007.

## 12. *Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors* Rating: 10

A U.S. National Intelligence Estimate charges that Iran is responsible for “supplying and directing Iraqi extremists.”<sup>693</sup> The U.S. accuses Iran of involvement in security, religious, and economic issues in Iraq.<sup>694</sup> Approximately one-third of the 2,000 Iranian religious students studying in Karbala and Quds are thought to be Iranian intelligence agents by U.S. government officials.<sup>695</sup> Much of the evidence given by the U.S. for Iranian influence is classified, and in some instances Iraqi officials question the validity of U.S. intelligence on Iran.<sup>696</sup>

U.S. forces detained Amar Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, son of the influential Shiite party leader, Abdul Aziz al-Hakim of the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), when he crossed the Iran-Iraq border from Tehran.<sup>697</sup> SCIRI controls 30 seats in the Maliki government. Amar al-Hakim is a significant player (and political party heir) in SCIRI’s controversial campaign to gain autonomous control over security and resources in nine Shiite provinces.<sup>698</sup> Amar al Hakim’s detention led to protests in Basra and worsened already tense relations between U.S. and Iran.<sup>699</sup> Initial reports stated Amar al-Hakim was traveling with an expired passport in a convoy of men with large guns.<sup>700</sup> Iraq’s Foreign Minister Hoshyar Zebari invited six of its neighboring countries, in addition to Egypt, Bahrain, and the Arab League.<sup>701</sup> The conference is scheduled for March 15 and aims to reaffirm regional support for Iraq.<sup>702</sup>

In a meeting with the Iranian ambassador to Iraq Kadhimi Qummi, Iraqi President Jalal Talabani discussed the “security and political situation in Iraq and emphasized the need for a strengthening of bilateral relations focused on international, regional and local efforts to achieve stability in Iraq.”<sup>703</sup>

At a U.S. congressional hearing, former Coalition Provisional Authority administrator Paul Bremer, conceded to making major mistakes in reconstruction planning for Iraq.<sup>704</sup> “House Democrats criticized Bremer for disbursing nearly 9 billion in Iraqi oil revenue without instituting accounting systems to track how Iraqi officials were using that money.”<sup>705</sup> Almost \$12 billion in cash, much of it in shrink-wrapped packages of \$100

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<sup>693</sup> “U.S. intelligence report projects deteriorating situation in Iraq,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 2/02/2007.

<sup>694</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>695</sup> “U.S. intelligence report projects deteriorating situation in Iraq,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 2/02/2007.

<sup>696</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>697</sup> “U.S. seizes son of a top Shiite, stirring uproar,” *New York Times*, 2/24/2007.

<sup>698</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>699</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>700</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>701</sup> “Baghdad neighboring states conference,” Institute for War and Peace Reporting, 2/27/2007.

<sup>702</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>703</sup> “Talabani meets Qummi,” Institute for War and Peace Reporting, 2/27/2007.

<sup>704</sup> “Bremer admits errors in rebuilding Iraq,” *USA Today*, 2/06/2007.

<sup>705</sup> “Democrats, Bremer spar over Iraq spending,” *The Washington Post*, 2/07/2007.

bills, was flown into Baghdad by the U.S. government.<sup>706</sup> Poor accounting and outdated financial management systems allowed corruption and theft to occur at a staggering rate.<sup>707</sup> Bremer was also criticized for his de-Baathification policy and putting a temporary halt on the payment of salaries and pensions to former Iraqi army officers.<sup>708</sup> Bremer responded to these criticisms by stating, “It was the right policy, but poorly implemented.”<sup>709</sup>

The U.S. House of Representatives adopted a resolution protesting President Bush’s plan to deploy 21,500 combat troops to Iraq.<sup>710</sup> Largely symbolic, the resolution documented the House’s opposition to the surge in language that still voiced support for American troops, despite Congressional disapproval of the plan.<sup>711</sup> The final count of votes found 246 in favor of the opposition resolution and 182 opposed.<sup>712</sup> The President’s Press Secretary, Tony Snow, announced the surge would take place despite the congressional vote of disapproval.<sup>713</sup>

General George Casey was relieved of his command over U.S. forces in Iraq by General George Petraeus on February 10<sup>th</sup>.<sup>714</sup>

The U.S. Department of Defense and the Department of State continue to collide in what many call a turf war, fighting about economic and political operations in Iraq, as well as budgeting and management.<sup>715</sup> Many have blamed this power struggle for reconstruction failures in Iraq.<sup>716</sup>

The extreme security situation has made it difficult for aid organizations to operate in Iraq. The rising violence has forced aid groups to operate from remote locations outside Iraq, complicating their abilities to function adequately and address the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi population.<sup>717</sup> The UN Aid Mission for Iraq is concerned that their inability to fully address the basic needs of Iraqis is opening the door for non-state actors to fill the void.<sup>718</sup> The long term implications of this reality could be serious, should the assistance supplied by armed groups grant them increased influence among civilian populations, in turn complicating the prospects of a united, peaceful Iraq.<sup>719</sup>

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<sup>706</sup> “Democrats, Bremer spar over Iraq spending,” *The Washington Post*, 2/07/2007.

<sup>707</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>708</sup> “Bremer admits errors in rebuilding Iraq,” *USA Today*, 2/06/2007.

<sup>709</sup> “Democrats, Bremer spar over Iraq spending,” *The Washington Post*, 2/07/2007.

<sup>710</sup> “House’s non-binding resolution is a real rebuke,” *National Public Radio*, 2/16/2007.

<sup>711</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>712</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>713</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>714</sup> “Iraq report,” Winds of Change.NET, 2/12/2007.

<sup>715</sup> “Time to fix the great failure,” *The Washington Times*, 2/16/2007.

<sup>716</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>717</sup> “Humanitarian briefing on the crisis in Iraq,” *UNAMI*, 5/2/2007.

<sup>718</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>719</sup> *Ibid*



**February 2007**  
**Core 5**

**1. *Police***  
**Rating: Poor**

Recruits of the radical Shiite cleric and leader of the Mahdi Army militia, Moqtada al-Sadr, have thoroughly infiltrated Iraq's security forces, with some officers speculating that as much as fifty percent of Iraq's police are Mahdi militiamen.<sup>720</sup> Mahdi militiamen are enlisting in Iraq's army and police units in great numbers and receiving training, uniforms, and equipment from coalition forces.<sup>721</sup> Under the guise of police officers, Mahdi militiamen patrol the streets by day and carry out insurgent activities by night.<sup>722</sup> Sadr's Mahdi Army largely controls Baghdad through its infiltration of Iraqi security forces.<sup>723</sup>

**2. *Leadership***  
**Rating: Weak**

Iraqi leadership proves to be largely ineffective at both controlling sectarian violence and creating efficient, working national institutions.<sup>724</sup> Political infighting and a growing disaffection with Iraqi leadership by the public have significantly weakened Iraq's political bodies and subsequently strengthened the influence of insurgent groups, religious clerics and tribal leaders.<sup>725</sup> Polarization in the Maliki government between Sunni and Shiite further complicates parliament's ability to make laws and overcome sectarian violence.<sup>726</sup> Sunnis are skeptical of Shiite political ties to radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr and his Mahdi Army, while Shiites are distrustful of disclosing information on security operations with Sunni leaders lest they reveal plans to insurgents.<sup>727</sup> Iraqi President Jalal Talabani and Vice President Tariq al-Hashimi were critical of Prime Minister Nouri al Maliki's dismissal of a case in which a Sunni woman was allegedly be raped by three Iraqi policemen.<sup>728</sup> Talabani and Hashimi's remarks amounted to criticism of Maliki's use of presidential power in what they believed should have been ruled upon in the courts.<sup>729</sup>

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<sup>720</sup> "Today's must read," *TPMMuckracker*, 2/02/2007.

<sup>721</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>722</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>723</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>724</sup> "U.S. intelligence report projects deteriorating situation in Iraq," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 2/02/2007.

<sup>725</sup> "Iraq rebel cleric reins in militia; motives at issue," *The New York Times*, 2/25/2007.

<sup>726</sup> "For eminent Sunni, lessons in weakness," *The Washington Post*, 2/10/2007.

<sup>727</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>728</sup> "Rape of second Sunni woman by Iraqi security forces alleged," *The Washington Post*, 2/27/2007.

<sup>729</sup> "Rape of second Sunni woman by Iraqi security forces alleged," *The Washington Post*, 2/27/2007.

**3. Civil Service**  
**Rating: Poor**

A recent assessment done by the U.S. Government Accountability Office found Iraq's civil service to lack the necessary capacity to carry out reconstruction works and plagued by "widespread corruption."<sup>730</sup> Iraq's civil service remains largely ineffective, as its "institutions are undeveloped and confront significant challenges in staffing a competent, nonaligned civil service; using modern technology; and managing resources and personnel effectively."<sup>731</sup> Iraq's ministries are predominately Shiite and on the whole lack adequate representation of Iraq's diverse population.<sup>732</sup> In addition, Iraq's struggling economy<sup>733</sup> and the absence of a banking system to pay workers have further complicated Iraq's civil service's ability to function.<sup>734</sup>

**4. Judiciary**  
**Rating: Poor**

Iraq has yet to establish an independent, well-functioning judiciary.<sup>735</sup> Kidnappings, threats of murder and political pressure have the power to influence outcomes.<sup>736</sup> Regardless of elections and referendums, Iraq's judicial and government institutions lack adequate transparency.<sup>737</sup> The security situation has a profoundly negative effect on the ability of members of the judiciary to do their jobs and, in part, has created a "culture of impunity."<sup>738</sup> The judiciary remains ineffective in establishing due process, as detainee abuse is prevalent, individuals are held for extended periods of time without being charged or tried, and many of those held in prisons are not afforded the opportunity to speak with a lawyer.<sup>739</sup> Extra-judicial killings have become commonplace.<sup>740</sup>

**5. Military**  
**Rating: Weak**

Corruption, sectarian loyalties and incidences of human rights abuses continue to mark Iraq's military.<sup>741</sup> Radical Shiite Moqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi militiamen infiltrated Iraq's army, receiving training, equipment and uniforms from coalition forces, only to operate

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<sup>730</sup> "Reconstruction progress hindered by contracting, security, and capacity challenges," United States Government Accountability Office, 2/15/2007.

<sup>731</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>732</sup> "For eminent Sunni, lessons in weakness," *The Washington Post*, 2/10/2007.

<sup>733</sup> "Derelict power plant symbol of Iraq woes," Fort Wayne.com, 2/11/2007.

<sup>734</sup> "Reconstruction progress hindered by contracting, security, and capacity challenges," United States Government Accountability Office, 2/15/2007.

<sup>735</sup> "Iraqi governance report," Institute for War & Peace Reporting, 2/2007.

<sup>736</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>737</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>738</sup> *Ibid*

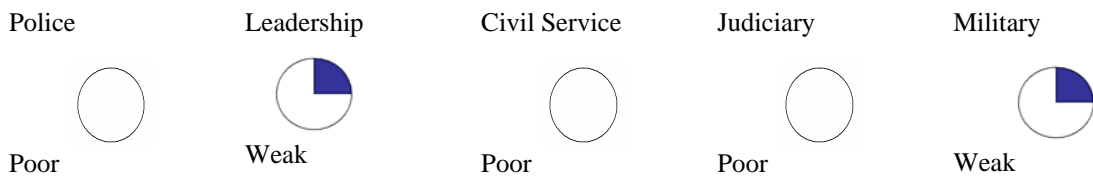
<sup>739</sup> "Iraq detainees are still being tortured: AI," *Taipei Times*, 3/07/2007.

<sup>740</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>741</sup> "Mahdi Army gain strength through unwitting aid of U.S.," *McClatchy Newspapers*, 2/01/2007.

on behalf of their sectarian allegiances.<sup>742</sup> Sadr's influence in the Maliki government, accounting for 30 seats in parliament, coupled with the infiltration of security forces by Mahdi militiamen, has allowed Sadr to carry out sectarian activities throughout Baghdad.<sup>743</sup> According to U.S. soldiers in Baghdad, "some U.S.-trained units carry out sectarian killings themselves, while others, manning checkpoints, allow militiamen to pass."<sup>744</sup> In the Baghdad neighborhoods of Kadhamiya and Zafrainyah, where U.S. command handed 'the lead' over to Iraqi units, militia groups have gained greater control, and heightened death squad activity is apparent.<sup>745</sup>

### Core Five State Institutions



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<sup>742</sup> "Mahdi Army gain strength through unwitting aid of U.S.," *McClatchy Newspapers*, 2/01/2007.

<sup>743</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>744</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>745</sup> *Ibid*

## March 2007

### 1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures* Rating: 10

A chronic lack of safe drinking water in many parts of Iraq is adversely affecting children in Iraq, causing severe illness and death.<sup>746</sup> Iraqi children are particularly susceptible to an outbreak of waterborne diseases, specifically cholera, due to the difficulty of accessing fresh water.<sup>747</sup> U.N. officials worry that Iraq's youth demographic will be especially at risk during the summer months.<sup>748</sup>

Internally displaced persons continue to face severe hardship due to increasing violence and insurgency.<sup>749</sup> The stress of supplying shelter, clean water, food, and providing health care and education to the growing number of displaced Iraqis is beyond the capacity of humanitarian organizations and Iraqi host communities.<sup>750</sup>

### 2. *Massive Movement of Refugees or Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)* Rating: 10

In many parts of southern and central Iraq, insurgent attacks and frequent violence drive thousands of Iraqis from their homes to neighboring countries or force them to flee to another region or city within in Iraq.<sup>751</sup> More than four million Iraqis are displaced throughout the world, nearly half within Iraq an estimated 1.9 million people are displaced inside Iraq.<sup>752</sup> Together, Jordan and Syria provide refuge to 44 percent of Iraqis refugees around the world.<sup>753</sup> Syria hosts the greatest number of Iraqis at 1,200,000 and Jordan has opened its border to 750,000 Iraqis.<sup>754</sup> In 2006, "the number of internally displaced people within Iraq rose by some 50 percent."<sup>755</sup> Iraq's northern provinces have 741,900 IDPs, while the southern provinces have 716,500 displaced persons.<sup>756</sup> The central provinces in Iraq have 450,000 IDPs.<sup>757</sup> In 2003, as a result of the collapse of the Ba'athist state, more than 300,000 Iraqi refugees living abroad returned to Iraq. "However, by 2006, hundreds of thousands of new refugees were fleeing the country and

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<sup>746</sup> "Shortage of safe water risks cholera in Iraq: U.N.," *Scientific American*, 3/2007.

<sup>747</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>748</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>749</sup> "Growing needs amid continuing displacement," United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 5/03/2007.

<sup>750</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>751</sup> "Statistics on displaced Iraqis around the world," United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 4/2007.

<sup>752</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>753</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>754</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>755</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>756</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>757</sup> *Ibid*

few were returning voluntarily.”<sup>758</sup> The Palestinian population in Iraq has had the largest difficulty in safely relocating, as they are often the target of sectarian violence, with many host countries disinclined to take them in.<sup>759</sup>

The population of the Iraqi city Tel Afar in the north has declined by more than half in the past few years.<sup>760</sup> Today, Tel Afar has around 80,000 residents compared with 200,000 only a few years ago.<sup>761</sup>

### **3. Legacy of Vengeance Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia Rating: 10**

Baghdad continues to be the center of sectarian killing and ethnic cleansing.<sup>762</sup> Six Iraqis were killed and at least fifteen injured on March 23 in an attack inside the Green Zone against Salam Z. al-Zobae, the Sunni Deputy Prime Minister and Iraq Islamic Party member.<sup>763</sup> Sunni insurgents are attacking other Sunnis at an increasing rate for their cooperation with American forces.<sup>764</sup> In Duluiyah, a predominately Sunni city north of Baghdad, Sunni insurgents attacked five police stations in only two weeks.<sup>765</sup> In Ramadi, which is a central location of the Sunni insurgency, insurgents attacked an army observation post.<sup>766</sup> South of Baghdad in Hilla, three Sunni mosques were bombed in what was believed to be a revenge attack for the bombing of a Shiite mosque three days prior.<sup>767</sup> Insurgent forces armed with rocket-propelled grenades in Iskandariya ambushed U.S. and Iraqi soldiers.<sup>768</sup>

Radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr’s Mahdi Army continues to be a source of sectarian violence and ethnic cleansing against the Sunni community living in Baghdad.<sup>769</sup> Seven weeks after the U.S. troop surge, sectarian killings and suicide bombings have increased by 30 percent.<sup>770</sup> More than three hundred Iraqis were killed across Iraq in only three days.<sup>771</sup> “A total of 714 people were killed across Iraq” during the last week of March.<sup>772</sup> In Khan Bani Saad, a neighborhood east of Sadr City, twenty were killed in sectarian violence.<sup>773</sup> A rise in reprisal killings between Sunni and Shiites has led many Shiites to

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<sup>758</sup> “Statistics on displaced Iraqis around the world,” United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 4/2007.

<sup>759</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>760</sup> “Gunmen go on rampage in Iraqi city,” *The Washington Post*, 3/29/2007.

<sup>761</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>762</sup> “Maliki deputy wounded in blast,” *The Washington Post*, 3/24/2007.

<sup>763</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>764</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>765</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>766</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>767</sup> “Iraqis announce new steps aimed at reconciling Sunnis and Shiites,” *The New York Times*, 3/27/2007.

<sup>768</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>769</sup> “Shiite cleric condemns U.S. as his militia takes to the streets,” *The New York Times*, 3/31/2007.

<sup>770</sup> “Iraq’s Sadr faults U.S. for poverty, violence,” *The Washington Post*, 3/31/2007.

<sup>771</sup> “Shiite cleric condemns U.S. as his militia takes to the streets,” *The New York Times*, 3/31/2007.

<sup>772</sup> “Iraq’s Sadr faults U.S. for poverty, violence,” *The Washington Post*, 3/31/2007.

<sup>773</sup> “Shiite cleric condemns U.S. as his militia takes to the streets,” *The New York Times*, 3/31/2007.

call for the return of the Mahdi Army to provide security against Sunni insurgents.<sup>774</sup> In the Baghdad neighborhood of Amel, Mahdi fighters attacked the barracks of Kurdish soldiers when the militiamen were stopped at a checkpoint en route to a Sunni neighborhood with the aim of avenging the murder of militia leader Abu Hassan.<sup>775</sup>

Eighteen Shiite policemen were arrested in Mosul in connection with the massacre of Sunni civilians in Tal Afar.<sup>776</sup> “Gunmen went door to door assassinating as many as 60 people in revenge for the previous day’s truck bombings.”<sup>777</sup>

The Palestinian community in Iraq continues to be a target of sectarian violence and ethnic cleansing.<sup>778</sup> Predominately Sunni Muslims, Palestinians are facing harassment, the threat of violence and expulsion from their homes by Shiite militias and sectarian units of the Iraqi National Police.<sup>779</sup> A Human Rights Watch report finds “Iraq’s Interior Ministry has been implicated in the arbitrary detention, torture, killing, and ‘disappearance’ of Palestinians.”<sup>780</sup>

#### **4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight*** **Rating: 10**

Many of Iraq’s professional and business class are relocating outside Iraq, buying land and starting businesses in Jordan, Syria and other neighboring countries.<sup>781</sup> Iraq is seeing a mass exodus of capital and brain drain to other Arab states.<sup>782</sup> “The flight of Iraqi industrialists has resulted in a sluggish economy and higher unemployment.”<sup>783</sup>

A significant number of Sunni professionals working in government offices and Iraqi ministries have fled Iraq fearful for their lives.<sup>784</sup> The lack of experienced Sunnis in Iraq’s ministries has impeded the delivery of services and supplies, especially to Sunni communities.<sup>785</sup>

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<sup>774</sup> “Shiite cleric condemns U.S. as his militia takes to the streets,” *The New York Times*, 3/31/2007.

<sup>775</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>776</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>777</sup> “Gunmen go on rampage in Iraqi city,” *The Washington Post*, 3/29/2007.

<sup>778</sup> “U.S. State Department pushes for Palestinian resettlement,” *Inter Press Service News Agency*, 5/03/2007.

<sup>779</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>780</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>781</sup> “Iraqi businessmen ask government to stop flight of capital,” Azzaman, 3/11/2007.

<sup>782</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>783</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>784</sup> “Sunni Baghdad becomes land of silent ruins,” *The New York Times*, 3/26/2007.

<sup>785</sup> *Ibid*

**5. Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines**  
**Rating: 9**

A growing disparity between Sunni and Shiite economic livelihoods is significant in the capital city of Baghdad and in many parts of Iraq.<sup>786</sup> In Shiite communities, markets “are in full swing, community projects are under way and, while electricity is scarce throughout the city, there is less trouble finding fuel for generators in those areas.”<sup>787</sup> In the Sunni neighborhood of Adhamiya, public buildings and mosques are destroyed by mortar fire and the only hospital, Al Numan, is burdened by severe shortages of the most basic medical supplies.<sup>788</sup> Any sense of community is almost destroyed by sectarian violence, pitting Sunnis against Shiites, and Sunnis against each other.<sup>789</sup> Insurgent attacks on anyone related to the government, whether police officer or government ministry official, Sunni or Shiite, have resulted in outright refusal of government workers to deliver supplies to many Sunni neighborhoods.<sup>790</sup> This only perpetuates the problem of supply shortages and poor public infrastructure.<sup>791</sup> These neighborhoods have become hotbeds for militant religious groups called ‘takfiris’.<sup>792</sup> Officials estimate that Sunni Arabs now represent only 40 percent of the population living in Baghdad, perhaps much less.<sup>793</sup> Previously, Baghdad was 70 percent Sunni and 30 percent Shiite.<sup>794</sup>

The Sunni neighborhoods of Adhamiya, Amiriya and Mansour in Baghdad, once wealthy and flourishing, now lack a proper sewage system, adequate access to clean water, telephones, and rely on only two hours of electricity a day.<sup>795</sup> Markets in these neighborhoods are closed after shop owners were threatened or killed.<sup>796</sup> Conversely, Shiite communities find easy access to daily necessities through the protection of Shiite militias, particularly the Mahdi Army.<sup>797</sup>

**6. Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline**  
**Rating: 9**

It is hoped that Parliament will enact a new hydrocarbon law that will open Iraq’s huge oil supplies to more production and foreign investment after thirty-five years of functioning as a nationalized industry.<sup>798</sup> Outside investment has the potential to revitalize Iraq’s outdated and under-producing oil industry.<sup>799</sup> Oil production for March

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<sup>786</sup> “Sunni Baghdad becomes land of silent ruins,” *The New York Times*, 3/26/2007.

<sup>787</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>788</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>789</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>790</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>791</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>792</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>793</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>794</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>795</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>796</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>797</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>798</sup> “Troubles for the Iraq oil deal,” *Time*, 2/28/2007.

<sup>799</sup> *Ibid*

averaged 2.08 million barrels a day, a sharp contrast from pre-war highs of 3 million barrels a day.<sup>800</sup> Diesel and kerosene production is down significantly from February.<sup>801</sup> March produced 7.1 million liters of diesel per day compared with 11.3 million liters per day in February.<sup>802</sup> Likewise, kerosene production was down from 5.7 million liters per day in February to 4.2 million liters per day in March.<sup>803</sup>

## 7. *Delegitimization of the State* **Rating: 10**

Hazem Shaalan, former Iraqi Defense Minister, is under investigation for the disappearance of \$800 million dollars from the ministry's treasury during his ten months in the interim government between 2004 and 2005.<sup>804</sup> An audit of the Ministry of Defense's accounts found \$1.7 billion transferred into Rafidain Bank in Baghdad prior to disappearing into an account in Jordan.<sup>805</sup> Despite a warrant for Shaalan's arrest, he is living openly between Amman and London.<sup>806</sup> Checks in the amounts of \$149 million and \$348 million from the Ministry's account were deposited into al-Warka bank in Baghdad and subsequently transferred to the Housing Bank in Amman.<sup>807</sup> Though it is still unclear where, and on what, the money was spent, investigators believe the money was used for weapons deals where "cheap, substandard items" were bought instead of high-tech, modern weaponry.<sup>808</sup> Investigators believe the difference in cost was stolen.<sup>809</sup> MP5 American machine guns priced at \$3,500 each were swapped for shoddy Egyptian replicas valued at \$200.<sup>810</sup> Twenty-four Soviet helicopters that were over 30 years old were bought for \$100 million dollars only to be deemed useless by Iraqi army inspectors.<sup>811</sup> Shaalan was appointed Minister of Defense under Prime Minister Iyad Allawi without any previous experience.<sup>812</sup>

The Ministry of Interior continues to be plagued by sectarianism and corruption despite the replacement of former Interior Minister Bayan Jabr with Jawod al-Bolani, a Shiite engineer.<sup>813</sup> Under Jabr, an important member of the Badr Brigade and the large Shiite political party the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, Badr militiamen were assigned important positions within the ministry and allowed to form special units

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<sup>800</sup> "Iraq Index," The Brookings Institution, 3/29/2007.

<sup>801</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>802</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>803</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>804</sup> "Former Iraq minister denies theft of millions," *Time*, 3/11/2007.

<sup>805</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>806</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>807</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>808</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>809</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>810</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>811</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>812</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>813</sup> "Reforming the Iraqi Interior Ministry, police, and facilities protection service," *United States Institute of Peace*, 2/2007.



within the Iraq National Police.<sup>814</sup> This arrangement within the Interior Ministry led to rampant sectarianism and corruption still apparent today.<sup>815</sup> In the eyes of Sunnis, such a police force has no legitimacy. The distribution of power to Iraqi provinces further complicates oversight and control.<sup>816</sup> “U.S. authorities do not know the number of Iraqi police and police stations, the composition and membership of the various police forces, the whereabouts and use of U.S. supplied weapons and equipment, and the ultimate disposal of operating funds.”<sup>817</sup> Without an effective banking system, police officers must take leave every month to travel home and deliver their paychecks to their families.<sup>818</sup>

Transparency International listed Iraq as the fourth most corrupt country in the world in its recently released corruption index.<sup>819</sup> Billions of dollars have disappeared since the start of the Iraq war. Twelve billion in shrink-wrapped cash flown into Iraq from the U.S. during 2003 and 2004 has disappeared along with \$8.8 billion unaccounted for by the CPA.<sup>820</sup> \$2.5 billion is unaccounted for from the oil-for-food program, \$800 million is gone from Iraq’s Ministry of Defense, \$500-\$600 million is missing in transport at the Ministries of Electricity and Interior, and \$69 million is missing from the Ministry of Oil.<sup>821</sup>

## **8. Progressive Deterioration of Public Services** **Rating: 9**

The Iraqi Oil Ministry has authorized a \$60 million agreement with state and private Iraqi companies to build oil refineries in Irbil and Sulaimaniya.<sup>822</sup> The refineries are projected to produce 10,000 barrels a day each.<sup>823</sup> A large oil refinery is also set to be built in Karbala.<sup>824</sup> Oil shortages and difficulty exporting oil have been continuous problems throughout Iraq.<sup>825</sup>

In Baghdad, power outages are frequent and sporadic.<sup>826</sup> Residents living in the capital city enjoy only 6-7 hours of electricity a day.<sup>827</sup> Despite spending \$4.2 billion dollars on achieving full-time electric power in Baghdad, U.S. officials estimate this goal will not be

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<sup>814</sup> “Reforming the Iraqi Interior Ministry, police, and facilities protection service,” *United States Institute of Peace*, 2/2007.

<sup>815</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>816</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>817</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>818</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>819</sup> “Iraqi anti-corruption head says graft worse than in Saddam’s time,” *German Press Agency*, 2/08/2007.

<sup>820</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>821</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>822</sup> “Iraq to build two refineries in the north,” *United Press International*, 3/26/2007.

<sup>823</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>824</sup> “Large oil refinery to be build in Karbala,” *Voices of Iraq*, 3/12/2007.

<sup>825</sup> “Iraq to build two refineries in the north,” *United Press International*, 3/26/2007.

<sup>826</sup> “Full electricity in Baghdad 6 years off,” *Baltimore Sun*, 3/02/2007.

<sup>827</sup> *Ibid*

achieved until 2013.<sup>828</sup> Basra, in the south, receives an estimated 11 hours of electricity per day, while the city Nasiriyah averages around 15 hours per day.<sup>829</sup>

The Iraqi Ministry of Planning has allocated \$270 million for eighteen reconstruction projects to “rehabilitate and rebuild water distribution networks, supplies and irrigation systems” in Kirkuk, Erbil, Sammara and others.<sup>830</sup>

Historically known as one of the best-centralized education systems in the Middle East, many schools in Iraq have been severely affected by insurgency and violent fighting.<sup>831</sup> Illiteracy is a growing problem as many parents have stopped sending their children to schools because of violence in the streets and in the schools.<sup>832</sup> An estimated one million children are not in school, seventy one percent of who are girls.<sup>833</sup> Many militia and insurgent groups use school campuses as their bases, inciting fear in teachers, students, and parents alike.<sup>834</sup> Having adequate infrastructure, keeping teachers and students in the schools, and obtaining funding for learning materials is a constant challenge, according to Qutub Khan, Program Specialist for Education Planning and Management at Unesco.<sup>835</sup>

**9. *Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights***  
**Rating: 10**

Iraqi women are faced with continued violence, forced to endure “death threats, assassinations, abductions, public beatings, targeted sexual assaults and public hangings.”<sup>836</sup> Both Shiite and Sunni militias patrol neighborhoods, inflicting violence against women who are not dressed in traditional Islamic dress or whose behavior is not deemed appropriate by them.<sup>837</sup> Targeted violence has confined many women to their homes for fear of being kidnapped, raped or beaten.<sup>838</sup>

In addition to daily killings by death squads that go unpunished, arbitrary killings from factional rivalries continue. Also, under Iraq’s Ministry of Interior, a number of Palestinians in Iraq have been singled out for “arbitrary detention, torture, killing and ‘disappearance.’”<sup>839</sup> Eighteen Iraqi police officers were arrested March 28<sup>th</sup> in connection with the murders of around 60 Sunni Iraqis, including women and children, in the

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<sup>828</sup> “Full electricity in Baghdad 6 years off,” *Baltimore Sun*, 3/02/2007.

<sup>829</sup> “Iraq Weekly Status Report,” Department of State Iraq Reconstruction Management Office, 2/27/2007.

<sup>830</sup> “Iraq to carry out \$270 million reconstruction projects,” MENAFN.com, 2/26/2007.

<sup>831</sup> “Unesco faces uphill task in Iraq: official,” *The Peninsula*, 3/15/2007.

<sup>832</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>833</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>834</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>835</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>836</sup> “Iraq’s other war: violence against women under U.S. occupation,” MADRE, 3/07/2007.

<sup>837</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>838</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>839</sup> “U.S. State Department pushes for Palestinian resettlement,” *Inter Press Service News Agency*, 5/03/2007.

northern Iraqi city of Tal Afar.<sup>840</sup> Gunmen went house-to-house killing Sunni civilians.<sup>841</sup> Many of the dead were found handcuffed with gunshots to the head.<sup>842</sup>

**10. Security Apparatus Operates as a “State Within a State”  
Rating: 10**

Despite training and equipping 135,000 officers of the Iraq Police Service, 24,400 members of the Iraq National Police, and 28,360 officers of the Border Police, problems of loyalty and quality of performance remain significant obstacles in establishing security in Iraq.<sup>843</sup> A report issued by the United States Institute of Peace examining Iraq’s security forces stated, “The Iraqi Interior Ministry, which supervises police forces, is dysfunctional and heavily infiltrated by Shiite militias.<sup>844</sup> Criminal gangs operate with impunity, cooperate with insurgents for profit, and engage in smuggling of oil and antiquities. The Iraqi National Police is a patchwork organization of commando style, counter-insurgency units that harbor sectarian death squads. The Border Police are unable to stop infiltration of terrorists, arms and contraband across Iraq’s porous borders.” Chronic absenteeism and corruption continue to plague the Iraqi National Police.<sup>845</sup> The Facilities Protection Service (FPS), created in 2003 under the Coalition Provisional Authority, which provides 150,000 security officers for public buildings, has become a sectarian force, serving as financier and an employer for the Mahdi Army.<sup>846</sup> Iraqis loyal to radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr continue to control the ministries of health, transportation, and education.<sup>847</sup>

“The Mahdi Army, which was estimated last year to have 20,000 to 60,000 members, has become a franchise operation with factions that were failing to comply with orders or to pass money up the lines to headquarters.”<sup>848</sup> A purge of rogue forces in Sadr’s Mahdi Army in August has prompted a splintering of Shiite Iraqis who were once loyal to Sadr into more violent factions.<sup>849</sup> Sectarian infighting further complicates chances of political reconciliation.<sup>850</sup>

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<sup>840</sup> “Gunmen go on rampage in Iraqi city,” *The Washington Post*, 3/29/2007.

<sup>841</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>842</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>843</sup> “Reforming the Iraqi Interior Ministry, police, and facilities protection service,” *United States Institute of Peace*, 2/2007.

<sup>844</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>845</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>846</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>847</sup> “Reforming the Iraqi Interior Ministry, police, and facilities protection service,” *United States Institute of Peace*, 2/2007.

<sup>848</sup> “For Sadr, a fracturing militia,” *The Washington Post*, 3/29/2007.

<sup>849</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>850</sup> *Ibid*

## 11. *Rise of Factionalized Elites* Rating: 10

Months of debate over Iraq's hydrocarbon law have further divided the Iraqi government into fighting factions.<sup>851</sup> Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki has lauded the proposed oil law as unifying for all Iraqis, but many parliamentarians and oil workers are critical of the draft and perceive it as an attempt to gain favor with the U.S. government and European leaders.<sup>852</sup> The Muslim Scholars Association, a powerful Sunni group, said the hydrocarbon law is "invalid and lacks legitimacy."<sup>853</sup> The law outlines the distribution of oil revenues among Iraqi populations and sets guidelines for foreign businesses' investment in Iraqi oil exploration and production.<sup>854</sup> A representative of the Sunni political party, the Iraqi Accordance Front, criticized the hydrocarbon law for the leverage it gives to foreign companies.<sup>855</sup> Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr's bloc of parliamentarians is also strongly against the influence the current draft yields to foreign investors.<sup>856</sup> Former Iraqi Prime Minister Iyad Allawi's Iraqi National Slate party also objected to debate of the hydrocarbon law under the current security situation.<sup>857</sup> Many of Iraq's largest oil unions are also voicing strong objections to the legislation.<sup>858</sup> Hassan Jum'ah Awwad Al-Asadi who heads Iraq's largest oil union, Iraq's Federation of Oil Unions, plans to organize 23,000 union members in opposition to the hydrocarbon legislation.<sup>859</sup> If oil unionists are unsatisfied, Al-Asadi stated that they have the power to stop production and exportation of oil.<sup>860</sup> The Kurdish Regional Government, which under the current legislation has the power to sign its own agreements, has consented to the tentative law.<sup>861</sup>

Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani strongly opposes a U.S. supported proposal to permit thousands of former Baath Party members who were removed from government positions under the CPA de-Baathification policy to return to government service.<sup>862</sup> Ayatollah Sistani's opposition to the proposed legislation is a virtual guarantee the law will fail to pass.<sup>863</sup> The proposed legislation is an attempt to entice Sunnis who were estranged by the de-Baathification law back into mainstream politics and in effect sap the Sunni insurgency of its base.<sup>864</sup> The law would allow former Baathists "to collect their pensions and hold government jobs."<sup>865</sup> Meanwhile it would set "a three-month time limit for Iraqi

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<sup>851</sup> "Sunni clerics group attacks Iraq's draft oil law," *Reuters*, 3/06/2007.

<sup>852</sup> "Troubles for the Iraq oil deal," *Time*, 2/28/2007.

<sup>853</sup> "Sunni clerics group attacks Iraq's draft oil law," *Reuters*, 3/06/2007.

<sup>854</sup> "Two key Iraq parties oppose oil law," *United Press International*, 3/13/2007.

<sup>855</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>856</sup> "Troubles for the Iraq oil deal," *Time*, 2/28/2007.

<sup>857</sup> "Two key Iraq parties oppose oil law," *United Press International*, 3/13/2007.

<sup>858</sup> "Troubles for the Iraq oil deal," *Time*, 2/28/2007.

<sup>859</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>860</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>861</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>862</sup> "Shiite cleric opposes U.S. plan to permit former Baath Party members to join government," *The New York Times*, 4/03/2007.

<sup>863</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>864</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>865</sup> *Ibid*

citizens to bring lawsuits against former Baathists.”<sup>866</sup> Members of the Iraqi government and many Sunni leaders criticized religious clerics for manipulating the political process and using their influence to support sectarian agendas.<sup>867</sup>

## **12. *Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors*** **Rating: 10**

The head U.S. commander in Iraq, General David H. Petraeus, addressed the possibility of extending the increased commitment of U.S. troops past the summer months.<sup>868</sup> U.S. officials worry that insurgent and militia groups are merely lying low in an attempt to wait out the troop surge.<sup>869</sup> Currently, the U.S. has approximately 141,000 troops in Iraq.<sup>870</sup>

The U.S. State Department sent a group of fourteen to Iraq to serve as the civilian core of ten new provincial reconstruction teams (PRTs) created to aid development efforts in the areas of economics and politics.<sup>871</sup> Currently, ten PRTs are working in Iraq, but development efforts have been slowed due to a lack of expertise and an insufficient number of workers.<sup>872</sup> Violence in Iraq is also a significant obstacle for the reconstruction teams.<sup>873</sup> Six teams will be sent to Baghdad, three to Anbar Province, and one to Babil Province in the south.<sup>874</sup>

King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia addressed Arab leaders on March 28 at an Arab League meeting and called U.S. intervention in Iraq ‘an illegal foreign occupation’ and made an appeal to Arab countries to unite together or suffer growing foreign influence in regional matters.<sup>875</sup> King Abdullah’s remarks suggest the possible emergence of a significant change in U.S.-Saudi relations, which are traditionally quite strong.<sup>876</sup>

U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, Zalmay Khalilzad, met with Iranian delegate, Abbas Araghchi, in Baghdad to discuss possible solutions to sectarian violence in Iraq and methods for containing the conflict.<sup>877</sup> Talks between American and Iranian officials are significant after months of extreme tension between the two countries. Iran has charged the U.S. with abducting six Iranian diplomats based in Iraq.<sup>878</sup> The U.S. has accused Iran of

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<sup>866</sup> “Shiite cleric opposes U.S. plan to permit former Baath Party members to join government,” *The New York Times*, 4/03/2007.

<sup>867</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>868</sup> “Petraeus says boost in troops may be needed past summer,” *The Washington Post*, 3/9/2007.

<sup>869</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>870</sup> “Iraq Index,” The Brookings Institution, 4/30/2007.

<sup>871</sup> “Civilians heading to Iraq to aid local development,” *The New York Times*, 3/24/2007.

<sup>872</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>873</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>874</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>875</sup> “U.S. Iraq role is called illegal by Saudi King,” *The New York Times*, 3/29/2007.

<sup>876</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>877</sup> “In shift, U.S. and Iran meet at regional summit on Iraq,” *The Washington Post*, 3/11/2007.

<sup>878</sup> *Ibid*

supplying insurgents in Iraq with arms, training, and financial support.<sup>879</sup> Representatives on both sides agreed to another regional conference to discuss “security, refugees, and fuel and energy supplies.”<sup>880</sup>

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<sup>879</sup> “In shift, U.S. and Iran meet at regional summit on Iraq,” *The Washington Post*, 3/11/2007.

<sup>880</sup> *Ibid*

**March 2007**  
**Core 5**

**1. *Police***  
**Rating: Poor**

Iraq's police units continue to lack professionalism and organization, while corruption and ethnically charged insurgent activity in Iraq's security forces remains endemic.<sup>881</sup> Police forces are complicit in illegal arms trade across borders, smuggling oil for profit, and are heavily infiltrated by Shiite death squads.<sup>882</sup> Without a functioning banking system, police officers must take leave every month to bring their pay home to their families, perpetuating the problem of absenteeism among police units.<sup>883</sup> Iraq's police forces are overseen by the Ministry of Interior, which is largely infiltrated with members of radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr's militiamen, the Mahdi Army.<sup>884</sup> On March 28<sup>th</sup>, eighteen Iraqi police officers were arrested in connection with the murders of around sixty Sunni Iraqis, including women and children, in the northern Iraqi city of Tal Afar.<sup>885</sup> Many of those killed in the massacre were found still handcuffed with gunshots to the head.<sup>886</sup>

**2. *Leadership***  
**Rating: Weak**

The great sectarian divide within Iraqi leadership is representative of a continued failure by government and religious leaders to unite to make important and much needed steps forward to bring security and stability to Iraq.<sup>887</sup> For many, sectarian loyalties are of greater importance than those to the Iraqi state.<sup>888</sup> Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's support for Iraq's hotly debated hydrocarbon law, despite being in sharp contrast with many parliamentarians and oil workers, is characteristic of how greatly out of touch Maliki is with much of the Iraqi population.<sup>889</sup> After a recent visit to Iraq, retired U.S. General Barry McCaffrey reported that Maliki's government is "despised" by the Sunnis, perceived as "untrustworthy and incompetent" by the Kurds, and has "little credibility among the Shiite population from which it emerged."<sup>890</sup> The Iraqi Accordance Front, a Sunni political group, criticized the hydrocarbon law for the widely unrestricted freedom it gives to foreign investors.<sup>891</sup> The Muslim Scholars Association, a powerful Sunni

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<sup>881</sup> "Reforming the Iraqi Interior Ministry, police, and facilities protection service," United States Institute of Peace, 2/2007.

<sup>882</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>883</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>884</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>885</sup> "Gunmen go on rampage in Iraqi city," *The Washington Post*, 3/29/2007.

<sup>886</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>887</sup> "Two key Iraq parties oppose oil law," *United Press International*, 3/13/2007.

<sup>888</sup> "Shiite cleric opposes U.S. plan to permit former Baath Party members to join government," *The New York Times*, 4/03/2007.

<sup>889</sup> "Troubles for the Iraq oil deal," *Time*, 2/28/2007.

<sup>890</sup> "McCaffrey paints gloomy picture of Iraq," *The Washington Post*, 3/28/2007.

<sup>891</sup> "Two key Iraq parties oppose oil law," *United Press International*, 3/13/2007.

group, is also highly critical of the current draft and perceives it as an attempt by Maliki to gain favor with U.S. and European leaders.<sup>892</sup> Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani spoke out against a U.S. supported proposal to permit thousands of former Baath Party members who were ousted from government positions under CPA de-Baathification policy to return to government service.<sup>893</sup> Many Sunni leaders responded by criticizing religious clerics for manipulating the political process and using their religious influence to support sectarian agendas.<sup>894</sup> Radical Shiite Moqtada al-Sadr, whose party holds thirty seats in parliament and wields great influence over Iraqi Shiites, has recently seen members of his militia, the Mahdi Army, splinter off into a number of more violent factions.<sup>895</sup> Sectarian infighting, which has emerged at an astonishing pace, is yet another threat to a unified Iraqi state.<sup>896</sup>

### 3. *Civil Service* **Rating: Poor**

Iraq's civil service remains largely ineffective and corruption within Iraqi ministries is endemic.<sup>897</sup> Eight hundred million dollars went missing from the Defense Ministry's account under Hazem Shaalan's ten-month stint as Iraqi Defense Minister.<sup>898</sup> The Ministry of Interior continues to be plagued by corruption and sectarianism, even after replacing Bayan Jabr with Jawod al-Bolani as Interior Minister.<sup>899</sup> Many Badr Brigade militiamen, who were given key positions under former Interior Minister Jabr and allowed to form special commando units within the Iraqi National Police, remain in influential positions perpetuating sectarian agendas and corruption, despite Jabr's replacement.<sup>900</sup> The devolution of power to Iraqi provinces prevents Interior oversight and control.<sup>901</sup> Largely dominated by Shiites, Iraq's civil service fails to include significant groups in Iraq.<sup>902</sup> An ineffective banking system coupled with a weak economy makes it difficult to pay civil service workers, resulting in high turnover and problems with misplaced loyalties.<sup>903</sup>

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<sup>892</sup> "Troubles for the Iraq oil deal," *Time*, 2/28/2007.

<sup>893</sup> "Shiite cleric opposes U.S. plan to permit former Baath Party members to join government," *The New York Times*, 4/03/2007.

<sup>894</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>895</sup> "For Sadr, a fracturing militia," *The Washington Post*, 3/29/2007.

<sup>896</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>897</sup> "Reforming the Iraqi Interior Ministry, police and facilities protection service," *United States Institute of Peace*, 2/2007.

<sup>898</sup> "Former Iraq minister denies theft of millions," *Times*, 3/11/2007.

<sup>899</sup> "Reforming the Iraqi Interior Ministry, police and facilities protection service," *United States Institute of Peace*, 2/2007.

<sup>900</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>901</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>902</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>903</sup> *Ibid*



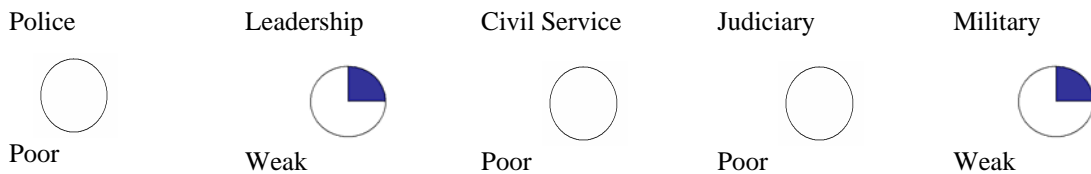
**4. Judiciary**  
**Rating: Poor**

Iraq's judicial system is overwhelmed with caseload and is ineffective in establishing the rule of law.<sup>904</sup> Political pressures and sectarian threats greatly affect the independence of the judiciary system.<sup>905</sup> Since the bombing of a Shiite shrine in February 2006, threats against judges and lawyers have increased greatly.<sup>906</sup> According to the Iraqi Lawyers Association, the number of lawyers providing legal services in Iraq has decreased by 40 percent over the last year.<sup>907</sup> Sectarian violence greatly impinges on the neutrality and independence of the courts.<sup>908</sup> Corruption and the acceptance of bribes to speed the typically slow process or impact an outcome are not uncommon.<sup>909</sup>

**5. Military**  
**Rating: Weak**

Mainly Shiite, Iraq's military lacks representation, is marked by chronic absenteeism and is unreliable.<sup>910</sup> Current estimates of 328,700 trained Iraqi troops, fails to take into account those on leave to bring their pay to their families or those who are absent due to insurgent intimidation or various other factors.<sup>911</sup> In addition, Moqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi militiamen have widely infiltrated Iraq's security forces.<sup>912</sup> Sadr's forces within the army receive training and equipment as Iraqi soldiers and subsequently form autonomous commando units within the Iraqi Army that operate autonomously as sectarian death squads.<sup>913</sup>

**Core Five State Institutions**



<sup>904</sup> "Iraq: justice delayed as lawyers live under threat," UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 5/16/2007.

<sup>905</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>906</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>907</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>908</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>909</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>910</sup> "Reforming the Iraqi Interior Ministry, police, and facilities protection service," United States Institute of Peace, 2/2007.

<sup>911</sup> "Iraq war's statistics prove fleeting," *The Washington Post*, 3/19/2007.

<sup>912</sup> "Mahdi Army gains strength through unwitting aid of U.S.," 2/1/2007.

<sup>913</sup> *Ibid*

**April 2007**

**1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures***  
**Rating: 10**

The unstable security situation and poor means of transportation have resulted in severe demographic pressures in Iraq. Insurgents have maximized destruction by bombing marketplaces and densely populated areas. For example, on March 27<sup>th</sup>, an insurgent pretending to sell flour out of his truck at a marketplace detonated a truck bomb killing 152 and injuring 342 in the city of Tal Afar.<sup>914</sup> Bombings that have occurred in marketplaces and other public areas threaten the livelihood of merchants and civilians alike.<sup>915</sup> For instance, the government has closed many roads into the cities out of fear for car and truck bombs, effectively prohibiting Iraqis from traveling to marketplaces to buy or sell the goods they need to survive.<sup>916</sup> As a result, approximately 25-30% of the Iraqi population is unemployed and Iraqis do not have a steady supply of food.<sup>917</sup>

Basic services such as drinkable water, electricity and sanitation are also substandard in Iraq. Water has been deemed undrinkable, and the United States has poured 2 billion dollars into the Iraqi government to help provide a sanitary water supply.<sup>918</sup> Electricity is being produced at a slower rate than before the invasion in 2003. As of April 2007, Iraq was only generating 3,832 megawatts per day in Baghdad, yielding only 6.5 hours of power each day.<sup>919</sup> Before the invasion, Iraq generated 4,500 megawatts of electricity per day, and citizens of Baghdad received 16-24 hours of power per day.<sup>920</sup> The power plants necessary to generate electricity are intact, but Iraq does not have a sufficient amount of fuel or water to produce electricity.<sup>921</sup> Money allotted by the United States to improve electricity is being used inefficiently. For example, the U.S. gave Iraq 11.8 million dollars to improve electrical generators at Baghdad International Airport. However, now, 8.6 million of the 11.8 million dollars have been lost to disorganization and corruption.<sup>922</sup>

Other services such as sewage systems, dated hospital machinery, and the construction of safe buildings, are also substandard and have contributed to the high number of deaths and humanitarian crises in Iraq.<sup>923</sup> The UN calculated that 34,452 Iraqis were killed in the last year; thus, approximately 100 are dying each day.<sup>924</sup> The Red Cross has declared

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<sup>914</sup> "Iran says truck bomb in North kills 152," *The New York Times*, 4/1/2007.

<sup>915</sup> "Sum of death statistics: a perilous Iraq," *The Washington Post*, 4/4/2007.

<sup>916</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>917</sup> The CIA Factbook, "Iraq," [www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html](http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html).

<sup>918</sup> "US rebuilding in Iraq is missing key goals, report finds," *The Washington Post*, 4/30/2007.

<sup>919</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>920</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>921</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>922</sup> "Inspectors find rebuilt projects crumbling in Iraq," *The New York Times*, 4/29/2007.

<sup>923</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>924</sup> "Patterns of war in Iraq shift amid buildup of US force," *The New York Times*, 4/9/2007.

that there is clearly a “deteriorating humanitarian situation” in Iraq.<sup>925</sup> Violence is not the only cause of such high death rates; intense demographic pressures are also at fault.

**2. *Massive Movement of Refugees or Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)***  
**Rating: 10**

Since 2003, approximately one out of every seven Iraqis has had to abandon his or her home<sup>926</sup>. Violence, starvation, undrinkable water, and non-existent health care are among the reasons people are leaving Iraq.<sup>927</sup> As of April 2007, approximately 2 million Iraqis had fled the country into neighboring areas.<sup>928</sup> Another 2 million are too poor to flee, and have been internally displaced.<sup>929</sup>

Neighboring countries housing Iraqi refugees include Syria, Jordan, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. They have expressed concerns about the exodus of Iraqis.<sup>930</sup> Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have shut their doors to Iraqi refugees.<sup>931</sup> Saudi Arabia is building a 7 billion dollar border fence to keep Iraqis out.<sup>932</sup> Jordan and Syria have received Iraqis; however, both countries have stated that they cannot sustain the large increases in population.<sup>933</sup> Syria, with a population of 19 million, is currently housing 1.2 million Iraqi refugees.<sup>934</sup> Jordan, a country of 6 million, is now home to 750,000 Iraqis.<sup>935</sup> Jordan has banned Iraqi men from ages seventeen to 35.<sup>936</sup>

The United States has only harbored 500 Iraqi refugees.<sup>937</sup> While the United States government has promised to take greater steps to open its borders, most Iraqis would not be admitted because of the Patriot Act, which bans anyone who is suspected of associating with terrorists from entering the country.<sup>938</sup>

**3. *Legacy of Vengeance Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia***  
**Rating: 10**

Sectarian groups in Iraq hold group grievances that have resulted in violence, corruption, political exclusion, and ethnic cleansing.

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<sup>925</sup>“Iran giving arms to Iraq’s Sunnis, US military says,” *The Washington Post*, 4/12/2007.

<sup>926</sup> “Iraq’s desperate exodus,” *The New York Times*, 4/22/2007.

<sup>927</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>928</sup> “How analysts in the Arab world see the Iraq war,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 3/29/2007 ed.

<sup>929</sup> “Hounded by insurgents, abandoned by us,” *The New York Times*, 4/18/2007.

<sup>930</sup> “Iraq’s desperate exodus,” *The New York Times*, 4/22/2007.

<sup>931</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>932</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>933</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>934</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>935</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>936</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>937</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>938</sup> *Ibid*

The Shiites have organized into militias who have attacked Sunni communities. Radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army has been responsible for large numbers of bombings, kidnappings and murders aimed at Sunnis and Americans.<sup>939</sup> Mahdi Army participants have also infiltrated Iraqi security forces so legal authorities cannot actively pursue them.<sup>940</sup> For example, The Washington Post has reported that, when bombs are launched from Sadr City, police forces distort the evidence and claim that the attacks originated in Sunni communities.<sup>941</sup>

Much of the violence generated by Shiite militant groups is in response to attacks by the Sunnis. For instance, in late March, Sunni insurgents killed 152 and injured 347 with a truck bomb in a Tal Afar. During the following days, Shiites engaged in violent retaliation, killing approximately 47 Sunni citizens.<sup>942</sup> The Sunnis also attacked heavily-populated Karbala on April 28<sup>th</sup>, killing 58. The bombing was only one-third of a mile from the holy Shiite shrine of Imam Abbas.<sup>943</sup> Afterwards, a violent Shiite mob protested outside the governor's house.<sup>944</sup>

On April 12, 2007 a Sunni suicide bomber infiltrated the secure Green Zone in Baghdad, and attacked the Parliament cafeteria killing one and injuring 22.<sup>945</sup> The Sunni violence is largely a result of Shiite corruption and insurgent infiltration in the government. In April 2007, several Sunni military officers with strong reputations were fired.<sup>946</sup> While the Iraqi government claimed that these individuals were involved in the Sunni insurgency, they were, in fact, very successful against Moqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army.<sup>947</sup> The Sunnis are also angry because many have lost their jobs in the government as a result of de-Baathification. Sunni militants claim that they will not cooperate with the Shiite-dominated Iraqi government until they are treated fairly and de-Baathification is reversed.<sup>948</sup>

In Anbar province, an attack carried out by al-Qaeda on April 6<sup>th</sup> involved a truck bomb containing chlorine gas that burned the skin and lungs of those near the blast. Thirty people were killed.<sup>949</sup> In Western Iraq, Sunni Arabs fall victim to targeted killings and kidnappings daily at the hands of militant Shiite cells and Moqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army.<sup>950</sup> In Eastern Iraq, in neighborhoods such as Fadhil, Sunnis have attacked Shiites with mortar shells and snipers.<sup>951</sup>

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<sup>939</sup> "Leaning to live with the Mahdi Army," *The Washington Post*, 4/30/ 2007.

<sup>940</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>941</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>942</sup> "Iran says truck bomb in North kills 152," *The New York Times*, 4/1/2007.

<sup>943</sup> "Dozens killed in bomb attack on Shiite shrine," *The New York Times*, 4/29/2007.

<sup>944</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>945</sup> "Qaeda group in Iraq says it led attack on parliament," *The New York Times*, 4/14/2007.

<sup>946</sup> "Maliki's office is seen behind purge in forces," *The Washington Post*, 4/30/2007.

<sup>947</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>948</sup> "Shiite cleric opposes US plan to permit former Baath party members to join the government," *The New York Times*, 4/3/2007.

<sup>949</sup> "Patterns of war in Iraq shift amid buildup of US force," *The New York Times*, 4/9/2007.

<sup>950</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>951</sup> *Ibid*

Sectarian killings and the targeting of important individuals by insurgents have become more frequent. For example, Baghdad's electricity minister was assassinated on April 11<sup>th</sup>.<sup>952</sup> Insurgents are also using more destructive techniques, such as the chlorine bomb in Anbar.<sup>953</sup> The violence has become so great that Iraq is ethnically separating itself. The Kurds remain in the north, as the Shiites and Sunnis increasingly gravitate to the south and center respectively. The Sunni effort to build a wall around the Sunni neighborhood Adhamiya, which is in the midst of several Shiite settlements, implies that Iraqis are attempting to separate themselves in lieu of cooperation.<sup>954</sup>

#### **4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight***

Rating: 10

Under Saddam Hussein, the Sunni Baathists made up the greater part of the educated Iraqi population. However, after the American invasion, the majority of the educated middle class fled because of de-Baathification and Shiite violence.<sup>955</sup> The "brain drain" that occurred after the fall of Saddam Hussein has drastically hurt Iraq's schools, hospitals, scientific research and government.

Many politicians are trying to reverse de-Baathification and scale back the "brain drain."<sup>956</sup> Prime Minister Maliki and President Talabani designed a proposal that would allow former Baathists to collect their pensions and re-enter the government.<sup>957</sup> To accommodate Shiites persecuted by the Baathists, the proposal includes a period of 90 days where one can bring forth accusations against Baath party members.<sup>958</sup> The Shiite majority rejected the plan.<sup>959</sup>

#### **5. *Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines***

Rating: 9

Economic development has failed for all ethnicities in Iraq, but there are false perceptions of inequality amongst the Sunnis and Shiites. On April 29, 2007, The New York Times reported that Iraqi reconstruction and development projects were failing. The projects "ranged geographically from northern to southern Iraq and covered projects as varied as a maternity hospital, barracks for an Iraqi Special Forces unit and a power station for Baghdad International Airport."<sup>960</sup> For example, sewage systems are not functioning properly, doctors are refusing to use modern machinery, buildings are unstable, and

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<sup>952</sup> "US suspects Iran aids both Sunni and Shiite militias," *The New York Times*, 4/12/2007.

<sup>953</sup> "Patterns of war in Iraq shift amid buildup of US force," *The New York Times*, 4/9/2007.

<sup>954</sup> "Iraqi Premier orders work stopped on wall," *The New York Times*, 4/23/2007

<sup>955</sup> "Shiite cleric opposes US plan to permit former Baath party members to join government," *The New York Times*, 4/3/2007.

<sup>956</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>957</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>958</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>959</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>960</sup> "Inspectors find rebuilt projects crumbling in Iraq," *The New York Times*, 4/29/2007.

electrical systems are unsafe.<sup>961</sup> Unemployment in Iraq stands at 25-30 percent.<sup>962</sup> Overall, development in Iraq remains non-existent.

Despite the fact that economic development has failed for the entire Iraqi state, there are inequalities among ethnic groups. The Sunnis, and more specifically the Baathists, who composed the educated middle class under Saddam Hussein, feel as if they are being purposefully denied jobs and opportunities by the Shiite-dominated government.<sup>963</sup> They believe that they will only have equal opportunities when de-Baathification, which was implemented to cleanse the government of all Hussein loyalists, is reversed.<sup>964</sup> Shiites refuse to reverse de-Baathification out of anger.<sup>965</sup>

The Kurds, who have the greatest access to oil reserves, have the most potential to develop unless oil profits are distributed throughout Iraq.<sup>966</sup> The Kurds claim that it is unconstitutional for the Iraqi government to nationalize oil fields, and should the law pass, Kurdistan will create its own oil laws and engage in trade with foreign oil companies.<sup>967</sup> If Kurdistan does ultimately trade with foreign companies, it will develop more quickly than the Sunnis and Shiites in central and southern Iraq, potentially leading to more sectarian violence along group lines.

## **6. *Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline*** **Rating: 9**

Iraq's economy is weak and unstable due to sectarian violence and lagging oil production. Iraq has the third largest oil reserve in the world, and oil production has traditionally made up 95% of foreign trade profits.<sup>968</sup> Drilling, however, is well below capacity. The United States' goal for Iraqi oil production has been 3 million barrels per day. However, as of April 2007, production stood at 2.6 million barrels per day.<sup>969</sup>

Violence in cities and marketplaces has also contributed to economic decline.<sup>970</sup> A bomb detonated in a Tal Afar marketplace on March 27, 2007, killing 152 and injuring 342.<sup>971</sup> Because of such bombing and kidnappings, consumers and merchants are afraid to enter open markets.<sup>972</sup> Traffic has also been prohibited from entering marketplaces deep within urban areas.<sup>973</sup> Iraqi merchants claim that the violence and the closing of roads have had

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<sup>961</sup> "Inspectors find rebuilt projects crumbling in Iraq," *The New York Times*, 4/29/2007.

<sup>962</sup> The CIA Factbook, "Iraq," [www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html](http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html).

<sup>963</sup> "Shiite cleric opposes US plan to permit former Baath party members to join government," *The New York Times*, 4/3/2007.

<sup>964</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>965</sup> "Baghdad's fissures and mistrusts keep political goals out of reach," *The Washington Post*, 4/26/ 2007.

<sup>966</sup> "Kurds threaten to block oil reserves law," *The Washington Times*, 4/30/2007.

<sup>967</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>968</sup> The CIA Factbook, "Iraq," [www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html](http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html).

<sup>969</sup> "US rebuilding in Iraq is missing key goals, report finds," *The Washington Post*, 4/30/ 2007.

<sup>970</sup> "Sum of death statistics: a perilous Iraq," *The Washington Post*, 4/ 4/ 2007.

<sup>971</sup> "Iran says truck bomb in North kills 152," *The New York Times*, 4/1/2007.

<sup>972</sup> "Sum of death statistics: a perilous Iraq," *The Washington Post*, 4/ 4/ 2007.

<sup>973</sup> *Ibid*

a severe impact on their profits.<sup>974</sup> Civilians cannot always access food and necessities.<sup>975</sup> Instability in Iraq has also resulted in a decreased standard of living and high inflation.<sup>976</sup> The inflation rate stands at 64.8%.<sup>977</sup>

## 7. *Delegitimization of the State* **Rating: 10**

Radical Shiites believe that the Iraqi government's attempt to re-incorporate former Baathists into the government is illegitimate. The Baath party discriminated against Shiites under Saddam Hussein, but they also made up the majority of the educated, professional class. A proposal was devised by Prime Minister Maliki and President Talabani to reincorporate former Baathists into government and allow ex-members to collect their pensions. In addition, the plan allots ninety days for Iraqis to bring forth grievances against former Baathists.<sup>978</sup> The plan has been rejected by influential Shiite clerics such as Ayatollah al-Sistani and the Shiite majority, who believe the government would be illegitimate should it contain the Baath party.<sup>979</sup>

Sunnis claim that Shiite lobbyists and clerics have had too great of an influence on government affairs. For example, when Grand Ayatollah al-Sistani expressed his disapproval with the plan to incorporate Baathists into the government, most Shiites adopted his opinion.<sup>980</sup> Moqtada al-Sadr, a radical Shiite cleric and leader of the Mahdi Army, also exerts influence on the government. Sadr, a staunch opponent of the reversal of de-Baathification, has been one of Prime Minister Maliki's most important supporters. Currently there are thirty pro-Sadr politicians in the government who are carrying out his orders.<sup>981</sup>

There has also been blatant corruption and discrimination aimed towards Sunnis within the security forces. In April, sixteen military and police officers were fired for assisting the Sunni insurgency.<sup>982</sup> However, many had been successful against Moqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army.<sup>983</sup> This obvious discrimination has resulted in many Sunni politicians resigning from the government and many Sunni civilians resorting to violence against Shiites.<sup>984</sup> Sunnis believe that the only way the government can be legitimate is if Prime Minister Maliki replaces radical Shiite politicians in the government and if Baathists are allowed to re-enter politics.<sup>985</sup>

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<sup>974</sup> "Sum of death statistics: a perilous Iraq," *The Washington Post*, 4/ 4/ 2007.

<sup>975</sup> "Iran says truck bomb in North kills 152," *The New York Times*, 4/1/2007.

<sup>976</sup> "Four years later in Iraq," *The New York Times*, 4/12/2007.

<sup>977</sup> The CIA Factbook, "Iraq," [www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index..](http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index..)

<sup>978</sup> "Shiite cleric opposes US plan to permit former Baath party members to join government," *The New York Times*, 4/3/2007.

<sup>979</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>980</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>981</sup> "Baghdad fissures and mistrust keep political goals out of reach," *The Washington Post*, 4/26/2007.

<sup>982</sup> "Maliki's office is seen behind purge in forces," *The Washington Post*, 4/30/2007

<sup>983</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>984</sup> "Baghdad fissures and mistrust keep political goals out of reach," *The Washington Post*, 4/26/2007.

<sup>985</sup> "Patterns of war shift in Iraq amid buildup of US force," *The New York Times*, 4/9/2007.

The Kurds have expressed disapproval of the Iraqi government's oil policy. They have labeled the government's attempts to nationalize oil reserves as "unconstitutional."<sup>986</sup> The Kurds have threatened to disregard the Iraqi government's policies completely, and create their own should the oil reserves law pass in parliament.<sup>987</sup> The fact that the Kurds have threatened to ignore a mandated law attests to the illegitimacy of the Iraqi government.

Arab intellectuals doubt that the United States can establish a legitimate Iraqi state. Such analysts have stated that the Iraqi government can only be legitimate when the United States withdraws.<sup>988</sup> Iraqi politicians would no longer be able to hide behind the American military, and would be forced to find solutions to dividing issues.<sup>989</sup>

## **8. *Progressive Deterioration of Public Services***

### **Rating: 9**

The Iraqi military and police are unable to protect the Iraqi people. The average Iraqi does not have confidence in their security forces.<sup>990</sup> The United States military has agreed, admitting that Iraqi troops are not strong enough to function on their own.<sup>991</sup> As a result, American troops have been coping with militants, and the training of Iraqi troops has slowed.<sup>992</sup> American military officials have commented that the inability of the Iraqi security forces to function is a result of the lack of support from the Iraqi government.<sup>993</sup> U.S. officials commented that they are confused as to how to help the Iraqi troops and are "waiting for the Iraqis to do something."<sup>994</sup> Angelo Gnaedinger, Director-General of the International Committee of the Red Cross, stated that "bombings, suicide attacks, shootings, abductions, murders, the destruction of civilian property and forced displacements are a daily reality for millions of Iraqis."<sup>995</sup> As long as the military is powerless to stop the insurgency, civilians will suffer.

Over 800 school projects and training sessions for teachers have not occurred because of prospective security threats.<sup>996</sup> Of Iraq's 3.5 million students, two-thirds do not attend class out of fear of attacks.<sup>997</sup>

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<sup>986</sup> "Kurds threaten to block oil reserves law," *The Washington Times*, 4/30/2007.

<sup>987</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>988</sup> "How analysts in the Arab world see the Iraq war," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 3/29/2007 ed.

<sup>989</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>990</sup> "Training Iraqi troops no longer driving force in US policy," *McClatchy Newspapers*, 4/19/2007.

<sup>991</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>992</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>993</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>994</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>995</sup> "Iraq: civilians bear the brunt of violence," ICRC Official Statement, April 17, 2007.

<sup>996</sup> "US rebuilding in Iraq is missing key goals, report finds," *The Washington Post*, 4/30/2007.

<sup>997</sup> *Ibid*



Only 15 of 141 primary health-care centers have been completed, and merely 8 of the 15 are open to the public.<sup>998</sup> In functioning hospitals, doctors are ignoring modern medical machinery, and are reverting back to primitive, less effective equipment.<sup>999</sup> In Erbil hospital, American inspectors found that Iraqi doctors were ignoring an advanced system designed to distribute oxygen to patients. Instead, doctors were using dated oxygen tanks, which were not being stored correctly or safely.<sup>1000</sup> Inspectors also found that an incinerator designed to dispose of medical waste was locked, and doctors did not know how to open the door.<sup>1001</sup> Thus, medical waste and hazardous materials are not being disposed of correctly.

Water in Iraq is still undrinkable, which has resulted in the United States allocating 2 billion dollars to provide safer water.<sup>1002</sup> Problems with sewage systems in Iraq have contributed to the problem. For example, because doctors have not disposed of medical waste properly at Erbil hospital, inspectors found that hazardous material has entered the sewage system and polluted the water supply.<sup>1003</sup>

Electricity production is lacking. Before 2003, Iraq generated 4,500 megawatts of electricity per day. Citizens in Baghdad received 16-24 hours of electricity per day.<sup>1004</sup> As of April 2007, Iraq was only generating 3,832 megawatts per day, and Baghdad only received 6.5 hours of power each day.<sup>1005</sup> Iraq has the power plants necessary; however, it does not have the water or fuel to generate a sufficient amount of electricity.<sup>1006</sup> American money allotted to improve electricity in Iraq has not been used efficiently. For example, of the 11.8 million dollars that the U.S. has donated to improve electrical generators at Baghdad International Airport, 8.6 million dollars has been lost to corruption and disorganization.<sup>1007</sup>

Those employed in the public services and have the ability to improve conditions are afraid to go to work. Militant groups have targeted maintenance and construction workers.<sup>1008</sup> On April 11, 2007, the director of Baghdad's electricity ministry was assassinated.<sup>1009</sup> Even within areas that are supposedly healing, such as Anbar province, public services are unreliable. Local governments within the area are not dependable and barely functioning.<sup>1010</sup>

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<sup>998</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>999</sup> "Inspectors find rebuilt projects crumbling in Iraq," *The New York Times*, 4/29/2007.

<sup>1000</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1001</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1002</sup> "US rebuilding in Iraq is missing key goals, report finds," *The Washington Post*, 4/30/2007.

<sup>1003</sup> "Inspectors find rebuilt projects crumbling in Iraq," *The New York Times*, 4/29/2007.

<sup>1004</sup> "US rebuilding in Iraq is missing key goals, report finds," *The Washington Post*, 4/30/2007.

<sup>1005</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1006</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1007</sup> "Inspectors find rebuilt projects crumbling in Iraq," *The New York Times*, 4/29/2007.

<sup>1008</sup> "US suspects that Iran aids both Sunni and Shiite militias," *The New York Times*, 4/12/2007

<sup>1009</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1010</sup> "Uneasy alliance is taming one insurgent bastion," *The New York Times*, 4/29/2007.

## 9. *Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights*

**Rating: 10**

The human rights situation in Iraq is “deteriorating,” according to the Red Cross.<sup>1011</sup> Mass violence continues to strike the Iraqi population despite the security plan implemented by the United States to pacify Baghdad. While there have been improvements within Baghdad, insurgents have simply migrated to areas outside the capital. Chemical weapons are being used by the insurgency. A truck bomb detonated in Anbar province contained chlorine gas.<sup>1012</sup> Those that came into contact with the bomb’s contents suffered burns to the skin and lungs.<sup>1013</sup> In other regions of Iraq, kidnappings and murders persist.<sup>1014</sup>

The United Nations has accused the Iraqi government and military of torturing detainees and denying them their right to a fair trial.<sup>1015</sup> Since mid-February, there have been emergency guidelines in place allowing security forces to arrest suspects without a warrant and to detain them for an unlimited period of time.<sup>1016</sup> During the first seven weeks the emergency parameters were activated, 3,000 people were taken into custody, many of whom continue to be tortured and imprisoned in congested detention centers.<sup>1017</sup> The Iraqi government has denied the United Nations’ findings, claiming that the UN used questionable evidence.<sup>1018</sup> The United Nations, conversely, has stated that the humanitarian situation may be even worse than the report suggests, as the Iraqi government is withholding information concerning the civilian death toll in Iraq.<sup>1019</sup>

## 10. *Security Apparatus*

**Rating: 10**

The Mahdi Army, a Shiite militia under the leadership of radical cleric Moqtada al-Sadr, has targeted Americans and Sunnis and has established officials in the Iraqi parliament and security forces.<sup>1020</sup> For instance, sixteen policemen and military commanders were fired during the month of April 2007. Some were terminated because of poor performance reviews, but others had been successful against the Mahdi Army.<sup>1021</sup> Moqtada al-Sadr is an important supporter of Prime Minister Maliki, hence it is expected that several members of the Iraqi security forces are loyal to the Mahdi Army. An

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<sup>1011</sup> “Iran giving arms to Iraq’s Sunnis, US military says,” *The Washington Post*, 4/12/2007.

<sup>1012</sup> “Patterns of war in Iraq shift amid buildup of US force,” *The New York Times*, 4/9/2007.

<sup>1013</sup> “Sum of death statistics: a perilous Iraq,” *The Washington Post*, 4/4/2007.

<sup>1014</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1015</sup> “UN report criticizes Iraq on detainee treatment,” *The New York Times*, 4/26/2007.

<sup>1016</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1017</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1018</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1019</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1020</sup> “Learning to live with the Mahdi Army,” *The Washington Post*, 4/10/2007.

<sup>1021</sup> “Maliki’s office is seen behind purge in forces,” *The Washington Post*, 4/30/2007.

interpreter for US troops stated that all the police in cities such as Sadr City are members of the Mahdi Army, and they use their power to carry out attacks without fear of punishment. For example, on April 10, 2007, the Washington Post reported on a bomb that almost certainly originated in Sadr City. However the police of Sadr City insisted that the bomb was launched from a Sunni neighborhood.<sup>1022</sup>

The Sunnis have also created their own militias and infiltrated important security forces. For example, in Anbar province, Sunnis have separated into militias and joined the police force to fight al-Qaeda of Mesopotamia.<sup>1023</sup> The United States has praised the actions by the Sunnis as a sign of change in Iraq, but in reality it marks yet another militant group detracting from the government's monopoly on force. Should the Sunnis defeat al-Qaeda, they may turn on the Iraqi government again.<sup>1024</sup>

Arab analysts throughout the Middle East fear that the Iraqi government's failure to maintain a monopoly on force will lead to chaos in the Middle East.<sup>1025</sup> The armies within armies and independent militias that exist have the capability to spread sectarianism beyond the borders of Iraq.<sup>1026</sup> In addition, the extremists who have traveled to Iraq from all over the Middle East have the capability to mimic and build such independent armies in their home states.<sup>1027</sup>

## **11. Factionalized Elites**

### **Rating: 10**

Iraq's main factions, the Shiites, Sunnis, and Kurds, have split on Iraq's most important issues: oil revenues, de-Baathification, and the resettlement of Kirkuk.

The Iraqi government passed a law in February 2007 to give the central government control over Iraq's oil reserves.<sup>1028</sup> The Sunnis, who mainly inhabit the barren central area of Iraq, are in support of the law, fearing that without government intervention the profit from oil will never be distributed equally.<sup>1029</sup> The Shiites, who inhabit some oil-rich areas, are also in support of the law. They believe that the Kurds, who own the largest share of oil, would not distribute the profits equally.<sup>1030</sup> The Kurds, however, view the law as "unconstitutional," and do not trust the central government to give them their appropriate share.<sup>1031</sup> The Kurds have threatened to disregard completely the Iraqi

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<sup>1022</sup> "Learning to live with the Mahdi Army," *The Washington Post*, 4/10/2007.

<sup>1023</sup> "Uneasy alliance is taming one insurgent bastion," *The New York Times*, 4/29/2007.

<sup>1024</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1025</sup> "How analysts in the Arab world see the Iraq war," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 3/29/2007 ed.

<sup>1026</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1027</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1028</sup> "Baghdad's fissures and mistrusts keep political goals out of reach," *The Washington Post*, 4/26/ 2007.

<sup>1029</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1030</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1031</sup> *Ibid*

government's law, and create their own, which will allow them to engage freely in business with foreign customers.<sup>1032</sup>

Since the invasion of Iraq in 2003, Saddam Hussein's Sunni Baath party members have been banned from the government. Sunnis who once made up the middle class now lack jobs or opportunities. A large number of these individuals now support the Sunni insurgency. Many politicians want to reverse de-Baathification and incorporate ex-Baathists back into the government to ease sectarian tensions in Iraq. A plan was proposed on March 26<sup>th</sup>, which allowed for thousands of former Baathists to re-enter the government and collect their pensions.<sup>1033</sup> The proposal also allotted 90 days for Iraqi civilians to bring forth complaints about former Baathists.<sup>1034</sup> Shiites in parliament, with the approval of religious clerics such as Grand Ayatollah al-Sistani, overwhelmingly voted against the plan.<sup>1035</sup> Conversely, Sunnis claim that they will not see the government as legitimate until de-Baathification is reversed.<sup>1036</sup> The process of de-Baathification is not only dividing Iraq, but also hindering its ability for improvement. The Baathists made up the most educated segment of the population.<sup>1037</sup> Thus, many Baathists who have lost their jobs are not contributing to society. The "brain drain," or loss of intellectuals from society, is obstructing Iraq's chances of development.<sup>1038</sup>

Elites have also divided over several prospective constitutional changes. The most controversial has been the fate of oil-rich Kirkuk and the autonomous region of Kurdistan.<sup>1039</sup> Kirkuk is home to a Kurd majority, but under Saddam Hussein "Arabization" was implemented, and thousands of Shiites and Sunnis were moved to Kirkuk to weaken the Kurdish majority in the city.<sup>1040</sup> Consequently, Kurds view Kirkuk with nationalism. Jalal Talabani, the Kurdish president of Iraq, has stated that Kirkuk is "our Jerusalem."<sup>1041</sup> Today, the Kurdish faction has stated that they will only make peace with the Shiites and Sunnis when Arabization is reversed. The government has taken actions to fulfill their request by offering land and \$15,000 to any Sunni or Shiite willing to move out of Kirkuk.<sup>1042</sup> 90,000 Arabs have already agreed to leave the city.<sup>1043</sup> The Iraqi constitution states that a referendum concerning the fate of Kirkuk should occur by the end of this year.<sup>1044</sup> If Arabization is reversed, the Kurdish majority in Kirkuk will most likely vote to become part of an autonomous Kurdistan. Many Sunnis and Shiites oppose the reversal of Arabization and believe it will lead to the partition of Iraq.<sup>1045</sup>

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<sup>1032</sup> "Kurds threaten to block oil reserves law," *The Washington Times*, 4/30/2007.

<sup>1033</sup> "Shiite cleric opposes US plan to permit former Baath party members to join government," *The New York Times*, 4/3/2007.

<sup>1034</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1035</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1036</sup> "Baghdad's fissures and mistrusts keep political goals out of reach," *The Washington Post*, 4/26/2007.

<sup>1037</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1038</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1039</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1040</sup> "The other Jerusalem," *The Economist*, 4/7/2007.

<sup>1041</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1042</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1043</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1044</sup> "Iraq prepares to resettle Arabs sent to Kirkuk by Hussein edict," *The Washington Post*, 4/1/2007.

<sup>1045</sup> *Ibid*

A select group of moderates is attempting to weaken factions and work towards a secular state in Iraq. For example, Iyad Jamaledin, a religious Shiite, has been attempting to build the Iraqi Democratic Secular Movement, which would involve all faiths and sects.<sup>1046</sup>

## **12. *Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors*** **Rating: 10**

The US government is currently pushing Iraq towards three goals: new laws governing Iraqi oil reserves, re-incorporating the Baathists into the government, and amending questionable parts of the Iraqi constitution.<sup>1047</sup> The Iraqis see American pressure to accomplish these goals as bullying, and view the Americans as occupiers.<sup>1048</sup> As a result, the insurgency is targeting Americans more frequently to encourage the US to leave. The United States in response is increasing the number of troops in Baghdad by 30,000 soldiers.<sup>1049</sup> Many Arab analysts wonder if the US troop build-up will further provoke violence in Iraq and postpone an inevitable security breakdown.<sup>1050</sup> When the breakdown does occur, it is likely to be more violent than if it occurred now, and sectarian violence could spread throughout the Middle East.<sup>1051</sup> Others disagree and claim that without the presence of American troops the situation would be worse.<sup>1052</sup>

Iran has also intervened in Iraqi affairs. The U.S. military has accused Iran of selling weapons to both the Sunnis and the Shiites.<sup>1053</sup> As a Shiite theocracy, the Iranians have no incentive to help the Sunnis except to destabilize the region and hurt the U.S.<sup>1054</sup> It is also possible that arms dealers within Iran are selling weapons to both sides in order to make a greater profit.<sup>1055</sup> While American and Iraqi soldiers highly suspect Iran, there is currently no solid evidence to prove that Iranians have sold any weapons, or done anything to de-stabilize Iraq.<sup>1056</sup>

Turkey has threatened to intervene in Iraqi affairs should Kurdistan gain control of Kirkuk and partition itself into its own state.<sup>1057</sup> There is a Turkmen minority in Kirkuk that has existed for centuries. Turkey believes that, should the Kurds gain control of the area, the Turkish culture will be at risk.<sup>1058</sup> Hossam Abdullah, leader of the Patriotic

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<sup>1046</sup> "Putting faith in the masses to forge new secular rule," *The Washington Post*, 4/6/2007.

<sup>1047</sup> "Baghdad's fissures and mistrusts keep political goals out of reach," *The Washington Post*, 4/26/2007.

<sup>1048</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1049</sup> "Patterns of war shift in Iraq amid buildup of US force," *The New York Times*, 4/9/2007.

<sup>1050</sup> "How analysts in the Arab world see the Iraq war," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 3/29/2007 ed.

<sup>1051</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1052</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1053</sup> "Iran giving arms to Iraq's Sunnis, US military says," *The Washington Post*, 4/12/2007.

<sup>1054</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1055</sup> "US suspects that Iran aids both Sunni and Shiite militias," *The New York Times*, 4/12/2007.

<sup>1056</sup> "Iran giving arms to Iraq's Sunnis, US military says," *The Washington Post*, 4/12/2007.

<sup>1057</sup> "Iraq prepares to resettle Arabs sent to Kirkuk by Hussein edict," *The Washington Post*, 4/1/2007.

<sup>1058</sup> "The other Jerusalem," *The Economist*, April 7, 2007.

Turkmen Movement in Kirkuk, stated that “all the Turkmens will become suicide bombers to defend the Turkmen identity of Kirkuk”<sup>1059</sup>

Countries neighboring Iraq have intervened through conferences. They fear that the sectarian violence in Iraq could potentially spread into their borders. This fear is legitimate, as Muslim extremists of all states have been migrating into Iraq to fight for a radical Islamic regime.<sup>1060</sup> Countries such as Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia are particularly concerned because the majority of Iraqi refugees have fled into their borders.<sup>1061</sup> Planning for a regional conference took place throughout April, and the meeting ultimately occurred on May 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>, 2007.<sup>1062</sup> Among its participants were Iraq, Iran, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Bahrain, the United States, Russia, Britain, France and China.<sup>1063</sup> The fact that a conference was successfully held represents a common interest in establishing peace in Iraq; however, it also implies that Iraq needs external intervention to become a functioning state.

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<sup>1059</sup> “Iraq prepares to resettle Arabs sent to Kirkuk by Hussein edict,” *The Washington Post*, 4/1/2007.

<sup>1060</sup> “Sunni factions split with Al-Qaeda group,” *The Washington Post*, 4/4/2007.

<sup>1061</sup> “Iraq’s desperate exodus,” *The New York Times*, 4/22/2007.

<sup>1062</sup> “Iran to attend regional Iraq conference,” *The New York Times*, 4/29/2007.

<sup>1063</sup> *Ibid*

**April 2007**  
**Core 5**

**1. Police**  
**Rating: Poor**

The Iraqi police force is plagued by corruption and sectarian prejudices. The police have been unresponsive to insurgent attacks largely because police officers are involved in militant armies.<sup>1064</sup> In Sadr city, it is widely understood that the police force is entirely made up of Shiite Mahdi Army participants.<sup>1065</sup> Thus, when the Mahdi Army carries out an attack, the police often distort evidence to blame the Sunni insurgency.<sup>1066</sup> Because militants have penetrated the police force, officers who have been effective against the Shiite insurgency have been fired. In April, sixteen military and police officers were fired on the accusation that they were involved in the Sunni insurgency.<sup>1067</sup> However, many of the fired officers were highly regarded and had been successful against the Mahdi Army.<sup>1068</sup> Sunni militants have joined the police force in Anbar province in order to fight al-Qaeda of Mesopotamia.<sup>1069</sup> While United States officials have glorified the fact that Iraqis are fighting against al-Qaeda, the Sunnis are simply battling the greater of two opponents.<sup>1070</sup> If the Sunnis defeat al-Qaeda, it is likely that they will refocus on the Shiites.<sup>1071</sup> The police force is ineffective and perpetrates more violence than it prevents.

**2. Leadership**  
**Rating: Weak**

The credibility of Iraqi leadership continues to be hindered by sectarian prejudices and corruption. Prime Minister Maliki is backed and influenced by radical and important Shiite leaders, such as Moqtada al-Sadr. Sadr continues to exert his authority by installing Mahdi Army loyalists in the government. For example, Maliki and his pro-Sadr officials fired reputable military and police officers, stating that they were members of the Sunni insurgency.<sup>1072</sup> In fact, they were not insurgents, but were successful against the Mahdi Army.<sup>1073</sup> The government also faces competition from Shiite religious figure

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<sup>1064</sup> “Learning to live with the Mahdi Army,” *The Washington Post*, 4/10/2007.

<sup>1065</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1066</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1067</sup> “Maliki’s office is seen behind purge in forces,” *The Washington Post*, 4/30/2007

<sup>1068</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1069</sup> “Uneasy alliance is taming one insurgent bastion,” *The New York Times*, 4/29/2007.

<sup>1070</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1071</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1072</sup> “Maliki’s office is seen behind purge in forces,” *The Washington Post*, 4/30/2007.

<sup>1073</sup> *Ibid*

Ayatollah al-Sistani. When Ayatollah al-Sistani stated that he did not approve of the attempt to reverse de-Baathification, the Shiite majority automatically voted against the movement.<sup>1074</sup> Prime Minister Maliki is in favor of reversing de-Baathification, but cannot challenge Ayatollah al-Sistani without losing support.<sup>1075</sup> Should al-Sistani encourage Shiites to turn against the government, they will obey.<sup>1076</sup> Sunnis say that they will only recognize the legitimacy of the government, and the leadership of Prime Minister Maliki, when radical and religious Shiites no longer have influence and de-Baathification is reversed.<sup>1077</sup> But should Maliki distance himself from radical Shiites and welcome the Baathists back into political affairs, the Shiite demographic will turn against the government. The sectarian divisions and corruption within the government continues to weaken political leadership and obstruct chances of cooperation.

### 3. *Civil Service* **Rating: Poor**

Civil services continue to be beset by deep corruption and sectarian prejudices. Moqtada al-Sadr, who controls six government ministries through loyalists, pulled six ministers from the Iraqi cabinet this month to express his disapproval of Maliki's handling of American occupation.<sup>1078</sup> It is likely that, because of Sadr's political move, the ministries under his command, which include the ministries of health and transportation, will be set back.<sup>1079</sup> Baghdad's electricity ministry has also been unproductive, and, when asked by inspectors, could not account for 8.6 million dollars of the 11.8 million allotted by the United States to improve electrical generators at Baghdad International Airport.<sup>1080</sup> In addition, insurgents assassinated the director of Baghdad's electricity ministry, Abd-al-Abbas Hashim, on April 11, 2007.<sup>1081</sup> Furthermore, Government-run civil services cannot help the population because of economic instability. There is little money available to pay those in the labor force, let alone the 25-30 percent of the population that is unemployed.<sup>1082</sup> Corruption and economic instability have rendered Iraqi civil services ineffective.

### 4. *Judiciary* **Rating: Poor**

Iraq's judicial system is largely ineffective and the rule of law is rarely enforced. Insurgents are often not brought to trial because of violence, bribes and sectarian

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<sup>1074</sup> "Shiite cleric opposes US plan to permit former Baath party members to join government," *The New York Times*, 4/3/2007

<sup>1075</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1076</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1077</sup> "Baghdad's fissures and mistrusts keep political goals out of reach," *The Washington Post*, 4/26/2007.

<sup>1078</sup> "6 in Iraqi cabinet resign on order of Shiite cleric," *The New York Times*, 4/17/2007.

<sup>1079</sup> *Ibid* and "Killing fields," *The Washington Post*, 5/28/2006.

<sup>1080</sup> "Inspectors find rebuilt projects crumbling in Iraq," *The New York Times*, 4/29/2007.

<sup>1081</sup> "US suspects that Iran aids both Sunni and Shiite militias," *The New York Times*, 4/12/2007

<sup>1082</sup> The CIA Factbook, "Iraq," [www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html](http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html).



prejudices in the government and security forces.<sup>1083</sup> For instance, police in Sadr city do not actively pursue Shiite militants involved in the Mahdi Army because they, too, are Mahdi loyalists.<sup>1084</sup> Civilians are hesitant to turn in well-known insurgents because they fear violent retaliation from sectarian armies. The United Nations has also reported that the Iraqi judicial system has done nothing about the Iraqi military arresting civilians without warrants, denying detainees the right to a fair trial, and imprisoning detainees for unlimited amounts of time.<sup>1085</sup>

**5. Military**  
**Rating: Weak**

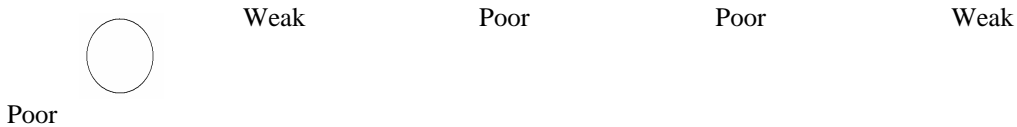
Amongst the Iraqi people, the Iraqi military is widely viewed as inadequate to deal with the insurgency.<sup>1086</sup> The United States military has also admitted that the Iraqi military cannot function without assistance, and is ill equipped to handle militant groups.<sup>1087</sup> In each operation that the Iraqi military has been responsible for, they were easily defeated by the insurgency.<sup>1088</sup> American officials have stated that they are unsure how to proceed in training the Iraqi troops and are waiting for the Iraqi government to provide more funding and support for the military.<sup>1089</sup> As a result, American soldiers have been embarking on most operations to pacify the insurgency.<sup>1090</sup> Soldiers in the mainly Shiite military are often part of the insurgency and those who are not fear violence and kidnapping from militant groups.<sup>1091</sup> In Sadr City, Iraqi soldiers working with Americans are afraid to be seen by the Mahdi Army and often refuse to carry out basic duties.<sup>1092</sup> The UN has published reports stating that, since the implementation of a new security plan in mid-February, the Iraqi military has tortured detainees, imprisoned detainees for unlimited periods of time and denied captives a free trial.<sup>1093</sup> The Iraqi army is hesitant to fight the insurgency, yet they are willing to torture detainees. This trend is representative of the endemic corruption in the Iraqi military.

**Core Five State Institutions**




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<sup>1083</sup> “Learning to live with the Mahdi Army,” *The Washington Post*, 4/10/2007.  
<sup>1084</sup> “Learning to live with the Mahdi Army,” *The Washington Post*, 4/10/2007.  
<sup>1085</sup> “UN report criticizes Iraq on detainee treatment,” *The New York Times*, 4/26/2007.  
<sup>1086</sup> “Training Iraqi troops no longer driving force in US policy,” *McClatchy Newspapers*, 4/19/2007.  
<sup>1087</sup> *Ibid*  
<sup>1088</sup> *Ibid*  
<sup>1089</sup> *Ibid*  
<sup>1090</sup> *Ibid*  
<sup>1091</sup> “Learning to live with the Mahdi Army,” *The Washington Post*, 4/10/2007.  
<sup>1092</sup> *Ibid*  
<sup>1093</sup> “UN report criticizes Iraq on detainee treatment,” *The New York Times*, 4/26/2007.



**May 2007**

**1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures*  
Rating: 10**

Attacks on marketplaces continued, making it difficult for civilians to buy and sell necessary goods. On May 22<sup>nd</sup>, a car bomb detonated in an outdoor marketplace in Amil, a Shiite neighborhood in Baghdad. 30 people were killed and over 68 were injured.<sup>1094</sup> Such security threats have contributed to high unemployment rates, which vary from 25-40% throughout Iraq, unstable economic activity, and high price inflation.<sup>1095</sup> Inflation stood at 50% during 2006 and no change has been recorded thus far in 2007.<sup>1096</sup>

Basic needs such as electricity, oil, and water remain unavailable, and little progress has been made to improve accessibility. The Iraqi oil industry produced approximately 2.02 million barrels of oil per day in May 2007, a small figure compared to the 2.5 million barrels produced per day before 2003.<sup>1097</sup> Electricity production is also below pre-war levels, especially in Baghdad. Before 2003, Iraq generated approximately 3,958 megawatts of electricity per day, 2,500 of which were used in Baghdad.<sup>1098</sup> Baghdad received 16-24 hours of electricity per day.<sup>1099</sup> As of May 2007, Iraq generated 3,675 megawatts of electricity.<sup>1100</sup> It is unclear how much is being generated in Baghdad, however citizens of the city are only receiving five to six hours of electricity per day.<sup>1101</sup> Inaccessible water has also plagued Iraq, with reports of broken pipes and flooding in several city streets and an inefficient water purification process.<sup>1102</sup>

Health care and qualified doctors are scarce, as the insurgency continues to threaten professionals. The Iraqi government has had to “freeze” the hand out of medical diplomas because doctors are leaving the country.<sup>1103</sup> A medical student can only obtain a medical diploma after completing six years of service in Iraqi hospitals.<sup>1104</sup> Because medical

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<sup>1094</sup> “Morgue data show increase in sectarian killings in Iraq,” *The Washington Post*, 5/24/2007.

<sup>1095</sup> “Iraq Index” The Brookings Institution, 5/31/2007.

<sup>1096</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1097</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1098</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1099</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1100</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1101</sup> *Ibid* and “Truck bomb kills 25 and wounds more than 100 in Baghdad, foiling U.S. security bid,” *The New York Times*, 5/23/2007.

<sup>1102</sup> “Iraq Index” The Brookings Institution, 5/31/2007.

<sup>1103</sup> “Iraq reimposes freeze on medical diplomas in bid to keep doctors from fleeing abroad,” *The Washington Post*, 5/5/2007.”

<sup>1104</sup> *Ibid*

students and doctors fear assassination, many hospitals are offering housing to doctors.<sup>1105</sup>

Schools continue to see a large percentage of absent teachers and students at all levels. For example, Baghdad's University Kindi Teaching Hospital, a facility that treats many trauma cases from explosions, has reported that half of all their teaching positions are vacant and only 25% of students attend class regularly.<sup>1106</sup>

## 2. ***Massive Movement of Refugees or Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)*** **Rating: 10**

The collapse of Iraq has created a crisis in the Middle East. Refugee levels are at their highest since the establishment of Israel in 1948.<sup>1107</sup> Overall, there are an estimated 2 million Iraqi refugees, 1.2 million of which are in Syria, 750,000 are in Jordan, 100,000 are in Egypt, 54,000 are in Iran, 40,000 are in Lebanon, and 10,000 are in Turkey.<sup>1108</sup> In addition, there are 1.9 million displaced people within Iraq.<sup>1109</sup> The refugee movement began in March 2003, however it grew more intense after the bombing of the Samarra mosque in February 2006.<sup>1110</sup> Since the attack at Samarra, Iraqis have steadily left the country at a rate of 50,000 people per month.<sup>1111</sup>

Initially, out of self-interest, Iraq's neighbors welcomed refugees. For example, in the early years of the Iraq war, when the wealthy Baathists were fleeing, Jordan made a profit off of the crisis by requiring refugees to pay \$100,000 for a residency permit.<sup>1112</sup> But as the number of displaced people has risen, Jordan has made it very difficult for Iraqis to enter their borders.<sup>1113</sup> Even Syria, who has housed over one million Iraqis, is now restricting employment for refugees.<sup>1114</sup> Ironically, the U.S. has evaded its responsibility to harbor refugees, only accepting 701 Iraqis since 2003.<sup>1115</sup>

Several groups make up the Iraqi refugee population. For example, well-off Sunnis who did not participate in the Baath Party have fallen victim to the Shiite insurgency nonetheless.<sup>1116</sup> Both Sunni and Shiite militias have also targeted professionals, such as doctors and teachers, who have helped to treat or teach a variety of sects. For example, a Sunni doctor named Lujai lost her husband, who was also a doctor, to the Shiite

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<sup>1105</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1106</sup> "Iraq reimposes freeze on medical diplomas in bid to keep doctors from fleeing abroad," *The Washington Post*, 5/5/2007."

<sup>1107</sup> "The flight from Iraq," *The New York Times Magazine*, 5/13/2007.

<sup>1108</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1109</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1110</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1111</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1112</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1113</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1114</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1115</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1116</sup> *Ibid*

insurgency.<sup>1117</sup> When she asked the government for answers, the only reply she received was, “He’s a doctor, he has a degree, and he is Sunni, so he couldn’t stay in Iraq. That’s why he was killed.”<sup>1118</sup> Other refugees were forced out of Iraq for being married or friends with a member of the opposite sect.<sup>1119</sup> Iraqi Palestinians, the “double refugees” who fled to Iraq under Saddam Hussein, have also been forced to leave the country. As both Sunnis and illegal Iraqis they are targeted by Shiite militants, and have been forced to set up tent communities on the Iraqi-Syrian border.<sup>1120</sup>

Life for Iraqi refugees is different depending upon location. Some have claimed that they have bonded with other Iraqis, regardless of sect, because of the common experiences they share.<sup>1121</sup> Others have said that sectarianism “has followed them.”<sup>1122</sup> For example, in Cairo, refugees state that Shiite children often beat Sunni children.<sup>1123</sup> Jordan also has a reputation for hostility, however it is mainly towards Shiites.<sup>1124</sup> Syria has been the most peaceful location, and several Iraqi neighborhoods have formed in Southern Damascus.<sup>1125</sup> Syria believes that it can benefit most from the situation in the Middle East by keeping contacts and “client relationships” with all parties involved.<sup>1126</sup> However, while Syria welcomes refugees, it limits employment for Iraqis.<sup>1127</sup> For example, Lujai, once a successful doctor, fled to Syria with her family after her husband’s murder.<sup>1128</sup> Despite her education, she must now depend on relatives for survival.<sup>1129</sup> Lujai, her five children, her brother, sister in-law, and their four children share a three-room apartment for \$500 per month.<sup>1130</sup> Her children are allowed to attend local schools, but she cannot find employment.<sup>1131</sup>

IDPs are also numerous in Iraq, totaling 1.9 million.<sup>1132</sup> Recently, there has been a large movement of IDPs going from Mosul, in Northern Iraq, into Kurdistan.<sup>1133</sup> Sectarianism is worsening in the area as Sunnis are targeting Kurds who have “collaborated with Kurdish militias.”<sup>1134</sup> Kurds are moving into Kurdistan to escape the violence. Most of the Sunnis who are targeting the Kurds have been, in turn, pushed out of Baghdad by the U.S. security plan.<sup>1135</sup> Mosul, with a population of 1.8 million, used to be one quarter

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<sup>1117</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1118</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1119</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1120</sup> “The flight from Iraq,” *The New York Times Magazine*, 5/13/2007.

<sup>1121</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1122</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1123</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1124</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1125</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1126</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1127</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1128</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1129</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1130</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1131</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1132</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1133</sup> “Sectarian strife grips North Iraq as Sunni Arabs drive out Kurds,” *The New York Times*, 5/30/2007.

<sup>1134</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1135</sup> *Ibid*

Kurdish. However, the approximate 70,000 Kurds have been driven out.<sup>1136</sup> Ninawa province, where Mosul is located, has housed Christians, Kurds, Arabs, Turkmens, Yezidis, and Shabaks for centuries, and it is only recently that the Sunni insurgency has destroyed the peace.<sup>1137</sup> Should Kurdistan succeed in the December 2007 constitutional referendum, and adopt Kirkuk and other areas of eastern and northern Nineveh into its borders, “violence will soar even further between Kurds and Arabs,” according Mosul’s Deputy Governor Khasro Goran.<sup>1138</sup> Goran added that “if the vote is put off... we will open another front in the north between Kurds and Arabs”<sup>1139</sup>

### **3. Legacy of Vengeance-Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia Rating: 10**

Group grievances continue to ignite violence and instability in Iraq. The Chatham House report on Iraq stated that, “there is not ‘a’ civil war in Iraq, but many civil wars and insurgencies involving a number of communities and organizations struggling for power.”<sup>1140</sup> These “civil wars,” carried out by Sunnis, Shiites, and external actors such as al-Qaeda, continued during the month of May despite greater security efforts by the United States.

The number of unidentified corpses found in Baghdad reached 726 in May, a 70% increase from the 411 found in April.<sup>1141</sup> This is, “an indication that sectarian killings are rising sharply as militias return to the streets after lying low during the first few months of the troop ‘surge.’”<sup>1142</sup> Many of the corpses found were “bound and shot in the head or showing signs of torture and execution.”<sup>1143</sup> From May 15<sup>th</sup> to May 17<sup>th</sup>, insurgents bombarded the formerly impenetrable Green Zone with mortar shells, killing two Iraqis and injuring ten others.<sup>1144</sup> On May 17<sup>th</sup>, 60 Iraqis died throughout the country in sectarian-motivated mortar attacks, drive-by shootings, suicide bombs, and roadside bombs.<sup>1145</sup> On May 22<sup>nd</sup>, a Sunni insurgent detonated a suicide bomb in an outdoor marketplace in Amil, killing 30 and injuring more than 68.<sup>1146</sup> The attack launched a Shiite offensive against Sunnis, as Moqtada al-Sadr’s Mahdi Army vowed to avenge those killed in the blast.<sup>1147</sup> Subsequently, 12 Sunni bodies were found throughout the city.<sup>1148</sup>

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<sup>1136</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1137</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1138</sup> “Sectarian strife grips North Iraq as Sunni Arabs drive out Kurds,” *The New York Times*, 5/30/2007.

<sup>1139</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1140</sup> “War-torn Iraq ‘facing collapse,’” BBC News, 5/17/2007.

<sup>1141</sup> “Number of unidentified bodies found in Baghdad rose sharply in May,” *The New York Times*, 6/2/2007.

<sup>1142</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1143</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1144</sup> “60 die in Iraq; study warns of collapse,” *The Washington Post*, 5/18/2007.

<sup>1145</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1146</sup> “Morgue data show increase in sectarian killings in Iraq,” *The Washington Post*, 5/24/2007.

<sup>1147</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1148</sup> *Ibid*

Indiscriminate sectarian killings have not been restricted to Baghdad. Sectarian groups that once inhabited Baghdad are simply moving to other provinces. For instance, Ninawa province once peacefully contained Arabs, Kurds, Christians, Turkmens, Yezidis, and Shabaks.<sup>1149</sup> However, Mosul, a Ninawa city, has experienced increased sectarian violence between Sunnis and Kurds. Sunnis are attacking Kurds who have “collaborated with Kurdish militias.”<sup>1150</sup> Thus, Kurds in Mosul are migrating to nearby Kurdistan.<sup>1151</sup> Sunni insurgents who left Baghdad because of the security plan are entering Mosul in large numbers.<sup>1152</sup> Should Kurdistan obtain Kirkuk, and other areas of Ninawa, in the approaching December 2007 referendum, Mosul’s Deputy Governor Khasro Goran believes that, “violence will soar even further between Kurds and Arabs as each group struggles for land.”<sup>1153</sup>

While the U.S. has stated that sectarian killings have declined since the beginning of 2007, the number of suicide, car, truck, and roadside bombings has increased.<sup>1154</sup> Shiite fighters are also using projectile bombs, which can penetrate armored vehicles, on American soldiers and convoys.<sup>1155</sup> Overall, the number of roadside bombs has doubled from 2006 to 2007.<sup>1156</sup> Thus, one can conclude that despite slight improvements in sectarian killings from the U.S. troop surge, group grievances are not subsiding. Rather, they are merely occurring in the form of mass casualty attacks.

#### **4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight*** **Rating: 10**

The remaining professional class in Iraq, though most now reside in Syria, continues to flee as a result of violence from insurgents. Shiite militias are targeting Sunni professionals even if they are not Baathists.<sup>1157</sup> There is clear, “cleansing of the intelligentsia and of anyone else who stands out from the mass... the intellectuals and artists are gone.”<sup>1158</sup> Doctors have left out of fear after colleagues were murdered for treating patients of various sects.<sup>1159</sup> Artists in Iraq, often times Christians, have had to flee for painting the human body because it is not allowed under Islamic law.<sup>1160</sup> Christian artist Abu Ziyad and his wife fled Iraq after their house was set on fire.<sup>1161</sup> They were accused of being “collaborators.”<sup>1162</sup> Ziyad’s wife said, “We got headaches

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<sup>1149</sup> “Sectarian strife grips North Iraq as Sunni Arabs drive out Kurds,” *The New York Times*, 5/30/2007.

<sup>1150</sup> “Sectarian strife grips North Iraq as Sunni Arabs drive out Kurds,” *The New York Times*, 5/30/2007.

<sup>1151</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1152</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1153</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1154</sup> “Commanders in Iraq see surge into ‘08,” *The Washington Post*, 5/9/2007.

<sup>1155</sup> “Projectile bomb attacks hit record high in Iraq,” *The Washington Post*, 5/4/2007.

<sup>1156</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1157</sup> “The flight from Iraq,” *The New York Times Magazine*, 5/13/2007.

<sup>1158</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1159</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1160</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1161</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1162</sup> *Ibid*

from the smell of blood and explosions in Iraq.”<sup>1163</sup> It is not likely that professionals will return to Iraq until the violence has died down, as they are vulnerable to attacks.<sup>1164</sup>

## 5. *Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines* **Rating: 9**

There has been little concrete economic development in Iraq. Electricity, oil production, unemployment, and inflation remain substandard. However, perceived inequalities remain between ethnic groups regarding economic development and prosperity.

Iraq’s oil industry is unstable. Whereas before the war 2.6 million barrels of oil were produced each day, production has dropped by 30% to 2 million barrels per day.<sup>1165</sup> Foreign companies will not invest in Iraq’s oil industry because of the chronic instability. In May 2007, the Brookings Institution stated that there have been 421 attacks on Iraqi oil and gas pipelines, as well as personnel, through April 30, 2007.<sup>1166</sup> However, many investors are interested in Kurdistan, the only moderately stable region.<sup>1167</sup> In May, the Norwegian oil company DNO signed an agreement with the Kurdistan to begin drilling for oil.<sup>1168</sup> In addition, two Chinese rigs are exploring Kurdistan, with a third planning on joining in the future.<sup>1169</sup> As the oil revenue sharing bill has yet to pass through the Iraqi Parliament, and is unlikely to pass soon, these arrangements will lead to uneven development in favor of the Kurds.<sup>1170</sup> The Iraqi government says that Kurdistan is acting out of its jurisdiction by making deals with foreign companies, while the Kurds claim that the 2005 Iraqi constitution gives them the right to do so, and that the disorganization in Baghdad should not force them to halt actions that will lead to economic development.<sup>1171</sup>

While Sunnis believe that they are given fewer opportunities because de-Baathification has not been reversed, Sunnis and Shiites both face grim economic prospects. For instance, not one foreign bank has invested in Iraq since 2003, unemployment ranges between 25 and 40% throughout the entire country, and Consumer Price inflation has been recorded at 50%.<sup>1172</sup> Like oil production, electricity is operating at levels below those recorded before the American invasion.<sup>1173</sup> Baghdad, which received 16 to 24 hours of electricity each day pre-invasion, is now receiving five to six hours.<sup>1174</sup> Violence

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<sup>1163</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1164</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1165</sup> “The flight from Iraq,” *The New York Times Magazine*, 5/13/2007.

<sup>1166</sup> “Iraq Index,” The Brookings Institution, 5/31/2007.

<sup>1167</sup> “Iraq to pump first new oil since Saddam’s fall,” *Finance Times*, 5/16/2007.

<sup>1168</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1169</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1170</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1171</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1172</sup> “Iraq Index,” The Brookings Institution, 5/31/2007.

<sup>1173</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1174</sup> *Ibid*

in marketplaces, such as the truck bomb that killed 30 and injured over 68 in an Amil market on May 22<sup>nd</sup>, continues to prohibit merchants and civilians from buying and selling goods.<sup>1175</sup>

Iraq's economy may improve in the future with foreign assistance. A forum is expected to take place in Amman, Jordan on March 7, 2008 to discuss reconstruction and "economic partnership" among Iraqis and other foreign states.<sup>1176</sup> The goal is to "raise the level of transactions between the members and foreign companies through creating opportunities for direct meeting between the two sides."<sup>1177</sup> The forum is being organized by the International Company, the Near East Company, and the Arriyadh Group, which, together, amount to approximately 1,000 foreign companies from 52 countries.<sup>1178</sup>

## **6. *Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline*** **Rating: 9**

Oil, electricity, and water are still at levels below those at the time of the American invasion. Before 2003, Iraq was producing 2.5 million barrels of oil each day.<sup>1179</sup> According to the Brookings Institution, as of May 2007, 2.02 million barrels were being produced per day.<sup>1180</sup> This is only 50% of the target goal for May.<sup>1181</sup>

Pre-2003, 3,958 megawatts of electricity, and approximately four to eight hours per day of electricity was produced throughout Iraq.<sup>1182</sup> 2,500 megawatts and 16 to 24 hours were generated in Baghdad.<sup>1183</sup> However, as of May 2007, only 3,657 megawatts and 10.9 hours per day were produced throughout all of Iraq.<sup>1184</sup> The total number of megawatts produced in Baghdad was not available for May 2007, however it is reported they received less than five to six hours of electricity per day.<sup>1185</sup> The U.S. goal had been to produce 6,000 megawatts of electricity in all of Iraq by July 1, 2004 and 2,500 megawatts of electricity in Baghdad by October 2003.<sup>1186</sup> The U.S. also had a national target of generating 24 hours of electricity for all of Iraq, including Baghdad.<sup>1187</sup>

In addition to failing to provide the necessary services needed for economic prosperity, unemployment and inflation are immensely high in Iraq. Many people are afraid to enter marketplaces because they are susceptible to bombings. Thus, unemployment and

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<sup>1175</sup> "Morgue data show increase in sectarian killings in Iraq," *The Washington Post*, 5/24/2007.

<sup>1176</sup> "A forum in Amman to enhance economic partnership between Iraqis and their foreign counterparts," Iraq Directory, 5/2/2007.

<sup>1177</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1178</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1179</sup> "Iraq Index," The Brookings Institution, 5/31/2007.

<sup>1180</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1181</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1182</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1183</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1184</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1185</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1186</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1187</sup> *Ibid*



inflation have risen from irregular economy activity. The unemployment rate varies in different areas of Iraq, but overall it lies between 25 and 40%.<sup>1188</sup> The Consumer Price Inflation rate stood at 50% as of 2006, and there was no recorded change in 2007.<sup>1189</sup> The Brookings Institutions stated that a liter of petrol, which was priced at 50 dinars in 2005, was 400 dinars as of 2007.<sup>1190</sup>

## 7. *Delegitimation of the State* **Rating: 10**

According to U.S. officials, Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr, leader of the Mahdi Army, reappeared in late May after months out of the public eye.<sup>1191</sup> Sadr made his first public appearance in Kufa on May 25<sup>th</sup>, where he vowed to serve and protect all Iraqi people, regardless of religion.<sup>1192</sup> He also demanded that the U.S. stop its occupation and asked for peace between the Mahdi Army and Iraq's security forces.<sup>1193</sup> Sadr is not only offering services typically provided by a government, he also has the ability to dictate the actions of many Iraqi Shiites, rendering the government illegitimate.<sup>1194</sup>

The Sunnis believe the government has failed to help them. The largest Sunni bloc, the Iraqi Consensus Front, threatened to quit the government in early May with Vice President Hashemi's support. They stated that the government had failed "to deal with Sunni concerns."<sup>1195</sup> More specifically, there was "a continued lack of services to Sunni areas of Baghdad. For months, those areas have been deprived of adequate food rations and hospital supplies."<sup>1196</sup> Vice President Hashemi also demanded that amendments be made to Iraq's Constitution. Should Maliki concede to Sunni demands, he risks alienating the Shiite majority. Should he stand by the Shiites, the Sunnis will leave the government and one of Iraq's Sunni-dominated neighbors may be offended.<sup>1197</sup>

Sunnis, Shiites, and Kurds have all expressed dissatisfaction with Iraq's oil policy. Sunnis and Shiites, whose territories do not contain as much oil as the Kurdish region, believe that oil revenue should be equally distributed throughout the country. An oil revenue sharing law was approved in February, but has not yet been passed. The Kurds believe that any action by the state forcing them to share oil revenues would be against the 2005 Iraqi constitution.<sup>1198</sup> They have completely disregarded the wishes of the government and made deals with foreign investors from Norway and China.<sup>1199</sup> In

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<sup>1188</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1189</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1190</sup> "Iraq Index," The Brookings Institution, 5/31/2007.

<sup>1191</sup> "Shiite cleric appears in Iraq after stay in Iran," *The New York Times*, 5/25/2007.

<sup>1192</sup> "Sadr reappears with nationalist ambitions," *The Washington Post*, 5/26/2007.

<sup>1193</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1194</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1195</sup> "Sunni ministers threaten to quit cabinet in Iraq," *The New York Times*, 5/1/2007.

<sup>1196</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1197</sup> "Sunni ultimatum rocks al-Maliki's position," Iraq Report, 5/9/2007.

<sup>1198</sup> "Iraq to pump first new oil since Saddam's fall," *Finance Times*, 5/16/2007.

<sup>1199</sup> *Ibid*

addition, 250 Kurdish soldiers have been appointed to guard oil fields near Arbil, where there have been attacks.<sup>1200</sup> Hence, the Kurdish region is acting completely independent of the central Iraqi government.

Chatham House has stated that the Iraqi government is “powerless and irrelevant.”<sup>1201</sup> In the South, Shiite groups are fighting over power and resources.<sup>1202</sup> In Anbar province, the U.S. is helping Sunni tribes to arm themselves in order to fight al-Qaeda.<sup>1203</sup> While tribes in Anbar are fighting an important enemy, the fact that the U.S. is arming a potentially dangerous sectarian group is often over-looked. After al-Qaeda is defeated, Sunnis in Anbar may turn their guns on Shiites or U.S. troops.<sup>1204</sup> Government employees and politicians, who have accepted the irrelevancy of the Iraqi government, are stepping down in large numbers stating that they “wish to pursue other interests.”<sup>1205</sup>

## 8. *Progressive Deterioration of Public Services*

**Rating: 9**

As the government and military are not effectively serving and protecting the Iraqi people, sectarian groups are providing public services. For example, Moqtada al-Sadr’s Mahdi Army patrols the streets of Kadhimiya to stop Sunni attacks.<sup>1206</sup> In addition, they “do social work, dispensing food and medical aid.”<sup>1207</sup> A Sadr spokesman stated, “We’re providing a public service. We act as the connection between the government and the families.”<sup>1208</sup> The Mahdi Army, however, only serves Shiites. In May 2007, the Iraqi Consensus Front, the largest Sunni bloc, threatened to walk out of the government because of “what Sunnis describe as a continued lack of services to Sunni areas of Baghdad. For months those areas have been deprived of adequate food rations and hospital supplies.”<sup>1209</sup> The Sunnis were also upset that the Iraqi Army had occupied one of the few hospitals safe for Sunnis in Baghdad’s heavily Shiite area.<sup>1210</sup>

Electricity production is below pre-war levels, especially in Baghdad. Iraq generated approximately 3,958 megawatts of electricity per day before the American invasion, 2,500 of which were used in Baghdad.<sup>1211</sup> As of May 2007, Iraq generated 3,675 megawatts of electricity.<sup>1212</sup> It is unclear how much is being generated in Baghdad, however citizens of the capital are only receiving around five hours of electricity per

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<sup>1200</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1201</sup> “War-torn Iraq ‘facing collapse,’” BBC News, 5/17/2007.

<sup>1202</sup> “The world today—US surge in Iraq a failure: Chatham House,” ABC Online, 5/18/2007.

<sup>1203</sup> “Uneasy alliance is taming one insurgent bastion,” *The New York Times*, 4/29/2007.

<sup>1204</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1205</sup> “Fewer hands steering Iraq policy,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 5/15/2007.

<sup>1206</sup> “Baghdad district is a model, but only for Shiites,” *The New York Times*, 5/2007.

<sup>1207</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1208</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1209</sup> “Sunni ministers threaten to quit cabinet in Iraq,” *The New York Times*, 5/1/2007.

<sup>1210</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1211</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1212</sup> *Ibid*

day.<sup>1213</sup> Before 2003, Baghdad received 16 to 24 hours of electricity per day.<sup>1214</sup> Inaccessible water has also been problematic in Iraq, with reports of broken pipes and flooding in several city streets.<sup>1215</sup> In addition, water purification has operated at slow rates. The Brookings Institution stated that water treatment capacities have diminished from 3 million meters-cubed per day, the operating level under Saddam Hussein.<sup>1216</sup>

Health care is abysmal, especially for wounded Iraqi soldiers. The Congressional Research Service estimated that there were over 33,000 injured soldiers as of April 2006.<sup>1217</sup> Because there are no military hospitals, soldiers have been left in substandard public hospitals, which do not have proper medications or doctors.<sup>1218</sup> There is only one prosthetics clinic in Iraq, no mental health care, and no center for burn treatment.<sup>1219</sup> Soldiers and their families often have to hire private physicians and pharmacies or bribe doctors and nurses to receive adequate care.<sup>1220</sup> Brigadier General Samir Hassan stated that soldiers are supposed to be reimbursed for all medical costs, but the ministry does not yet have an organized reimbursement system. He also stated that public hospitals do not restock medicines because it is too dangerous to go to the supply warehouse in Baghdad.<sup>1221</sup> Iraqi soldier Mizher Massen, who lost his leg in a roadside explosion, stated, “They did not provide me crutches, or a wheelchair. They provided me with nothing.”<sup>1222</sup> Massen’s family had to hire a private physician to care for Massen’s leg after they found the amputation was not performed correctly. The hospital also refused to give Massen antibiotics, so his family had to purchase them and tip the nurse to administer the appropriate injections and clean the wound. Massen’s family even had to clean his room to avoid infection.<sup>1223</sup> As a soldier’s salary is only \$460 per month, Massen spent his entire salary on his treatment, which totaled over \$3000.<sup>1224</sup>

**9. *Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights***  
**Rating: 10**

Educated Iraqi women are being fired from their jobs because their employers are receiving threats from Islamic Fundamentalists.<sup>1225</sup> Nuha Salim, spokeswoman for Baghdad-based NGO Women’s Freedom stated, “Insurgents and militias want us out of the work environment for many reasons. Some because they believe that women were

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<sup>1213</sup> “Iraq Index,” The Brookings Institution, 5/31/2007.

<sup>1214</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1215</sup> “Truck bomb kills 25 and wounds more than 100 in Baghdad, foiling U.S. security bid,” *The New York Times*, 5/23/2007.

<sup>1216</sup> “Iraq Index,” The Brookings Institution, 5/31/2007.

<sup>1217</sup> “For Iraqi soldiers, a medical morass,” *The Washington Post*, 5/6/2007.

<sup>1218</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1219</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1220</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1221</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1222</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1223</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1224</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1225</sup> “Iraqi women face unemployment, threats,” Iraq Slogger, 5/30/2007.

born to stay a home—cooking and cleaning—and others because they say it is against Islam to share the same space with men who are not close relatives.”<sup>1226</sup> Female teachers are being threatened to leave their jobs.<sup>1227</sup> Young girls who once went to school are also threatened to stay home.<sup>1228</sup> The insurgency has also targeted inter-sect marriages, and concerned families are forcing their daughters and sons to separate.<sup>1229</sup> Organizations such as Women’s Freedom, designed to promote free education and assistance for Iraqi women, are being forced to shut down because of security threats. 14% of Iraqi families depend on women for the majority or all of their income.<sup>1230</sup> Most of these women are now unemployed and have no assistance from outside organizations and NGOs.<sup>1231</sup> Unemployed Iraqi women with nowhere to turn have fled to neighboring countries. While they are safe from violence, they still cannot find employment.<sup>1232</sup> Syria, for example, has set strict employment regulations for Iraqi refugees to ensure that Syrians do not lose their jobs.<sup>1233</sup> As a result, in Damascus, many Iraqi women have had to engage in prostitution to support their families.<sup>1234</sup>

Thousands of Iraqis have been arrested without warrant and detained indefinitely.<sup>1235</sup> One prison in Khadimiyah has a capacity of 400, yet it is holding 1,000 detainees.<sup>1236</sup> Another, in Mahmudiyah, holds 827 despite its capacity for 300.<sup>1237</sup> Many detainees have been held for months, and are still unaware of the charges they have been imprisoned for.<sup>1238</sup> As prisoners wait for a trial, they are tortured. A UN official stated, “They described routine ill treatment or abuse while they were there. Routine beatings, suspension by limbs for long periods, electric shock treatments to sensitive parts of the body, threats of ill treatment of close relatives.”<sup>1239</sup> Maan Zeik al-Shimmari, an official with a government legal committee formed to monitor prisons, stated, “No detainee goes in that doesn’t get beaten. They take confessions by force.”<sup>1240</sup> Shimmari also admitted that prison guards are not trained to deal with detainees.<sup>1241</sup> The U.S. affirmed that the detainee system is disorganized and corrupt, labeling the Interior Ministry as a “black hole.”<sup>1242</sup> No one is investigating each detainee or effectively monitoring prisons.<sup>1243</sup> To ease the crowding, the U.S. is building two facilities in eastern Baghdad: one in Rusafa,

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<sup>1226</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1227</sup> “Iraqi women face unemployment, threats,” Iraq Slogger, 5/30/2007.

<sup>1228</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1229</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1230</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1231</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1232</sup> “Desperate Iraqi refugees turn to sex trade in Syria,” *The New York Times*, 5/29/2007.

<sup>1233</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1234</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1235</sup> “New detainees strain Iraq’s jails,” *The Washington Post*, 5/15/2007.

<sup>1236</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1237</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1238</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1239</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1240</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1241</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1242</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1243</sup> *Ibid*

capable of holding 5,250, and one at Baladiyah, where 850 prisoners will live in tents large enough for 30.<sup>1244</sup>

**10. Security Apparatus Operates as a “State Within a State”  
Rating: 10**

As the Iraqi government continues to fail to protect the people, private militias have attempted to provide defense. Sunnis have been armed by the U.S. to fight al-Qaeda. While this is temporarily beneficial, it is detracting from the Iraqi government’s monopoly on force. The Sunnis tribes have unified themselves into a coalition, the “Anbar Salvation Council,” which is designed to help defend communities in Anbar as the Iraqi military has failed to do so.<sup>1245</sup>

Violent attacks by sectarian groups cannot be controlled by the military. Because of the lack of security, Chatham House has stated that Iraq is very close to being a “failed state.”<sup>1246</sup> The Chatham House report also stated, “There is not ‘a’ civil war in Iraq, but many civil wars and insurgencies involving a number of communities and organizations struggling for power.”<sup>1247</sup>

The Green Zone, formerly the safest area in Iraq, has come under more frequent and intense attack during May. It was constantly bombarded by mortar shells, especially from May 15<sup>th</sup> to May 17<sup>th</sup>, when two died and ten were injured.<sup>1248</sup> Iraq’s security has failed to such an extent that even this previously impenetrable location is now vulnerable.<sup>1249</sup>

SCIRI and Moqtada al-Sadr’s Mahdi Army, the two leading Shiite groups in the government, have reportedly fought against each other in recent skirmishes. Each party, though involved in the government, has its own militia, which undermines the Iraqi military.<sup>1250</sup>

**11. Rise of Factionalized Elites  
Rating: 10**

The pending oil revenue sharing law is problematic for Iraqi elites. The oil industry remains unstable and “semi-autonomous” Kurdistan is the only area that is moderately stable enough to attract foreign investors. In May, the Norwegian company DNO made arrangements to drill in Kurdistan.<sup>1251</sup> Two Chinese rigs, with a third planning on joining, also began to explore the Kurdish region.<sup>1252</sup> The fact that Kurdistan has attracted foreign

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<sup>1244</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1245</sup> “Iraqis say insurgent leader is dead,” *The Washington Post*, 5/2/2007.

<sup>1246</sup> “60 die in Iraq; study warns of collapse,” *The Washington Post*, 5/18/2007.

<sup>1247</sup> “War-torn Iraq ‘facing collapse,’” *BBC News*, 5/17/2007.

<sup>1248</sup> “60 die in Iraq; study warns of collapse,” *The Washington Post*, 5/18/2007.

<sup>1249</sup> “Sunni ministers threaten to quit cabinet in Iraq,” *The New York Times*, 5/1/2007.

<sup>1250</sup> “Maliki and Sadr,” *Conflicts Forum*, 5/17/2007.

<sup>1251</sup> “Iraq to pump first new oil since Saddam’s fall,” *Finance Times*, 5/16/2007.

<sup>1252</sup> *Ibid*

investors has angered Shiites, and especially Sunnis, who hold no oil on their territory. An oil law, designed to ensure oil revenue distribution and even economic development, was approved in February, however it has yet to pass. The deadline for the law to pass was set for May, but Iraqi officials believe that this date is unlikely.<sup>1253</sup> The Iraqi government believes that Kurdistan is out of its jurisdiction by making deals with foreign companies.<sup>1254</sup> The Kurds, in turn, believe that limiting Kurdistan's right to sign deals is in violation of the 2005 constitution, and that Baghdad's disorganization should not stop them from making arrangements that will enhance development.<sup>1255</sup> Some believe it is unlikely that a bill will ever be passed.<sup>1256</sup> The Kurds want regional control over oil contracts, as they own most of Iraq's oil, and "no law regarding oil will pass without the approval of the Kurds" because Parliament "operates by consensus."<sup>1257</sup> Other politicians, such as Sheik Jalaladin al-Saghir, believe that the Kurds are trying to exert their authority. "I think it's a maneuver", Saghir explained, adding that the Kurds "will move forward to pass the law since everybody needs it."<sup>1258</sup>

The largest bloc of Sunnis in Parliament, the Iraqi Consensus Front, threatened to quit the cabinet in early May. Not only are the Sunnis angry because of political issues, such as the oil law and the failure to reverse de-Baathification, but also because the Shiite-dominated government will not address Sunni concerns.<sup>1259</sup> The New York Times reported that, "the crisis was set off by what Sunnis describe as a continued lack of services to Sunni areas of Baghdad. For months, those areas have been deprived of adequate food rations and hospital supplies."<sup>1260</sup>

Shiites have divided amongst themselves. Tensions between elites from SCIRI and Moqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army have reportedly increased during the month of May. Sadrists believe that Hakim's family had a hand in the murder of Moqtada al-Sadr's father, while SCIRI members believe that Sadrists played a role in Mohammed Baqir al-Hakim's murder in 2004. Sadrists also claim that SCIRI receives too much support from Iran, as opposed to Moqtada al-Sadr, who is a fierce Iraqi nationalist.<sup>1261</sup> Sadrists denied claims that Moqtada al-Sadr fled to Iran during the U.S. troop surge.<sup>1262</sup> One Hakim follower stated, "No one in SCIRI dares to go to Al Sadr City, it is just too dangerous."

## **12. *Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors***

**Rating: 10**

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<sup>1253</sup> "Iraq to pump first new oil since Saddam's fall," *Finance Times*, 5/16/2007.

<sup>1254</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1255</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1256</sup> "A draft oil bill stirs opposition from Iraqi blocs," *The New York Times*, 5/3/2007.

<sup>1257</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1258</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1259</sup> "Sunni ministers threaten to quit cabinet in Iraq," *The New York Times*, 5/1/2007.

<sup>1260</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1261</sup> "Maliki and Sadr," *Conflicts Forum*, 5/17/2007.

<sup>1262</sup> *Ibid*

The U.S. is in the midst of its troop “surge.” When the surge is complete, the U.S. will have 25 battalions of troops and 38 battalions of Iraqi soldiers in Baghdad.<sup>1263</sup> The U.S. also announced that 35,000 soldiers would be deployed to Iraq in August to relieve U.S. troops that have been there for months.<sup>1264</sup> The new troops will be in Iraq until the end of 2007. The Bush Administration announced that high U.S. troop levels will need to be maintained at least until spring 2008, stating that the reason for high levels of sectarian violence after February 2006 was the lack of U.S. troops to pacify violence.<sup>1265</sup> However, attacks have either stayed the same or increased since the U.S. troop surge began in February 2007, and “U.S. military commands that oversee Baghdad and Iraq as a whole have so far failed to meet requests to release current statistics on attack trends, with some U.S. officials voicing concern that the information would be skewed by critics to argue that the strategy is not working.”<sup>1266</sup>

The U.S. believes that Iran has trained secret cells for Moqtada al-Sadr’s Mahdi Army and funded the Mahdi Army and other Iraqi militias with “hundreds of millions of dollars.”<sup>1267</sup> U.S. Army General Petraeus stated that Iran is fueling sectarian violence in Iraq and called Iranian involvement “absolutely nefarious.”<sup>1268</sup> Iranian trained cells are learning to use explosive projectiles, rockets, mortars, IEDs, and how to effectively execute operations.<sup>1269</sup> While Iran is a Shiite theocracy, they are, to a lesser extent, also arming Sunnis.<sup>1270</sup> It is likely the Iranians are arming Sunnis not only to hurt the U.S., but also to ensure that they have as much influence possible in Iraq in the future.<sup>1271</sup> According to General Petraeus, the U.S. military captured “the Iraqi leader of a network that brings projectiles into Iraq from Iran, as well as other members of extremist cells provided with funding training, and munitions by the al-Quds Force of the Iranian Revolution Guard Corps... Also seized were computer documents and records detailing attacks against U.S. forces, presumably kept to justify financing by the Quds Force.”<sup>1272</sup> The projectile and roadside bombs provided by Iran have caused approximately 70% of U.S. casualties.<sup>1273</sup>

A Chatham House report on Iraq stated that efforts to arm Sunnis against al-Qaeda have only been moderately successful, and al-Qaeda still has momentum.<sup>1274</sup> However, on May 1<sup>st</sup>, Iraqi government spokesman Ali al-Dabbagh announced that Abu Ayyub al-Masri, the successor of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq, was killed in a fight with Sunni tribes in Anbar province.<sup>1275</sup> Al-Qaeda in Iraq has denied Masri’s death and the U.S. could not confirm it, however, if it proves true, U.S. ambassador Ryan

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<sup>1263</sup> “Commanders in Iraq see surge into ’08,” *The Washington Post*, 5/9/2007.

<sup>1264</sup> “Commanders in Iraq see surge into ’08,” *The Washington Post*, 5/9/2007.

<sup>1265</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1266</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1267</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1268</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1269</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1270</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1271</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1272</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1273</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1274</sup> “War-torn Iraq ‘facing collapse,’” BBC News, 5/17/2007.

<sup>1275</sup> “Iraqis say insurgent leader is dead,” *The Washington Post*, 5/2/2007.

Crocker stated, “I would not expect it in any ways to bring an end to al-Qaeda’s activities in Iraq.”<sup>1276</sup> Al-Qaeda has continued to operate despite the potential loss of Masri, and has focused its attacks on Shiite shrine areas, such as Karbala and Najaf.<sup>1277</sup> Because of al-Qaeda’s wide reach, fighters from many different countries have been sent in and out of Iraq and other Middle Eastern and North African countries.<sup>1278</sup> It is believed that Northern Africa and Europe will be the next fronts for al-Qaeda, and soldiers will use what they have learned in Iraq to carry out missions in each location.<sup>1279</sup>

A regional conference was held on May 4<sup>th</sup>, 2007 in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, where Iraq’s neighbors discussed ways achieve stability.<sup>1280</sup> Among the participants were Iraq, the U.S., Iran, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, and the Group of Eight Industrialized Nations.<sup>1281</sup> The participating states pledged to support Iraqi democracy and sovereignty, and denounced violence in Iraq. The Iraqi government promised to speed up the political reform process, attempt to reconcile ethnic groups, and disarm and disband militias.<sup>1282</sup> While the goals established at Sharm el-Sheikh were positive, side-disputes and mistrust hindered the conference. Sunni Arab countries were “dissatisfied” with the Shiite-led government and tensions between the U.S and Iran were evident.<sup>1283</sup> Iraqi Prime Minister Maliki affirmed the importance of positive regional support. “The only way to achieve [success] is through asking the U.S., Syria, and Iran to keep away from settling their scores in Iraq.”<sup>1284</sup> Also during the conference, U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice met privately with Syrian Foreign Minister Walid al-Moualem to discuss how to decrease the flow of foreign fighters that travel through Syria into Iraq.<sup>1285</sup>

Overall, there are an estimated 2 million Iraqi refugees, 1.2 million of which are in Syria, 750,000 are in Jordan, 100,000 are in Egypt, 54,000 are in Iran, 40,000 are in Lebanon, and 10,000 are in Turkey.<sup>1286</sup> Jordan and Saudi Arabia have made it difficult for Iraqis to enter by posing restrictions.<sup>1287</sup> Syria, which welcomes displaced Iraqis, has purposefully limited employment opportunities for refugees.<sup>1288</sup>

As of mid-may, DNO, a Norwegian oil company, made arrangements to start pumping oil in a Kurdistan.<sup>1289</sup> Two Chinese oil rigs, and potentially a third, were also exploring the Kurdish region.<sup>1290</sup> Allowing foreign companies to invest in Kurdish oil would spark

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<sup>1276</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1277</sup> “Commanders in Iraq see surge into ‘08,” *The Washington Post*, 5/9/2007.

<sup>1278</sup> “From Iraq to Algeria, al-Qaeda’s long reach,” *The Washington Post*, 5/30/2007.

<sup>1279</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1280</sup> “At meeting on Iraq, doubt and détente,” *The Washington Post*, 5/5/2007.

<sup>1281</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1282</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1283</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1284</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1285</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1286</sup> “The flight from Iraq,” *The New York Times Magazine*, 5/13/2007.

<sup>1287</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1288</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1289</sup> “Iraq to pump first new oil since Saddam’s fall,” *Financial Times*, 5/16/2007.

<sup>1290</sup> *Ibid*



economic development, yet foreigners would extract a large amount of Kurdistan's oil wealth.<sup>1291</sup> Syria is also interested in cooperating with Iraq to investigate prospects for oil fields on the Iraqi-Syrian border.<sup>1292</sup> There had been agreements to explore the Iraqi-Syrian border before the invasion in 2003, but they were called off as violence ensued.<sup>1293</sup>

Tensions between Turkey and Kurdistan continue to escalate. The PKK, a Kurdish terrorist group, has established camps of "renegade fighters" on the Iraqi-Turkish border, and have sent these fighters into Turkey to start a rebellion among Turkish Kurds.<sup>1294</sup> As a result, Ankara has "massed thousands of troops on its side of the border, and has warned it will dismantle the PKK camps if the U.S. military will not use some of its nearly 150,000 troops in Iraq to do it."<sup>1295</sup> Turkey has also stated that if Kirkuk becomes part of the Kurdish region in the December 2007 referendum, they will view it as a direct threat to the rights of Kirkuk's large Turkmen minority.<sup>1296</sup> In response, Massoud Barzani, president of the Kurdish regional government, threatened to ignite a rebellion among the 30 million Kurds living in southeastern Turkey should Turkey continue "interfering."<sup>1297</sup> U.S. ambassador Ryan Crocker traveled to Kurdistan to warn the PKK that its actions are unacceptable, but there has been no concrete movement by the U.S. against the camps of fighters.<sup>1298</sup> Should Turkey and Kurdistan clash, the U.S. will have to choose between siding with Turkey, an important NATO ally, or Kurdistan, who they are obligated to protect.<sup>1299</sup> The U.S. knows that the Kurds are their strongest ally in Iraq, and also fear that a "Turkish invasion of Iraq would provoke a similar incursion from Iran, which has its own Kurdish problem."<sup>1300</sup>

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<sup>1291</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1292</sup> "Syria hopes to resume cooperation with Iraq for the exploration of oil in border areas," Iraq Directory, 5/2/2007.

<sup>1293</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1294</sup> "Turkish-Kurdish dispute tests U.S. strategic alliances," *The Washington Post*, 5/8/2007.

<sup>1295</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1296</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1297</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1298</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1299</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1300</sup> *Ibid*

**May 2007**  
**Core 5**

**1. *Police***  
**Rating: Poor**

Sectarian prejudices and corruption are endemic within the Iraqi police and security forces. Militants continue to infiltrate security forces, especially in Sadr City, where Moqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army makes up the police staff. A member of SCIRI expressed his fear of Sadr City and the Mahdi Army's authority, stating, "No one in SCIRI dares to go to Al Sadr City, it is just too dangerous."<sup>1301</sup> Thus, as the police force is synonymous to the insurgency, insurgents act with impunity. In turn, the Iraqi people have been left unprotected. The police have also been accused of human rights abuses on several occasions. They have brutally beaten and tortured thousands of detainees who have been arrested without warrant in Iraq. In a UN report the abuses are described as, "routine beatings, suspension by limbs for long periods, electric shock treatments to sensitive parts of the body, threats of ill treatment of close relatives."<sup>1302</sup> Because many Iraqi police officers are insurgents there are no consequences for terrorist groups, implying that the violence will persist in Iraq's communities.

**2. *Leadership (Executive & Legislative)***  
**Rating: Weak**

The Iraqi government and its leaders are viewed as irrelevant. Prime Minister Maliki cannot make crucial decisions without alienating either the Sunnis, Shiites, and Kurds. For example, the Sunnis threatened to walk out of the government in early May, as there has been "a continued lack of services to Sunni areas of Baghdad. For months, those areas have been deprived of adequate food rations and hospital supplies."<sup>1303</sup> Vice President Hashemi demanded constitutional reforms, for instance, the reversal of de-Baathification, and more assistance for Sunnis from the government.<sup>1304</sup> However, should Maliki give assistance to the Sunnis, he risks alienating the Shiite population.<sup>1305</sup> If he continues to support only the Shiites, the Sunnis will walk out of the government.<sup>1306</sup> Thus, Maliki has no leverage whatsoever in the government. Government officials have conveyed that they do not have control over situations in

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<sup>1301</sup> "Maliki and Sadr," Conflicts Forum, 5/17/2007.

<sup>1302</sup> "New detainees strain Iraq's jails" *The Washington Post*, 5/15/2007.

<sup>1303</sup> "Sunni ministers threaten to quit cabinet in Iraq," *The New York Times*, 5/1/2007.

<sup>1304</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1305</sup> "Sunni ultimatum rocks al-Maliki's position" Iraq Report, 5/9/2007.

<sup>1306</sup> *Ibid*

Anbar or Southern Iraq. Shiites continue to fight amongst themselves for power and resources while Sunni tribes, in need of protection, have received arms from the U.S. to fight al-Qaeda.<sup>1307</sup> The government has absolutely no power over these situations. Leadership in Iraq is also undermined by religious figures, such as Moqtada al-Sadr. Sadr, who disappeared early into the U.S. troop “surge,” made his first public appearance in three months in Kufa on May 25<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1308</sup> He promised to protect Iraqis of all religions, and asked the Mahdi Army and the Iraqi security forces to cease fighting.<sup>1309</sup> Sadr’s speech drew a large number of supporters, implying that he has more power to influence the Iraqi people than the government.<sup>1310</sup>

### **3. *Civil Service*** **Rating: Poor**

The Iraqi government’s disorganization has resulted in an ineffective civil service. As a result, sectarian groups are providing public services to the Iraqi people. For example, Moqtada al-Sadr controls six government Ministries: Health, Transportation, Agriculture, Tourism, Provincial Affairs, and Civil Service.<sup>1311</sup> In addition, the Mahdi Army also does “social work, dispensing food and medical aid.”<sup>1312</sup> The Iraqi government has also failed to provide electricity and water purification to communities. According to the Brookings Institution, Baghdad, which once received 16 to 24 hours of electricity per day, is now receiving approximately five hours per day.<sup>1313</sup> Water purification is operating at a slower rate than the 3 million meters-cubed per day treated under Saddam Hussein.<sup>1314</sup> Corruption continues to be endemic, and money is wasted within the government while the civil service has been unable to provide relief for those burdened by high unemployment levels, ranging between 25 and 40% throughout Iraq, and high consumer price inflation, which stands at 50%.<sup>1315</sup>

### **4. *Judiciary*** **Rating: Poor**

The judicial system remains disorganized and ineffective. Thousands of prisoners continue to be detained without warrant in overcrowded facilities.<sup>1316</sup> Many human rights organizations, the U.N., and the U.S. have affirmed that torture is common in detention centers, and the judicial system does not have the organization to investigate each

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<sup>1307</sup> “The world today—US surge in Iraq a failure: Chatham House,” ABC Online, 5/18/2007 and “Uneasy alliance is taming one insurgent bastion,” *The New York Times*, 4/29/2007.

<sup>1308</sup> “Sadr reappears with nationalist ambitions,” *The Washington Post*, 5/26/2007.

<sup>1309</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1310</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1311</sup> “Al-Sadr bloc: ministers to quit government,” CNN, 4/16/2007.

<sup>1312</sup> “Baghdad district is a model, but only for Shiites,” *The New York Times*, 5/2007.

<sup>1313</sup> “Iraq Index” The Brookings Institution, 5/31/2007.

<sup>1314</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1315</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1316</sup> “New detainees strain Iraq’s jails” *The Washington Post*, 5/15/2007.

prisoner and offer a fair trial.<sup>1317</sup> In addition to disorganization, corruption is to blame for the detainee situation.<sup>1318</sup> While innocent people are detained every day, insurgents have not been brought to justice, as many court officials have been bribed or fear retaliation. In order to relieve the overcrowding and, hopefully, the use of torture, the U.S. is currently building two new facilities for the Rusafa Law and Order Complex.<sup>1319</sup> The Complex will be located near the Interior Ministry building and will contain courthouses and dorms for lawyers and judges.<sup>1320</sup> The U.S. hopes that the Rusafa Law and Order Complex will give more organization and credibility to the detention system.<sup>1321</sup>

The judicial branch is making minor efforts to reduce corruption in the government. In early May, Iraq's "top judicial authority asked Parliament to lift immunity for a prominent Sunni lawmaker, possibly clearing the way for his arrest on charges of provoking sectarian violence."<sup>1322</sup> The lawmaker, Adnan al-Dulaimi, is suspected of involvement in the kidnapping of American journalist, Jill Carroll and involvement in a car bomb that was planned for the Green Zone in September.<sup>1323</sup> While it is positive that the government is attempting to uncover insurgents and criminal behavior from within the government, only Sunnis have been subject to investigation thus far. Shiites have remained free from scrutiny, suggesting that the judiciary institution is simply another tool of the Shiite agenda.

## **5. Military**

### **Rating: Weak**

The Iraqi people do not view the military as adequate, thus insurgent groups and private militias have taken the task of defending communities. The Sunni tribes in Anbar province who have been armed by the U.S. to fight al-Qaeda have formed the "Anbar Salvation Council," which is designed to defend Anbar communities as the Iraqi military has failed to do so.<sup>1324</sup>

Violent attacks by sectarian groups cannot be controlled by the military. As a result, "there is not 'a' civil war in Iraq, but many civil wars and insurgencies involving a number of communities and organizations struggling for power."<sup>1325</sup> For example, competing political foes SCIRI and Moqtada al Sadr's Mahdi Army have reportedly engaged in several violent skirmishes during May.<sup>1326</sup> Areas formerly viewed as secure are no longer safe. The Green Zone, for example, was bombarded with mortar shells

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<sup>1317</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1318</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1319</sup> "New detainees strain Iraq's jails" *The Washington Post*, 5/15/2007.

<sup>1320</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1321</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1322</sup> "Iraqi courts seek to end Sunni's immunity," *The New York Times*, 5/6/2007.

<sup>1323</sup> *Ibid*

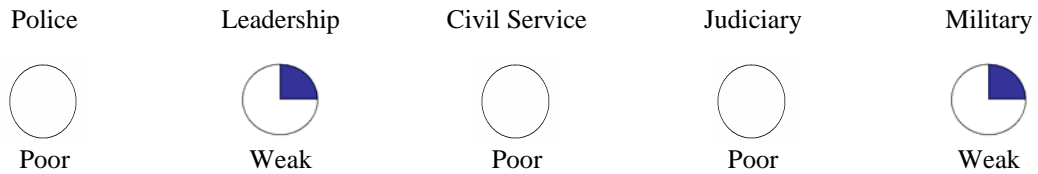
<sup>1324</sup> "Iraqis say insurgent leader is dead," *The Washington Post*, 5/2/2007.

<sup>1325</sup> "War-torn Iraq 'facing collapse,'" BBC News, 5/17/2007.

<sup>1326</sup> "Maliki and Sadr," *Conflicts Forum*, 5/17/2007.

throughout the month of May.<sup>1327</sup> From May 15<sup>th</sup> to May 17<sup>th</sup>, mortar attacks on the Green Zone were particularly intense, killing two and injuring ten.<sup>1328</sup> As the military continues to be disorganized, corrupt, and ineffective, vigilantes are taking security into their own hands to protect their communities.

### Core Five State Institutions



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<sup>1327</sup> “60 die in Iraq; study warns of collapse,” *The Washington Post*, 5/18/2007.

<sup>1328</sup> *Ibid*

**June 2007**

**1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures***  
**Rating: 10**

Iraq's elderly and children are particularly at risk for waterborne illness, according to Iraq's Ministry of Health.<sup>1329</sup> Poor water and sewage systems exacerbate the problem, as outbreaks of cholera were reported in the southern city of Najaf.<sup>1330</sup> All those sickened with cholera were children under 12.<sup>1331</sup> Children under 5, women between the ages of 19 and 45, and the elderly are most susceptible.<sup>1332</sup> Cases of viral hepatitis, diarrhea, typhoid, and bacterial infections are on the rise among children and the elderly in Baghdad.<sup>1333</sup> UNICEF has warned that the shortage of clean water supplies may result in a significant increase in cases of diarrhea, which is a leading cause of death among Iraqi children.<sup>1334</sup>

Children in Iraq are disproportionately affected by sectarian violence and fighting.<sup>1335</sup> According to a researcher of family and children's affairs at the University of Baghdad, "Some 60-70 percent of Iraqi children are suffering from psychological problems and their future is not bright." Many children have lost one or both parents and the lack of infrastructure for dealing with the social and physical needs of the rising number of orphaned children means many will not be taken care of.<sup>1336</sup> "Thousands, if not tens of thousands, of children will have lost at least one parent."<sup>1337</sup> Without an adequate system to provide for children left without guardians in the war, many will be susceptible to harmful forms of labor.<sup>1338</sup>

**2. *Massive Movement of Refugees or Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)***  
**Rating: 10**

Since the February 2006 bombing of the Shiite Shrine in Sammara, 142,260 families or roughly 1,037,615 individuals have been displaced, according to a report issued by the

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<sup>1329</sup> "Lacking of clean water making Iraqis sick," *Iraqslogger.com*, 7/3/2007.

<sup>1330</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1331</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1332</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1333</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1334</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1335</sup> "Iraq: traumatized Iraqi children suffer psychological damage," *IRIN*, 7/16/2007.

<sup>1336</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1337</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1338</sup> *Ibid*

Iraqi Red Crescent Society (IRCS).<sup>1339</sup> IRCS found that, “currently, the number of displaced people is increasing at an average of 80,000-100,000 people a month.”<sup>1340</sup> Of the roughly 1.9 million displaced persons, 35.7 percent were children under 12; 32.8 percent were women; and 29.7 percent were men, according to the IRCS report.<sup>1341</sup> UNHCR estimates over 2 million people to be displaced within Iraq and another 2.2 million Iraqi refugees abroad.<sup>1342</sup> Baghdad topped the list with the most IDPs at 41,969 families, Mosul Province was second with 15,063 displaced families, and Salaheddin Province was third with 12,781 displaced families.<sup>1343</sup>

Christians from the Baghdad neighborhoods of Dora, New Baghdad, and Mashtel have fled the capital for the northern Iraqi village of Kara-Ula.<sup>1344</sup> Many Christians living in Baghdad are forced to relocate to the Kurdish north or have fled to Jordan and Syria after receiving threats against their lives.<sup>1345</sup>

### **3. Legacy of Vengeance Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia Rating: 10**

In the first week of June, nearly 200 people were killed in Baghdad.<sup>1346</sup> Outside of the capital 32 bodies were found riddled with bullets and showing visible signs of torture.<sup>1347</sup> The number of unidentified bodies found dumped in and around Baghdad was up 41 percent in June compared to January.<sup>1348</sup> Records from the Health Ministry’s morgue found “453 unidentified corpses, some bound, blindfolded, and bearing signs of torture in Baghdad.”<sup>1349</sup> The number of dead found in Baghdad had been on the decline since January when 321 bodies were discovered.<sup>1350</sup> Health Ministry officials saw a sharp increase in unidentified corpses in May and June.<sup>1351</sup>

Baqubah, 35 miles northeast of Baghdad, is the scene of growing violence and sectarian fighting.<sup>1352</sup> Insurgents attacked police commander Col. Ali Dilayan al-Jorani’s house in Baqubah, the capital city of Diyala Province, and killed the Sunni police commander’s wife, a son, two brothers, and 10 guards which included many of his extended family, and kidnapped at least 2 of his children.<sup>1353</sup> Insurgent activity, particularly violence perpetrated by the Sunni extremist group al-Qaeda in Iraq, has made Baquba the most

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<sup>1339</sup> “Iraq: number of IDPs top one million, says Iraqi Red Crescent,” *IRIN*, 7/9/2007.

<sup>1340</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1341</sup> “Iraq: number of IDPs top one million, says Iraqi Red Crescent,” *IRIN*, 7/9/2007.

<sup>1342</sup> “Iraq: Iraq’s displacement crisis continues to worsen, says UNHCR,” *IRIN*, 6/10/2007.

<sup>1343</sup> “Iraq: number of IDPs top one million, says Iraqi Red Crescent,” *IRIN*, 7/9/2007.

<sup>1344</sup> “Baghdad Christians find new life in Kurdish north,” *The New York Times*, 6/27/2007.

<sup>1345</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1346</sup> “199 killed in June, Iraq says,” *CNN*, 6/7/2006.

<sup>1347</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1348</sup> “Body count in Baghdad up in June,” *The Washington Post*, 7/5/2007.

<sup>1349</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1350</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1351</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1352</sup> “Insurgents attack police chief’s home,” *The Washington Post*, 6/9/2007.

<sup>1353</sup> *Ibid*

violent area outside of Baghdad.<sup>1354</sup> The attack on Jorani's home and family is alleged to be done in retaliation of the killing three al-Qaeda in Iraq fighters in Diyala.<sup>1355</sup>

#### **4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight*** **Rating: 10**

Sectarian violence, death threats, and the weak economy are significant factors in the mass exodus of Iraq's professional class.<sup>1356</sup> Fleeing to the more stable Kurdish north and to neighboring Syria, Jordan, Egypt and the Gulf, Iraq's middle class is financially more able to leave the violence than any other group.<sup>1357</sup> According to the Brookings Institution's Iraq Index, an estimated 40 percent of Iraq's professional class has fled the country.<sup>1358</sup>

In interviews with college students from seven of Iraq's universities, *The New York Times* found that an overwhelming majority said they expected to leave Iraq immediately after completing their degrees.<sup>1359</sup> The violence in Baghdad has moved onto the campuses of college students, making it extremely difficult to complete an advanced degree.<sup>1360</sup> Class sizes in Mosul have dropped significantly and over 200 professors have been killed in the war, according to Abed Thiab al-Ajili, Iraq's Minister of Higher Education.<sup>1361</sup>

#### **5. *Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines*** **Rating: 9**

The Kurdish region of northern Iraq is advertised as "The Other Iraq."<sup>1362</sup> The difference between the Kurdish region and the rest of Iraq is distinguishable.<sup>1363</sup> The Kurdish Regional Government's de facto autonomy allows foreign investment to pour into the region, building shopping centers, hotels, and residential complexes.<sup>1364</sup> Austrian, Turkish and Kurdish investors are constructing a 500-bed hospital, while Austrian Airlines started twice-weekly flights between Vienna and Erbil in December 2006.<sup>1365</sup> Aside of the Kurdish north, Iraq's economy is bereft of investment and marked by high inflation and extreme unemployment.<sup>1366</sup>

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<sup>1354</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1355</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1356</sup> "Iraq's middle class flees hardship and death threats," *Financial Times*, 6/19/2006.

<sup>1357</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1358</sup> "Iraq Index," *The Brookings Institution*, 5/31/2006.

<sup>1359</sup> "Cheated of future, Iraqi graduates want to flee," *The New York Times*, 6/5/2007.

<sup>1360</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1361</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1362</sup> "Pointing to stability, Kurds in Iraq lure investors," *The New York Times*, 6/27/2007.

<sup>1363</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1364</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1365</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1366</sup> "Optimistic Kurds say they can draw investment," *The New York Times*, 6/27/2007.



**6. *Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline***  
**Rating: 9**

Iraq's sluggish economy, high unemployment rate, and under performing oil industry festers violence.<sup>1367</sup> With unemployment between 30 and 50 percent, militant groups recruit Iraq's disaffected youth with ease.<sup>1368</sup> Sixty percent of Iraq's population is estimated to be under the age of 25.<sup>1369</sup> Producing an estimated 2 million barrels per day, Iraq has failed to reach its projected aim of 2.5 million barrels per day—around \$3 billion a month.<sup>1370</sup> Corruption and a lack of security continue to harm Iraq's economy.<sup>1371</sup> Oil smugglers can earn as much as \$5 million each week in the south.<sup>1372</sup> The electric and oil sector remain below prewar levels despite nearly \$7.4 billion in U.S. funds to rebuild.<sup>1373</sup> Per capita GDP and living standards are also below prewar levels.<sup>1374</sup>

In northern Iraq, per capita income is roughly one fourth higher than the rest of Iraq at around \$3,500.<sup>1375</sup> Real estate is booming in the Kurdish region and foreign investment is on the rise.<sup>1376</sup>

**7. *Delegitimization of the State***  
**Rating: 10**

On June 29<sup>th</sup>, Sunni cabinet members demonstrated their growing frustrations with the Shiite led government, when six Iraqi Accordance Front members withdrew from their positions in protest of continued alienation and recent allegations against Culture Minister Asad Kamal al-Hashimi.<sup>1377</sup> The previous week the Iraqi Accordance Front halted its participation in response to the firing of the Sunni Speaker Mahmoud al-Mashhadani.<sup>1378</sup> Six Sadrist cabinet members resigned from their cabinet positions earlier this year when a timetable for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq was not established, leaving only 13 of the 34 cabinet positions filled.<sup>1379</sup> Iraqi Accordance

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<sup>1367</sup> "Economic doldrums in Iraq," *Council of Foreign Relations*, 6/20/2007.

<sup>1368</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1369</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1370</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1371</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1372</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1373</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1374</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1375</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1376</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1377</sup> "Six members of Sunni bloc quit Iraqi cabinet in protest," *The Washington Post*, 6/30/2007.

<sup>1378</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1379</sup> *Ibid*

ministers called for an official investigation of the charges brought against Hashimi, as well as reforms to be made to Iraq's troubled detainee system.<sup>1380</sup> In addition, Deputy Prime Minister Salam Z. al-Zoabee; ministers of culture, higher education, and planning; and state ministers for foreign affairs and women's affairs are boycotting the Maliki government.<sup>1381</sup>

## **8. *Progressive Deterioration of Public Services*** **Rating: 9**

Water and sewage systems continue to deteriorate, as the poor security situation makes repairs difficult and violence displaces millions to locations without adequate infrastructure.<sup>1382</sup> Clean water is difficult to access and people resort to getting their water from unreliable sources.<sup>1383</sup> UNICEF provided a water tanker service beginning in April 2003, which reached roughly 120,000 people a day, supplying 400 million liters of water to 10 residential districts, 5 schools and six hospitals.<sup>1384</sup> A lack of funding forced UNICEF to cancel its water supply program.<sup>1385</sup>

In the south, particularly in the governorates of Najaf, Basra, and Muthana, the increased number of displaced students and a shortage of teachers and school supplies overwhelm the education system.<sup>1386</sup> According to the media spokesperson for the secretary of education in Najaf, "Our schools have deteriorated and are in urgent need of repair. Many of them have closed for lack of teaching resources."<sup>1387</sup> The roads in Najaf are in great disrepair, transportation is unreliable or nonexistent, and the sewage system needs to be fixed in several neighborhoods.<sup>1388</sup>

## **9. *Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights*** **Rating: 10**

Threats and attacks against Iraq's judges have a negative effect on the independence of Iraq's courts.<sup>1389</sup> The judicial system is overwhelmed with casework and the backlog has resulted in overcrowding in prisons and detention centers.<sup>1390</sup> Detainee abuse remains a significant problem in pre-trial detention centers.<sup>1391</sup>

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<sup>1380</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1381</sup> "Six members of Sunni bloc quit Iraqi cabinet in protest," *The Washington Post*, 6/30/2007.

<sup>1382</sup> "Lacking of clean water making Iraqis sick," *Iraqslogger.com*, 7/3/2007.

<sup>1383</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1384</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1385</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1386</sup> "Iraq: hundreds of displaced children in the south unable to get school places," *IRIN*, 5/7/2007.

<sup>1387</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1388</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1389</sup> "Measuring stability and security in Iraq," U.S. Department of Defense Report to Congress, 6/7/2007.

<sup>1390</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1391</sup> *Ibid*

On June 24<sup>th</sup>, Ali Hassan al-Majid, cousin to Saddam Hussein, was found guilty of genocide and given the death sentence.<sup>1392</sup> Known as Chemical Ali for gassing the Kurds, al-Majid oversaw the killings of as many as 180,000 Kurds.<sup>1393</sup> Sultan Hashem Ahmed, the army commander of the First Army Corps who led the attacks on Kurds in 1988, and Hussein Rashid al-Tikriti, who was deputy chief of staff, were both handed the death sentence.<sup>1394</sup> Sabir Abdul-Aziz al-Douri and Farhan Motlak al-Jabouri, both high-ranking officials in Hussein’s military intelligence agency, were given life imprisonment.<sup>1395</sup>

## 10. *Security Apparatus Operates as a “State Within a State”*

### Rating: 10

The U.S. military is recruiting tribal members and former insurgent or militia groups to fight al-Qaeda in Iraq.<sup>1396</sup> According to Major General Joseph F. Fil Jr., approximately 300 people are enlisting daily.<sup>1397</sup> Just outside of Baghdad in the Abu Ghraib region, U.S. coalition forces have gained the support of 1,500 fighters.<sup>1398</sup> In the Baghdad neighborhood of Ghazaliyah, similar tactics are being used to fight terrorism.<sup>1399</sup> According to Fil, those who are joining up to fight al Qaeda must first sign an oath of allegiance to Iraq and renounce violence.<sup>1400</sup> Individuals are organized within the Ministry of Defense or Interior and undergo further vetting by tribal leadership and the U.S. military.<sup>1401</sup> In Baghdad, the U.S. military states that, “229 – or 48 percent – of Baghdad’s 474 neighborhoods are under control.”<sup>1402</sup> In April, Fil estimates only a quarter of Baghdad neighborhoods were under U.S. and Iraq troop control.<sup>1403</sup>

According to a report on the investigation by the oversight panel of the House Armed Services Committee, serious question remains as to whether Iraqi soldiers and police forces are capable of providing security.<sup>1404</sup> The report stated that the Department of Defense is unable to “report in detail how many of the 346,500 Iraqi military and police personnel that the coalition trained are operational today.”<sup>1405</sup> The report also found ‘strong evidence’ of sectarian violence and illegal activities within the ranks of trained Iraqi forces.<sup>1406</sup> The lack of transparency in Iraq’s security forces, chronic absenteeism, and continuous failures in oversight are additional obstacles that must be overcome,

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<sup>1392</sup> “Hussein’s cousin sentenced to die for Kurd attacks,” *The New York Times*, 6/25/2006.

<sup>1393</sup> “Hussein’s cousin sentenced to die for Kurd attacks,” *The New York Times*, 6/25/2006.

<sup>1394</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1395</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1396</sup> “Iraqis join U.S. in fighting al-Qaeda,” *The Washington Post*, 6/30/2007.

<sup>1397</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1398</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1399</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1400</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1401</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1402</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1403</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1404</sup> “House report faults pentagon accounting of Iraqi forces,” *The Washington Post*, 6/27/2007.

<sup>1405</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1406</sup> *Ibid*

according to the subcommittee's report.<sup>1407</sup> Army Lt. Gen. Martin Dempsey, former head of U.S. training, testified to Congress that absenteeism is as much as 25 percent in Iraq's Army.<sup>1408</sup> Many of Iraq's police forces have not been properly vetted, resulting in an organization that is "riddled with corruption and sectarian influence."<sup>1409</sup> Moreover, "Iraqi ministries of defense and the interior are incapable of accounting for, supporting, or fully controlling their forces in the field."<sup>1410</sup>

## **11. Rise of Factionalized Elites**

### **Rating: 10**

Six members of the leading Sunni party, the Iraqi Accordance Front, withdrew from Prime Minister Nouri al Maliki's Cabinet on June 29<sup>th</sup> after criminal charges were brought against one Cabinet minister.<sup>1411</sup> Members of the Iraqi Accordance Front criticize the Shiite dominated Maliki government for its failure to work together with Sunni members, as well as its inability to move forward with important legislation.<sup>1412</sup> Accusations were made against Culture Minister Asad Kamal al-Hashimi.<sup>1413</sup> Hashimi is accused of masterminding the 2005 attempted assassination of Mithal al-Alsui who is a current member of parliament.<sup>1414</sup> Iraqi Accordance Front members refuse to participate until a committee is formed to investigate the charges and until changes are made to the detainee system, which can hold thousands of people for long periods of time without being tried.<sup>1415</sup> Sunni politicians continue to complain of marginalization with the Shiite led government.<sup>1416</sup>

Bureaucratic infighting threatens to breakdown Iraq's intelligence agency, the Iraqi National Intelligence Service, or INIS.<sup>1417</sup> Created in February 2004, the INIS was set up as a nonsectarian organization with officers and agents from all of Iraq's religious and ethnic groups.<sup>1418</sup> General Mohammed Shawani, a Sunni from Mosul, heads the INIS.<sup>1419</sup> Shawani's wife is a Shiite and his deputy is a Kurd.<sup>1420</sup> In addition, Shawani has worked closely with the CIA for over ten years.<sup>1421</sup> The creation of the Ministry of Security, under the command of Sheerwan al-Waeli has sparked a sectarian rivalry, one anti-

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<sup>1407</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1408</sup> "Iraqi army has 25% absenteeism, major problems U.S. general paints bleak portrait of domestic forces," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 6/13/2007.

<sup>1409</sup> "House report faults pentagon accounting of Iraqi forces," *The Washington Post*, 6/27/2007.

<sup>1410</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1411</sup> "Six members of Sunni bloc quit Iraqi cabinet in protest," *The Washington Post*, 6/30/2007.

<sup>1412</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1413</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1414</sup> "Raid on top Sunni official adds to Iraqi internal feuding," *The New York Times*, 6/27/2007.

<sup>1415</sup> "Six members of Sunni bloc quit Iraqi cabinet in protest," *The Washington Post*, 6/30/2007.

<sup>1416</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1417</sup> "A sectarian spy duel in Baghdad," *The Washington Post*, 6/14/2007.

<sup>1418</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1419</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1420</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1421</sup> *Ibid*

Iranian and the other pro-Iranian, between the two agencies.<sup>1422</sup> Waeli, who was trained in Iran, is said to be in regular contact with Iranian and Syrian intelligence officers in Baghdad.<sup>1423</sup> Prime Minister Nouri al Maliki wavers between his support for the INIS and the Ministry of Security.<sup>1424</sup> Maliki's failure to give concrete support to the INIS may prompt Gen. Shawani's resignation and the subsequent collapse of the INIS.<sup>1425</sup> David Ignatius of *The Washington Post* has described Iraq as "caught between feuding sects and feuding neighbors, with a superpower ally that can't seem to help its friends or stop its enemies."<sup>1426</sup>

The Anbar Salvation Council, a tribal coalition created to fight al Qaeda in Iraq, is fragmenting due to internal conflict over relations with U.S. coalition forces and the actions of Abdul Sattar Abu Risha, the leader of the organization.<sup>1427</sup> The U.S. has credited the Anbar Salvation Council with a reduction in violence in the volatile Anbar region.<sup>1428</sup> Ali Hatem Ali Suleiman, leader of Anbar's largest tribal organization, the Dulaim confederation, branded Abu Risha a "traitor who sells his beliefs, his religion and his people for money."<sup>1429</sup> Risha denied statements that the tribal coalition was dissolving.<sup>1430</sup> However, Lt. Col. Richard D. Welch, a U.S. military officer working closely with Iraqi tribal leadership, said that relations were tense among the tribal coalition leaders.<sup>1431</sup> According to Suleiman, 12 of the Anbar Salvation Council leaders have agreed to form a new coalition that will in effect dissolve the current one.<sup>1432</sup> Both Suleiman and Welch charge that Risha is involved in oil smuggling and has ties to highway banditry.<sup>1433</sup> Many of those in the Anbar Salvation Council are critical of the Iraqi government and believe it is ineffectual.<sup>1434</sup> "The Iraqi government has abandoned us, and we have received nothing from them except empty promises."<sup>1435</sup> Despite stated successes in combating al Qaeda in Anbar, many members of the Anbar Salvation Council stated that their loyalties and ties are with their tribes rather than the central government.<sup>1436</sup>

## **12. Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors**

### **Rating: 10**

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<sup>1422</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1423</sup> "A sectarian spy duel in Baghdad," *The Washington Post*, 6/14/2007.

<sup>1424</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1425</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1426</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1427</sup> "Tribal coalition in Anbar said to be crumbling," *The Washington Post*, 6/11/2006.

<sup>1428</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1429</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1430</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1431</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1432</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1433</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1434</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1435</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1436</sup> *Ibid*

As part of a newly developed plan to fight al Qaeda in Iraq, U.S. forces are enlisting the help of hundreds of tribal members and former insurgent or militia groups daily.<sup>1437</sup> U.S. Major General Joseph F. Fil Jr. estimates 300 fighters sign up everyday.<sup>1438</sup> In addition, “U.S. and Iraqi forces have created walled neighborhoods and markets as well as roadblocks and checkpoints that make it harder for insurgents to strike in crowded streets.”<sup>1439</sup> The Anbar Salvation Council, a coalition of predominately Shiite tribal leaders, is working with U.S. and Iraqi troops to fight al-Qaeda in Iraq in Anbar Province.<sup>1440</sup> According to Lt. Gen. Raymond T. Odierno, the No. 2 commander of U.S. forces in Iraq, “12,000 Anbar residents have joined the Iraqi security forces in the first five months of this year, compared with 1,000 in all of last year.”<sup>1441</sup> Critics of U.S. support of the Anbar Salvation Council say, “The U.S. effort in Anbar amounts to backing one private army against another.”<sup>1442</sup>

In Amiriyah, a Sunni stronghold located along the highway to Baghdad’s international airport, U.S. forces are trying the “Anbar model” in fighting al-Qaeda in Iraq.<sup>1443</sup> American forces have aligned themselves with a group of Sunni militiamen called “Baghdad Patriots,” some who may include insurgents that attacked them in the past.<sup>1444</sup> “The Americans have granted these gunmen the power of arrest, allowed the Iraqi army to supply them with ammunition, and fought alongside them in chaotic street battles.”<sup>1445</sup> Though lauded as a step forward by many, the strategy of arming militia groups runs contradictory to multiple orders by Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki that only U.S. and Iraqi forces have the right to bear arms.<sup>1446</sup>

In northern Iraq, Turkish forces are massing troops along the border in levels that have not been seen in years.<sup>1447</sup> Turkey hopes to stamp out the PKK and militant guerrilla fighters who live in northern Iraq.<sup>1448</sup> On June 6<sup>th</sup>, the Turkish military established ‘security zones’ in the district of Sirkat, as well as in two other districts.<sup>1449</sup> U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Defense Secretary Robert Gates have used strong language against Turkey taking military action.<sup>1450</sup> Turkey’s Prime Minister Tayyip Recep Erdogan has responded to American political pressure saying, Turkey “does not need to take permission from anywhere” when deciding its foreign policy.<sup>1451</sup> Relations are tense as Turkey is the U.S.’s greatest NATO ally and provides the U.S. with an

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<sup>1437</sup> “Iraqis join U.S. in fighting Al-Qaeda,” *The Washington Post*, 6/30/2006.

<sup>1438</sup> “Iraqis join U.S. in fighting Al-Qaeda,” *The Washington Post*, 6/30/2006.

<sup>1439</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1440</sup> “Sunni insurgents battle in Baghdad,” *The Washington Post*, 6/1/2007.

<sup>1441</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1442</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1443</sup> “For U.S. unit in Baghdad, an alliance of last resort,” *The Washington Post*, 6/9/2007.

<sup>1444</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1445</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1446</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1447</sup> “Turkey rattles its sabers at militant Kurds in Iraq,” *The New York Times*, 6/8/2007.

<sup>1448</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1449</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1450</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1451</sup> *Ibid*

important air base, while the Kurds have been integral partners with the American effort in Iraq.<sup>1452</sup>

In a statement issued on June 18<sup>th</sup>, General David H. Petraeus indicated that the U.S. would assess its role and strategy in Iraq in September of 2007.<sup>1453</sup> A drawdown of U.S. forces did not seem promising.<sup>1454</sup> Instead, Petraeus reported that many challenges would be unresolved for years into the future, saying that he did not think the aim of Bush's new war strategy behind the surge would be completed by its target date in September.<sup>1455</sup>

Iranian influence in Iraq is increasing, according to senior U.S. and European officials.<sup>1456</sup> In recent weeks, an apparent increase in the use of Iranian arms in combat has indicated Iran's growing role in war.<sup>1457</sup> Shiite extremists armed with Iranian 240mm rockets, which have a range of up to 30 miles, are altering the battlefield.<sup>1458</sup> With the capability to fire into the Green Zone, the 240mm rocket provides Shiite extremists with a tool for pressuring Western officials.<sup>1459</sup> British forces intercepted two arms shipments from Iran to Afghanistan in March.<sup>1460</sup> The weapons that were confiscated, which included 107mm mortars, rocket-propelled grenades, C-4 explosives and small arms, are identical to those used by Iraqi militias around Basra.<sup>1461</sup> U.S. officials report that Iran's branch of elite Revolutionary Guard officers, the Quds Force is responsible.<sup>1462</sup> A report issued by the independent British American Security Information Council stated, "Iran's interest lies in supporting and training allies to influence their political positioning in a post-war, post-occupation Iraq."<sup>1463</sup> This includes installing a friendly, Shiite Iraqi government that is "strong enough to keep Iraq together but too weak to pose a military threat."<sup>1464</sup>

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<sup>1452</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1453</sup> "Petraeus: Iraq 'Challenges' to last for years," *The Washington Post*, 6/18/2007.

<sup>1454</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1455</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1456</sup> "Iranian flow of weapons increasing, officials say," *The Washington Post*, 6/3/2007.

<sup>1457</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1458</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1459</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1460</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1461</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1462</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1463</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1464</sup> *Ibid*

**June 2007**  
**Core 5**

**1. *Police***  
**Rating: Poor**

Iraq's police units are beset by corruption, sectarian activity, and a lack of professionalism.<sup>1465</sup> With the responsibility of vetting Iraqi police recruits in the hands of Iraq's national government, a U.S. House and Armed Services Committee report found Iraq's police units ineffective and "riddled with corruption and sectarian influence."<sup>1466</sup> Only in March 2007 did Iraqi police units begin to receive training specific to their mission, which may account for their overall inability to police.<sup>1467</sup> In Amiriyah, U.S. soldiers are using Sunni militiamen who call themselves the Baghdad Patriots in place of police units to fight al-Qaeda in Iraq.<sup>1468</sup> Iraq's police units are largely formed around their respective religious sect, though some are mixed, and mostly operate in areas where their sect predominates. As Shiite police forces refuse to work in the Sunni enclave of Amiriya, the Baghdad Patriots are being fashioned into Amiriya's police force.<sup>1469</sup> In Anbar province, indigenous groups and tribal leaders are being integrated into the local units to fight al-Qaeda.<sup>1470</sup>

**2. *Leadership***  
**Rating: Weak**

The Iraqi government's inability to move beyond divisive sectarian politics continues to thwart any progress towards establishing security and stability in Iraq. Six members of the leading Sunni party, the Iraqi Accordance Front, withdrew from Prime Minister Nouri al Maliki's Cabinet on June 29<sup>th</sup> after criminal charges were brought against one Cabinet minister.<sup>1471</sup> Iraqi Accordance Front members are critical of the Shiite led government's failure to work together with Sunni members, and its inability to move forward with important legislation.<sup>1472</sup> Iraqi Accordance Front members refuse to participate until a committee is formed to investigate charges made against the Culture Minister, Asad Kamal al-Hashimi, and until changes are made to the detainee system, which can hold

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<sup>1465</sup> "House report faults pentagon accounting of Iraqi forces," *The Washington Post*, 6/27/2007.

<sup>1466</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1467</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1468</sup> "For U.S. unit in Baghdad, an alliance of last resort," *The Washington Post*, 6/9/2007.

<sup>1469</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1470</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1471</sup> "Six members of Sunni bloc quit Iraqi cabinet in protest," *The Washington Post*, 6/30/2007.

<sup>1472</sup> *Ibid*



thousands of people for long periods of time without being tried.<sup>1473</sup> Sunni politicians continue to complain of marginalization with the Shiite led government.<sup>1474</sup>

**3. Civil Service**  
**Rating: Poor**

A lack of organization, oversight, and management skills continues to affect Iraq's civil service's ability to operate effectively.<sup>1475</sup> Corruption is widespread in Iraq's ministries.<sup>1476</sup> A report issued by the oversight panel of the House Armed Services Committee found that the ministries of interior and defense are incapable of "accounting for, supporting, or fully controlling their forces in the field," and lack the ability to implement their own budgets.<sup>1477</sup> Intelligence and logistic systems that are important to organizing independent operations are absent in the ministries.<sup>1478</sup>

**4. Judiciary:**  
**Rating: Poor**

The lack of an independent judiciary and a shortage of courts and judges continue to affect Iraq's legal system.<sup>1479</sup> Persistent intimidation of and attacks against Iraqi judges threatens the independence and effectiveness of the courts.<sup>1480</sup> Fear of retaliatory attacks for court rulings and security concerns have affected judges' willingness to hear cases related to terrorism or insurgency.<sup>1481</sup> In turn, in some areas "very few serious criminal cases result in convictions."<sup>1482</sup> The number of detainees held in prisons was up 20 percent in March and April as compared with December through February.<sup>1483</sup> In pre-trial detention facilities that are overseen by the ministries of Interior and Defense, detainee abuse is a significant problem. Overcrowding is another symptom of a shortage of resources and a general lack of independence in Iraq's judiciary.<sup>1484</sup>

**5. Military:**  
**Rating: Weak**

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<sup>1473</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1474</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1475</sup> "House report faults pentagon accounting of Iraqi forces," *The Washington Post*, 6/27/2007.

<sup>1476</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1477</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1478</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1479</sup> "Measuring stability and security in Iraq," U.S. Department of Defense Report to Congress, 6/7/2007.

<sup>1480</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1481</sup> *Ibid*

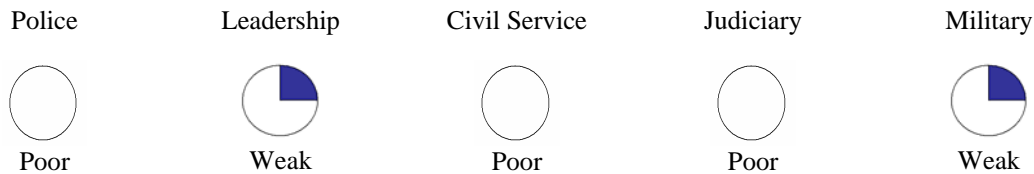
<sup>1482</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1483</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1484</sup> *Ibid*

Chronic absenteeism, sectarianism within the ranks, and repeated failure to sustain combat operations continues to characterize Iraq’s army.<sup>1485</sup> Despite spending \$19 billion to train and equip 348,000 Iraqi soldiers, Iraq’s army is beset by 25 percent absenteeism and serious capability gaps, according to Army Lt. Gen. Martin Dempsey, former head of U.S. training.<sup>1486</sup> “Of 188,300 Iraqi police officers trained by the United States, as many as 13,000 have either deserted or remain unaccounted for, including an unknown number of Iraqi police who have defected to the insurgency or been taken into custody by U.S. forces during combat operations.”<sup>1487</sup> Iraqi combat units are assigned 90-day combat tours, resulting in breaks in continuity and a failure to provide adequate support for the surge in and around Baghdad.<sup>1488</sup> Iraqi combat brigades sent to assist in the 17,500 U.S. troop surge arrived in Baghdad with just 50 percent of their soldiers that were assigned to the mission.<sup>1489</sup> In a statement to Congress, Gen. Dempsey expressed serious doubt about whether Iraqi forces can maintain gains made by U.S. and coalition forces in Diyala Province, north of Baghdad, and in Anbar Province to the south.<sup>1490</sup> The oversight panel of the House Armed Services Committee report found “strong evidence” of sectarian activity among some of the ranks of Iraqi forces trained and equipped by U.S. forces.<sup>1491</sup> “The pentagon cannot account for whether coalition-issued weapons have been stolen or turned against U.S. forces.”<sup>1492</sup>

### Core Five State Institutions



<sup>1485</sup> “Iraqi army has 25% absenteeism, major problems U.S. general paints bleak portrait of domestic forces,” *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 6/13/2007.

<sup>1486</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1487</sup> “Iraqi army has 25% absenteeism, major problems U.S. general paints bleak portrait of domestic forces,” *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 6/13/2007.

<sup>1488</sup> “Iraqi troops’ short Baghdad tours faulted,” *The Washington Post*, 6/2/2007.

<sup>1489</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>1490</sup> “U.S. generals doubt ability of Iraqi army to hold gains,” *The New York Times*, 6/25/2007.

<sup>1491</sup> “House report faults pentagon accounting of Iraqi forces,” *The Washington Post*, 6/27/2007.

<sup>1492</sup> *Ibid*

### **Methodological Note**

This report is the seventh in a series of progress reports on the war in Iraq launched in March 2003. These reports are based on an analytical methodology, CAST (the Conflict Assessment System Tool), that has been developed and tested since 1996. The objectives of this particular project are to:

- Assess the extent to which Iraq is moving toward sustainable security, a situation in which it can solve its own problems peacefully without an outside military or administrative presence.
- Analyze trend lines in Iraq along 12 top social, economic and political/military indicators of internal instability.
- Evaluate five core institutions, (political leadership, civil service, system of justice, police and military) which are necessary for the state to function.
- Review “stings” – the surprises, triggers, idiosyncrasies, national temperament, and other frequently overlooked factors.
- Present a “before” and “after” portrait, with trend lines, showing progress and regression in specific indicators as well as the aggregate at several intervals over time.
- Make concrete policy recommendations and conclusions.

This study is an objective, nonpartisan assessment, tracking the post-war reconstruction effort in systematic fashion, with updates at approximately six-month intervals. It is important that both the U.S. presence in, and exit from, Iraq be neither premature nor longer than necessary. Only a comprehensive tracking and assessment study can make reasonably reliable judgments of this kind.

This report offers a balanced combination of quantitative data grounded in rigorous qualitative research. This even blend of statistical and descriptive analysis accurately portrays the internal situation in Iraq according to trends across 12 distinct variables, or indicators. Ratings are assigned to each indicator according to a comprehensive assessment of daily news coverage of Iraq. The research team referenced over 150 domestic and international news sources, including Arabic language sources. The data collected is information available to the public through accessible media sources. At the end of each month, a rating (on a scale of 1-10, with 1 being the best and 10 being the worst) is assigned based on the developments of that particular month by indicator. Each month’s rating is assigned relative to the previous month’s ratings.

This report is a comprehensive analysis that examines trends since the start of the U.S.-led invasion in March 2003. It is important to note that these summaries provide a condensed

representation of the most significant developments on the ground, as reported by the media, expert, and independent organizations, some of which were on site. Any specific developments omitted are done so because they are judged by the research team to be redundant, outliers, or relatively unimportant with respect to the highlighted events. From this methodology, the internal stability of Iraq is assessed by following trends, both by indicator and aggregate ratings.

This research team was lead by Dr. Pauline H. Baker, president of the FfP and the original author of the methodology. We recognize that the rating system of 1-10 is somewhat subjective. However, in light of the logistical barriers to conducting field research in any conflict

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environment and/or collapsing state, the potential for bias is reduced by internal checks, extensive citation, the collection of vast amounts of data, and comprehensive discussion. Moreover, the research team maintained consistency in research patterns and sources, accompanied by cross-referencing of any observed inconsistencies. Furthermore, over time, as these reports continue, the numerical ratings define themselves in specific tangible conditions, relative to previous ratings, so that clear trends emerge.