



IRAQ AS A FAILED STATE: A SIX MONTH PROGRESS REPORT

**Report #1
Pre-war through September 2003**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1) Foreword.....	3
2) Executive Summary and Recommendations.....	4
3) Indicator Trend Line Graphs	
Graph 1...Iraq: Aggregate Indicator Totals (Pre-war through September 2003).....	9
Graph 2...Iraq: Trend lines by Indicator (Pre-war through September 2003).....	10
4) Iraq: Summary Indicator Ratings.....	11

Data Interpretation

Appendix I: Pre-War Summary.....	12
Appendix II: April Summary.....	18
Appendix III: May Summary.....	25
Appendix IV: June Summary.....	32
Appendix V: July Summary.....	39
Appendix VI: August Summary.....	47
Appendix VII: September Summary.....	53
Appendix VIII: Methodological Note.....	60

Foreword

While there have been many reports on Iraq, there is no systematic evaluation that measures the success of U.S. policies in that country based on sustainable security trends over time. The Fund for Peace (FFP) developed such an analytical tool and is applying it to Iraq, at six-month intervals, to monitor trends until Iraq reaches the stage in which it is deemed self-sufficient, largely peaceful, and capable of governing itself without external military or administrative oversight.

The methodology employed is detailed in the Methodological Note attached to this report. It is based on ratings of twelve top conflict indicators enumerated in the attached charts, five core political institutions, and possible “stings” or unanticipated events and factors. The graphs track indicator trends on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means that tension in that indicator is the lowest and 10 means that tension is highest. It is possible that others might rate the indicators differently. However, given the plethora of information on Iraq, such differences are not likely to be large. Moreover, the purpose of the ratings is to discover patterns and trends. A particular rating by one individual at one point in time is less significant than changes over time. Where no evidence of change was detected, the rating was presumed to be the same as that of the previous month. Ratings were reviewed carefully based on information gleaned from open-source English and Arabic language sources, government reports, studies by diverse organizations and groups that had conducted site visits in Iraq, and various scholars and journalists.

In addition to the Executive Summary and Recommendations, the main findings of this report are contained in the three pages of graphs following this Foreword. The rest of the report contains supporting materials showing the evidence upon which our assessments were made. This evidence is presented in the form of brief summaries of Iraqi conditions, indicator by indicator and institution by institution, starting with a pre-war baseline assessment and extending to a synopsis of changes, if any, each month, from April to September 2003. For the sake of brevity, only the main points of evidence are included in this report, though other corroborating evidence was used. In some cases, there was insufficient information available, especially in prewar Iraq. Best estimates were made from international sources, such as UN studies, reports from humanitarian organizations, and media sources. Also contained in the monthly summaries are the “stings” –surprises, unique events and unanticipated developments of significance, such as Shiites and Sunnis demonstrating together against the American occupation, the looting of nuclear facilities, and the assassination of one of the members of the Iraqi Governing Council.

Finally, the conclusions and recommendations in this report are entirely the responsibility of the author, who has conducted years of research into failing states and internal war. She was ably assisted by three outstanding graduate students: Gina King at Duke University, Mohamed Jourieh, a Syrian Fulbright scholar at Eastern Mennonite University, and Will Seuffert at American University. All were diligent researchers, who brought creative skills, thoughtful insights, and critical minds to a topic that is highly complex and controversial. The Fund for Peace is grateful for their valuable contributions.

Pauline H. Baker

Executive Summary and Recommendations

In a brilliant demonstration of the law of unintended consequences, the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq went far beyond its original goal of regime change. It precipitated the final collapse of a state that had been deteriorating for years. Shattered states proliferate, not eliminate, threats, however, and that is exactly what happened in Iraq. The security meltdown over the first six months of the occupation is a continuation of that persistent breakdown.

In the immediate aftermath of the invasion, looting, sniping, and sabotage accompanied the disorderly flight of soldiers, bureaucrats, and other state workers. This escalated into organized attacks on the coalition forces, civilians, and international agencies, with a frequency and sophistication that has led UN Secretary General Kofi Annan to conclude, after two attacks on UN headquarters in Baghdad, that “it is difficult to imagine that Iraq will grow safer in the next few months.”

There have been many surprises in the Iraqi war, but Secretary of State Colin Powell described the complete civil and military collapse as the biggest surprise of all. Indeed, it constitutes the gravest strategic miscalculation of the war for it has crippled recovery, frustrated international cooperation, and is costing the United States far more than anticipated both in blood and treasure.

To be sure, there have been hopeful benchmarks of progress, such as opening the schools, getting oil back on stream (though less than expected), electing municipal councils, and capturing all but 13 of the 55 wanted top leaders of the Baath regime. However, this study found that, cumulatively, the indicators of internal conflict are roughly as high now as they were before the invasion. Iraq was held together under Saddam Hussein by the sheer force of his reign of terror; it is held together today by the overwhelming power of the occupation forces.

Of twelve top indicators of state collapse, four have worsened since the war -- demographic pressures, the provision of public services, factionalized elites, and intervention by external political actors. Three indicators remain at about the same acutely high levels -- the depth of group grievances, uneven development, and refugees and internally displaced persons. One indicator improved substantially -- human rights -- but newly acquired freedoms are still at risk from the security situation and are potentially reversible because they are not protected in law. Four other indicators improved marginally -- the brain drain, sharp economic decline, a security apparatus operating as a “state within a state” and delegitimatization of the state. Cumulative and individual trends, with their ratings and brief summaries of events, on a month-by-month basis, are depicted graphically in charts enclosed in this report.

In addition, the study assessed five core state institutions -- the police, military, civil service, the system of justice and political leadership -- that had collapsed with the invasion and are only beginning to function, as recruitment and training proceed slowly. Iraqi political leadership is narrowly focused on the 24-member Iraqi Governing Council appointed by the U.S. While representing a wide swath of the population, the members of the Council are internally competitive and are not sufficiently consulted on key issues. They were criticized by U.S. officials for dragging their heels on writing a new constitution and for taking independent positions without getting clearance from the top U.S. official Paul Bremer, who alone holds the authority to make final political decisions.

Recognizing the weakness and lack of legitimacy of the Governing Council, the Bush Administration recently decided to speed up the transition by shifting control to a Provisional Government by June

2004. The Provisional Government will be elected by a transitional national assembly, whose participants will be selected by caucuses in each province by May 2004. The existing Governing Council welcomed the accelerated transfer of sovereignty and is supposed to do much of the preparation for the transfer. Elections for drafters of a permanent constitution are to take place by March 15, 2005 and a permanent Iraqi government is supposed to be in place by December 31, 2005.

This decision to introduce a radical new plan at the top refocuses public debate on Iraq. Previously, debate focused primarily around poor or manipulated intelligence that may have led to a number of strategic misjudgments in the war – from failure to assess the nature of the threat from Saddam Hussein’s weapons of mass destruction correctly to the condition of the country’s physical infrastructure. However, a much more fundamental flaw was made in not understanding how states fail, how Iraq itself had deteriorated in this sense, and what might follow a military invasion. The new plan announced by the Bush Administration, while correcting some flaws in the transition strategy, still fails to take into account the preconditions that are necessary to make an elected government function effectively in a collapsed state. It is an attempt to define and install democracy based on elections only, without due regard to the other factors necessary to achieve sustainable security.

The basic misperception of the pre-war period was equating strongman rule with a strong state, a mistake commonly made by observers viewing autocratic regimes from a distance, and one that often leads to false conclusions. The administration assumed that once the regime of Saddam Hussein was overthrown, the people of Iraq would welcome the U.S. as liberators, the military would surrender or defect, and people working in state institutions would stay on the job. These predictions were based on the premise that Iraq was a strong state whose institutions would survive the overthrow of Saddam Hussein.

Precisely the opposite occurred. The Iraqi state collapsed like a house of cards with the invasion, the final push in a process of state deterioration that had been going on for years. It is now the responsibility of the U.S. and its coalition partners to put the state back together again. This task is made all the more difficult because Iraq is drifting into a protracted guerrilla war, which Lt. Gen. Ricardo Sanchez, Commander of U.S. ground forces in Iraq, said is becoming more lethal, complex, sophisticated and tenacious. By the end of September, an average of three to six soldiers were dying and 40 were being wounded each week, with attacks averaging 30 a day. They are becoming bolder and more frequent with the infiltration of terrorists from other countries that the occupation forces have been unable to stop. The new transition plan announced by the administration will likely increase military activities, as Saddam Hussein loyalists, foreign infiltrators, and other spoilers try to derail the process.

Should a protracted low-intensity insurgency continue, it will eventually make the country ungovernable and the U.S. military presence untenable, even if an elected Iraqi government comes to power. Moreover, when President Bush declared Iraq a central front in the war on terrorism, he increased the chances of a wider and longer war by conflating the security problems of a collapsed state with the global war on terrorism, in effect inviting a showdown with international terrorists that would be seen globally as a battle between Islam and the U.S. This could undermine the new transition plan and would play into the hands of our enemies, as the fight would take place on terrain that is hospitable to them, not us, attacks would largely be at times of their choosing, not ours, and the nature of combat – hit-and-run and suicide tactics -- would favor their military skills over our conventional capabilities. Iraqi civilians caught in the cross fire would likely turn on the U.S., blaming their predicament on the occupation and, possibly, the new elected government. Few allies would join this fight, anti-

Americanism would be enflamed and Iraq's experiment in democratization would end up a failure. This is the worst-case scenario for the future that current trends portend.

Fearing further deterioration, the administration's plan is basically to fast-track the political transition. The aim is to contain, if not defeat, the attackers, transfer as many security functions as possible to Iraqis, rush through the transition plan, and downsize the American military presence. Although the administration stated that troops will stay in Iraq for as long as it takes, the American military presence is expected to be reduced to 50,000 troops by 2005, with substantial troop reductions completed before the next presidential election.

Congress approved the administration's request of \$87 billion, nearly a quarter of which is dedicated to jump-starting the economy and rebuilding infrastructure. Legal restrictions have been lifted to open the economy to foreign investment and Iraqi police and military are being crash-trained to relieve the burden on American soldiers.

But the fast-track strategy will not work because success is defined solely on the speed with which the *ancien regime* is replaced. Success should be defined on the degree to which sustainable security is achieved, when Iraq can resolve its own problems peacefully without an outside military or administrative presence. This is not a question of *how fast* an election is held but of *how well* the institutions through which elected leaders must govern are built.

It will take a minimum of two years, perhaps more, to get through the basics of reconstituting the institutional foundations of the state, but it can be done if the administration moves away from the model of regime change and openly admits that the task is to rebuild the state. Should that strategic redirection be made in addition to the political moves already announced, an exit strategy can be devised that has a better chance of achieving sustainable security.

Three major course corrections are recommended at this stage.

- **First, substantial parts of the \$20.3 billion economic package should be reallocated from showy high tech infrastructure construction to projects that will have a direct impact on relieving the frustrations of ordinary citizens and impact the conflict indicators.** Instead of a \$150m state-of-the-art children's hospital with cutting-edge research and post-graduate development capabilities, basic health services for the poor should be upgraded, especially in urban ghettos that are hotbeds of political activism. This would build on the progress already made in opening up all 240 hospitals and more than 1,200 primary health clinics. In place of a \$9m postal system with bar coding and zip codes, a national population census should be conducted, which is essential for delimiting electoral districts, delivering public services and determining fair distribution of oil revenues to correct uneven development. The \$100m for seven planned upscale communities to accommodate 16,000 people should be dropped in favor of low income housing for more than 1 million internally displaced persons and 500,000 refugees from prior wars. The \$400m to build two prisons should be reprogrammed for a massive jobs-creation program to relieve the 60% unemployment among youths who turn to violence in the absence of employment. Community level schools, housing, roads, and other socially beneficial projects at the grass-roots would bring hope to disadvantaged communities, earn the coalition forces good will among the population and relieve the pressure on critical indicators that are causing tension.

- **Second, the U.S. must draw upon a wider Iraqi leadership pool focused on building state institutions by setting up more political bodies with defined functions that would pave the way for self-rule.** An Electoral Commission should be appointed to lay the ground rules for the series of elections and caucuses envisioned in the new plan. A Civil Service Commission should be constituted to reconfigure the bureaucracy on a merit system with diverse recruitment among ethnic and religious groups so that no single group dominates. Other key state institutions, such as the police, military and the system of justice, should be similarly revamped to ensure professionalism and inclusiveness. Appropriately, the first battalion of nearly 700 soldiers for the Iraqi army that graduated in October included not only Sunni Muslims, the group favored by Hussein, but Shiite Muslims, Kurds and other ethnic groups in roughly equal proportion to their representation nationally. The Iraqi military, like armed forces in other countries, could become the vanguard of social integration if it is properly managed. Iraqis will scrutinize the ethnic and geographical make-up of all state institutions and broad representation must be ensured if the new government is to have greater legitimacy in the eyes of the people. Legitimacy will be contingent not only on elections at the top, but in personnel appointments. Authentic representatives of Iraq's plural society must be visible in all the key state institutions.

Another body that should be set up is a Human Rights Commission, an initiative buried in the administration's budget request that was allocated only \$1m and described as an entity whose function would be to "question the government." An independent Human Rights Commission should have a wider mandate to draw up a constitutional Bill of Rights in a Muslim context. It would be the first body of its kind in the Arab world tasked to integrate universal standards of human rights in an Islamic society. Membership of the commission should include leaders from civil society and other Arab scholars, including those from the UN panel that produced the widely respected Arab Development Report. Their recommendations included proposals on comprehensive education reforms, ways to empower and educate women, and suggestions on how to protect the media from political control. The commission should conduct public hearings, take expert testimony, and operate free of political influence, carrying out their work so that their recommendations can be incorporated into the final constitution.

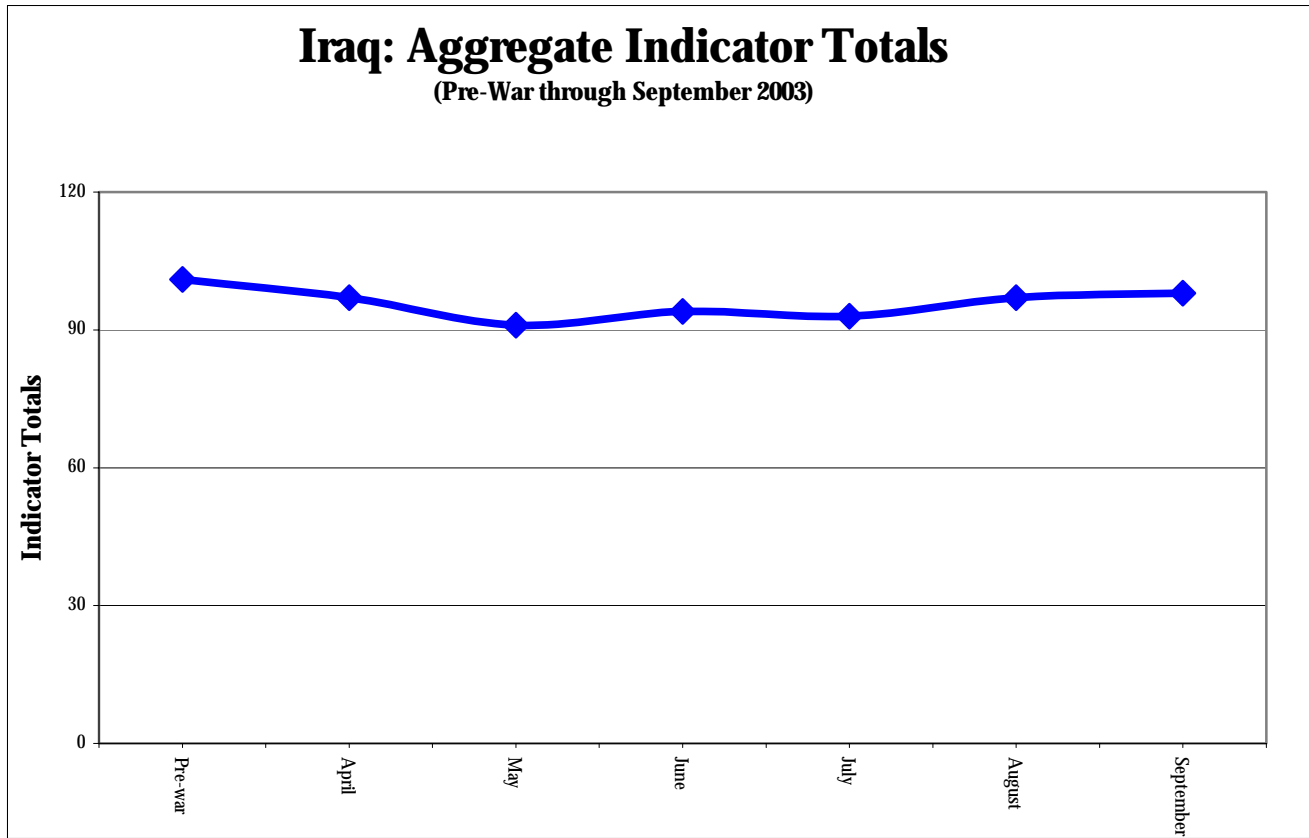
Authoritative bodies with particular functions could provide avenues for broader political participation and give "ownership" of the process to the Iraqi people, preparing them to reconcile their differences and conduct an open debate in a process that would be by Iraqis, for Iraqis and of Iraqis. A more democratic political transition for the full scope of state building would also be attractive to the outside world and have a greater chance of success in a reconstructed state.

- **Third, the U.S. must neutralize emerging security threats as well as react to existing ones, particularly private militias loyal to personalities with their own political agendas, many of whom could link up with infiltrators or external actors.** Potentially as dangerous as unemployed former security forces, members of private militias should be recruited to join the national police and other well-regulated security units, just as former Iraqi soldiers, except for the Republican Guard, are being recruited into the armed forces. While there is a rethinking of how to reconstitute Iraqi security forces, there is a reluctance to embrace this idea due to fears of institutionalizing militias. However, that precisely is what will happen if private militias are allowed to proliferate in a society of simmering ethnic, religious, tribal and clan rivalries during

the transition. The result would be “no-go” zones controlled by militant clerics, sectarian politicians, and warlords, who could challenge legitimately constituted civil authorities in the future. U.S. authorities need to thwart private armies from having the capability to plunge the country into civil war. Members of private militias must be carefully vetted, rigorously retrained, assigned to mixed units, and deployed to regions that are not necessarily their areas of origin. If private militias refuse to be integrated into national security units, they should be outlawed and disbanded. The controlling of militias is essential for ensuring peaceful elections. Previous conflicts have demonstrated that when the rule of law does not exist, voters tend to vote for warlords, ethnic leaders, and extremists.

Secretary Powell had earlier warned the UN that Iraq could end up a failed state if the process went too fast. Powell was half-right, since Iraq is already a failed state. But the administration has decided to speed up the process, despite Powell’s warning, because of the deteriorating security situation and the impending U.S. presidential election. However, it is the substance, not the pace, of change that will ultimately determine success. The administration needs to rebuild the state, not merely replace the regime at the top, and it must nurture the soft infrastructure of state institutions, not merely focus on bricks and mortar construction. The newly announced transition could be an opportunity to address the full scope of the problem, so that the trajectory of chaos is changed toward a path of constitutionalism that will allow the U.S. to bring home its soldiers without leaving the country, and its own world standing, in tatters. Currently, however, it is short of the mark.

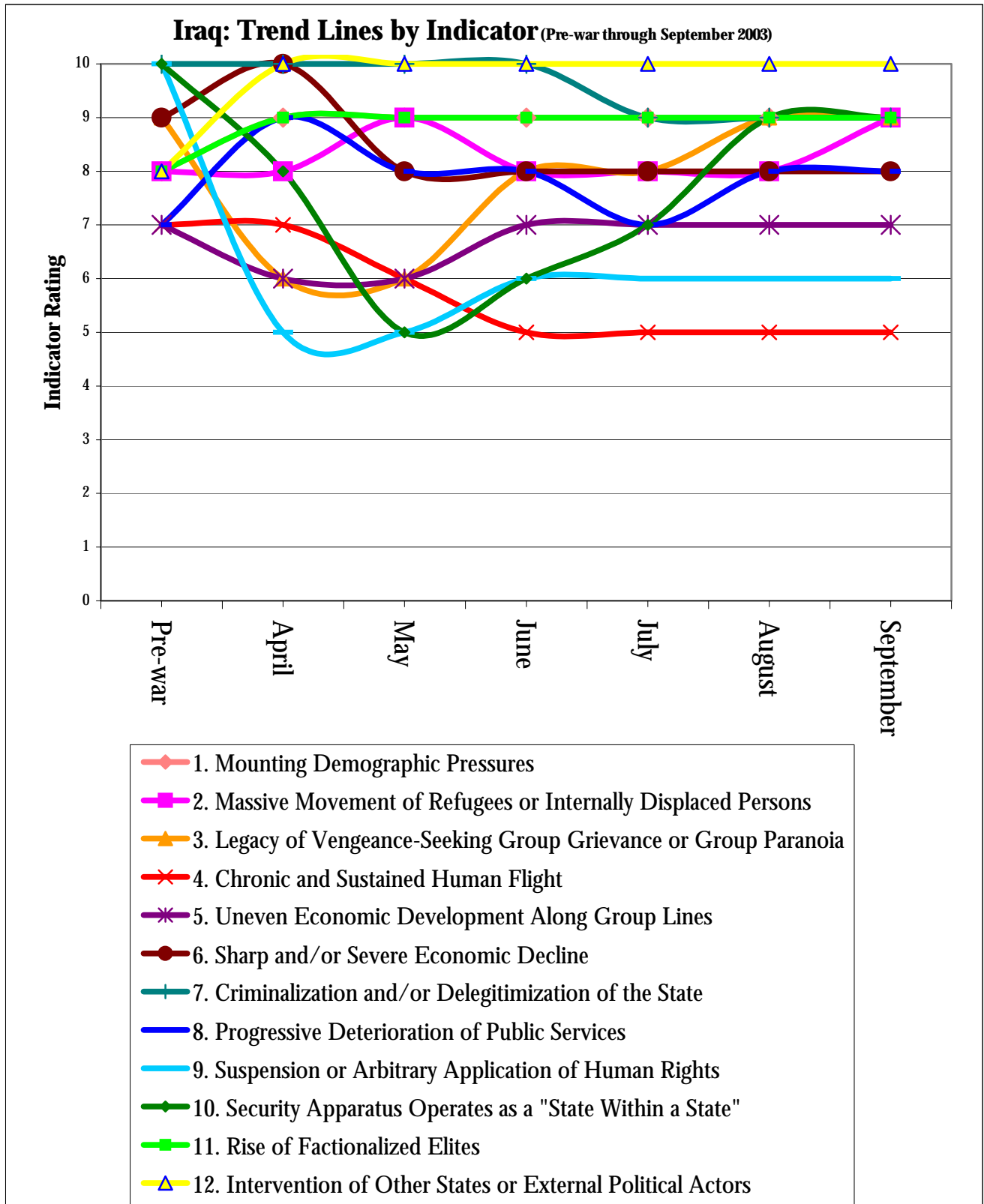
Graph 1



Legend

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

Graph 2



Iraq: Summary Indicator Ratings (Pre-war through September 2003)

Dates							
Indicators	Pre-war	April	May	June	July	August	September
1. Mounting Demographic Pressures	8	9	9	9	9	9	9
2. Massive Movement of Refugees or Internally Displaced Persons	8	8	9	8	8	8	9
3. Legacy of Vengeance-Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia	9	6	6	8	8	9	9
4. Chronic and Sustained Human Flight	7	7	6	5	5	5	5
5. Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines	7	6	6	7	7	7	7
6. Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline	9	10	8	8	8	8	8
7. Criminalization and/or Delegitimization of the State	10	10	10	10	9	9	9
8. Progressive Deterioration of Public Services	7	9	8	8	7	8	8
9. Suspension or Arbitrary Application of Human Rights	10	5	5	6	6	6	6
10. Security Apparatus Operates as a "State Within a State"	10	8	5	6	7	9	9
11. Rise of Factionalized Elites	8	9	9	9	9	9	9
12. Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors	8	10	10	10	10	10	10
Totals:	101	97	91	94	93	97	97

Appendix I

Pre-War: Analysis of Indicators and Core Five

1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures*

Rating: 8

Iraq suffered from a number of demographic pressures, including ethnic and religious divisions, a growing youth population, environmental damages, and insufficient or tenuous supplies of electricity, clean water, and food. Saddam Hussein's regime favored members of select Sunni tribes both financially and politically, creating tension between Sunni and Shiite communities. Government-sponsored ethnic cleansing of Iraqi Kurds and subsequent Arabization policies created tension between Arabs and Kurds over territory and property. The country's supplies of food, water, and electricity were insufficient for the population's needs. These problems were further exacerbated by environmental damages resulting from the Iraqi-Kuwaiti war, which effected soil productivity and water resources, and by a significant youth bulge. Forty-one percent of the population is under the age of 14, and the country is highly urbanized (68% of the population live in urban settings).

2. *Massive Movement of Refugees*

Rating: 8

There are approximately 600,000 international Iraqi refugees and up to one million internally displaced people in Iraq. Approximately 300,000 registered Iraqi refugees, and up to 300,000 more Iraqis without official refugee status live in countries neighboring Iraq. Most refugees are concentrated in Iran (203,000 Iraqis) and Jordan (200,000-350,000 Iraqis). At the end of 2001, the largest populations of Iraqi refugees outside the Gulf region were hosted by Sweden (25,900), the Netherlands (26,100), and the United States (19,100).¹ The internal displacement of approximately one million Iraqis is attributed to the continued effects of past wars and the official policies of the Iraq government.² In 1997, a report by the United Nations secretary general stated that more than 500,000 Kurds were "internally displaced in the three northern Kurdish provinces."³ While the living conditions of both refugees and internally displaced people are poor, their conditions do not constitute a complex humanitarian emergency.

3. *Legacy of Vengeance Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia*

Rating: 9

Most communal groups in Iraq suffered atrocities at the hands of Saddam Hussein's regime. Kurds in particular were persecuted through both ethnic cleansing campaigns and forced relocation to the North. The Shiite Marsh Arabs lost their property, economic livelihood and many of their civil rights when their marshlands were drained in a government campaign of repression following the 1991 Gulf War. The 1991 policy of Arabization displaced large numbers of Kurds, Turkmen and Assyrians in the region around Kirkuk and forced them to assume Arab identities. Even Saddam's own religious group, the Sunnis, suffered repressions at the hand of uprisings. The regime attempted to divide, conquer, and rule, and to carry out occasional purges against the most powerful Sunni tribes and factions.

¹ Available online at http://www.hrw.org/background/mena/iraq021203/5.htm#_Toc32640949. Human Rights Watch.

² All numbers come from *The Internally Displaced People of Iraq*. The Brookings Institution-SAID Project on Internal Displacement. 10/2002.. Available online at <http://www.brook.edu/fp/projects/IDP/articles/iraqreport.pdf>

³ "Iraq's Culture of Violence", *Middle East Quarterly*. 6/1/2003.

4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight*
Rating: 7

Approximately one sixth of the Iraqi population (4 million of 24 million) currently lives outside Iraq. Up to half of these expatriates are professionals who are no longer contributing their skills and resources to Iraqi society. In response to the steady flight of citizens, Saddam's regime adopted policies that made it financially difficult for Iraqis to leave the country, including high visa costs and bonds placed on the heads of educated Iraqis.

5. *Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines*
Rating: 7

Most reports about Saddam Hussein's regime indicate inequalities in education, jobs, and economic status exist between Baathist Sunni Muslim elites and other Iraqis. Analysts attribute these inequalities to the selective distribution of resources by the regime. A 1999 UN report stated that, "the central cities of Iraq, especially Takrit, Samarra, and parts of Baghdad, continue to enjoy privileges in the distribution of limited resources. Among social groups of Iraqi society, certain groups remain privileged by comparison with others, e.g. the military and Baath party elite." Reports also indicate a wide and growing income gap between the rich and the poor, due to hyperinflation and UN sanctions. Middle class salaries, such as those earned by civil servants, engineers, doctors, and professors were insufficient. Many members of the middle class were forced to work two or three jobs or leave their professions for blue-collar positions.

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

Under Saddam Hussein, Iraq had a centrally directed command economy. Much of the industrial base, which was subsidized heavily by the government, was destroyed, either by direct attack in the Iran-Iraq or the two Gulf wars or through atrophy caused by neglect. Since 1991, Iraq has suffered absolute declines in gross domestic product (GDP), chronic inflation, wholesale depreciation of its currency, virtually non-existent foreign investment, and the accumulation of a crushing debt burden. Estimated Iraqi per capita income fell from U.S.\$4,900 in 1990 to \$700 at the end of 2002. Most civil servants earned no more than \$6 per month in 2002.

7. *Criminalization and/or Delegitimization of the State*
Rating: 10

During Saddam's regime, state institutions were highly criminalized. Saddam transformed most state institutions, including the cabinet, parliament, judiciary, and military, into support structures for his rule. The Baath party played an administrative and monitoring role and served as a recruitment mechanism to broaden the base of the regime, but loyal Saddam followers took over the tasks of government, surveillance and coercion. While the political structure established under the constitution still existed, parallel departments were created in the party, and it was those departments that exercised control and decision making power.

8. *Progressive Deterioration of Public Services*

Rating: 7

Essential public services, such as education, health care, and public transportation, functioned in a limited capacity in Iraq. Moreover, the provision of public services was of unequal quantity and quality under Saddam's regime. The ruling elites benefited from high quality services while marginalized groups, such as southern Shiites and the Marsh Arabs received low-quality services or no services at all. For example, electricity supplies were diverted to ensure power 24 hours a day in Baghdad, while poorer regions of the country experienced sporadic blackouts. While there is some evidence that the regime increased spending on public services for non-regime members prior to the war, this spending was concentrated in Baghdad and was used as a tool to co-opt support for the regime.

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

Rating: 10

Human rights abuse was a chronic problem in Iraq. Human Rights Watch reports gross human rights violations in the forms of extensive use of the death penalty and extra judicial execution of prisoners, forced expulsion of ethnic minorities from government-controlled areas, arbitrary arrest of suspected political opponents and members of their families, and the torture and ill-treatment of detainees. While it is difficult to support accounts of current human rights violations with numbers, documents seized in 1991 testify to violations in the 1980s; for example, several documents provide details of the executions of wounded civilians, management of prohibited villages, detentions of families, the destruction of homes, and procedures to deal with demonstration, etc.⁴

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

Rating: 10

Saddam Hussein maintained absolute power over the Iraqi government, citizens, and military through a sophisticated structure of security services, revolutionary courts, emergency decrees, a network of informers, and the brutal crushing of dissent. All security apparatuses served the interests of the regime. Saddam had five major civilian security organizations, listed here in order of importance: special security organization (*al-Amn al-Khas*), General Security Directorate (*al-Amn al-'Amm*), Iraqi intelligence service (*al-Mukhabarat*), military security (*al-Amn al-'Askari*), and the special republican guards (*al-Haris al-Jamhuri al-Khas*).

11. *Rise of Factionalized Elites*

Rating: 8

Saddam Hussein factionalized Iraqi society by restricting access to leadership positions to members of a few select tribes and clans. Of the 2,000 tribes and clans in Iraq, only a few of the larger Sunni tribes and tribal confederations enjoyed Saddam's support, including the Jubbur, ad-Dulaym, al-'Ubayd, Khazraj, Sammar, al-Mushahada, 'Aqaydat, and Sa'dun.⁵ Members of these tribes enjoyed special

⁴ Available online at <http://fas-www.harvard.edu/~irdp/>.

⁵ Available online at <http://www.strategypage.com/dls/articles/20030602.asp>

privileges that ensured their loyalty to the regime. For example, tribal sheikhs sometimes received payments, access to weaponry, and a blind eye from Baghdad to smuggling and other illegal activities.⁶

12. *Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors*

Rating: 8

The United Nations, the United States, and Great Britain have been heavily involved in containing the Iraqi regime since the 1991 Gulf War. The UN Security Council imposed comprehensive economic sanctions and the “oil-for-food” program to encourage Iraq to disclose and dismantle its weapons of mass destruction programs. The United States and Great Britain maintained No-Fly Zones north of the 26th parallel and south of the 33rd parallel in Iraq. The No-Fly Zones, permitted under the Gulf War cease-fire agreement, were originally intended to protect Kurdish and Shiite Muslim rebels in the northern and southern regions of the Iraq. The Coalition Allies were permitted to fly warplanes over these zones to prevent Saddam Hussein’s regime from using military aircraft to attack these regions.

Core 5

The strong leadership of Saddam Hussein and the Ba’ath party dominated the character of Iraqi institutions. While the core state institutions—police, civil service, judiciary, and military—were large and well organized, they were absolutely dominated by Saddam Hussein’s regime and had no autonomous authority. In some cases, state institutions were merely puppet organizations, and it was the parallel party institutions that had real legitimacy with the regime.

1. Police

The Iraqi National Police (INP) and border guards were responsible for law enforcement. However, the pervasiveness of the regime’s security apparatus and its brutal methods meant that crimes were more likely to be committed by regime operatives than criminals. In many cases, the INP was prevented from investigating criminal activity under orders from the security system. Moreover, most police resources were enlisted in the service of the security apparatus, conducting surveillance and oppression functions rather than law enforcement.⁷ In the wake of the 2003 war, it became apparent that the INP was not trained in basic policing techniques, including patrolling. As a result of sanctions, the collapse of the economy, and the general decline in living standards, INP officers who previously enjoyed a reputation for integrity engaged in acts of petty corruption to feed their families. The U.S. Institute for Peace considers this behavior more a function of necessity than of any ideological commitment to Hussein or collapse of internal discipline.⁸

2. Leadership

Saddam Hussein. Saddam Hussein held five key leadership positions in Iraq: President of the Republic, Secretary General of the Iraqi Baath Party, Regional Command, Chairman of the Regional

⁶ Available online at <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/0/71014966a55a44d6c1256d6a00421265?OpenDocument>

⁷ *Building Democracy in Iraq.* Minority Rights Group International. 1/2003.

Available online at <http://www.minorityrights.org/admin/Download/Pdf/IraqReport.pdf>

⁸ *Establishing the Rule of Law in Iraq.* U.S. Institute of Peace. 4/2003.

Available online at <http://www.U.S.ip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr104.html>.

Command Council, and Head of the Iraqi Armed Forces. His legitimacy was guaranteed by constitutions and one of the most impressive cults of personality in the post-Stalin era. Hussein further guaranteed his power by brutally repressing the development of independent centers of power. He had two sons who exercised control over a variety of government institutions.

- *Qusai Saddam Hussein.* Saddam's second oldest son, whom he was believed to be grooming as successor. Qusai, 35, was a powerful behind-the-scenes figure. He supervised the Republican Guards and was linked to brutal crackdowns on the regime's opponents.
- *Odai Saddam Hussein.* Saddam's eldest son, 37, had a reputation for brutality, and was known as womanizer. He had a seat in parliament; ran Iraq's most popular newspaper, Babil, and the popular Youth TV channel. He also headed the National Iraqi Olympic Committee.

Confessionalism and leadership.

The Iraqi government is Sunni-dominated, but Saddam's regime made strong attempts to appear open to Shiite participation. Shiites were present at all levels of Iraqi government, including Saddam's inner circle and throughout the Baath party. The Speaker of the Assembly and former Prime Minister Sadun Hammadi, and Senior Presidential Advisor General Amer al-Saadi, were the most public Shiite faces of the regime. Saddam showed a bias towards well-educated secular elites, and there was little clerical representation in the government.⁹

Leadership in the Kurdish Northern Governates.

The Kurds in northern Iraq enjoyed a level of autonomy just short of full-fledged statehood. They had their own currency, their own military, an elected parliament, and representation abroad. Two political parties supporting a common platform calling for the ouster of Saddam Hussein's regime and the establishment of a "federal and democratic" system in Baghdad dominated the region in early 2003.¹⁰

- The Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), lead by Jalal Talabani
- The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), lead by Mas'ud Barzani

3. Civil service

The Iraqi government maintained a large civil service that employed approximately 2 million Iraqis as of January 2003.¹¹ The breakdown of public employment by sector is unavailable.

4. Judiciary

The civilian judicial system, composed of a high court, civil courts, and criminal courts and a criminal prosecutorial system, was subservient to both a military court system and special courts that operated outside the regular judicial system. While civilian courts heard cases and rendered verdicts, they were powerless to resist political direction from the government and interference from security services. Military and law enforcement personnel were excluded from jurisdiction for the regular courts. Justice

⁹ Islam al Khafaji. *A Few Days After: State and Society in a post-Saddam Iraq.* In *Iraq at the Crossroads: State and Society in the Shadow of Regime Change.* Adelphi Paper 354. International Institute of Strategic Studies. 2003. Pg. 77.

¹⁰ Michiel Leesenberg. *Economy and Society in Iraqi Kurdistan: Fragile Institutions and Enduring Trends.* In *Iraq at the Crossroads: State and Society in the Shadow of Regime Change.* Adelphi Paper 354. International Institute of Strategic Studies. 2003. Pg. 149

¹¹ "Recipe for Iraq's economy: oil, entrepreneurship." *The Christian Science Monitor.* 6/23/2003.

was effectively privatized, both through the reintroduction of tribal mechanisms for dispute settlement in rural areas, previously abolished in 1958, and through widespread corruption.¹²

5. Military

Saddam Hussein maintained a professional and disciplined military, which was ultimately accountable to Hussein himself. The military was composed of four bodies.¹³

- *The Iraqi army, air force, and navy*: 432,500 officers and enlisted personnel
- *Fedayeen Saddam*: 30,000 to 40,000 members. The Fedayeen Saddam is a paramilitary group, specialized in guerilla warfare. They often dress in civilian clothes, in order to confuse their enemy. They are believed to be headed by Saddam's oldest son, Odai, bypassing the military chain of command.
- *The Republican Guard*. 50,000 men, 6 divisions, 400 tanks
- *The Special Republican Guard*: 15,000 personnel. The elite force of Iraq. The soldiers in this branch were better trained, equipped and paid than the regular army. All republican troops were volunteers. Many of these troops came from the region of Tikrit, the home region and home clan of Saddam Hussein. The Special Republican Guard was headed by Saddam's son, Qusai.

Tariq al-Sheeb, the journal of the Iraqi Communist Party, reports that regular army units were underfunded, under-equipped, and under-staffed. Many troops were absent without leave or on leave acquired by bribing officers. Purges and rotation of senior military staff, driven by Saddam's paranoia and low pay, damaged morale in the officer corps and encouraged corruption.¹⁴

¹² "Building Democracy in Iraq." *Minority Rights Group International*. 1/2003.

Available online at <http://www.minorityrights.org/admin/Download/Pdf/IraqReport.pdf>

¹³ Tore Kjeilen. *Iraqi Defense*. Available online at http://i-cias.com/e.o/iraq_6.htm

¹⁴ "Building Democracy in Iraq." *Minority Rights Group International*. 1/2003.

Available online at <http://www.minorityrights.org/admin/Download/Pdf/IraqReport.pdf>

Appendix II

APRIL: Analysis of Indicators, Core Five, and STINGS

Widespread looting, disorder, and insecurity characterized Iraq in the weeks after the fall of Baghdad. Coalition forces focused on securing cities still under Baathist control, while Jay Garner and humanitarian aid organizations planned for anticipated humanitarian disasters. In many towns, Iraqi religious leaders filled the leadership vacuum. Coalition efforts to rebuild infrastructure were thwarted by looting. The U.S. announced plans for a quick transition to an Iraqi-lead interim government, but later began delaying the transition as rivalries inside the Shiite community developed.

Key events in April

April 9, 2003. U.S. marines help crowds to topple a giant statue of Saddam Hussein in the heart of Baghdad. Widespread looting breaks out unhindered in the Iraqi capital.

April 11, 2003. The entire Iraqi army's 5th Corps surrenders as U.S. Special Forces and Kurdish fighters entered Mosul. U.S. paratroopers arrived in Kirkuk so Kurdish forces could withdraw. The U.S. published a pack of 55 playing cards identifying the most wanted suspects in Iraq.

April 15, 2003. The first political talks involving different Iraqi groups take place at an airbase outside Nassiriya despite a boycott from the main Shia Muslim group.

April 18, 2003. Tens of thousands of Iraqis demonstrate against the U.S. occupation of Iraq in central Baghdad.

April 21, 2003. Jay Garner, the retired former U.S. general, arrives in Baghdad to take up the post of Iraq's postwar civil administrator.

April 24, 2003. The UN secretary general, Kofi Annan, calls on the U.S.-led coalition to respect international law as the "occupying power" in Iraq. U.S. officials resist the label "occupier".

April 28, 2003. U.S. troops fire on a group of Iraqi demonstrators near Baghdad, killing at least 13 people and wounding 75 others.

April 30, 2003. U.S. troops open fire on Iraqi civilians for the second time as an angry crowd in Fallujah protested over an earlier shooting.

Arab opinion of the war. The Kuwaiti press was first among the Arab media to report the overthrow of Saddam's regime. Kuwait played an important role in this war by allowing the coalition forces to invade Iraq via the Kuwaiti border. Accordingly, it is not surprising that the Kuwaiti press gave significant attention to Arab support for ousting Saddam. For instance, the Kuwaiti News Agency reported that Sudanese politicians attributed the collapse of Saddam's regime to its isolationist policies and lack of public support.¹⁵ Another article reported that many Yemenis changed their attitudes about the war after seeing Iraqis beat Saddam's pictures with their shoes.¹⁶

¹⁵ "Isolation, lack of public support behind the collapse of Iraq regime." www.kuna.net. 4/11/2003.

¹⁶ "Isolation, lack of public support behind the collapse of Iraq regime." www.kuna.net. 4/11/2003

Aljazeera, one of the few Arab networks with a permanent correspondent in Iraq, focused on internal issues such as insecurity, breakdown of law, and chaos in Iraq. One report analyzed the root causes of chaos following the arrival of Coalition forces in Baghdad. According to the report, looting took place in two stages. The first stage occurred after Iraqis perceived the collapse of Saddam's regime. The report listed several motivations behind the looting: (1) Iraqis were expressing their anger after years of oppression; (2) some Iraqis felt they were taking back what was rightfully theirs after years of the regime getting rich at their expense; and (3) some Iraqis believed that, by looting, they would prevent Coalition forces from benefiting from the spoils of the war. Looting entered the second stage once it became apparent that the Americans and the British would not punish looters. Aljazeera argued that Coalition forces intentionally ignored looting because they wanted to show the world that Iraqis were incapable of governing themselves, and that U.S. help would be necessary to secure Iraq.¹⁷ However, Aljazeera did not neglect to cover the reaction of the Iraqis after the fall of Baghdad to Coalition forces. Aljazeera mentioned that Iraqis burned Saddam's pictures, destroyed his statues and spit on images of him¹⁸.

Criticism of the coalition troops for allowing looting and the breakdown of law and order in Iraq came from not only Aljazeera, but also from a host of other newspapers. Alanwar (a Lebanese newspaper) reported that Americans allowed the looters to enter Baghdad Museum without even trying to stop them.¹⁹ Alssabeel (a Jordanian weekly newspaper) went further by saying that the breakdown of law and order in Iraq was an American play with a bad director²⁰.

Analysis of Indicators

1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures* **Rating: 9**

Infrastructure damages caused by the war and pre-war neglect resulted in shortages of clean water, electricity, and fuel throughout Iraq. The reconstruction process was slowed by the lack of security, which prevented humanitarian aid workers from accessing southern and central Iraqi cities. For example, The ICRC restored 50-60% of potable water in Basrah, but aid had not yet reached Karbala, Najaf and Nasiriyah as of April 30th. Doctors in Umm Qasr report an increase in cases of childhood diarrhea, caused by drinking untreated water. There were 30 cases in April 2002, compared to more than 50 cases in the first five days of April 2003. Property disputes between Iraqi Kurds and Arabs were reported in the northern cities of Kirkut and Mosel.

2. *Massive Movement of Refugees* **Rating: 8**

Concerns about a potential repeat of 1991 massive refugee influx into Iran were unfounded. Approximately 30,000 Iraqis from Baghdad and Nasiriya fled east to the central Iranian border during the fighting, but returned home by April 16th.²¹ By the end of the month, most internally displaced

¹⁷ "The Security Chaos in Iraq, the Image has another Face." *Aljazeera*. 4/12/2003

¹⁸ "Panorama of the Iraqi scene after taking over Baghdad." *Aljazeera*. 4/11/2003.

¹⁹ "Archeology experts: Americans allowed the Iraqis to loot the Museum." *Alanwar*. 4/16/2003.

²⁰ Available online at <http://www.sahafa.org/readit.asp>. 4/15/2003

²¹ UN High Commissioner for Refugees Report. 4/16/2003. Available online at http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=33531&SelectRegion=Iraq_Crisis&SelectCountry=IRAN

people were limited to Arabs who had been displaced by Kurds reclaiming land and property given to Arabs under Saddam's policy of Arabization. For example, 2,000 Arab residents from the villages of al-Muntasir, Khalid, al-Wahda and Umar Ibn al-Khattab had taken refuge in tents and homes of fellow tribal members in the village of Sa'ad bin Abi Waqqas and its vicinity. Several of the displaced said they had been forced from their homes at gunpoint, while their possessions, including cars, tractors, and household goods, were taken away.²²

3. *Legacy of Vengeance Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia*
Rating: 6

Anticipated revenge killings between Shiites and Sunnis did not occur on the large scale anticipated by the U.S. government. However, there was evidence of struggles between armed civilians and Baath Party offices in Najaf that left 40 dead. In Kirkuk, there were instances of ethnic violence targeting Turkmen. Violence between Kurds and Arabs in Mosul was under control by April 15th. However, underlying tensions between Shiites and Sunnis are likely to continue, and may result in violence in the future.

4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight*
Rating: 7

There is no evidence to suggest a change in this particular indicator for the month of April.

5. *Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines*
Rating: 6

UN operations in Iraq resumed in April and several humanitarian agencies initiated programs to ease the situation in Iraq after the war. However, southern and northern Iraq received more attention than Baghdad and central Iraq because of the security situation.

The northern region of Iraq (the three Kurdish governates of Erbil, Dahuk, and Sulaymaniyah) was able to recover from the war at a faster pace than the central and southern governates. Security was established faster in the northern region, and humanitarian organizations were already working there. By the end of April, the power supply to Dohuk from Mosul significantly increased to about 22 hours daily. The local authorities acquired considerable amounts of different types of fuel through the private sector. In Erbil, the World Health Organization (WHO) supplied health facilities with bimonthly supplies of drugs and medical supplies. Weekly morbidity reports from health facilities showed no increasing trend of infectious diseases apart from a slight increase in the number of diarrhea cases (normally expected this time of the year).²³

6. *Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline*
Rating: 10

The state of Iraq's economy took a back seat during April as the Coalition Provisional Authority focused on establishing security. Early estimates place the cost of reconstruction at more than \$60bn

²² Available online at <http://www.hrw.org/press/2003/04/iraq041503.htm>. *Human Rights Watch*. 4/15/2003

²³ Available online at <http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/iraq/infocentre/sitreps/doc/IRAQ%20sitrep%2029%20290403.doc>

over the next several years, while foreign debt and war reparations could top \$300 billion dollars. Iraq has estimated assets of \$18bn/year in oil exports. The U.S. treasury department estimates the Iraqi inflation rate at 70% and plans to proceed with the process of freeing prices and wages cautiously to avoid further inflation.²⁴

7. *Criminalization and/or Delegitimization of the State*
Rating: 10

There is no state. Gen. Tommy Franks continued to lead military operations, and Jay Garner took up his post as the senior civilian decision-maker and the public face of the U.S.-led occupation. On April 19th, Kofi Annan announced that there appeared to be no functioning government in Iraq and reminded the Coalition of its responsibility for the welfare of the Iraqis in territory it controls.²⁵

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

With the exception of basic health services, public services collapsed with the fall of Saddam's regime. Structural problems were exacerbated by looting immediately following the war, which damaged governmental institutions, universities, banks, and libraries. Vital assets, such as trash trucks, public transportation vehicles, etc. were stolen or damaged. Schools were the first to be restored in whole or part throughout the country. By the end of April, most schools had resumed in some capacity.

9. *Arbitrary application of human rights*
Rating: 5

Obviously, the human rights situation in Iraq is going to be much better compared with Saddam's regime, which has oppressed Iraqis for more than 20 years. However, the war situation resulted in US troops firing on Iraqi demonstrators on April 28, with 13 killed and at least 75 wounded.

10. *Security Apparatus operates as a state within a state*
Rating: 8

Saddam's secret police and intelligence institutions do not exist any more. However, this indicator is still in the alarming zone because the remnants of the former regime are still active in some areas in Iraq.

11. *Rise of factionalized elites*
Rating: 9

With the fall of the Hussein regime, a power vacuum emerged, catalyzing the rise of factionalized elites.

²⁴ "Dearth of data will hinder the rebuilding of Iraq." *The Business*. 4//14/2003.

²⁵ Available online at

<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/3a81e21068ec1871c1256633003c1c6f/fb97b4c6a61cfad085256d040072f50d?OpenDocument>

12. *Intervention of other states*
Rating: 10

Military occupation.

Core 5

U.S. and British forces have established a basic rule structure in an effort to restore order in Iraq. People cannot be in the streets from 11 p.m. to 6 a.m.; government employees must return to their jobs; all members of Saddam's Baath Party must identify themselves to Coalition forces; and hospitals must stay open 24 hours a day.

1. Police

Over 2,000 members of the Iraqi police force reported back to work in the first two weeks of April and were assigned to a small number of joint patrols with U.S. forces. An Iraqi officer in charge of the security force, which included 40 police cars, said they will establish a permanent headquarter to maintain the security in cooperation with the American forces.²⁶ Baghdad police officers made between \$5 and \$15 a month under Saddam. Just 76 police cars remain from a fleet of nearly 900. Coalition forces attributed some of the lawlessness with lack of policing skills. On April 11, *Reuters* reported that the U.S. State Department was sending 26 police and judicial officials to Iraq as the advance team for what could be a contingent of more than 1,150 people to help Iraqis restore law and order. Richard Boucher, a spokesman for the U.S. State Department, said that the second contingent would be 150 people under contract with Dyncorp. At a briefing, Boucher said: "That's a process under way. The money is from existing funding and I think congressional notifications are up right now."²⁷

2. Leadership

The Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) controlled Iraq, with General Jay Garner as its civilian leader. Garner is expected to play a significant role in shaping and formulating the political future of Iraq. Leadership from the Iraqi exile community was being groomed to accept leadership positions in Iraqi governing structures once such structures are created. Ahmed Aljalabi seemed to be the American favorite. The United States sponsored a meeting in Al Nassireyah that brought together 43 Iraqis from inside Iraq to discuss future leadership plans for the country. It is important to note that Iraqi opposition groups expressed their skepticism about the American intentions in Iraq. "All we knew was that there are a bunch of people sitting around a swimming pool in Kuwait and planning the future of Iraq", said Abraham Al Gaafari, the spokesman of Al-DAWA movement, a Shiite opposition group²⁸.

3. Civil Service

Civil services were almost destroyed because of the security situation, which halted even the UN efforts for helping Iraqis to ease the conditions and provide them with some services. Looting of the hospitals, the increasing temperatures, and deteriorating water and electricity supplies are raising the

²⁶ "Iraqi police force launches a security mission in Baghdad." *www.kuna.net*. 4/16/2003.

²⁷ "U.S. sending 26 police officials to Iraq." *Reuters*. 4/11/2003

²⁸ *Al-Ahram weekly*. 4/(10-16)/2003. Available online at <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2003/633/sc9.htm>

risks of epidemics.²⁹ Arabic news sources documented WHO reports of 700 beds at Al Yarmouk hospital having been partially looted and only 10 percent of the staff were still working. WHO also expressed concern about patients who fled Al Rashid hospital; 700 patients who fled had not returned back³⁰

Jay Garner has announced the structure of the provisional government: 23 ministers are planned for the cabinet, and each ministry is going to be ruled by an American official and four Iraqi consultants.³¹

4. Judiciary

There was not enough reported evidence to substantiate any commentary on the judiciary sector for the month of April.

5. Military

Iraqi soldiers were thought to have returned home, still in possession of their weapons. Such a high concentration of weapons amongst civilians was thought to have fueled looting.

STINGS

◆ *Score Settling did not occur in great volume.* "If it has not already started, there will be revenge attacks on Baath Party functionaries, intelligence and special-security-organization goons, and Fedayeen fighters, plus the inevitable score-settling that has nothing to do with Saddam," says retired Army Col. Dan Smith. "Add the thousands of small arms that abound in Iraq, and keeping the peace will be a challenge."³²

◆ *Iraqi Opposition leaders in exile did not have the political backing of Iraqi citizens.* Abdelmajid al-Khoi returned to Najaf on April 7th with the help of coalition forces.

◆ *U.S. and UK commanders admit they underestimated the extent to which Saddam Hussein's repressive Baath party permeated every level of the administration.* They had hoped to make use of the existing officials to run Iraq, but they now say they are killing or detaining even local Baathist leaders.

◆ *Anticipated humanitarian disasters did not occur.* After spending, by Garner's estimate, 40 percent of their planning time on humanitarian calamities that did not happen, his team of not quite 300 staffers struggled to function without telephones, computers, or the ability to leave their palace base without wearing body armor and traveling with military escorts.

Garner said, however, that the staffing levels were "sufficient for the aftermath." He pointed to the cumbersome private contracting process as one reason Iraqis did not see faster results on reconstruction. He said 75 percent of the contracts were not signed until after the war started.

◆ *Demonstrations in Baghdad rejecting occupation:* Thousands of Iraqis demonstrated in front of Abu Huneifa mosque in Baghdad calling for the evacuation of the American forces from Iraq. The

²⁹ *Al-Ahram weekly*. 4/(17-23)/2003. Available online at <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2003/634/sc10.htm>

³⁰ *Arabic news*. 4/21/2003. Available online at <http://arabicnews.com/ansub/daily/day/030421/2003042117.html>

³¹ "The features of the transitional Iraqi government." *Aljazeera*. 4/13/2003.

³² "For allied troops, battle of nation building begins." *Christian Science Monitor*. 4/10/2003.

demonstrators hoisted the Iraqi flags and chanted slogans against the U.S. and carried banners, which read "No for the U.S.A." The Imam of the mosque said that the U.S. had invaded Iraq for the interests of "Israel."³³

◆ *No mass destruction weapons found in Iraq so far:* Washington announced its intention to send 1,000 experts to take part in the inspection operations for the weapons of mass destruction besides several hundred American soldiers who are carrying out research operations with a team of specialists equipped with a mobile laboratory.³⁴

³³ Available online at <http://www.arabicnews.com>. 4/19/2003

³⁴ Available online at <http://www.arabicnews.com>. 4/21/2003

Appendix III

MAY: Analysis of Indicators, Core Five, and STINGS

Key events in May

May 1, 2003. The U.S. declared major combat operations over.

May 10, 2003. Ayatollah Mohammad Baqir al-Akim, the leader of the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq (SCIRI), returns to Iraq after two decades in exile in Iran.

May 11, 2003. The commander of the coalition forces in Iraq, Gen. Tommy Franks, declared the Iraqi Baath Socialist Party dissolved.

May 12, 2003. L. Paul Bremer, U.S. Administrator, arrived in Iraq.

May 16, 2003. U.S. officials abandoned the plan to cede authority to a democratically chosen interim civilian Iraqi government and presented a resolution to the U.N. to give the United States and Britain broad power and lift economic sanctions on Iraq, allowing the occupying countries authority to use oil resources to pay for rebuilding the country. The resolution would allow them to appoint an interim government by themselves.

May 22, 2003. The UN Security Council voted 14-0 to give the United States and Britain the power to govern Iraq and use its oil resources to rebuild the country. Resolution 1483 removed nearly 13 years of economic sanctions originally imposed after Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait. The resolution allows UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan to appoint a special representative to work with U.S. and British administrators on reconstruction, humanitarian aid, and the creation of a new government. The resolution created a new Development Fund for Iraq, which will collect funds from oil sales. The fund will be run by the United States and Britain to rebuild the country, and it will be overseen by a new advisory body composed of the United Nations and international financial institutions. It will begin its existence with a \$1 billion deposit, funds transferred from the United Nation's oil-for-food account. The oil-for-food program will be phased out over a six-month period. The resolution requires a one-year review, a step sought by both Germany and France. Syria, which was the sole Arab state represented on the council, was absent from the meeting.

Analysis of Indicators

1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures* **Rating: 9**

In May, the intensity of this indicator remained the same, although the character of the problem changed. Water and electricity supplies, though still insufficient, had steadily increased. Food supplies and other life-sustaining resources were sufficient for the Iraqi population. WFP reports food dispatch into Iraq from neighboring countries continued at a significantly increased rate.³⁵

³⁵ Available online at <http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/iraq/infocentre/sitreps/pdf/WEEKLY%20UPDATE%207.pdf> . 5/(19-26)/2003.

However, Iraqi refugees from the 1991 war are returning spontaneously from neighboring countries at an increased rate, creating a greater potential for competition over resources. Passenger traffic from Jordan is unusually heavy, with hundreds of individuals leaving for Iraq daily in private vehicles. Around 50 persons left the Ruwayshid refugee camp in Jordan and returned voluntarily to Iraq. Reports from Syria indicate that large groups of Iraqis continue to return to Iraq on their own through the Tanf, Abu Kamal and Yaroubia border crossing points. Some 300 Iraqis in Abu Dhabi have approached UNHCR requesting assistance to return to Iraq.³⁶

2. *Massive Movement of Refugees*

Rating: 6

The intensity of this indicator increased in May as refugees returned to Iraq and internally displaced people continued to draw on the resources of Iraqis and humanitarian aid organizations.

Minority populations were victimized this month throughout Iraq. Palestinians flooded refugee centers in Baghdad this month. The previous Iraqi regime provided Palestinian refugees with free housing and other benefits. Unable to pay rent at the unsubsidized rates, more than 350 Palestinian families were evicted from their homes in Baghdad and many literally lived in the streets. More than 500 Palestinians entered Jordan as refugees. Iranian Ahwazi refugees in the three settlements of Dujaila, Al-Kumeit and Ali Gharbi (all located between Basra and Baghdad) have been victims of the local population since the fall of the former regime. They have been harassed, threatened with eviction, and farmland as well as farm produce and livestock, have been taken away from them by the local population. UNHCR estimates that there are around 6,000 persons left in the three settlements.³⁷

The authorities in northern Iraq are reintegrating an estimated 800,000 Iraqis who were displaced by previous conflicts. Meanwhile, approximately 100,000 families have registered with the authorities for restitution of their property.

3. *Legacy of Vengeance Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia*

Rating: 6

There is no evidence to suggest a change in this particular indicator for the month of May.

4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight*

Rating: 6

Professionals, intellectuals and political dissidents are among the many refugees returning to Iraq.

5. *Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines*

Rating: 6

There is no evidence to suggest a change in this particular indicator for the month of May.

³⁶ Available online at <http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/opendoc.pdf?tbl=NEWS&id=3ecde3a04>. 5/16/2003

³⁷ Available online at <http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/opendoc.pdf?tbl=NEWS&id=3ecde3a04>. 5/16/2003

6. *Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline*

Rating: 8

The severity of this indicator dropped in May as the Coalition began to address economic concerns. On May 7, the United States lifted some economic sanctions on Iraq that banned trade with Baghdad or any activity paid by the U.S. government, including reconstruction and restricted export of goods. The U.S. decided to allow Iraqi residents in the U.S. to send \$500 per month to family and friends in Iraq and allow privately funded humanitarian activities by U.S.-based organizations.

Meanwhile, ORHA began implementing its policy on the payment of April salaries and pensions for 1.35 million Iraqi civil servants throughout the country. In the north salaries will be paid in U.S. dollars, and in the center/south they will be paid in Iraqi dinars. In addition to the salary payments for April, a second ex gratia payment of U.S.\$30 will also be made to all civil service employees. Salary payments began on May 25 for Baghdad public employees. 345,000 employees had been paid by the 26th.³⁸ Meanwhile, Bremer's decision to disband the military added tens of thousand to the ranks of unemployed in Iraq.³⁹

7. *Criminalization and/or Delegitimization of the State*

Rating: 10

Apparently, there is still no state in Iraq. Thousands of Iraqis demonstrated on May 19th to express their rejection to the Coalition Provisional Authority, which is considered completely illegitimate in their eyes. Having this power vacuum motivated religious leaders to take charge of the key facilities in the country. For example, half of the health facilities in Baghdad are in control of militias of religious groups who are paying salaries, managing facilities and, reportedly, waiving user fees for poor people.⁴⁰

8. *Progressive Deterioration of Public Services*

Rating: 8

Health and education services have resumed throughout most of Iraq. UN agencies are operating in Iraq and trying to meet Iraqi needs and restore the public services in the country. However, infrastructure damage, looting, and insecurity are contributing to delays in the restoration of water, sewage, and power services. Police forces are insufficient to restore law and order.

Security. Security remains the key concern for Iraqis and the coalition forces. The incidence of drive-by shootings and violent crime is increasing in Baghdad. There is a significant increase in the number of people buying weapons on the black market in Baghdad. An AK 47 could be bought for U.S. \$50 and the volume of shooting at night is also increasing as people test their weapons. Gangs of teenagers carrying AK 47s are reported to be roaming the west of the city. In Basrah, organized crime is a growing threat as the violence and looting continues. Al Mustaqbal reported that almost 2,000 Iraqis have been captured by the American forces because of committing crimes in Baghdad since April 10th, when the looting and the initial break down of order began.

³⁸ Available online at <http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/iraq/infocentre/sitreps/pdf/WEEKLY%20UPDATE%207.pdf>. 5/(19-26)/2003.

³⁹ "Last Post for Iraqi army: Final fall as forces to be dismantled." *The Gazette*, Montreal, Quebec. 5/24/2003.

⁴⁰ Available online at <http://www.hiciraq.org/infocentre/sitreps/doc/WEEKLY%20UPDATE%206.doc>. 5/(13-19)/2003

Health. The health system continues to function, and the quantity and quality of services is improving. UNICEF reported that 80% of health centers in the Baghdad region are ready to resume daily immunization activities and have a functional cooling system. The remaining 20% could resume limited activities using cool boxes for the transport of vaccines from the nearby centers.

Water and Sanitation. Of the 177 water treatment plants in central and southern Iraq, 19% were classified as good; 55% were acceptable; and 26% were functioning poorly.⁴¹ Repairs to main water network are under way, but are often constrained by the lack of security. The two main sewage treatment plants in Baghdad were rendered inoperative by bombings and subsequent lootings. As a result, one million metric tons of untreated sewage per day is being discharged into the Tigris River.

Education. UNICEF is updating its database on the status of the schools, and is coordinating closely with the CPA on its plans for rehabilitation of schools.

Electricity. While Iraq's power grid is being repaired, the available generating capacity is still insufficient to provide Iraqis with power 24 hours per day. Power cuts are constant and a major part of the capital has no electricity.⁴² The available generating capacity is 2,300 megawatts (mw) against a required generation estimated at 5,500 mw, leaving a deficit of 3,200 mw. For Baghdad, only 600 mw is available against a required 2000mw.

Media. Iraqi TV resumed broadcasting after being off the air for more than a month because of the war. Programming must be authorized by the Coalition. Employees of the television station expressed their frustration because they have not received the \$20 salary promised by the Americans.⁴³

Child Services. UNICEF reports that staff members abandoned 4,000 orphans at 12 institutions orphanages in Iraq during after the war. Many of the children left the institutions and are now living in the streets.⁴⁴

9. *Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights*
Rating: 5

While the organized massive human rights violations perpetrated by Hussein's regime have stopped, concerns about human rights violations under Coalition occupation were raised by Amnesty International and the Arabic press in May. Twenty Iraqi prisoners of war interviewed by Amnesty International reported that U.S. and British troops tortured and mistreated them in Al Basra and Baghdad.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, Iraqi TV claimed freedom of speech violations when the Coalition refused to allow it to broadcast Muslim prayers.⁴⁶

⁴¹ According to the UNICEF and CARE water and sanitation monitoring program

⁴² Available online at <http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/iraq/infocentre/sitreps/pdf/WEEKLY%20UPDATE%207.pdf>. 5/(19-26)/2003.

⁴³ Available online at <http://www.almU.S.taqbal.com>. 5/16/2003.

⁴⁴ "Assault and pillage". Available online at <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2003/640/reg10.htm>.

⁴⁵ Available online at <http://www.almU.S.taqbal.com>. 5/17/2003.

⁴⁶ Available online at <http://www.assabeel.net>. 5/20/2003.

10. *Security Apparatus Operates as a “State Within a State”*
Rating: 5

This month was relatively calm. However, the violent opposition to the coalition forces started in late May (on May 26th) when the Central Command said that one American soldier was killed and one wounded in an ambush on their convoy near Haditha, about 193 km northwest of Baghdad. That was the first American casualty by hostile fire since May 1, when President Bush declared that major combat was over. Five American soldiers were killed by hostile fire during the month of May.⁴⁷

11. *Rise of Factionalized Elites*
Rating: 9

There is no evidence to suggest a change in this particular indicator for the month of May.

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

Military occupation.

Core 5

The UN Security Council passed a resolution ending sanctions on Iraq and recognizing the U.S. and British occupation. Technically, the resolution gave the U.S. and Britain authority to start Iraq's post-war rebuilding, allowing them to dissolve the institutions of the previous regime and establish new ones.

1. Police

The Iraqi police corps was too small in numbers and too poorly trained to secure the streets of Iraq. According to a LA Times report, “A visit to the Messiah Police Station in southern Baghdad is instructive. On a recent afternoon, most of the station's 77-member force was loitering around the two-story station house, doing nothing. Though now at least swept out, a short time ago the station itself was a shell -- burned and looted in the first days after the war. The policemen's attire gave no hint that they carried badges, and the few of them who were armed had small U.S.-issued 7.65-millimeter Beretta pistols that looked like toy water guns. “The criminals laugh at it,” one cop said. “We are trying to restore the station through our own personal efforts,” said Col. Muaman Salman, the station chief. But, he said, “we need so many things. Those committing crimes have weapons and good cars. Most of them were released from prison by the old regime. Compared to the U.S. soldiers, they have everything.” So far, only 12 pistols and one automatic rifle have been issued to the station, and there is only one patrol car, Salman said, in a city of 5 million where even the night watchmen pack Kalashnikov automatic rifles and many criminals carry rocket-propelled grenade launchers. The complaints are echoed at police stations around Baghdad. Policemen have started to return to their jobs at the behest of U.S. occupation authorities, but in most cases they appear paralyzed by their lack of weaponry and the absence of a government to tell them what to do.”⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Available online at http://news.bbd.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3019552.stm *BBC News*: this website contains a complete list of the American casualties since May first and early September.

⁴⁸ “AFTER THE WAR; Baghdad Is Asking, Where Are the Police?” *Los Angeles Times*. 5/27/2003

2. Leadership

The political future of Iraq is still vague. This month was characterized by the appointment of a new American Administrator, Paul Bremer, to replace Jay Garner on May 6th. Additionally, the leader of the largest Iraqi Shiite Muslim group, Ayatollah Mohammed Baqir al-Hakim, (opposed to Saddam Hussein) returned to Iraq on May 10th after two decades in exile.⁴⁹ Iraqi exiles who came back to Iraq did not have good relationships either with each other or with the American Administrator.

Five key individuals have emerged as key players in the race to shape the political life in Iraq post-Saddam: the Kurdistan Democratic Party Chairman Massoud Barzani, Iraqi National Accord Secretary General Iyyad Allawi, Iraqi National Congress leader Ahmad Chalabi, Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq Deputy Chairman Abdelaziz Hakim, and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan Secretary General Jalal Talbani. These leaders were split into two factions: one comprising Talbani and Chalabi, and another made up of Barzani and Allawi; Hakim meanwhile stood in the middle.⁵⁰

3. Civil Service

On May 16th, Paul Bremer decreed that senior Baath party members could not serve in government posts, a move that effects between 15,000 and 30,000 civil servants and employees of state-run companies and state institutions such as media organizations, hospitals and universities.⁵¹ The Iraqi Ministry of Defense and the Information Ministry were disbanded on May 23rd along with the Iraqi army.

4. Judiciary

The CPA announced the resumption of court proceedings this month, but all cases brought to court in May were postponed. No formal trials had been held, and no judgments had been made or sentences given. The only jails were those run by the Army, where about 900 suspected criminals were being held along with prisoners of war. At most, judges were questioning suspected looters, thieves and killers in informal proceedings that resembled preliminary hearings. The judges could order police to investigate, could dismiss charges or could refer the matter to another judge for trial at some later date under unknown rules. None of the judges had been paid since the start of the war. A new civil service scale proposed by U.S. authorities set the top judicial salary at \$350 a month. Judges were paid up to \$540 per month under Saddam's regime.⁵²

5. Military

Paul Bremer dissolved the Iraqi military, the Republican Guard, and the Iraqi ministry of defense on May 23, 2003. The Coalition Provisional Authority announced that a new Iraqi military would be formed, but did not give a time line.⁵³ The CPA also issued a draft order, banning automatic and heavy weapons; however, the order authorizes militias who assisted coalition forces, and remain under the

⁴⁹ "Prominent Iraqi opposition leader returns home." Available online at <http://www.albawaba.com>. 5/10/2003.

⁵⁰ "Rivalry and competition in Baghdad." Available online at <http://www.mideastmirror.com>. 5/13/2003.

⁵¹ "Ba'athist ban a challenge to new era." *South China Morning Post*. 5/19/2003.

⁵² "Semblance of justice returning to Baghdad; Police, judges and courts stumble to find their way." *The Baltimore Sun*. 5/27/2003.

⁵³ "U.S. pledges to set up new defense force in Iraq". Available online at <http://www.albawaba.com>. 5/23/2003.

supervision of coalition forces, to possess automatic or heavy weapons. This allows Kurdish Pesh Merga fighters to remain armed, angering some Shiite leaders.⁵⁴

STINGS

◆ The most surprising event that happened after the war is having Shiites and Sunnis demonstrating together against the American presence in Iraq. The demonstration was organized by Shiites who gathered in front of a Sunni Mosque in Baghdad saying: no Shiites and no Sunnis, just Islamic unity.⁵⁵

◆ Another event that disturbed the American officials in the U.S. and Iraq is the looting of the nuclear facility, besides the signs of radiation sickness of some Iraqis. The report says that many residents in villages close to the huge Tuwaitha nuclear facility, about 20 km south of Baghdad, were exhibiting signs of radiation illness including rashes, acute vomiting, and severe nosebleeds.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ “Last Post for Iraqi army: Final fall as forces to be dismantled.” *The Gazette*, Montreal, Quebec. 5/24/2003.

⁵⁵ “Thousands of Shiites stage anti-U.S. demonstration in Baghdad.” Available online at <http://www.albawaba.com>. 5/19/2003.

⁵⁶ “Iraqis living near looted nuclear facility showing signs of radiation sickness”. Available online at <http://www.albawaba.com>. 5/13/2003.

Appendix IV

JUNE: Analysis of Indicators, Core Five, and STINGS

Key events in June

June 13, 2003. Almost 100 Iraqis were killed in two of the bloodiest attacks since the fall of Baghdad. An independent research group meanwhile said that as many as 10,000 civilians may have died in the war.

June 28, 2003. United States military commanders order a halt to local elections and self-rule in provincial cities and towns across Iraq. Handpicked mayors and administrators are installed, many of whom are former Iraqi military leaders.

June 30, 2003. Iraq's most senior Shia cleric issued a religious ruling, or "fatwa", opposing U.S. plans to set up a council of Iraqis to draft a new constitution. Ayatollah Sistani called for general elections in the country to choose representatives of the Iraqi people instead. Paul Bremer plans to set up a new political council as the next step towards a future Iraqi government.

Analysis of Indicators

1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures*
Rating: 9

Demographic pressures continue to be high, both because refugees and internally displaced persons continue to absorb resources, and because increasing acts of sabotage have made the availability of clean water, electricity, and gasoline unpredictable in central Iraq. As summer starts, rising temperatures are an additional factor.

According to UNICEF, about one third of children under five, recently admitted to health facilities, are suffering from malnutrition, allegedly due to diarrhea resulting from poor water quality.

2. *Massive Movement of Refugees*
Rating: 6

Since the war, Kurds have begun to return to their original farmland and homes in Iraq's north. Arabs are now migrating back to lands in the center, south and west of Iraq. About 100 villages have been affected.⁵⁷

3. *Legacy of Vengeance Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia*
Rating: 8

Sunni-Shiite tensions manifest themselves through rumor and fear. Shiites hunted a Sunni tribe in southern Iraq because of old connections with Saddam's regime. Mohammed Zeman Aben Al-Razzaq, one of the tribe's leaders, served as Saddam's interior minister from 1998 to 2001.

⁵⁷ "Kurds and displaced Arabs compete for land." *New York Times*. 6/13/2003.

Inter-group Shiite tensions have developed as pro- and anti-American religious leaders emerge.

Minorities continue to be the victims of abuse. Palestinian families continue to be evicted from their apartments. As Islamic radical groups flex their newfound muscle, acts of violence have been perpetrated against Christians in Basra. For example, two shopkeepers were shot dead last month by unknown militants for selling alcohol. During Saddam's time, many Christian shopkeepers were licensed to sell alcohol - both the homemade and the imported varieties - and, in a spirit of tolerance, even hung signs from their shop fronts advertising the fact. Now, all alcohol sales in Basra have gone underground or stopped altogether.⁵⁸

4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight*
Rating: 5

The pattern of professionals, intellectuals and political dissidents returning continues, coinciding with the repatriation of refugees and the resettlement of internally displaced persons.

5. *Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines*
Rating: 7

This rating increased as common awareness of inequalities between groups increased. Iraqi Sunnis who previously enjoyed economic advantage under Saddam's regime now find themselves sharing a similar economic fate as their Shiite counterparts. Their relative economic losses are painful.

The postwar chaos has created an unprecedented opening for "economic migration," as those seeking to upgrade their living standards simply move into empty homes or kick out members of a marginalized group that may be unable to resist.⁵⁹

6. *Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline*
Rating: 8

In the last week of May 2003, the old Iraqi dinar had appreciated against the U.S. dollar by 212.5%; it rose by 462.5% over the past 13 months.⁶⁰ The CPA decision to accept both the Iraqi dinar and the U.S. dollar as legal tender in northern Iraq did not stabilize the exchange rate as expected. The currency fluctuation issue is a major problem affecting the local economy and the implementation of the OFFP activities.

Meanwhile, in Baghdad, the ID exchange rate is at 1,480 for one U.S. dollar in foreign exchange shops, and 1,500 in markets.

Unemployment. The U.S. laid off 500,000 Iraqis who used to work with the government. Some experts said they understand the need for the U.S. to downsize the Iraqi army. But they urged that the reductions be phased in slowly, that new jobs be found for at least some of those laid off, and that as much severance pay be distributed to as many Iraqis as possible to mitigate the impact. Although the

⁵⁸ Available online at <http://www.cidi.org/humanitarian/hsr/iraq/03a/ix1127.html>.

⁵⁹ Available online at <http://www.washtimes.com/world/20030630-124546-6030r.htm>.

⁶⁰ Available online at <http://www.hiciraq.org/infocentre/sitreps/pdf/WEEKLY%20UPDATE%209.doc>.

affected workers represent roughly 10% of Iraq's work force, the effect of the layoffs will not be as severe as if 1 in 10 Americans lost their jobs, experts said. That is because government workers in Iraq were grossly underpaid. Most took second jobs or found other ways to supplement their incomes, and they relied on UN aid to help feed their families.⁶¹ *Asaabeel*, the Jordanian weekly said that there are approximately 10 million Iraqis unemployed, and this happened because of dissolving the army and laying off so many Iraqis who work in governmental institutions.⁶²

Farming. Insecurity and infrastructure damage has shut down the supply line from Baghdad to the rest of the country. While organizations like the UN Food and Agriculture Organization were ready to fill the subsidy gap, there is little they can do to re-establish the supply chain without a major improvement in security.⁶³

Oil Sector. Sabotage of oil pipelines is a significant form of resistance. The United States had intended to rebuild Iraqi oil production back to pre-war levels quickly, but destruction of pipelines crippled this initiative. The northern pipeline to Turkey was destroyed immediately following the U.S. announcement of the intent to ship oil out via that route. On June 23rd, a major pipe junction leading to Syria and Lebanon was destroyed. Together these attacks crippled much of the ability to transport northern Iraqi oil. In the south an attack on June 22nd destroyed the main oil pipeline leading from southern oil fields to the Baghdad oil refineries. In addition, widespread looting, which contractors believe to be systematic and intended as sabotage, has crippled the attempt to bring production in the supergiant Rumaila oil field back up to speed. Domestic production of gasoline meets only half of demand, and liquid petroleum gas (LPG) production about 25%, leading to significant black market activities, shortages, and queues. The Beiji refinery, which is the only significant source of LPG production in Iraq, shut down on June 23rd for two days due to power outages. In Baghdad, the Daura refinery also reduced its production significantly due to power outages and sabotages, which in turn is affecting gasoline and diesel supply, exacerbating an already bad situation and increasing the need for imports.⁶⁴

Black market activity. Smuggling continues in Iraq after the war. Iraqi refineries must sell diesel to local customers for about 4 cents a gallon, or about a penny a liter. A smuggler can get five times that across the border. Iraqi smuggling is not limited to fuel. In cat-and-mouse games across the country, gangs are stealing high-tension electrical lines, melting them into copper bars and smuggling them into Iran, Turkey and Syria. The theft of cable is so widespread that power failures in southern Iraqi cities are worse today than at the end of the war. In one recent raid in Baghdad, soldiers confiscated an 18-wheel tractor-trailer filled with stolen cable.⁶⁵

7. Criminalization and/or Delegitimization of the State **Rating: 10**

The political future of the country is still vague. The Coalition Provisional Authority has no legitimacy among Iraqis; they still consider the Americans as occupiers and illegitimate forces. Having this situation resulted in the progressive deterioration of security in the country. Security conditions in

⁶¹ "U.S. to lay off 500,000 in Iraq." *Los Angeles Times*. 6/3/2003.

⁶² Available online at <http://www.assabeel.net>. 6/16/2003.

⁶³ Available online at <http://www.cidi.org/humanitarian/hsr/iraq/03a/ix1117.html>.

⁶⁴ Available online at <http://www.hiciraq.org/infocentre/sitreps/pdf/WEEKLY%20UPDATE%2012.pdf>.

⁶⁵ *The International Herald Tribune*. 6/24/2003.

Basra are better than in Baghdad and some other cities occupied by U.S. forces, but Basra's citizens remain fearful for their lives and property. Human Rights Watch says that even though the city's streets showed some signs of improved security over this period, hospitals reported up to five gunshot homicides daily and another five or seven gunshot injuries. Carjackings and organized looting continued to plague neighborhoods. Women and girls were reluctant to return to jobs and schools while criminals roamed the streets and attacked buildings.⁶⁶

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

Local municipalities lack the funds to pay many civil employees to perform basic services such as trash collection. In Mosul, rubble and debris obstruct the flow of traffic, and street corners accommodate huge piles of rubbish.⁶⁷ Some aid agencies are starting cash-for-work programs to jumpstart infrastructure repair. Huge numbers of Baghdad's traffic signals have been out of service for more than a month. Their absence has contributed to traffic snarls and has become one more irritant in a daily grind marked by fuel shortages, intermittent electricity, uncollected garbage and other postwar dysfunction. But on May 22nd, the city's public works employees started to repair broken traffic signals and street signs, resume suspended projects, and tackle the myriad small jobs.⁶⁸

Electricity. As of June 5th, Baghdad was receiving 1,300 mw of power--50-60% of the estimated power demand. However, on June 18th, electricity provision dropped to 800 mw because of sabotage of the 400 kv transmission lines at Beiji and the breakdown of generating units due to overheat, lack of maintenance and unavailability of spare.⁶⁹ Electricity supplies were reduced by another 40% in the last week of June because of further acts of sabotage.

Water. On June 14th, the CPA reports that Baghdad was receiving an adequate water supply of 1,615 million liters of water. However, in the last week of June, acts of sabotage reduced the water supply by 40%.

Education. UNESCO, UNICEF, CPA, and the Ministry of Education were coordinating to ensure that end-year exams took place for 6 million Iraqi students countrywide. The primary school exams were to start on June 21. One issue of concern was that coalition forces occupied some examination centres. Insecurity continued, limiting attendance levels (65%), particularly of girls.

Drug distribution system. The National Drug distribution system is now functional, with all governates reporting adequate supplies (except anesthetics and anti-cancer drugs). However, distribution from governates warehouses to health facilities remains difficult.

Health: The health status of Iraq's population remained precarious, and the health system was still in critical condition owing to continuing instability and lack of capacity. Non-payment of salaries to

⁶⁶ Available online at <http://hrw.org/press/2003/06/iraq060303.htm>. 6/3/2003.

⁶⁷ Available online at <http://www.cidi.org/humanitarian/hsr/iraq/03a/ix1123.html>.

⁶⁸ Engineering News-Record. 6/2/2003. Available online at http://207.68.164.250/cgi-bin/linkrd?_lang=EN&lah=febee9bec184a1ca0d9db1616dc2c351&lat=1059491510&hm___action=http%3a%2f%2fweb%2elexis%2dnexis%2ecom%2funiverse%2fform%2facademic%2fs_guidednews%2ehtml.

⁶⁹ Available online at <http://www.hiciraq.org/infocentre/sitreps/pdf/WEEKLY%2011.pdf>.

health care staff was a major obstacle for the proper functioning of the system. Only about 70% of the employees have been paid, while others received only the \$20/30 (U.S. currency) incentives.

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

Rating: 6

This particular indicator increased this month after a leading human rights group accused U.S. troops of using excessive force in two April shootings that killed 20 Iraqis and wounded at least 86. Commanders said their soldiers had been responding to hostile fire from a crowd of protesters in Fallujah, a city of 300,000 west of Baghdad. Human Rights Watch said that researchers found few bullet holes that would suggest the crowd fired on the soldiers, who were using a school as a base. But they found more than 100 bullet holes on seven buildings across the street. The evidence, the report said, was inconsistent with American statements that the soldiers responded with "precision fire."⁷⁰

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

Rating: 6

In June, incidents of sabotage and crime increased, and several Iraqi guerrilla forces emerged. There was some speculation beginning in late June of 2003 that the resistance was the beginning of a guerrilla war. U.S. officials denied this, perhaps to avoid comparisons with the Vietnam War; U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld blamed resistance on five groups: looters, criminals, supporters of the former Saddam Hussein regime, foreign terrorists, and Iranian-backed Shia radicals. The Iraqi Opposition Brigades claimed responsibility for attacks against American soldiers, as did the Front of the National Fedayeen. Both groups claimed to have no relationship to Saddam or his former regime. Around 15 Americans were killed this month by hostile fire.

Most security incidents were concentrated in the triangle between Baghdad, Ramadi and Mosul. In Baghdad, Coalition Forces (CF) suffered casualties every day during the past 3 weeks. Attacks against CF caused 'collateral damage' to civilians.

11. *Rise of Factionalized Elites*

Rating: 9

June was the first time Iraq's most prominent religious authority, Ayatollah Mohamed Ali Sistani, went public with his views about the U.S. presence in Iraq. "The American campaign to put an end to Saddam's tyranny now looks like an occupation, not a liberation. The occupation forces have committed grave mistakes," Sistani told a gathering held in conjunction with his meeting with Masoud Barazani, leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP). Additionally, Bremer's policies have drawn heavy criticism from some opposition figures. Hamid Al-Bayati, spokesman of the Supreme Council of Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), one of the prominent Shiite opposition movements, said, "Many Iraqis are dismayed by Bremer and his ideas. They -- the Americans -- have backtracked on everything they agreed on with the opposition."⁷¹ Hakim called for peaceful protests demanding that elected Iraqi representatives draft the new constitution rather than a Bremer appointed council. The Sadr group wanted "a nationally elected democratic government" sooner rather than later. And should dialogue or

⁷⁰ *The International Herald Tribune*. 6/19/2003

⁷¹ Al Ahram weekly. Available online at <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2003/642/re11.htm>.

civic protests fail, "we will await orders from our upper leadership," says Ahmed Rashid, a commander in the Baqr Battalion.⁷²

12. *Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors*

Rating: 10

Military occupation.

Core 5

1. Police

British officers responsible for police forces in Basra told Human Rights Watch they lacked sufficient troops and international support to provide security for Basra's 1.5 million people. As of mid-May, some 480 members of the Royal Military Police were available in the British-occupied provinces of Basrah and Misan, and only a hundred of these were carrying out street patrols in Basra. A newly created Auxiliary Police has only 600 poorly trained Iraqi officers.⁷³ Coalition forces completed the assessment, training, and certification of 112 Iraqi national who will provide security to the Ministry of Health and critical facilities. Another 200 security officers are being trained. Up to 3,000 additional Iraqis may be trained country wide, 900 in Baghdad.⁷⁴

In Basrah, 3,000 policemen are now operational (4,500 pre-war). The re-registering of 7,000 former naval soldiers of the Basrah River Service is ongoing. Once fully operational, this force will interdict river smuggling and will guard silos at Umm Qasr.

2. Leadership

Several Shiite clerics are using their influence to push for Islamic reforms in Iraq. They have declared their intention to begin shaping a civil society that is tentatively emerging in the capital. They urged engineers to resist the building of jails and liquor stores during the upcoming rebuilding of Iraq and offered "spiritual guidance" to the engineers in return. The clerics also reached out to universities and schools, offering assistance and pushing for dress they deem moral. In an increasingly crowded field of newspapers, they have set up two of their own, with plans for more. Under preparation are television and radio stations. In their most aggressive campaign, they have begun courting professional unions.⁷⁵

3. Civil Service

There is a lack of funds to pay all civil servants.

⁷² Al Ahram weekly. Available online at <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2003/646/re7.htm>.

⁷³ Available online at <http://hrw.org/press/2003/06/iraq060303.htm>. 6/3/2003.

⁷⁴ UN Office of Humanitarian Coordination for Iraq. 6/(24-30)/2003. Available online at <http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/iraq/infocentre/sitreps/pdf/WEEKLY%20UPDATE%2012.pdf>.

⁷⁵ *Washington post*. 6/6/2003

4. Judiciary

Human Rights Watch reported that across southern Iraq, courthouses were looted and documents and files were destroyed. The Iraqi judicial system was highly compromised through its control by the Baath Party under Saddam Hussein's government. British forces in Basra and al-'Amara were working with local judges and bar associations to identify personnel who could acceptably administer basic legal services, but Human Rights Watch did not learn of any systematic efforts to retrain these judges.⁷⁶ Meanwhile, American administrators of post-war Iraq are setting up a fast-track court to crack down on loyalists of Saddam Hussein who have mounted a campaign of attacks on U.S. soldiers and sabotaged rebuilding efforts.⁷⁷ The CPA web page reports that 100 courts and 48 courthouses are now operating and that the Judicial Review Committee, which vets every judge and prosecutor for Baathist links, corruption, complicity in human rights abuses, other misdeed, has begun reviewing judges and prosecutors, starting with personnel for Central Criminal Court of Iraq.

5. Military

The CPA announced that Iraq would get a new army division numbering 12,000 troops within a year. The New Iraqi Army would be responsible for border protection, securing roads and installations, and clearing mines and unexploded bombs left over from the war. The CPA also announced payments to hundreds of thousands of demobilized regular soldiers and conscripts, following outbreaks of violence during wage demonstrations in Baghdad. About 200,000 regular soldiers would continue to receive their pay while 300,000 conscripts and reserves would receive one-off payments.⁷⁸

STINGS

◆ Sabotage against power and water installations has been a key element of the anti-American resistance. Despite efforts to increase electricity generation, the U.N. Development Program reported that power delivery to Baghdad fell to 800 mw from 1300 mw two weeks ago. It attributed the fall to the sabotage of power lines and breakdowns caused by daytime temperatures reaching 113 degrees Fahrenheit.⁷⁹ Additionally, oil pipelines have been under attack as well; Aljazeera reported that an oil pipeline in Al Heet county, 140 km northwest of Baghdad exploded and resulted in a big fire. Other oil pipes between Kirkuk and Turkey were under attack last month.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Available online at http://hrw.org/reports/2003/iraq0603/BasrSecurityFInal-06.htm#P515_89862. 6/3/2003.

⁷⁷ "Overhauling Iraq's courts." Wall Street Journal, 6/18/2003.

⁷⁸ Available online at <http://www.rferl.org/nca/features/2003/06/23062003123356.asp>

⁷⁹ *The Associated Press*. 6/20/2003

⁸⁰ Available online at <http://www.aljazeera.net>. 6/22/2003

Appendix V

JULY: Analysis of Indicators, Core Five, and STINGS

Commander of U.S. forces says his troops face low-intensity guerrilla-style war.

Key events in July

July 13, 2003. Iraq's interim governing council, composed of 25 Iraqis appointed by U.S. and British officials, is inaugurated. The council has power to name ministers and will help draw up a new constitution for the country. The U.S. administrator, Paul Bremer, retains ultimate authority.

July 17, 2003. US combat deaths in Iraq reach 147, the same number of soldiers who died from hostile fire in the first Gulf War. Of the total, 32 occurred after May 1, the officially declared end of combat.

July 23, 2003. Saddam's sons Odai and Qusai Hussein are killed in gun battle at villa in Mosul.

Analysis of Indicators

1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures* **Rating: 9**

Iraqis were returning from neighboring countries in large numbers. Some of them were returning spontaneously or under the surveillance of the UNHCR. More than 240 refugees went back to Iraq after 13 years of exile in neighboring countries. Buses and trucks carried the refugees from Rafha refugee camp in the Saudi desert.⁸¹ Dar Al Hayat reported earlier before the return of those refugees that, according to the UNHCR, Saudi Arabia paid the returning refugees 10,000 Rial each, besides food supplies. This report also said that there are 5,000 Iraqi refugees in Saudi Arabia, and they are expecting all of them to return to their country once appropriate arrangements have been made. It should be noted here that those refugees left their country after the Shiite uprising in 1991.⁸² Additionally, UNHCR reported that small numbers of Iraqi refugees are returning to Iraq every day from Iran spontaneously. According to the report, between 50 to 100 Iraqis were crossing the borders into Iraq on a daily basis, over the Shalamsha border crossing point, southeast of Basra. Iran hosts more than 200,000 Iraqi refugees, with the majority settled in Iranian communities and some 48,000 living in 22 camps in the west of the country.⁸³

Food: The distribution of food continues to be hampered by insecurity. Since June 10th, there have been at least 12 incidents of shooting and looting in or near Ministry of Trade warehouses. There are also concerns about the transportation of food from Dahuk in the North and Umm Qasr in the south. Private transporters are reluctant to deliver commodities to destinations far inside Iraq.⁸⁴

⁸¹ *BBC News*. 7/30/2003

⁸² Available online at <http://www.daralhayat.com>. 7/13/2003.

⁸³ Available online at <http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/iraq?page=news&id=3f13d15015>. 7/15/2003.

⁸⁴ Available online at <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/3a81e21068ec1871c1256633003c1c6f/774bca5e9751c1c8c1256d6e00439931?OpenDocument>. 7/24/2003.

2. *Massive Movement of Refugees*

Rating: 6

Minorities in Iraq continue to suffer from internal displacement. According to the UNHCR, there are more than 80,000 Palestinians who initially settled in Iraq after the Gulf war in 1991.⁸⁵ Additionally, UNHCR reported that about 405 Iranian refugees have left Al Tash refugee camp in the west of Baghdad and relocated to the north because of the security situation in Iraq.⁸⁶

3. *Legacy of Vengeance Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia*

Rating: 8

Information is insufficient about this indicator. However, Dar Al Hayat reports that there is now tension between Shiites and Sunnis in Basra because Al Sadr supporters (Shiites) occupied a building where Sunnis have their administrative offices to run their religious affairs. Sadr supporters also confiscated documents and files related to Sunni issues. The reports says too that the Sunnis called the Iraqi police and the British to help them get back the building, and they are trying now to organize a big protest in Al Basra.⁸⁷

4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight*

Rating: 5

There is no evidence to suggest a change in this particular indicator for the month of July.

5. *Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines*

Rating: 7

There is no evidence to suggest a change in this particular indicator for the month of July.

6. *Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline*

Rating: 8

All indicators show that the Americans are steadily trying to revive the Iraqi economy. U.S. officials announced the replacement of the Iraqi currency. The new bill would be exchanged for existing bills in a range of small to large denominations, which officials said should eliminate the panic that has overcome Iraqis unable to exchange their 10,000 dinars for smaller currency. The Iraqi dinar was exchanged at about 1,400 for every dollar (UNDP reported on July 14th that Iraqi dinar exchanged at about 1,500 to 1,540 for every dollar). U.S. officials also announced that the budget for the rest of 2003 will be about 9 trillion Iraqi dinars, or between \$6 billion and \$7 billion. \$ 3.5 billion will come from oil revenues, and the rest from sources including amounts stolen by sons of Saddam and from frozen Iraqi assets. In a television address to the Iraqi people, Bremer said that 350 billion dinars would be spent on security and justice, 440 billion dinars would be spent on improving the nation's slipshod and heavily looted electricity system, 315 billion dinars would be spent on public health, and 225 billion

⁸⁵ Available online at <http://www.aljazeera.net>. 7/11/2003.

⁸⁶ Available online at <http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/iraq?page=news&id=3f0a9923a>. 7/8/2003.

⁸⁷ Available online at <http://www.daralhayat.com>. 7/18/2003.

dinars would be spent on improvements to the phone system and other telecommunications infrastructure.⁸⁸

Another report said that the new Iraqi dinars, without Saddam's picture, would be available on October 15th. They would come in denominations of 50, 250, 1,000, 5,000, 10,000 and 25,000.⁸⁹

Oil sector. Iraq's State Oil Marketing Organization (SOMO) has taken over the running of the crucial oil sector. The Iraqi Oil Ministry is hoping to boost production to 1.5 million barrels per day (bpd) by the autumn rising to 2.8 million bpd by the end of the first quarter of 2004. The CPA has projected oil revenues to total \$3.45 billion over the next six months.

Communication. Bahrain's telecom company Batelco launched the first private mobile phone system in Baghdad; this would aid workers and foreign investors to communicate freely and easily. Other companies such as MTC-Vodafone of Kuwait is supplying similar services in the Basra governorate.

Retail sector. It is improving; foreign suppliers are already poised for a comeback. France's Peugeot, for instance, through its Iraqi franchise, was already in place for an imminent launch complete with maintenance, servicing, and spare parts back up in Baghdad.⁹⁰

7. Criminalization and/or Delegitimization of the State **Rating: 10**

There are a number of indicators showing that Iraqi discontent is increasing not only against the American troops, but also against Iraqis who work with the Coalition forces. Several Iraqis have been killed because of their cooperation with the British and the Americans. Others have been harassed and accused of treason.⁹¹ The security situation in the north and the south is relatively calm, but security in the center area remained tense with an increase in the number of anti-Coalition attacks. In the upper south region, there has been a significant increase of hostilities against Coalition forces.⁹²

8. Progressive Deterioration of Public Services **Rating: 7**

While public services are still below the pre-war levels, a notable progress took place in terms of education sector and banking. More than 5.5 million Iraqis took their exams this month, and the CPA established what is called The Trade Bank of Iraq. Here are the details:

Security. There is still no security in Iraq. The CPA failed to protect Iraqis and secure their cities, while other public services are still below the pre-war level. The security situation has deteriorated during in the first half of July. Crime rates have increased. Carjacking often results in the injury or even death of the owner of the vehicle. Burglaries, in a recent example reported by a UNDP staff member, have

⁸⁸ Available online at <http://www.int.com/articles/102058.html>. *International Herald Tribune*. 7/8/2003.

⁸⁹ Available online at <http://www.thestate.com/mld/thestate/news/world/6252121.htm>. 7/7/2003.

⁹⁰ Available online at

<http://www.arabnews.com/?page=6§ion=0&article=29467&d=28&m=7&y=2003&pix=bU.S.iness.jpg&category=BU.S.iness%22>. *Arab News*. 7/28/2003.

⁹¹ *The International Herald Tribune*. 7/9/2003.

⁹² Available online at <http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/iraq/infocentre/sitreps/pdf/WEEKLY%20UPDATE%2016.pdf>. 7/(21-27)/2003.

entailed the genocide of an entire household.⁹³ Human Rights Watch says the rise in sexual violence is driving women indoors and preventing them from taking part in Iraq's public life. The failure of the U.S.-led coalition forces and civilian administration in Baghdad to provide public security has made females more vulnerable to sexual violence and abduction, the report says. It also claims that not enough is being done to investigate such crimes.⁹⁴

Water. Water-tankers are used now by the UN agencies to distribute clean water throughout Iraq. 34 districts in Baghdad receive a daily average of 4.7 million liters of water from tankering. In the lower south, where only 50% of the population had access to tap water, 100 water-tankers were used to deliver 3.2 million liters per day.⁹⁵ Some officials said that power and water were still below the pre-war levels. However, they added that drinking water could be restored in Baghdad to pre-war levels by the end of July, but the efforts to treat the sewage that was pouring in the Tigris River are still months away.

Electricity. 39,000 Iraqi electrical workers are trying to rebuild an antiquated electrical system to increase Baghdad's power-generating ability to its pre-war level of about 4,000 megawatts by the end of July, from the current 3,200 megawatts.⁹⁶ People in Baghdad and other cities have power for only three hours a day, followed by none the next. Basra has been cut off from the national power grid since the end of the war due to sabotage.⁹⁷

Education. The United Nations Office of the Humanitarian Coordination for Iraq reported that 5.5 million school children took their final examinations in July. UNICEF distributed 15 million exam booklets, stationary and pens, and provided computers and photocopiers to the ministry of Education.⁹⁸

Health. According to WHO, there is an increase in the number of severe malnutrition cases in the Lower South. Incidence of diarrhea disease has also increased in the southern governorates of Missan, Muthana, and Thiqr.⁹⁹

Banks. Albawaba reported that the U.S.-led Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq has established a trade bank with an authorized capital of \$100 million. Along with the creation of this new institution comes an international tender for the bank's management. The Trade Bank of Iraq (TBI) has been established as a separate government entity, independent of the Central Bank of Iraq. It will provide financial and related services to facilitate the importation and exportation of goods and services to and from Iraq.¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile, Bechtel expects to have Baghdad International Airport ready for scheduled

⁹³ "UNDP Iraq Situation Report # 17." 7/14/2003.

⁹⁴ Available online at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3070063/stm.

⁹⁵ Available online at <http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/iraq/mediacentre/UNOCHI/files/WEEKLY%20UPDATE%2015.pdf> United Nations Office of the Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq. 7/(16-22)/2003.

⁹⁶ *The International Herald Tribune*. 7/9/2003

⁹⁷ Available online at

<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/3a81e21068ec1871c1256633003c1c6f/c964238cf4037a0649256d72001b584b?OpenDocument> Relief Web. 7/28/2003

⁹⁸ Available online at <http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/iraq/mediacentre/UNOCHI/files/WEEKLY%20UPDATE%2015.pdf>

⁹⁹ Available online at

<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/3a81e21068ec1871c1256633003c1c6f/774bca5e9751c1c8c1256d6e00439931?OpenDocument>. 7/24/2003.

¹⁰⁰ Available online at <http://www.albawaba.com>. 7/23/2003.

civilian services by the end of July, and then they would concentrate their efforts to have the airport in Basra open for commercial flights.¹⁰¹

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

Rating: 6

Amnesty International denounced the American troops for mistreating the Iraqi prisoners. According to a spokesman for the organization, Americans are forcing Iraqis to stand in the sunshine for hours and preventing their relatives from visiting them. The spokesman said that American troops also killed one prisoner last month when a riot took place in a prison.¹⁰² Meanwhile, U.S. military officials say four American soldiers have been charged with assaulting Iraqi prisoners of war. The four face charges of punching, kicking and breaking the bones of POWs at the largest detention center in Iraq, Camp Bucca near Umm Qasr.¹⁰³

Since May 13th, there have been 12 hours a day of U.S.-produced television programming that reaches about 60 percent of the public. U.S. radio programming is on 24 hours a day, reaching 85 percent of the public. A U.S.-published newspaper, appearing five times a week, is competing with an estimated 150 Iraqi newspapers that have sprung up since the liberation.¹⁰⁴ However, under an order issued by Bremer in June, the Iraqi media are forbidden from inciting violence or ethnic hatred. Coalition forces stormed Al-Mustaqila's offices and shut down the paper. Bremer's office had also closed Voice of Baghdad, a radio station, because of its ties to Mohamed Mohsen al-Zubaidi, the self-proclaimed "mayor of Baghdad." In another incident, a newspaper in Najaf associated with the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq was shut down for making inflammatory comments. But the vast majority of the Iraqi press has followed Coalition guidelines.¹⁰⁵

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

Rating: 7

Deadly attacks against the Coalition forces are increasing, and more groups and militias are claiming responsibilities for such attacks. An unknown Iraqi group has started to rally Iraqis for "jihad" against U.S. occupying forces, issuing a death threat to all Iraqis working with the U.S.-led administration, according to a pamphlet reportedly distributed at a Baghdad mosque.¹⁰⁶ In a related development, a group claiming to be an Iraqi branch of the al Qaeda network said it is behind the frequent attacks on U.S. troops in Iraq.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, Arabic news reported that an unidentified group calling themselves

¹⁰¹ *Middle East Economic Digest*. 7/4/2003.

¹⁰² Available online at <http://www.aljazeera.net>. 7/21/2003.

¹⁰³ Available online at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3100027.stm. 7/27/2003

¹⁰⁴ Available online at

http://207.68.164.250/cgi-bin/linkrd?_lang=EN&lah=1a634b6760c520b9be4410c396583939&lat=1060883449&hm__action=http%3a%2f%2fweb%2elexis%2dnexis%2ecom%2funiverse%2fform%2facademic%2fs_guidednews%2html National Review. 7/25/2003.

¹⁰⁵ Available online at

http://207.68.164.250/cgi-bin/linkrd?_lang=EN&lah=1a634b6760c520b9be4410c396583939&lat=1060883449&hm__action=http%3a%2f%2fweb%2elexis%2dnexis%2ecom%2funiverse%2fform%2facademic%2fs_guidednews%2html The Weekly Standard. 7/24/2003.

¹⁰⁶ Available online at <http://www.albawaba.com>. 7/10/2003.

¹⁰⁷ Available online at <http://www.albawaba.com>. 7/14/2004.

"the Iraqi Jihad movement" threatened it will increase attacks against the American occupation forces in Iraq. Another side naming itself the "Iraqi national Islamic resistance" (groups of the 20th revolution) said that the operations of its groups during the three past days resulted in losses in the American forces, especially downing a large American military transport plane in al-Mahmoudeyah to the south of Baghdad.¹⁰⁸

11. *Rise of Factionalized Elites*
Rating: 9

Moqtada Sadr, a 30-year-old Shiite Muslim cleric, escalated his campaign against the U.S. occupation urging tens of thousands of followers to expel American soldiers from the holy city of Najaf and demanding the dissolution of Iraq's Governing Council.¹⁰⁹ Another report indicates that Ahmed Al Jalabi, the president of the Iraqi National Congress, and his followers are accessing Saddam's offices and houses. The U.S. forces transported Chalabi and 700 of his INC fighters, who have been trained by the Americans while in exile, into Iraq during the campaign. There are rumors that INC fighters are looting and stealing.¹¹⁰

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

Military occupation.

Core 5

1. Police

The BBC reported that Iraqi policemen were frustrated and angry with the Americans because they were not allowed to carry arms, even simple ones to protect themselves.¹¹¹ However, the CPA reported that 35,000 Iraqi police officers were back out on the streets conducting raids and arrests.¹¹² A professional Iraqi police force grew to 32,000, which was expected to expand to over 65,000 in the next 18 months. The Iraqi border police was reestablished and eight battalions of the Iraqi civil defense were to be established in the next 45 days.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ Available online at <http://www.arabicnews.com>. 7/16/2003.

¹⁰⁹ Available online at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A48594-2003Jul25.html>. 7/26/2003.

¹¹⁰ Available online at http://207.68.164.250/cgi-bin/linkrd?_lang=EN&lah=db457143d71ee006227870cfbeb23645&lat=1060872314&hm__action=http%3a%2f%2fweb%2elexis%2dnexis%2ecom%2funiverse%2fform%2facademic%2fs_guidednews%2html Jerusalem Report. July 28, 2003.

¹¹¹ Available online at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3069897.stm.

¹¹² Available online at <http://www.csis.org/isp/pcr/IraqTrip.pdf>. 6/27/2003-7/7/2003.

¹¹³ Available online at http://207.68.164.250/cgi-bin/linkrd?_lang=EN&lah=1a634b6760c520b9be4410c396583939&lat=1060883449&hm__action=http%3a%2f%2fweb%2elexis%2dnexis%2ecom%2funiverse%2fform%2facademic%2fs_guidednews%2html National Review. 7/25/2003.

2. Leadership

A governing council bringing together leading Iraqis from all walks of political and religious life met for the first time. In its first public act, the council declared April 9th as a national holiday marking Saddam's fall from power and cancelled six dates that were celebrated under the old regime. The council had 13 Shiites, 5 Kurds, 5 Sunnis, 1 Christian and 1 Turkman — a woman. On the panel were Iraqi National Congress leader Ahmed Chalabi, Abdel-Aziz al-Hakim, a leader of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution, Massoud Barzani and Jalal Talabani, leaders of the two main Kurdish groups, and former Foreign Minister Adnan Pachachi.¹¹⁴ However, Aljazeera questioned the ability of this council to meet the needs of the Iraqi people because, according to Aljazeera, this council had only consultative duties. Additionally, Paul Bremer had the power to influence this council and veto any decisions that challenged American interests in Iraq.¹¹⁵ By the end of this month, the Iraqi Governing Council named Shia politician, Ibrahim al Jafari, as its first president, after deciding the job should be rotated among nine of its 25 members in alphabetical order.¹¹⁶

3. Civil Service

There is no evidence to suggest a change in this particular variable for the month of July.

4. Judiciary

The new Iraqi council decided to create a court for war crimes under the former regime's officials.¹¹⁷ The CPA reported that courts were being reestablished and have started to hear cases.¹¹⁸

5. Military

The top commander of American and international troops in Iraq said he was establishing an Iraqi "civil defense force," or armed militia, of about 6,800 men to help U.S. forces. The U.S. was going to establish eight battalions of armed Iraqi militiamen, each with about 850 men to be trained by conventional U.S. forces to be ready to begin operating within 45 days.¹¹⁹ Other reports said that U.S. troops were training recruits in several cities to protect government facilities. Recruiting for the Facility Protection Service (FPS) was under way throughout Iraq. U.S. Marines had trained 1,000 Iraqis in Najaf alone. Trainees were taught how to search vehicles, apprehend people, and take them to the Iraqi police during their three-day training session. There were classes on weapons handling, ethics, and first aid.¹²⁰

STINGS

◆ Albawaba reported that two Middle Eastern television channels broadcast what they claimed was a new audiotape by toppled Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. "I appeal to you, O Iraqis, Arabs, Kurds and

¹¹⁴ Available online at www.albawaba.com. 7/13/2003.

¹¹⁵ Available online at <http://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2003/7/7-13-11.htm>.

¹¹⁶ *BBC news*. 7/30/2003.

¹¹⁷ Available online at <http://www.aljazeera.net>. 7/15/2003.

¹¹⁸ Available online at <http://www.csis.org/isp/pcr/IraqTrip.pdf>. 6/272003-7/7/2003.

¹¹⁹ Available online at www.albawaba.com. 7/21/2003.

¹²⁰ Available online at <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0715/p01s04-woiq.html>. 7/15/2003.

Turkmen, Shia or Sunni, Christians or Sunnis, it is your duty to expel the aggressor invaders from our country," the tape said, according to a transmission by Lebanon's Al Hayat-LBC channel. Al Jazeera broadcast a tape on July 4 that CIA analysts said was "most likely" Saddam's voice.¹²¹

◆ Shiites in the south started to establish the Al Mehdi army, at the request of their leader Al Sadr. Al Sadr condemned the new Iraqi Council and said that it does not represent the Iraqi people. A number of young Shiite Iraqis went to the mosques to register their names and join this army.

◆ Aljazeera broadcast a videotape showing some Iraqis covering their faces, vowing to fight the American occupation and the new Iraqi council. They called themselves Al Jihad brigades in Iraq. They asked Iraqis and others to stop looking for Saddam and to forgive him. According to Aljazeera, this tape showed a picture of Saddam hanging on the wall.¹²²

◆ July 23, 2003: Saddam Hussein's sons, Odai and Qusai, were killed in a six-hour firefight when U.S. forces surrounded and then stormed a villa in the northern Iraqi town of Mosul. Qusai, 36, was Saddam Hussein's heir apparent and controlled key areas of the country's security apparatus, with responsibility for concealing any weapons of mass destruction. Odai, 39, controlled much of the media and was reportedly involved in illegal international trade, which helped keep the regime in power.

¹²¹ Available online at <http://www.albawaba.com>. 7/8/2003.

¹²² Available online at <http://www.aljazeera.net>. 7/21/2003.

Appendix VI

AUGUST: Analysis of Indicators, Core Five, and STINGS

August was characterized by extremely violent attacks on U.S. and British troops, as well as pro-coalition Iraqis inside Iraq. Infrastructure repairs were set back by large-scale acts of sabotage, and the international humanitarian community contemplated reducing the size of their in-country staff in the wake of a deadly attack against the U.N.

Key events in August

August 7, 2003. Bomb attack at Jordanian embassy in Baghdad kills 11 people.

August 15, 2003. Saboteurs blow up a crude oil export pipeline in northern Iraq, starting a huge oil fire, halting all oil exports to Turkey and starving an economy in chaos of much-needed income to rebuild.

August 19, 2003. Bomb attack at UN HQ in Baghdad kills 22 people including UN's chief envoy to Iraq.

August 21, 2003. Saddam's cousin Ali Hassan al-Majid, or "Chemical Ali," captured.

August 29, 2003. Car bomb in Najaf kills 125 people, including Shia leader Ayatollah Mohammed Baqr al-Hakim.

Analysis of Indicators

1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures* **Rating: 9**

In the border between Jordan and Iraq, UNHCR identified new refugees who had fled Iraq. The vast majority (1,055) were Iranian Kurds who had been living as refugees inside Iraq for the past 23 years. The next largest groups were Iraqis, numbering 60, and Palestinians at 46. There were also a few Persians and Arabs from other countries as well as individuals from Iran, Sudan, and Turkey.¹²³ But the number of refugees produced by the 2003 war was small in number. In another development, UNHCR received approval from the CPA to construct apartments in government buildings in Baghdad to serve as temporary housing for Palestinians, who had lived in the Al Awda Refugee Camp in Baghdad, known as the Haifa Sports Club. Al Awda camp had been home to approximately one third of all Palestinian refugee families living in Baghdad. They were displaced because of their inability to pay new, higher rents imposed by Iraqi landlords who, under the former regime, were forced to accept below-market-value rental fees from Palestinians. Around 360 families were forced to seek refuge at the Sports Club. Additionally, Paul Bremer agreed to provide extra apartments to other Baghdad-based

¹²³ Available online at

<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/3a81e21068ec1871c1256633003c1c6f/b4180c92ac8b523385256d86007654f5?OpenDocument>. 8/18/2003.

internally displaced persons.¹²⁴ In other respects, this indicator did not change much from the previous month.

2. *Massive Movement of Refugees*
Rating: 5

UNHCR reported that 298 Iraqis were expected to return to Iraq on August 20th; the third group of returning Iraqis from a desert camp in Saudi Arabia since the fall of Saddam's regime. Refugees in this group were to return to the provinces of Babylon, Karbala, Najaf, and Qadisiya.¹²⁵ Refugees from prior conflicts were thus not returning to Iraq in great numbers.

3. *Legacy of Vengeance Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia*
Rating: 9

Mounting pressures between pro- and anti-American clerics culminated in a violent and deadly attack on the pro-American Ayatollah Mohammed Baqer al-Hakim. The Al-Hakims are one of the most influential families in the Shia community in Iraq, and Iraqi newspapers reported just two weeks prior to the attack that the cleric had received death threats.

4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight*
Rating: 5

There is no evidence to suggest a change in this particular indicator for the month of August.

5. *Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines*
Rating: 7

There is no evidence to suggest a change in this particular indicator for the month of August.

6. *Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline*
Rating: 8

Power shortages affected the prices of commodities in Iraq. For example, the price of an ice block reached 2,000 dinars when power was on, but during a power crisis, the price could reach 4,000 or 5,000 dinars. Before the war, the usual price was 250 dinars.¹²⁶ Furthermore, U.S. officials said that due to power shortages and the massive theft of copper from power lines oil production in the South had dropped from almost 600,000 to 250,000 bpd.¹²⁷ Iraqis complained about gas prices as well. The Iraqi dinar traded at about 1,500 to the U.S. dollar. Unemployment was estimated to be well above 60

¹²⁴ Available online at

<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/480fa8736b88bbc3c12564f6004c8ad5/6d1f1be14712b96149256d82000721d0?OpenDocument> Refugee International. 8/13/2003.

¹²⁵ Available online at

<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/3a81e21068ec1871c1256633003c1c6f/c77f7e25385b0304c1256d8600445e5d?OpenDocument>. 8/18/2003.

¹²⁶ Available online at

<http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/3a81e21068ec1871c1256633003c1c6f/d1a5c5bc275e302d85256d8600546777?OpenDocument>. 8/18/2003.

¹²⁷ Available online at <http://www.ihf.com/articles/106386.html>. *International Herald Tribune*. 8/14/2003.

percent, and many with jobs had not been paid in months. In terms of the black market, U.S. officials said that there was illegal exportation of 2.5 million to 3 million liters of diesel every day. On August 7th, coalition ships in the Persian Gulf took possession of a vessel and its cargo of 3,000 metric tons on diesel fuel.¹²⁸ The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) estimated the GDP of Iraq would decline by 7.5% this year due to the war and the resulting decline in oil production. However, the GDP was expected to recover significantly and grow by around 15% next year, driven by higher oil output and the expected end of sanctions.¹²⁹

7. *Criminalization and/or Delegitimization of the State* **Rating: 9**

Americans realized that their tactics in searching houses for weapons and looking for loyalists of the former regime negatively affected their image among Iraqis. American troops were ordered to act less aggressively; officials stressed that the new military approach would concentrate more on cooperation with Iraqi political and religious leaders to improve future searches.¹³⁰ In another accident, U.S. troops apologized for a clash with Shiites in Sadr city in Baghdad, which resulted in killing one Iraqi. U.S. officials were negotiating with local Shiite leaders to offer compensation and decrease the tension.¹³¹

Additionally, Mohammad Baker Al-Hakim suspended his membership in the Iraqi provisional council in protest against the way the coalition forces handled security, especially its failure to protect religious leaders and places.¹³²

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

In another blow to the CPA's efforts to provide Iraqis with the basic services, a pipeline supplying much of Baghdad's water was blown up, and a huge new fire was set off along an oil pipeline. The sabotage of the water pipeline was the first such strike against Baghdad's water system, while the oil pipelines were attacked several times before. The oil pipeline fire occurred near the spot in northern Iraq where saboteurs earlier blew up another part of the pipeline, which carried Iraqi oil into Turkey.¹³³

Electricity. USAID reported that the current generation capacity had been restored to meet approximately 75 percent of pre-conflict levels. The agency said that problems remained in power transmission. Looting of cables and destruction of high-tension towers were still a challenge for the

¹²⁸ *United Press International*. 8/12/2003.

¹²⁹ Available online at <http://www.gulf-news.com/Articles/news.asp?ArticleID=95557>. *Gulf News*. 8/19/2003.

¹³⁰ Available online at http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/middle_east/3133099.stm. *BBC News*. 8/8/2003.

¹³¹ Available online at <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/chronicle/a/2003/08/15/MN297604.DTL>. *San Francisco Chronicle*. 8/15/2003.

¹³² Available online at <http://www.occupationwatch.org/article.php?id=709>.

¹³³ Available online at <http://www.sunspot.net/news/nationworld/bal-te.iraqi18aug18,0,5186719.story?coll=bal-nationworld-headlines>. 8/18/2003.

coalition forces.¹³⁴ Additionally, the agency said that nationwide power generation improved to 3,285 mw, and the city of Baghdad continued to operate at three hours on and three hours off.¹³⁵

Transportation. The first train from Turkey arrived in Iraq on August 3rd. An agreement between the Turkish government and the Iraqi authorities was in process of being formulated to regularize this cross-border service.¹³⁶

Education. United Nations Security Council Committee approved a funding agreement that would provide 25,000 teacher trainees with salaries for the next academic year, and textbooks for 5.5 million Iraqi students.¹³⁷

Others. FedEx Corp., the world's largest overnight shipping company, started delivering packages in Iraq, providing service in Baghdad, Mosul and Basra. FedEx would be the first to offer door-to-door pickup and delivery service in Iraq.¹³⁸

9. *Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights* **Rating: 6**

The postwar director of U.S.-backed Iraqi Television quit, saying the United States is losing the propaganda war to countries like Iran. Ahmed Rikabi resigned after being in his position for only three months. He said that the Americans needed to listen to Iraqis more, and not only in the media sector.¹³⁹

10. *Security Apparatus Operates as a “State Within a State”* **Rating: 9**

Iraqi police arrested four men after a car bomb killed more than 85 people, including a prominent Shiite cleric. Authorities said that there were foreign fighters among the arrested men, who possibly had links to Al Qaeda.¹⁴⁰ In a related development, a popular Sunni Muslim cleric, Ahmed Kubeisi, had provided Al Sadr, a Shiite cleric, grass roots and financial support to strengthen Sadr's campaign against the American occupation. Kubeisi provided Sadr with \$50 million, besides asking his followers to attend Sadr's Friday sermons in Kufa.¹⁴¹

¹³⁴ Available online at <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/3a81e21068ec1871c1256633003c1c6f/3f4d5108737856e685256d86004b22ff?OpenDocument>. 8/15/2003.

¹³⁵ Available online at <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/480fa8736b88bbc3c12564f6004c8ad5/823aa892e31ff8a149256d83001bd405?OpenDocument>. 8/14/2003.

¹³⁶ Available online at <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/480fa8736b88bbc3c12564f6004c8ad5/25f660eea56c7e0785256d7b00585246?OpenDocument> UN Logistics Center. 8/7/2003.

¹³⁷ Available online at <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/480fa8736b88bbc3c12564f6004c8ad5/0f7c0989ef0063cb85256d79006eb3f5?OpenDocument>. *UN News Service*. 8/5/2003.

¹³⁸ Available online at <http://www.chron.com/cs/CDA/ssistory.mpl/bU.S.iness/2042879>. *Houston Chronicle*. 8/11/2003.

¹³⁹ Available online at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A20353-2003Aug5.html>. 8/5/2003.

¹⁴⁰ Available online at <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/chronicle/a/2003/08/31/MN158916.DTL>. *San Francisco Chronicle*. 8/31/2003.

¹⁴¹ “Iraqi Clerics Unite in Rare Alliance”, *Washington Post Foreign Service*. 8/17/2003.

Regarding the ongoing attacks against the American troops, the Pentagon reported that more American troops have died since President Bush declared major combat operations over on May 1 than during the actual war. The Pentagon said that 139 American troops had been killed since May 1, including 62 from hostile fire and 77 in non-hostile circumstances, such as vehicle crashes and other types of accidents.¹⁴²

11. *Rise of Factionalized Elites*
Rating: 9

There is no evidence to suggest a change in this particular indicator for the month of August.

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

Military occupation.

Core 5

1. Police

Bernard Kerik, a former New York City police commissioner, said that more than 34,000 Iraqi policemen were now in uniform, and he hoped to have 65,000 policemen nationwide by the end of next year. However, many of the officers who had returned lacked cars and weapons, and only about 300 officers had been through the refresher course in Baghdad. In the 35 police stations that had reopened in the capital, officers still milled around instead of patrolling.¹⁴³

2. Leadership

The Iraqi Governing Council encountered several hurdles internationally and domestically. The council failed late last month to select a single president and decided instead to establish a rotating presidency, with nine different members serving for one month each in the order of their names according to the Arabic alphabet. Additionally, the council faced practical obstacles. It lacked a spokesman, had no by-laws, and had yet to define its basic institutional relationships with the CPA or local governments in Iraq. Phone communications were limited, e-mail remained a novelty to some, and security was a constant concern.¹⁴⁴ However, the UN Security Council welcomed the formation of the Iraqi council as a first step toward having an internationally recognized government. The new resolution (1500, 2003) was adopted by a vote of 14 in favor, with Syria abstaining.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Available online at <http://www.occupationwatch.org/article.php?id=639>. *Occupation watch*. 8/26/2003.

¹⁴³ Available online at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A7161-2003Aug17.html>. 8/18/2003.

¹⁴⁴ Available online at <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0807/p06s01-woiq.html>. 8/7/2003.

¹⁴⁵ Available online at <http://www.relieffweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/480fa8736b88bbc3c12564f6004c8ad5/ef49a130837a9b0a85256d8600580ef0?OpenDocument>. *UN Security Council*. 8/14/2003.

3. Civil Service

There is no evidence to suggest a change in this particular variable for the month of August.

4. Judiciary

About 150 of the nation's 400 courts had reopened for business. The CPA issues new orders ruling out the use of evidence obtained by torture, such as forced confessions common under the old system. The new orders granted new rights to Iraqis, such as the right to counsel upon arrest and the right to remain silent. A new public-defender program was also being developed to ensure that low-income Iraqis have recourse to legal defense. The orders also suspended the death penalty.¹⁴⁶

5. Military

There is no evidence to suggest a change in this particular variable for the month of August.

STINGS

◆ Unknown assailants detonated a car bomb in front of the Jordanian embassy in the Iraqi capital, killing at least 11 people and injuring more than 50, none of them Americans. Most of the dead were Iraqis, including police officers guarding the embassy.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ Available online at <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0801/p06s01-woiq.html>. 8/1/2003.

¹⁴⁷ Available online at <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0808/p06s02-woiq.html>. 8/8/2003.

Appendix VII

SEPTEMBER: Analysis of Indicators, Core Five, and STINGS

September was marked by an increase in terrorism, both in number and in diversity of attacks, against the backdrop of a debate at the UN over a new resolution, an international donor conference to be held in Spain in October, and an \$87 billion budget proposal to the U.S. Congress. The internal situation in Iraq had been exploited, allegedly by al Qaeda and other terrorist saboteurs, creating heightened instability in Iraq, and uncertainty among potential donors and coalition constituencies. Further complicating the matter, President Bush declared on September 7, 2003 that “Iraq is now the central front” in America’s war on terror, as estimates ranging from hundreds to thousands of Islamic militants were crossing the border for the call to arms.¹⁴⁸ Meanwhile, the debate intensified regarding the transition of power and sovereignty back to the Iraqi people, and pressure mounted on the Governing Council to formulate a constitution in six months, as the self-appointed ministers from the Governing Council assumed their roles in the administrative leadership of the country.

Key Events in September

September 1, 2003. 25 Iraqi CPA members were assigned interim positions as government ministers until elections are held.

September 9, 2003. Iraqi interim foreign minister, Hoshiar Zibari, took Iraq’s vacant seat at the Arab League meeting.

September 12, 2003. American soldiers mistakenly kill 10 Iraqi security officers who were in pursuit of suspected criminals in Fallujah.

September 21, 2003. The CPA and the governing council enacted significant free-market reforms, opening the entire economy up to foreign investment, with the exception of the natural resource industry.

September 22, 2003. A second attack at the UN Headquarters occurs when a truck exploded at a police checkpoint killing the officer and the bomber, and injuring 12 others.

September 25, 2003. Aqila al-Hashimi, a member of the Iraqi governing council, dies 5 days after she is assassinated in yet another terrorist attack.

Analysis of Indicators

1. *Mounting Demographic Pressures* **Rating: 9**

The repatriation of Iraqis exacerbated demographic pressures. In an effort to repatriate Iraqis taking refuge in the Rafha camp in northern Saudi Arabia, the UNHCR assisted a fourth group of refugees to return to Iraq, this particular group numbering 450. More than 1,200 Iraqi refugees, including this group, out of 5,233 refugees in the Rafha camp, had been repatriated since the fall of Saddam’s regime. The UNHCR estimated 3,600 of the 5,233 refugees living in that camp should have returned to Iraq by

¹⁴⁸ “In Iraq, the hand of Al Qaeda.” *Christian Science Monitor*. 9/11/2003.

the end of this year.¹⁴⁹ Though relatively small in number, these repatriated refugees were highlighting shortages and competition for public goods that existed in the rest of the society.

With respect to health and food, chronic malnutrition persisted among several million people, including 100,000 refugees and around 200,000 internally displaced people. WFP estimated that 3.5 million people would need supplementary food at a cost of \$51 million in 2004.¹⁵⁰ UN agencies continued to report water shortages and a lack of sanitation, with Baghdad residents receiving a maximum of 70 liters a day and the inhabitants of other cities in the south even less. Nasreen Berwari, Iraqi Minister of Public Works, stated that she hoped to take advantage of private sector contractors to make water available to 90% of the population by the end of 2004, and 100% of the population by 2005, as well as negotiate with Ankara regarding use of water resources from the Euphrates. Demographic pressures were exacerbated by strains in the health and food supplies as well as sectarian property disputes.¹⁵¹

2. *Massive Movement of Refugees* **Rating: 9**

UNHCR reported that it had 26 international staff in Iraq, half the number prior to the terror attack at the UN HQ in Baghdad last month. Half of the remaining staff was located in the north and the remainder in Baghdad and Basra. UNHCR said its main objective as of September 30 was to distribute aid to some 100,000 refugees within Iraq, mostly Palestinians.¹⁵²

UNHCR reported that the repatriation of Iraqis taking refuge in Iran would not be pursued due to security threats associated with the explosion at the UN office in Baghdad. More than 1,000 Iranian Kurds were stuck in Al Tash camp inside Iraq on the border between Iran and Iraq; Iran said that those people were not Iranians but Kurds. Moreover, around 573 refugees at the Ruwished camp were stranded between the border of Jordan and Iraq. About 160 of those were Sudanese and Somalis.¹⁵³ Two Somalis set fire to a UN building and then set themselves on fire in protest of their unresolved status. The fate of these refugees was being negotiated between the Jordanian government and UNHCR, as the capabilities of the UNHCR were being severely curtailed due to their diminishing personnel. Meanwhile, the UNHCR estimated that the total number of Iraqi refugees from past conflicts was over half a million, and internally displaced persons in Iraq were approximately 800,000.¹⁵⁴

3. *Legacy of Vengeance Seeking Group Grievance or Group Paranoia* **Rating: 9**

A continuing pattern of localized conflicts spiraled into greater vengeance seeking, as seen in bloody conflicts between Kurds and Turkmen in northern Iraq, as well as between Sunnis and Shiites in the

¹⁴⁹ "Fourth group of Iraqi refugees to return from Saudi Arabia". *Agency France Press*. 9/22/2003

¹⁵⁰ "Millions remain food insecure in Iraq despite better harvest". *Al-Bawaba*. 9/23/2003.

¹⁵¹ "Water resources top agenda for Iraq's Ministry of Public Works." *Al-Bawaba*. 9/25/2003.

¹⁵² "Iraqi minister appeals for full return of UN agencies to Iraq." *Agence-France Press*. 9/30/2003.

¹⁵³ "Fate of Hundreds of Refugees from Iraq war still hangs in balance". *Agency France Press*. 9/22/2003.

¹⁵⁴ "Opening statement by Mr. Ruud Lubbers United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, at the fifty-fourth session of the executive committee of the high commissioner's programme." 9/29/2003.

south, resulting in the rise of local rival militias. The funeral for the cleric Baqr al-Hakim saw “hundreds of thousands packing the streets, cries of grief mingling with shouts of revenge.”¹⁵⁵ On September 18th, a gunfight between Kurds and Arabs in the northern Iraqi village of Haifa was a testament to these unsettled group grievances. Discriminatory politics of Hussein’s regime exacerbated pre-existing ethnic and religious conflicts. Consequently, the fall of Saddam invited many to redress old grudges. Small bombs had been placed in various mosques and shrines to exact revenge. Examples of other local conflicts were a land dispute in Haifa between Kurds and Arabs, a political dispute between Kurds and Turkmen in Tuz Khurmatu, and a religious dispute near Basra between Sunni and Shiite Muslims.¹⁵⁶

4. *Chronic and Sustained Human Flight*
Rating: 5

There is no evidence to suggest a change in this particular indicator for the month of September.

5. *Uneven Economic Development Along Group Lines*
Rating: 7

The data does not suggest any movement in the rating for this month, as the situation on the ground did not change along group lines. Health care inequalities highlight uneven economic development in Iraq, as the infant mortality rate differed significantly among the Shiites in the south, Kurds in the north, and residents of Baghdad.¹⁵⁷ The economic inequalities were further exacerbated by the uneven security situation; areas that could guarantee the safety of health care volunteers and financial investors were more prone to the opportunities of potential local development.

6. *Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline*
Rating: 8

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Food Program reported on September 23rd a persistent 60% unemployment rate among Iraqis, leaving the population dependent largely on public food rations. The report also noted that nearly half of the 26.3 million Iraqis were estimated to be poor and in need of assistance. However, in a September 16th Capitol Hill hearing, it was reported that Iraq’s civil service was being paid, thereby bringing some needed money into the local economy. It was also reported in this hearing that USAID partners were awarding Iraqi firms contracts worth millions of dollars to rebuild the municipal services and infrastructure, with Iraqi labor used to complete the projects.

While the effects of the following reforms had yet to materialize, steps were taken to provide the impetus for change in the future. On September 21st, the CPA and the Governing Council enacted significant free-market reforms, opening the entire economy up to foreign investment, with the exception of the natural resource industry, primarily oil. New banking, tax, and property laws were passed by the Governing Council to invite foreign investment and stimulate economic growth. This attempt to stimulate the Iraqi economy would make it the most liberal economy in the Middle East.

¹⁵⁵ “Iraqis’ struggle for peace.” *BBC News*. 9/3/2003.

¹⁵⁶ “Ethnic and religious fissures deepen in Iraqi society.” *Washington Post*. 9/29/2003.

¹⁵⁷ “Dr. William Winkenwerder holds Defense Department briefing on rebuilding Iraq’s health care system.” FDCH Political Transcripts. 9/4/2003.

However, instability and insecurity continued to threaten the viability and profitability of foreign investment.¹⁵⁸ The rise in kidnapping and other serious crimes hobbled the Iraqi economy by keeping investors out. The lack of expected oil revenues due to the August 15th bombing of the export pipeline continued to thwart reconstruction efforts, requiring more dependency on the international community.¹⁵⁹

7. *Criminalization and/or Delegitimization of the State*
Rating: 9

The following account is one example of a pattern of mass demonstrations highlighting the widespread lack of popular confidence in the state institutions of Iraq under the auspices of the CPA: “Hundreds of angry residents sprayed an armory’s worth of bullets into the air, brandished rocket-propelled grenade launchers and vowed to initiate a new wave of attacks against American forces during funerals today for eight Iraqi security officers mistakenly killed by U.S. soldiers.” This mass demonstration in Fallujah on September 13th underscored the continued lack of legitimization of the occupation, despite the appointment of a diverse Iraqi Governing Council. Further incidents resembling this military engagement with civilians on September 12th occurred in the region surrounding Fallujah throughout the rest of September.

Meanwhile, the UN, the one agency that gave the reconstruction efforts some legitimacy, had almost completely withdrawn from the country. A force that numbered in excess of 600 prior to last month’s attacks on the UN HQ diminished to 42 in Baghdad and 44 in the north, as of September 26th. As the violence continued to increase, with as many as 30 attacks on American troops and their Iraqi partners daily, so did the international and domestic pressure to hand over sovereignty to the Iraqis.¹⁶⁰

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

Health Services. A September 4th report by the U.S. Department of Defense yielded the following health care statistics. In 2002, the per capita health care budget was 40-50 cents, it has risen to \$20. Of the 250 hospitals in Iraq, 240 were operating, and 1,200 primary health care clinics were operating. Eight million dollars had been invested into water and sewer projects, while \$40 million had been invested in getting stable generators into Baghdad, of which 128 had been installed thus far. Over 9,000 tons of drugs had been distributed throughout Iraq since May 24th. Over 500 Iraqis had been trained for hospital security. An emergency response plan was devised in the wake of the UN bombing, and proved effective at the Imam Ali Mosque incident.¹⁶¹ Meanwhile, the heightened violence, especially the attack on the UN headquarters, drove a significant number of essential health care volunteers out of Iraq. To further cripple the dispersion of public services, saboteurs were targeting power grids.

¹⁵⁸ “Economic overhaul for Iraq.” *Washington post*. 9/22/2003.

¹⁵⁹ “Xinhua Roundup: There is danger that Iraq’s situations are getting out of hand.” *Global News Wire*. 9/8/2003.

¹⁶⁰ “Cursed by crime and numbers.” *The Economist*. 9/27/2003.

¹⁶¹ “Dr. William Winkenwerder holds Defense Department briefing on rebuilding Iraq’s health care system.” FDCH Political Transcripts. 9/4/2003.

9. *Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights*
Rating: 6

With estimates as high as 10,000 Iraqis in jail, prison overpopulation was presenting the justice system with a formidable challenge. There was a gap between the need to bring Baathist officials to justice and the lack of a prosecutorial system that could administer justice. While there was a significant backlog in the cases on the docket, keeping the jails full, coalition overseers had been pressing for local judges to release suspects who had no paperwork to substantiate their charges.¹⁶²

Amnesty International published a report on September 25th, documenting a list of incidents in September in which Iraqi civilians were killed by U.S. soldiers, using alleged “excessive force.” While the coalition forces maintained that all incidences followed proper rules of engagement, Amnesty International submitted that further inquiry into these occurrences was warranted.¹⁶³ Human Rights Watch also spoke out about a lack of transparency in the judicial process that exonerated all U.S. soldiers who took part in accidentally killing nine civilians in Fallujah and two policemen last month.¹⁶⁴ Meanwhile, in a blow to free press, the Iraqi Governing Council banned al-Jazeera and al-Arabiya from covering any of its activities for a period of two weeks.¹⁶⁵

10. *Security Apparatus Operates as a “State Within a State”*
Rating: 9

Harassment and violence among religious sects and ethnic groups had become so prevalent that new rival militias were being formed and trained in public, primarily because the occupation forces had not been providing adequate security. Shiites formed their militia in large part as a reaction to the Pesh Merga Army, the Kurdish militia, and because of the poor security that resulted in the assassination of the leading cleric, Baqr al-Hakim.¹⁶⁶

In the search for security, many private firms turned toward militias. Some reports estimated as many as 40,000 members of various militias were open for hire, and more than 10,000 were providing security for pilgrims to the holy city of Najaf in the wake of recent terrorist activity. The CPA indicated a willingness to consider the possibility of militia members working under the control of local and national government officials. Various members of the CPA rely on their own bodyguards or militias for protection.

11. *Rise of Factionalized Elites*
Rating: 9

The murder of the cleric Baqr al-Hakim furthered internal religious divides within the Shia, between secular and religious and between activist and quietist. A power vacuum intensified the leadership

¹⁶² “At Iraqi jail, legal system is still under renovation.” *Washington Post*. 9/12/2003.

¹⁶³ “Iraq: The rights of Iraqi people must not be sidelined on the altar of political agendas.” *Amnesty International*. 9/25/2003.

¹⁶⁴ “Human rights groups blast U.S. inquiries on Iraqi deaths.” *Agence France Press*. 9/27/2003.

¹⁶⁵ “Iraq’s interim council: fighting on more than one front.” *Mideast Mirror*. 9/25/2003.

¹⁶⁶ “Xinhua Roundup: There is danger that Iraq’s situations are getting out of hand.” *Global News Wire*. 9/8/2003.

crisis confronting the Iraqi Shia, and exacerbated an already intense rivalry.¹⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the CPA also became factionalized, as the Kurdish parties united for political gains against non-Kurdish representatives.

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

Reports documenting as many as a dozen to thirty or more terror attacks daily illustrate the rise of terrorist groups, allegedly including Al Qaeda, as external political actors with a stake in the outcome of the Iraq conflict.¹⁶⁸ This in turn caused various humanitarian actors to pull out for security reasons, including the UN.

Core 5

1. Police

On September 2nd, in central Baghdad, a police station was severely damaged by a car bomb in an attempt to assassinate the Iraqi police chief.¹⁶⁹ Reports suggested that local security forces might have been responsible. Highlighting the ineffectiveness of the police services, a BBC news source cited as many as 40 bodies going to the mortuary daily with gunshot wounds, while Baghdad had the highest murder rate in the world, not including the deaths of international troops. Crime rate statistics, however, remained difficult to verify, as many crimes went unreported out of fear of retaliation. Furthermore, the police were underreporting crimes so they would not look bad to the international community.¹⁷⁰ One criminal activity that had become more prevalent was the economically opportunistic use of kidnapping.

Iraqi police officers became targets. Their credibility was in question as they are accused of betraying their countrymen and fellow Muslims by collaborating with the occupation. Many quit, some turned to corruption, some worked to undermine the Coalition, and others remained loyal to their occupation as police officers, and yet were often too demoralized to do their job effectively.¹⁷¹ After interviewing dozens of Iraqi police officers, United Press International found the recurrence of the following complaints: “mistreatment by their American ‘superiors,’ failure to deliver adequate equipment, and policies that allow the release of dangerous criminals from custody, which often resulted in vows of revenge from the perpetrators.” Further compounding the relational problems between Coalition forces and Iraqi police, were internal problems between MPs and U.S. Army and Marines. Policing difficulties were exacerbated in an environment awash in automatic weapons; AK 47 assault rifles could be purchased for less than \$50, permitting civilians to outgun the Iraqi police.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ “Splits worsened by cleric’s murder.” *BBC News*. 9/2/2003.

¹⁶⁸ “Blueprint urged for Iraq troops.” *Press Association*. 9/9/2003

¹⁶⁹ “Xinhua Roundup: There is danger that Iraq’s situations are getting out of hand.” *Global News Wire*. 9/8/2003.

¹⁷⁰ “Kidnapping in Iraq on the rise.” *Christian Science Monitor*. 9/10/2003.

¹⁷¹ “Iraq’s Security Weakened by Fear.” *Washington Post*. 9/14/2003.

¹⁷² “Violence shows failures in Iraq policing.” *United Press International*. 9/22/2003.

2. Leadership

The Governing Council assigned cabinet positions among themselves until elections were held. They represent a diverse cross-section of the population, including three women. “Thirteen ministries have gone to Shia Muslims, five to Sunnis, five to Kurds and one each to the Turkmen and Assyrian Christians.”¹⁷³ Almost immediately, the council lobbied to close the border with Iran during the three-day mourning period of the Ayatollah, citing the grave threat to stability caused by the movement of drug-smugglers and terrorists.¹⁷⁴ Terrorists continued to target these Iraqi political appointees. Aqila al-Hashimi, a member of the Iraqi Governing Council, was shot on September 20th, and died five days later.¹⁷⁵

3. Civil Service

As reported earlier, the civil service was being paid regularly, and members were serving under appointed ministers.

4. Judiciary

As many as 10,000 Iraqis were in jail under primitive conditions.¹⁷⁶ However, more than 300 courts were hearing cases under limited U.S. supervision. The Iraqi legal system was still divided between the U.S. military, Iraqi police and judges, both secular and Islamic courts.¹⁷⁷

5. Military

As many as 60,000 Iraqis bear arms said to be under coalition authority.¹⁷⁸ This figure included the 37,000 police officers functioning under the Interior Ministry. Meanwhile, the coalition recruited three battalions of a new Iraqi Civil Defense Corps, while the first battalion of the new Iraqi army was in training. Bremer claimed, “Iraqis are already involved in the security of their country, and we intend to increase that number as we go forward.”¹⁷⁹

STINGS

◆ American soldiers mistakenly killed ten Iraqi security officers who were in pursuit of suspected criminals in Fallujah on September 12th.

◆ A second attack at the UN Headquarters occurred when a truck exploded at a police checkpoint, killing the officer and the bomber, and injuring 12 others on September 22nd, prompting further withdrawal of UN staff.

¹⁷³ “New ministers appointed in Iraq.” *BBC News*. 9/1/2003.

¹⁷⁴ “Iraqi Council Completes Cabinet.” *Washington Post*. 9/1/2003.

¹⁷⁵ “Iraq: The rights of Iraqi people must not be sidelined on the altar of political agendas.” *Amnesty International*. 9/25/2003.

¹⁷⁶ “Saddam’s Iraq, Bremer’s Iraq.” *Mideast Mirror*. 9/8/2003.

¹⁷⁷ “At Iraqi jail, legal system is still under renovation.” *Washington Post*. 9/12/2003.

¹⁷⁸ “Iraqis’ struggle for peace.” *BBC News*. 9/3/2003.

¹⁷⁹ “Iraqis threaten to go it alone.” *Christian Science Monitor*. 9/5/2003.

Appendix VIII Methodological Note

As previously stated, this report marks the first of a series of six-month progress reports. These reports are based on an analytical methodology that has been developed and tested over the past eight years, (to assess sustainable security in Iraq). In short, the objectives of this particular project are to:

- Assess the extent to which Iraq is moving toward a situation in which it can solve its own problems peacefully without an outside military or administrative presence. This will provide the basis for an exit strategy.
- 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.
- Make concrete policy recommendations.

This study is an objective, nonpartisan assessment, tracking the post-war reconstruction effort in systematic fashion, with updates at six-month intervals until sustainable security is achieved. 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. With each month, ratings are assigned to each indicator of state stability according to a comprehensive assessment of daily news coverage of Iraq. Over 150 domestic and international news sources are referenced in this report, including Arabic language sources. At the end of each month, a rating, (between 1-10), 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. The respective ratings are then justified qualitatively by indicator as descriptive summaries in the appendices of this report. (It is important to note that these summaries are highlights of the particular month’s developments and provide a condensed representation of the most significant developments on the ground. 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 monthly trends, both by indicator and aggregate ratings. For more comprehensive information on the methodology, refer to *An Analytical Model of Internal Conflict and State Collapse: Manual for Practitioners*, authored by Pauline H. Baker and Angeli E. Weller (1998, Fund for Peace) or visit the website at www.fundforpeace.org.

As stated previously, each particular indicator is assigned a monthly value from 1, being the most stable, to 10, the most instable. Along with each rating, there is a corresponding, descriptive summary in the respective appendix to justify the rating. Therefore, any change in the indicator ratings can be

easily referenced by accessing the appendix for that particular month (paginated in the Table of Contents). The two graphs in Section 3, pages 7 and 8 of this report, illustrate the trends, first as an aggregate representation and then separately by indicator. The aggregate representation is accompanied by a legend that describes the overall state stability. These graphs accurately represent the change in Iraq's internal stability, or in this case, lack thereof.

This research team, led by Dr. Pauline H. Baker, president of the FfP and the original author of the methodology, accepts that the rating system of 1-10 is somewhat subjective. However, in light of the logistical barriers to conducting field research in any conflict environment, and/or collapsing state, the potential for bias is accounted for by internal checks, such as consistency in research methods, extensive citation, and comprehensive discussion regarding the meanings of any statistics and developments. 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 will come to define themselves in specific tangible conditions, relative to previous ratings.