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Iraq: Meeting the Challenges of 2010

Anthony H. Cordesman
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CSIS

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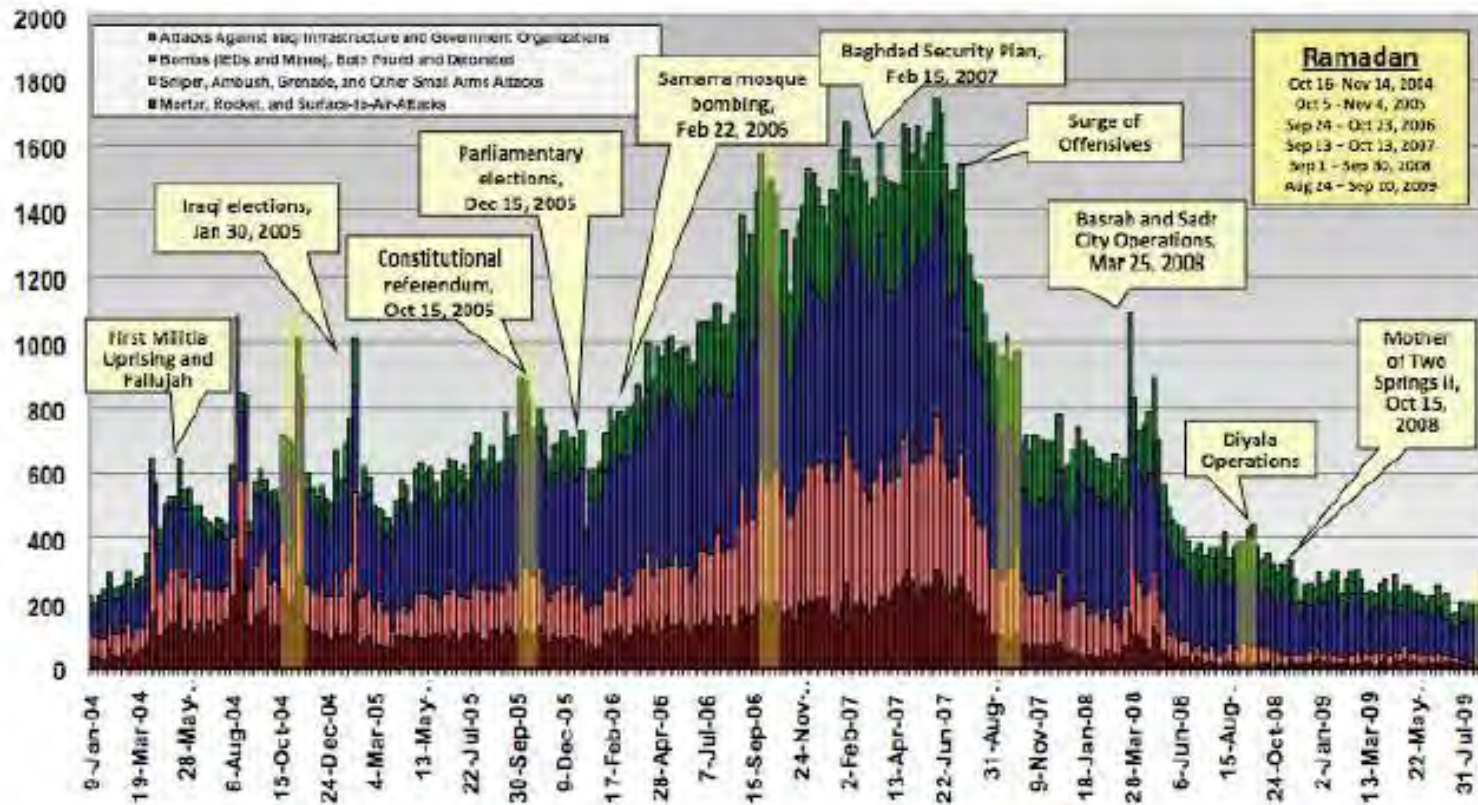
Burke Chair
in Strategy

Rev: March 10, 2010

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The Changing Patterns of Violence: 2003-2009

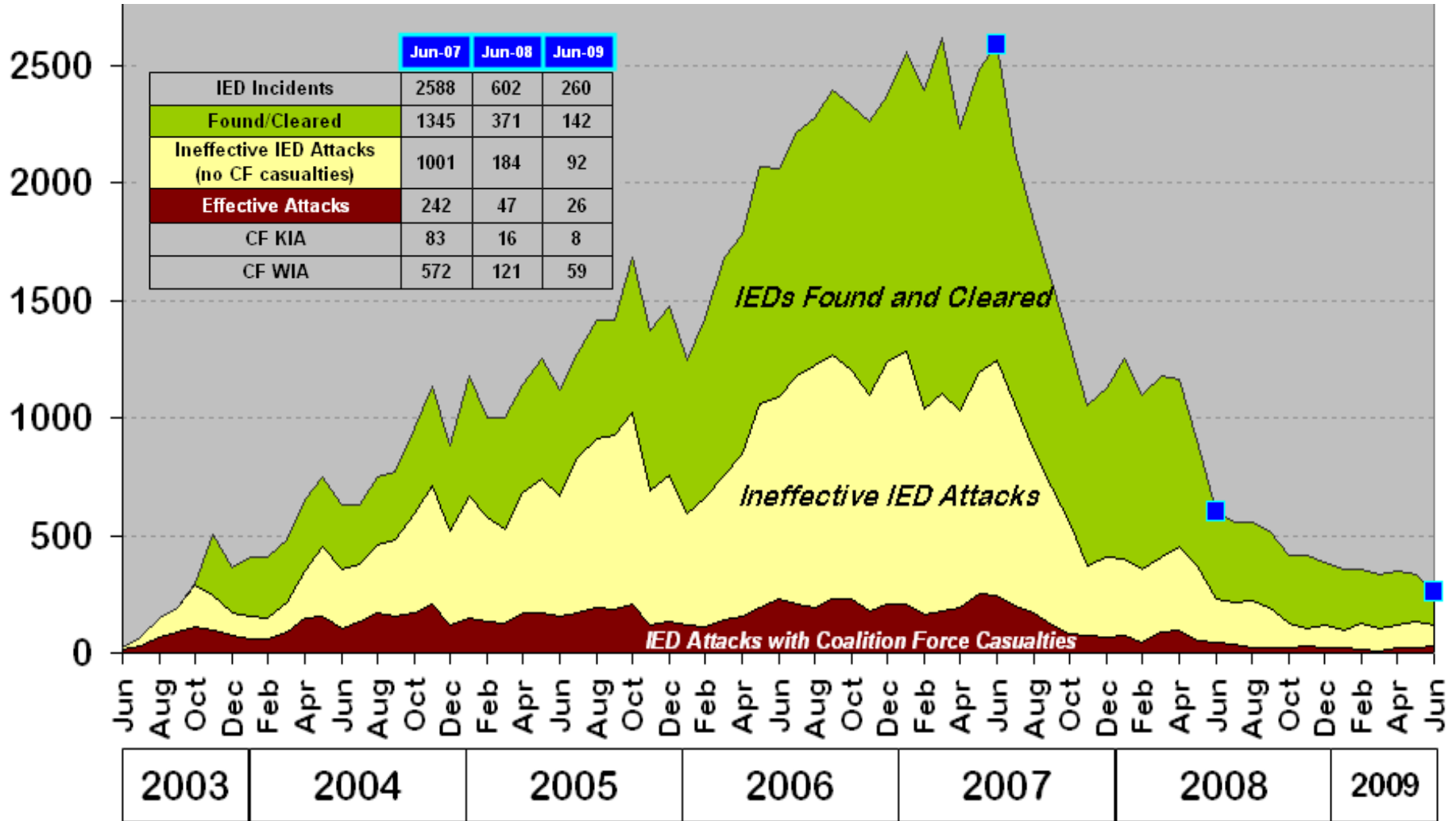
Weekly Security Incidents: January 3, 2004 - August 28, 2009



Source: MNF-I SIGACTS III Database (Coalition and Iraqi Reports) as of August 28, 2009. Chart includes executed attacks and potential (found and cleared) attacks. As a result of the June 30, 2009 withdrawal from cities, U.S. forces must now rely on host nation reporting as the primary data source. Current charts now show a combination of Coalition and host nation reported data. The combination of these reports causes baseline numbers to increase, making it difficult to directly compare these charts with those presented in previous publications of this report.

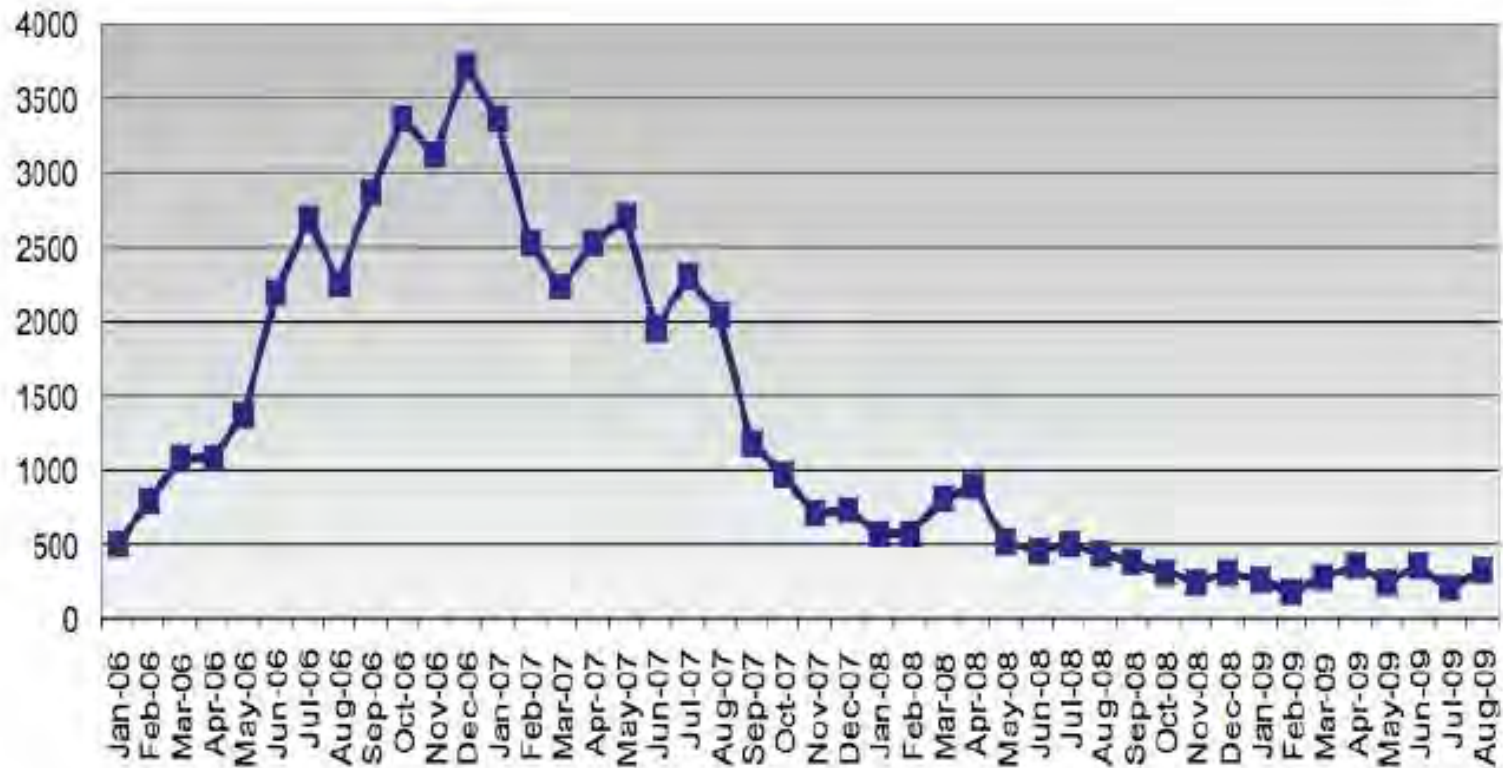
Source: USCENTCOM 9.28.09

Iraq - IED Incident Trends – Coalition Force (U)



Incident counts based on preliminary data for June 2009

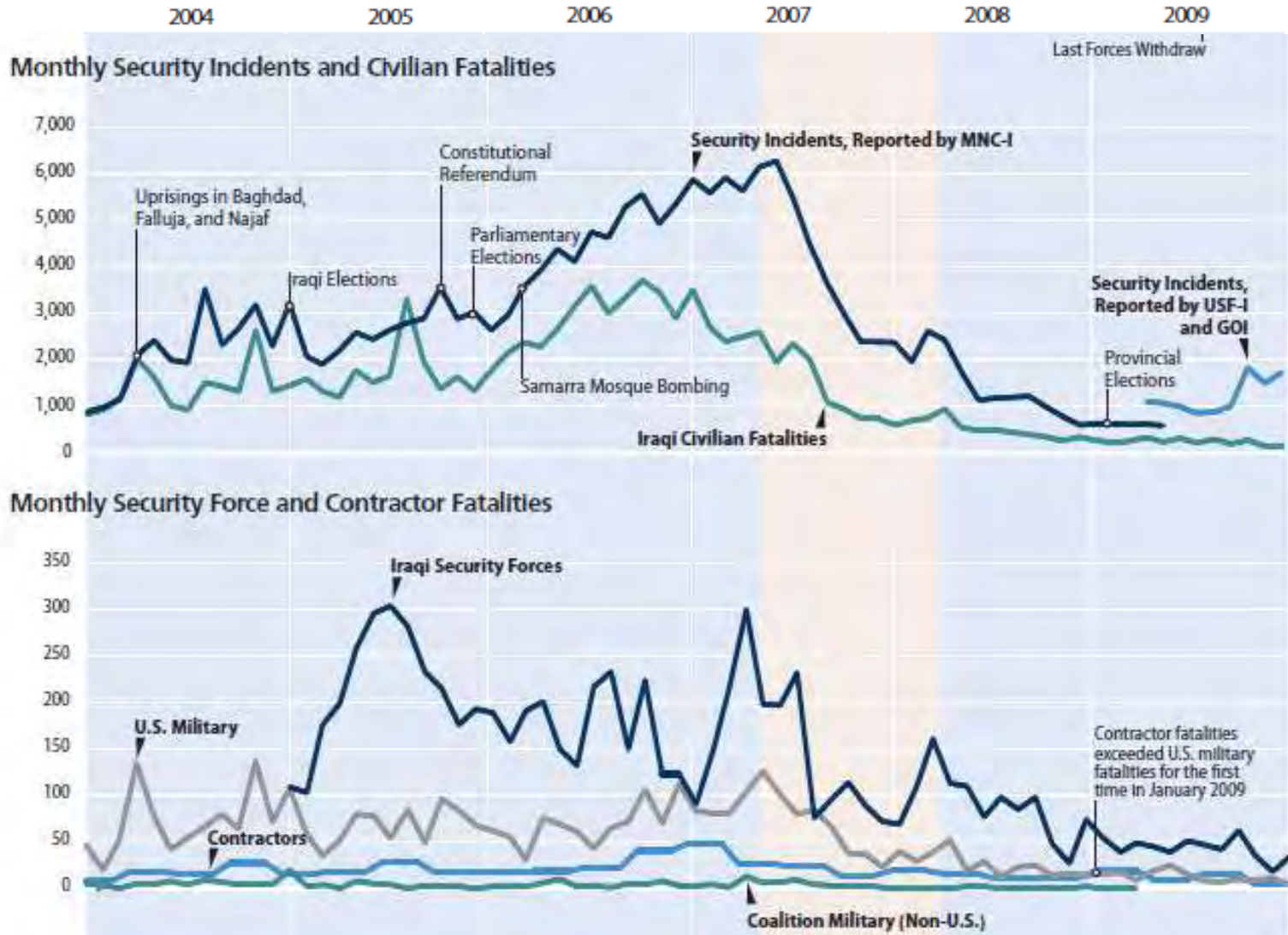
Civilian Deaths, January 2006 - August 2009



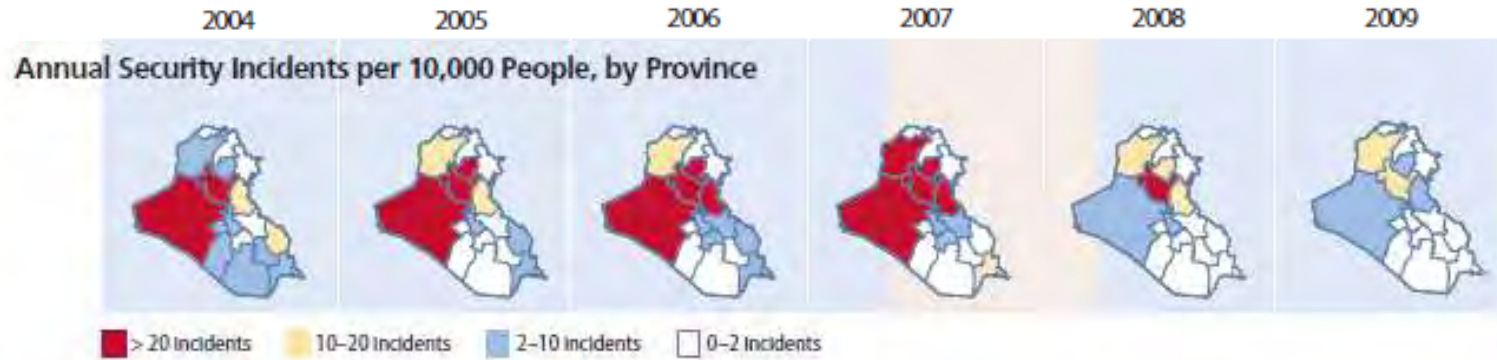
Source: MNF-I CJ5 Assessments SIGACTS III Database (Coalition and Iraqi Reports) as of August 31, 2009. Does not include civilian deaths due to accidents unrelated to friendly or enemy actions. As a result of the June 30, 2009 withdrawal from cities, U.S. forces must now rely on host nation reporting as the primary data source. Current charts now show a combination of Coalition and host nation reported data. The combination of these reports causes baseline numbers to increase, making it difficult to directly compare these charts with those presented in previous publications of this report.

Source: USCENTCOM 9.28.09

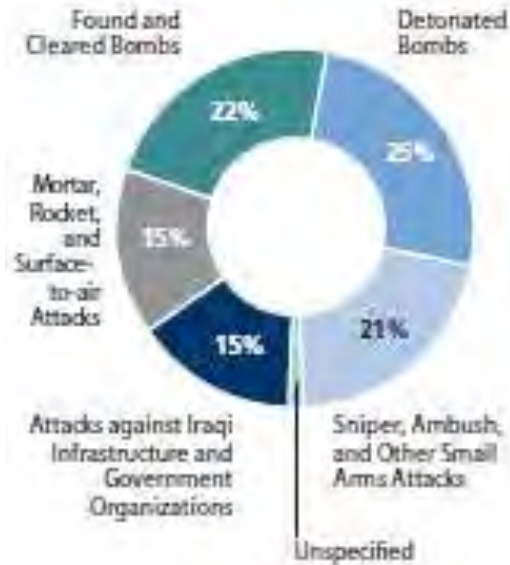
Iraqi Security Patterns: 2004-2009



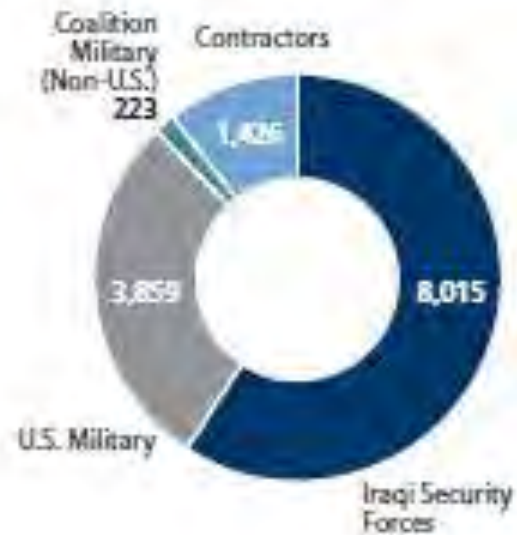
Iraqi Security Patterns: 2004-2009



Security Incidents, by Type

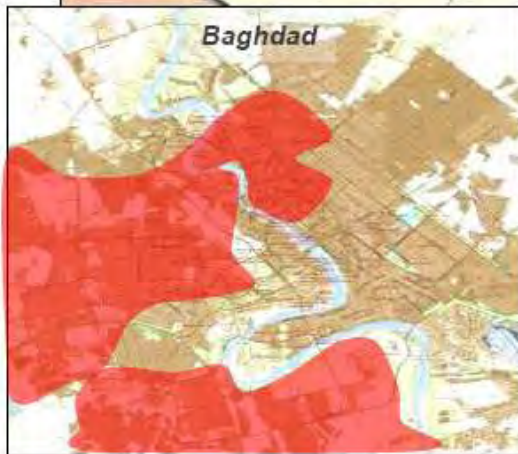
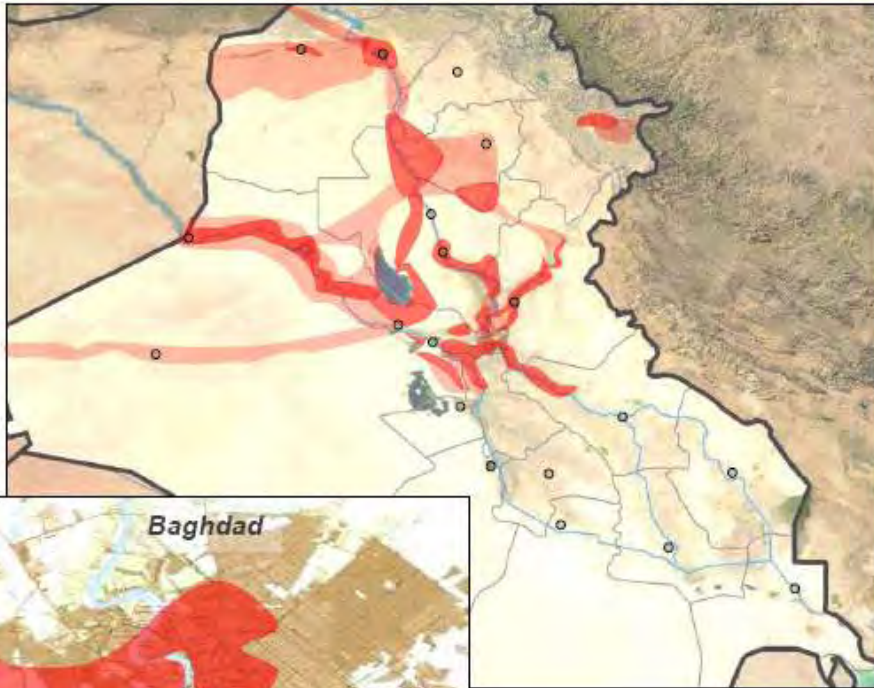


Cumulative Fatalities

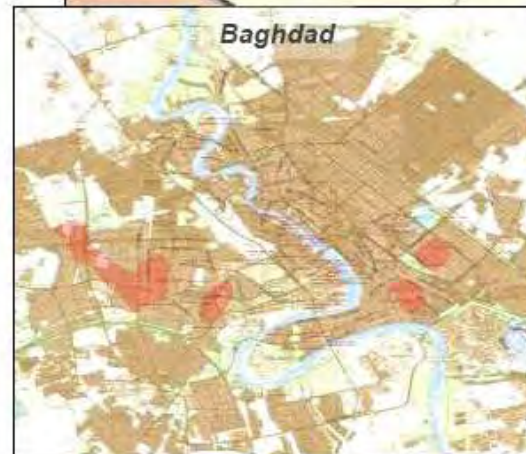
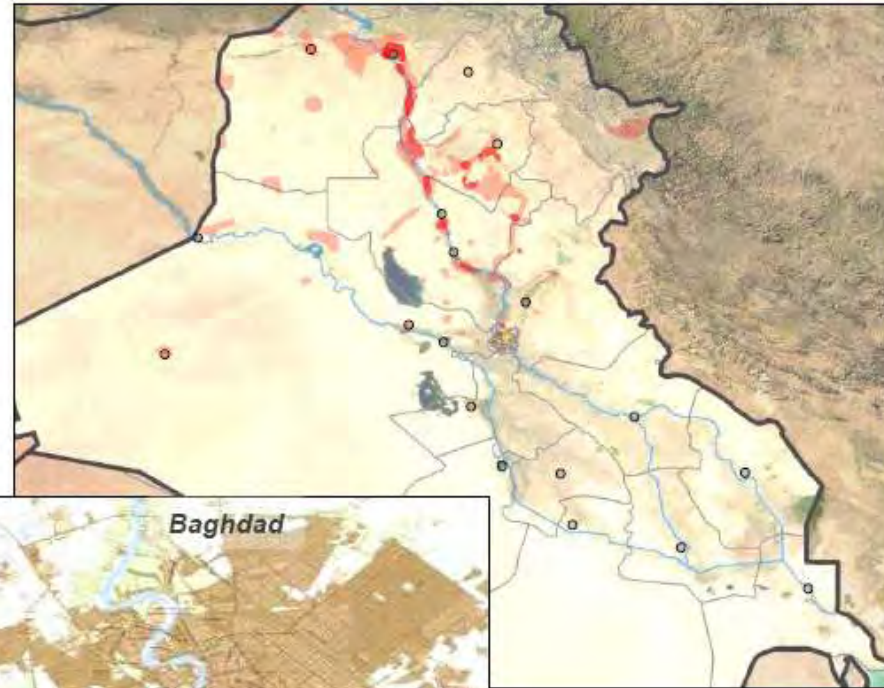


Al Qa'ida in Iraq -- Winter 2006 vs. Fall 2008

Winter 2006-2007



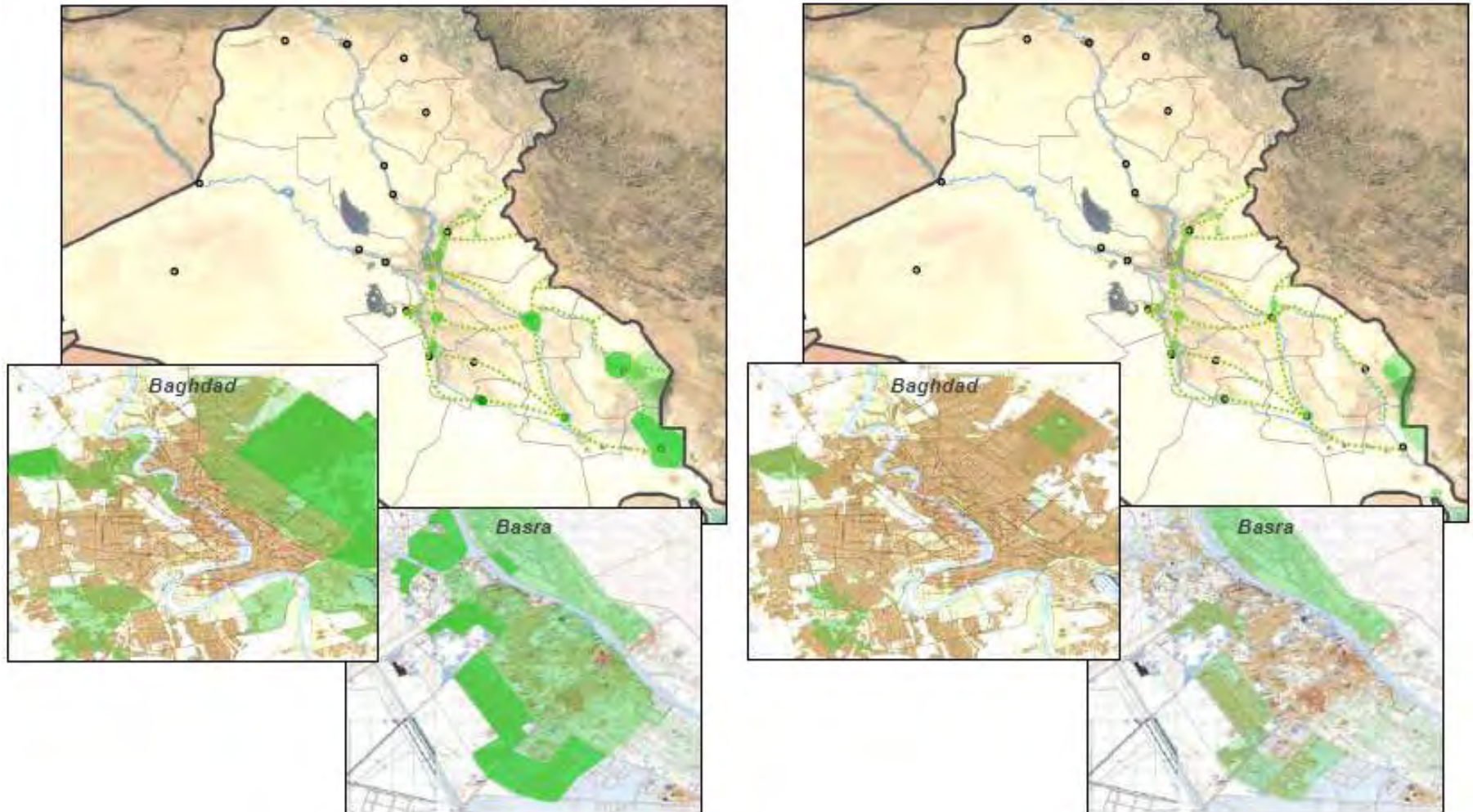
Fall 2008



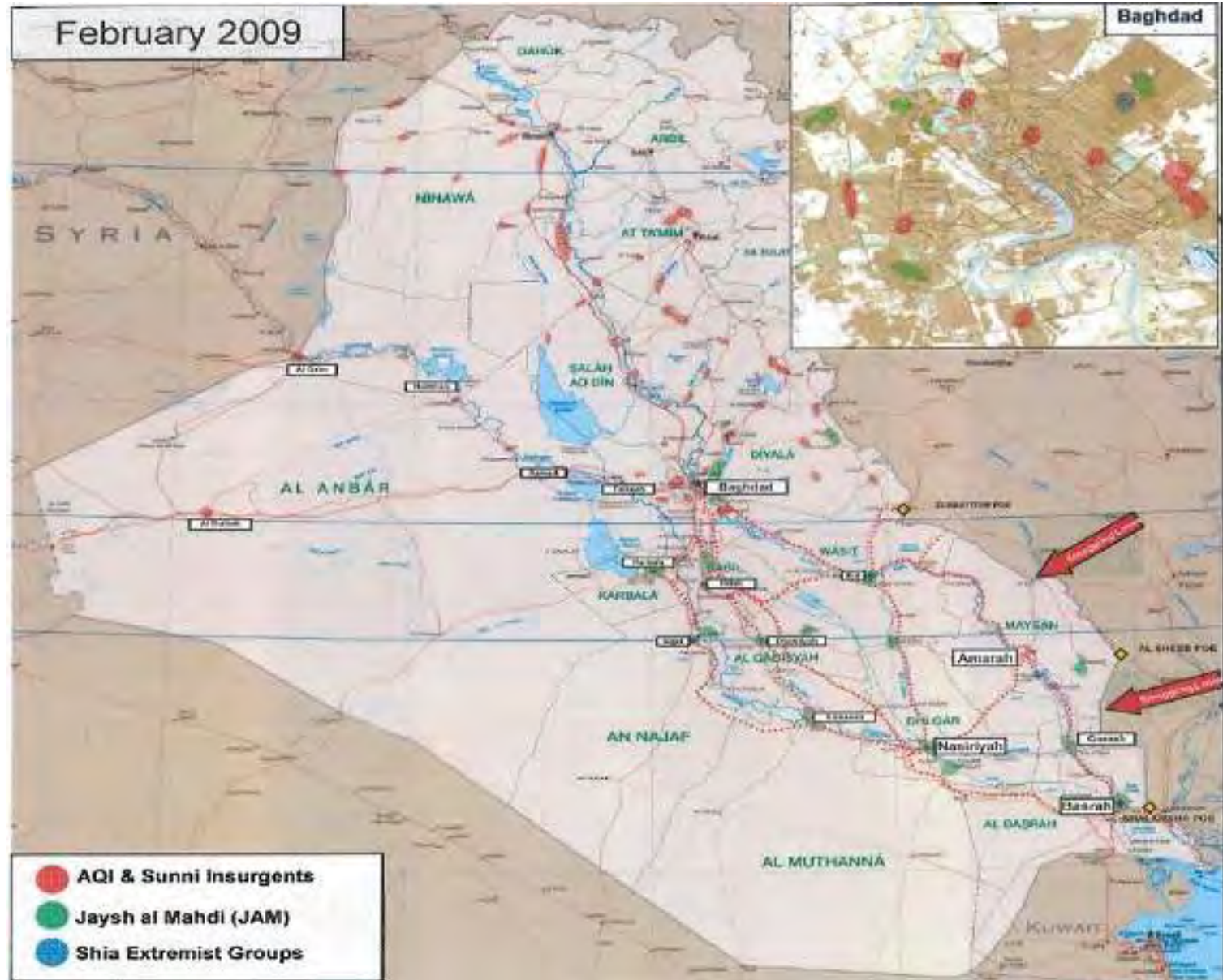
Key Areas of Shi'ite Extremist Activity: Winter 2007 vs. Fall 2008

Winter 2007-2008

Fall 2008



Key Insurgent, JAM, and Iranian Activity: February 2009



Violence at End-2009-Early 2010

Iraqi Security Patterns: 10/21/09 to 1/13/10

October 2009

				5	0	0
13	32	0	41	0	0	0
16	0	22	65	0	94	7
2	0	31	5	4	3	5
130	5	2	18	3	3	25

November 2009

8	0	0	21	22	6	3
0	2	4	0	8	8	1
13	24	7	2	0	0	14
16	4	6	50	4	0	0
3	2					

December 2009

		16	2	11	5	6
6	51	310	5	0	3	7
3	4	9	7	3	0	1
4	0	5	11	20	132	6
12	2	4	30	2		

January 2010

				5	27	
3	19	0	8	8	0	0
0	0	4	8	138	0	2
3	5	0	37			

Wednesday, October 14: 9 Iraqis killed and 56 wounded during armed attack in Baghdad and bombings in Kerbala.

Friday, October 16: 14 Iraqis killed and 80 wounded during an attack on a mosque in Telafar.

Sunday, October 25: 132 Iraqis killed and at least 500 wounded in explosions outside of the Ministry of Justice and Baghdad Provincial Council headquarters building.

Saturday, October 31: 23 Iraqis wounded during attacks in Baghdad and Mos

Wednesday, November 4: More than 20 Iraqis injured during a series of explosions in Baghdad.

Thursday, November 5: 2 Iraqis killed and 20 wounded during attacks in Mos Ramadi, and Hilla.

Monday, November 16: 24 Iraqis killed during attacks in Kirkuk, Baghdad, and Abu Ghraib.

Wednesday, November 25: Approximately 50 Iraqis wounded in bombings in Kerbala and Baghdad.

Monday, December 7: 7 Iraqis killed and 41 wounded during an explosion in Sadr City in Baghdad.

Tuesday, December 8: At least 110 Iraqis killed and 200 wounded in a series of attacks in Baghdad that targeted GOI facilities.

Friday, December 25: 25 Iraqis killed and more than 100 wounded in bombings in Hilla.

Wednesday, December 30: 23 Iraqis killed during an attack in Ramadi, in which the governor of Anbar was wounded.

Saturday, January 2: 2 Iraqis killed and 24 wounded in attacks in Mosul and Baghdad.

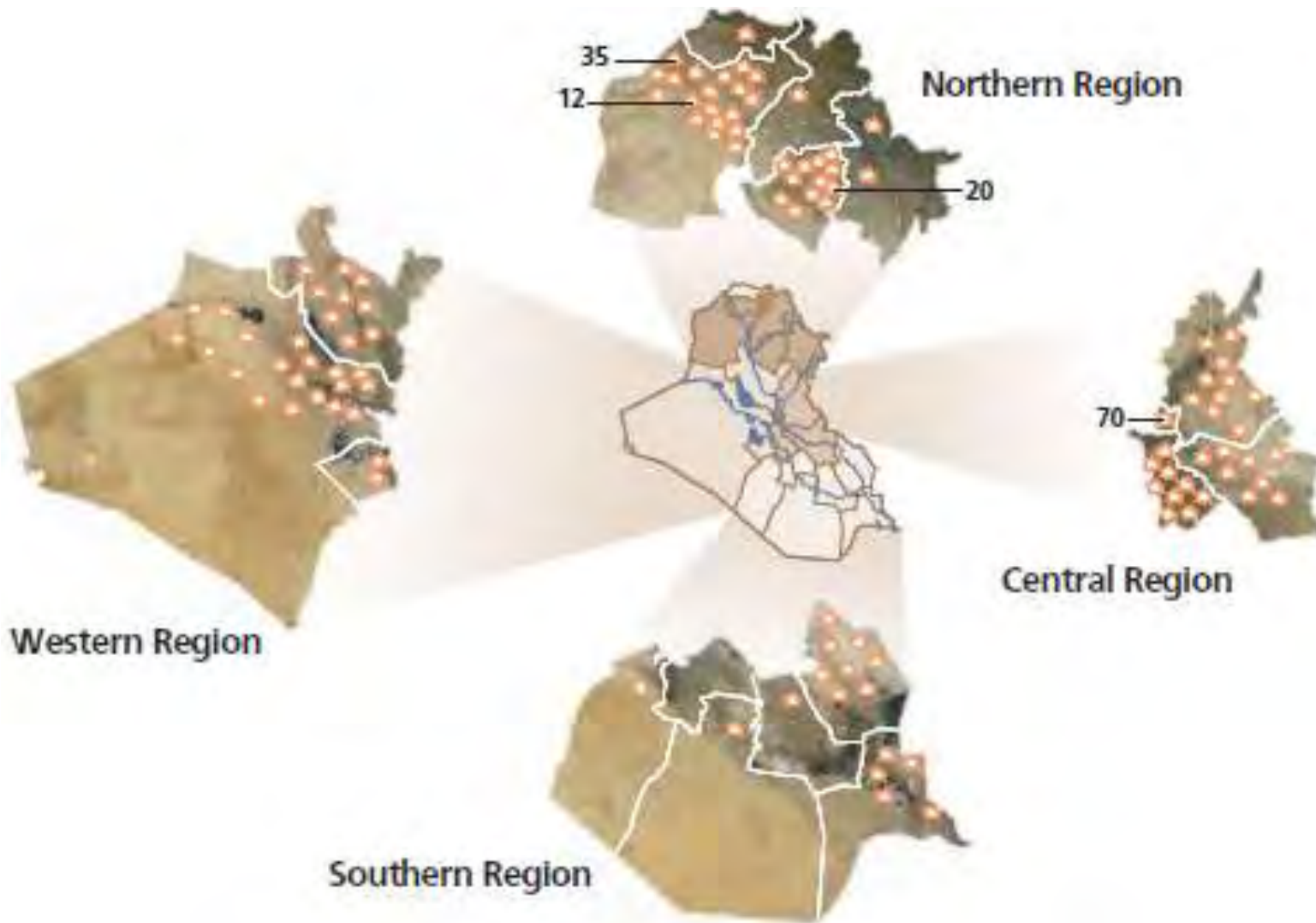
Thursday, January 14: Approximately 27 Iraqis killed and 111 wounded in a series of bombings in Najaf.

Wednesday, January 20: Approximately 36 Iraqis injured during an attack in Mosul.

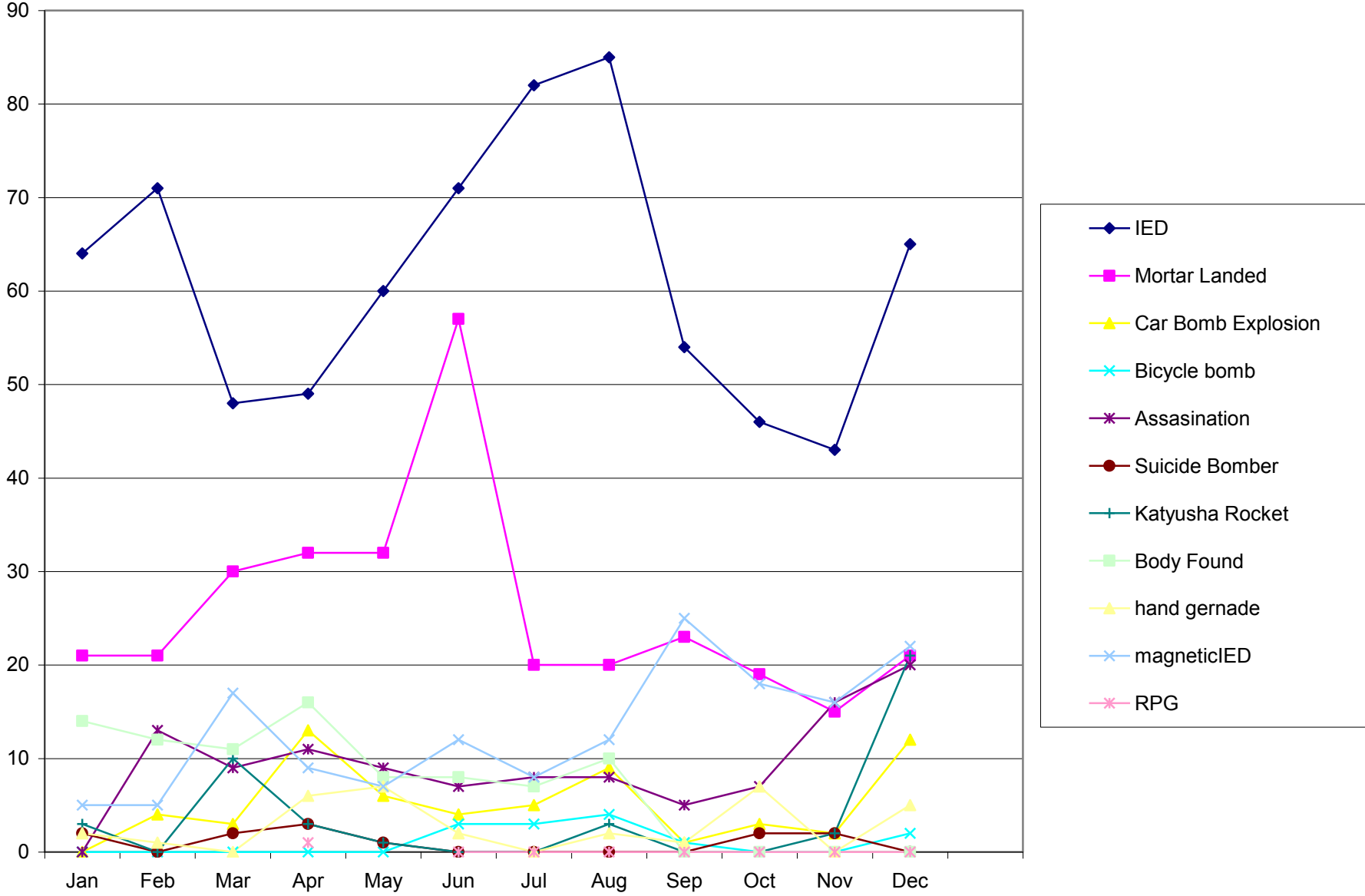
SELECTED INSURGENT BOMBINGS OF KEY GOI FACILITIES, 8/2009–1/2010



Insurgent, JAM, and Iranian Activity: Late 2009

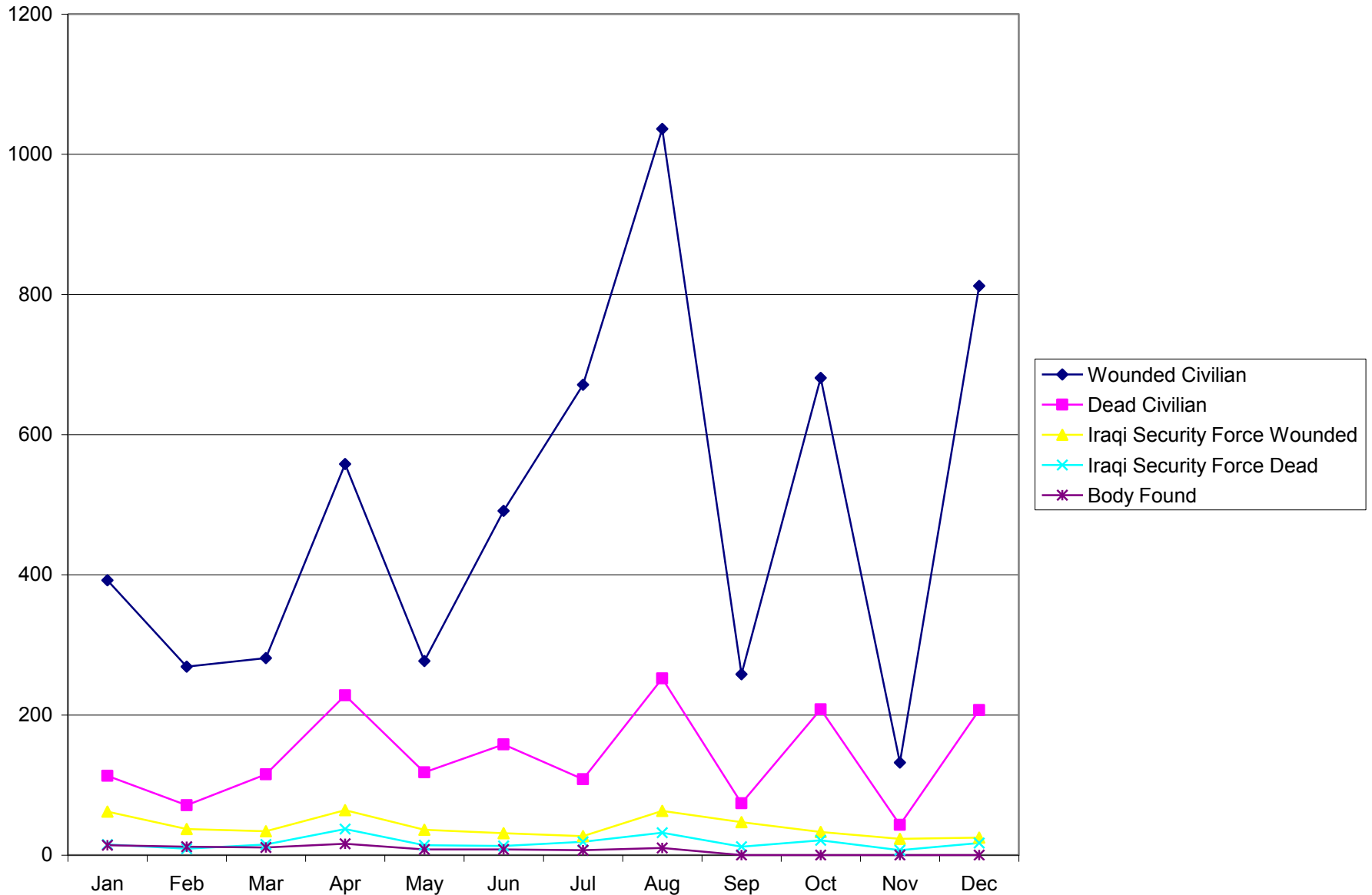


Attacks Per Month By Type in Baghdad: 2009



Source: Senior Iraqi official

Iraqi Casualties By Type in Baghdad: 2009



Levels of National Unity and the Election

Major Threats to Iraq



Sectarian, Ethnic, and Tribal Challenges

◆ *Sectarian Challenges*

• *Iraq: 60-65% Shi'a, 32-37% Sunni, 3% Christian or Other*

◆ *Ethnic Challenges*

• *Iraq: Arab 75-80%, Kurdish 15-20%, Turcoman, Assyrian & Other 3%*

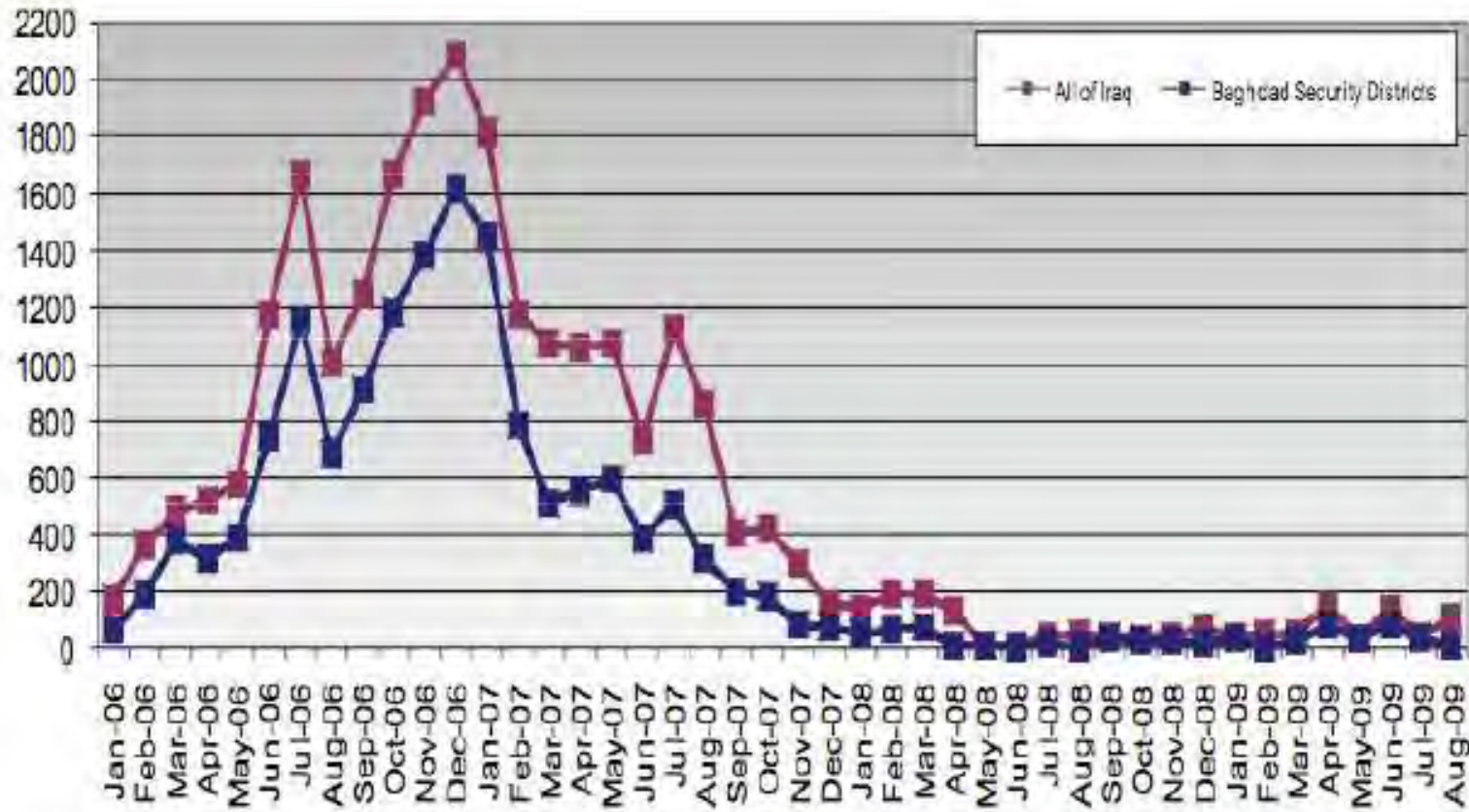
◆ *Tribal Challenges*

• *Iraq: Confederations, broad area, heavily urbanized.*

Iraqi Ethnic Divisions

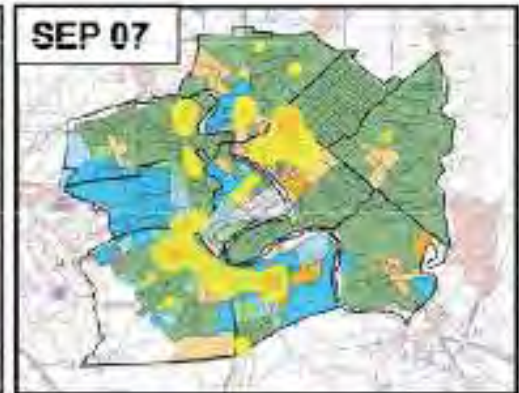
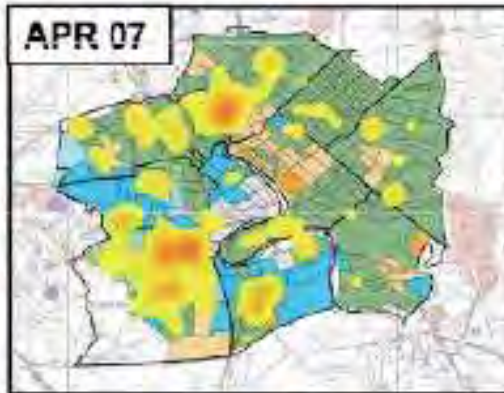
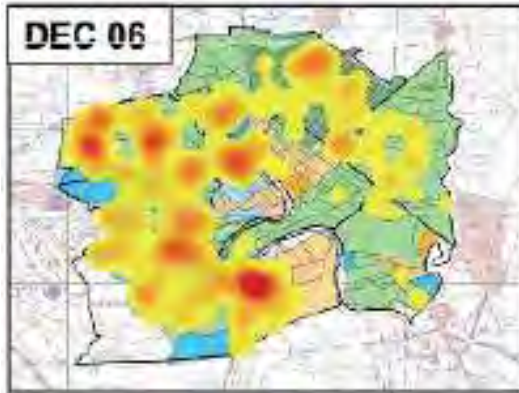


Ethno-Sectarian Deaths, January 2006 - August 2009

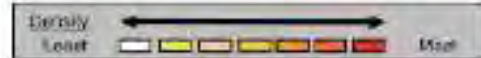
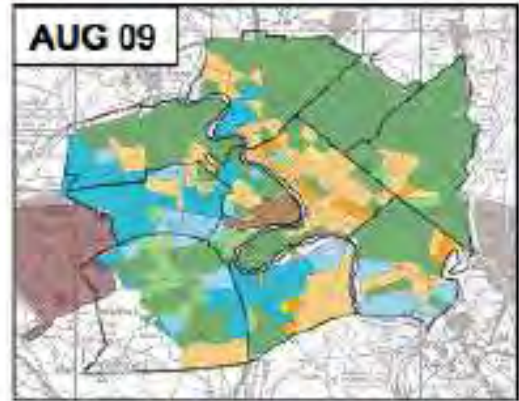
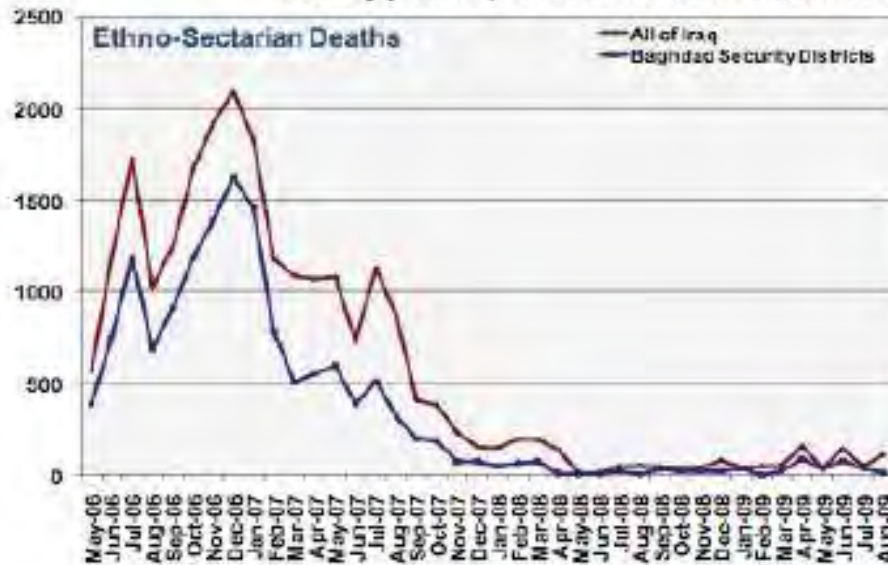


Source: MNF-I CJ5 Assessments CIOC Trends Database (Coalition and Iraqi Reports) as of August 31, 2009. As a result of the June 30, 2009 withdrawal from cities, U.S forces must now rely on host nation reporting as the primary data source. Current charts now show a combination of Coalition and host nation reported data. The combination of these reports causes baseline numbers to increase, making it difficult to directly compare these charts with those presented in previous publications of this report

Ethno-Sectarian Violence: 2006 -2009

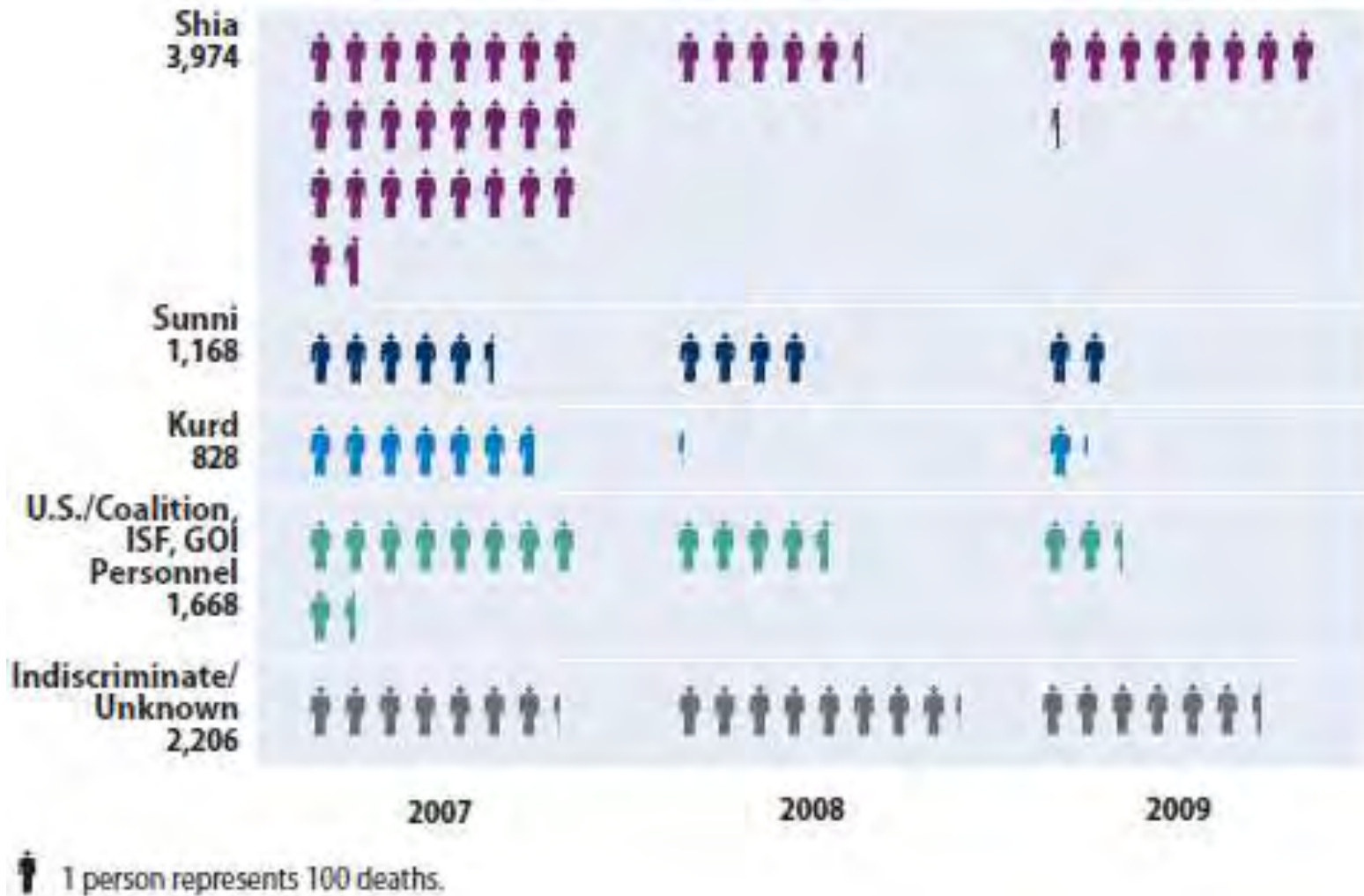


Density plots depict incidents of ethno-sectarian deaths.



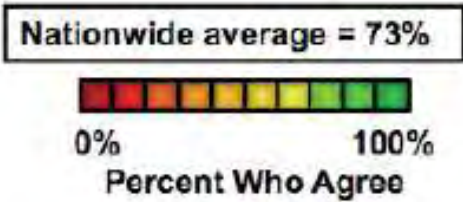
Sources: CIOC Trends (CF and Iraqi reports) as of 05-Sep-09; weekly beginning 01-May-06

Who Has Been the Target: 2007-2009

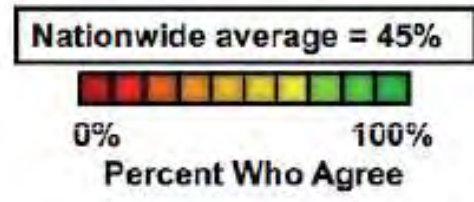


Iraqi Views of Security and Travel: July 2009

Neighborhoods are Secure

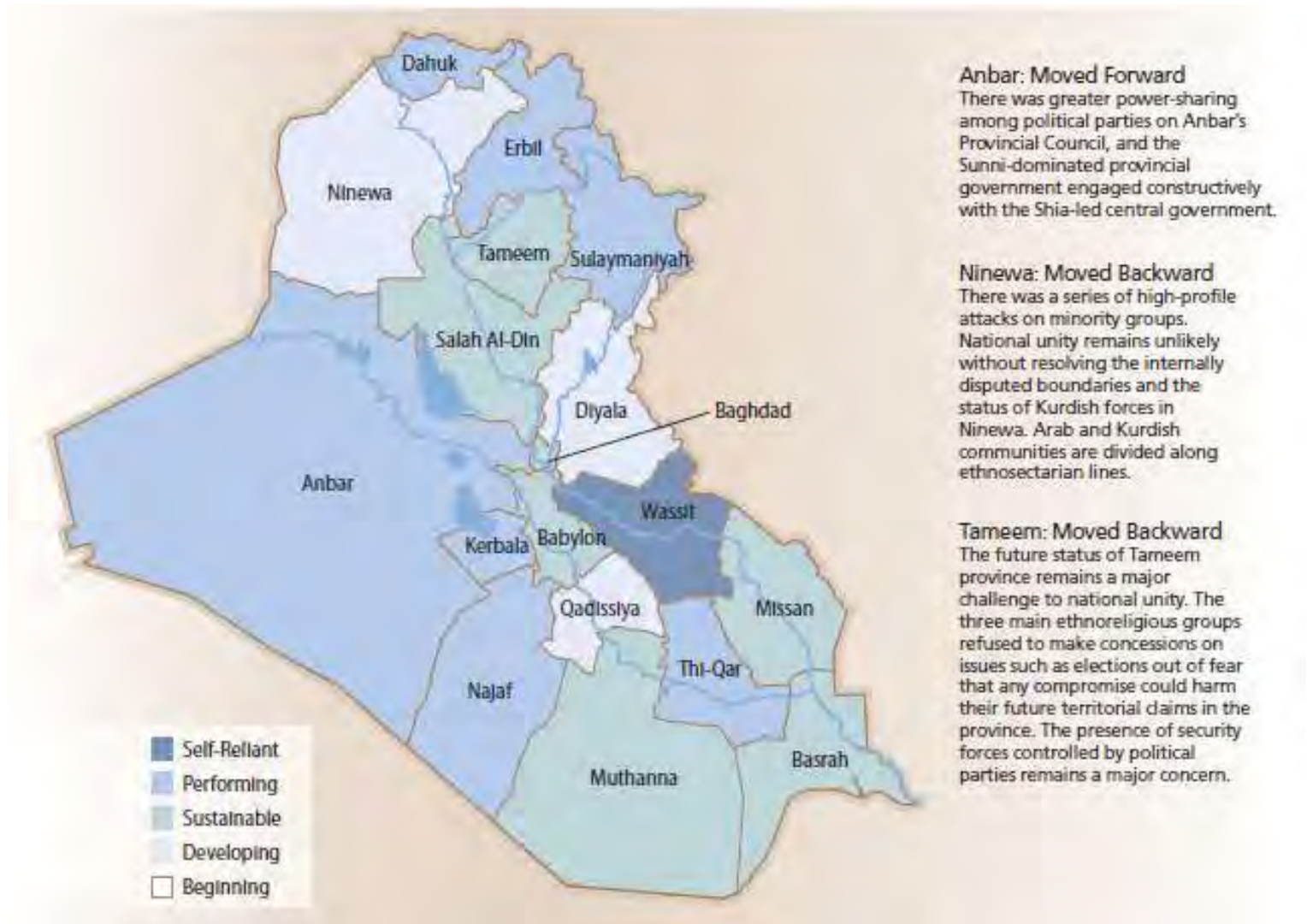


Travel is Safe

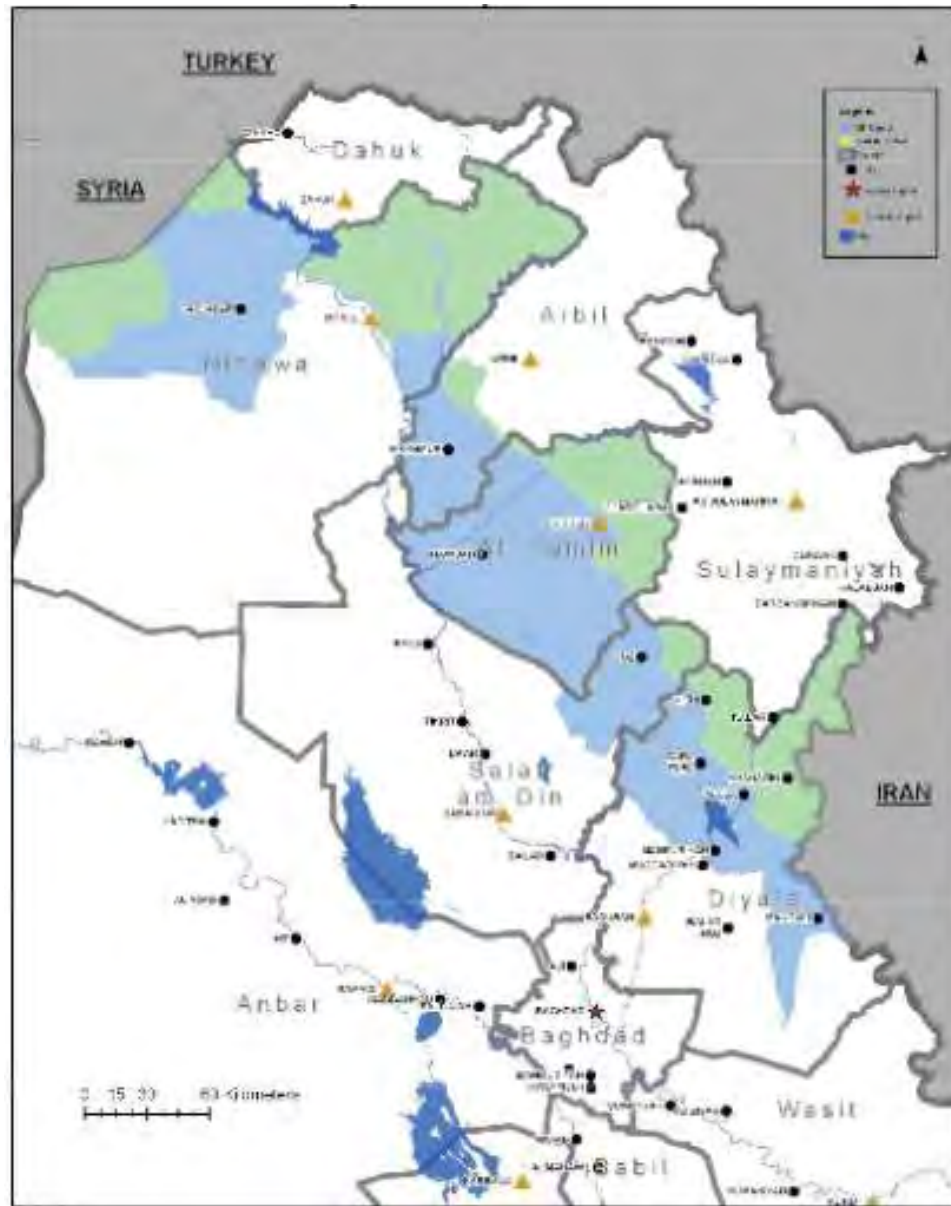


July 2009

Iraq: National Unity in Late-2009



Iraq-Kurd Disputed Territory

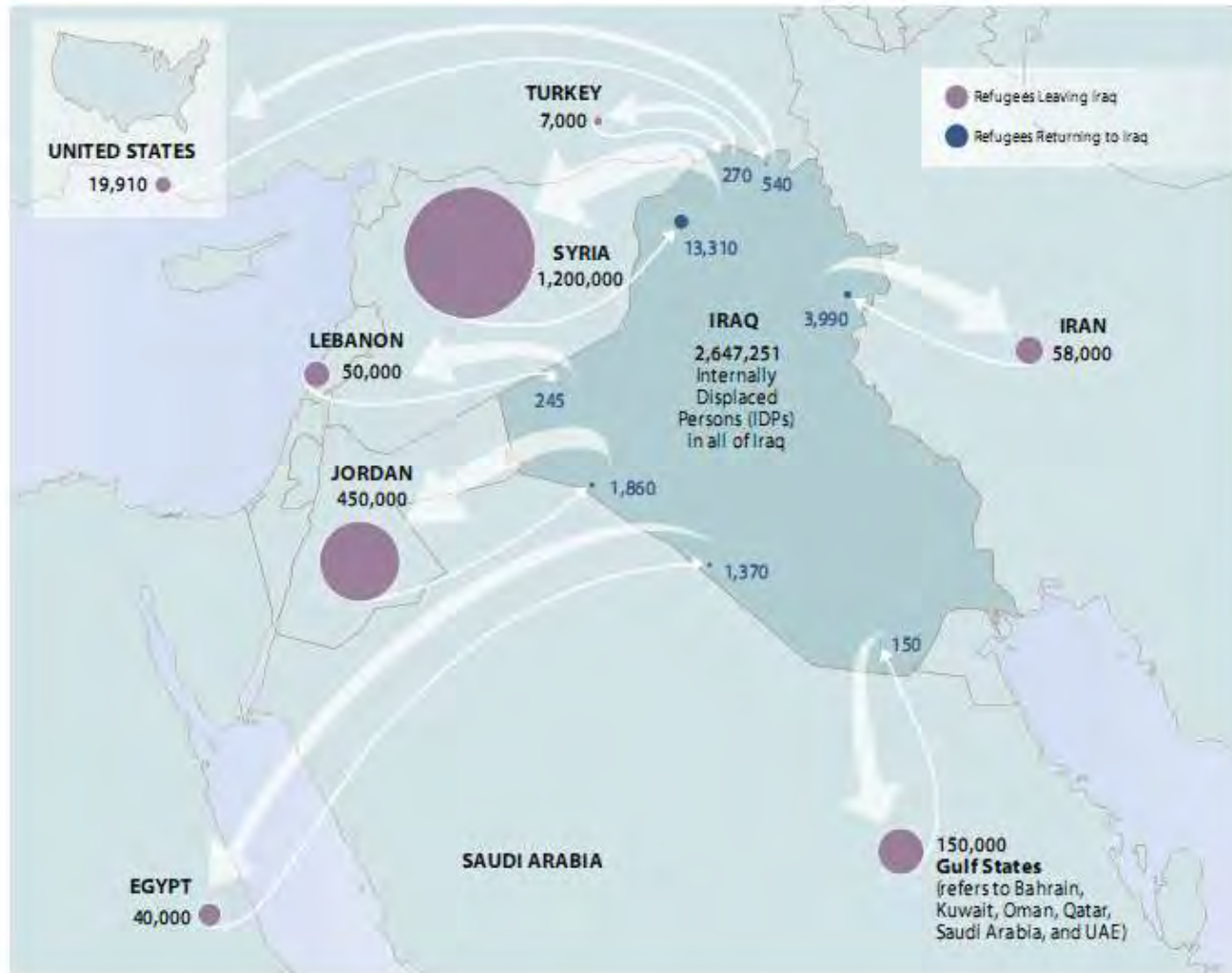


Source: USCENTCOM 9.28.09

Iraq: “The Kurdish Issue”



Iraq: The IDP Challenge



Note: Excludes refugee statistics for Europe and Australia.

Sources: UNHCR, "Country Operations Profile," www.unhcr.org/pages/49e486426.html, accessed 10/8/2009; USCIS, "Iraqi Refugee Processing Fact Sheet," http://www.uscis.gov/files/article/iraqi_refugee_fs_11feb09.pdf, accessed 10/8/2009; U.S. Embassy-Baghdad, response to SIGIR data call, 10/3/2009.

Source: Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction (SIGIR), *Quarterly Report to the United States Congress*, (Public Law 108-106, as amended, and Public Law 95-452), October 30, 2009. Pp 80-81.

Key Rivals in the Election

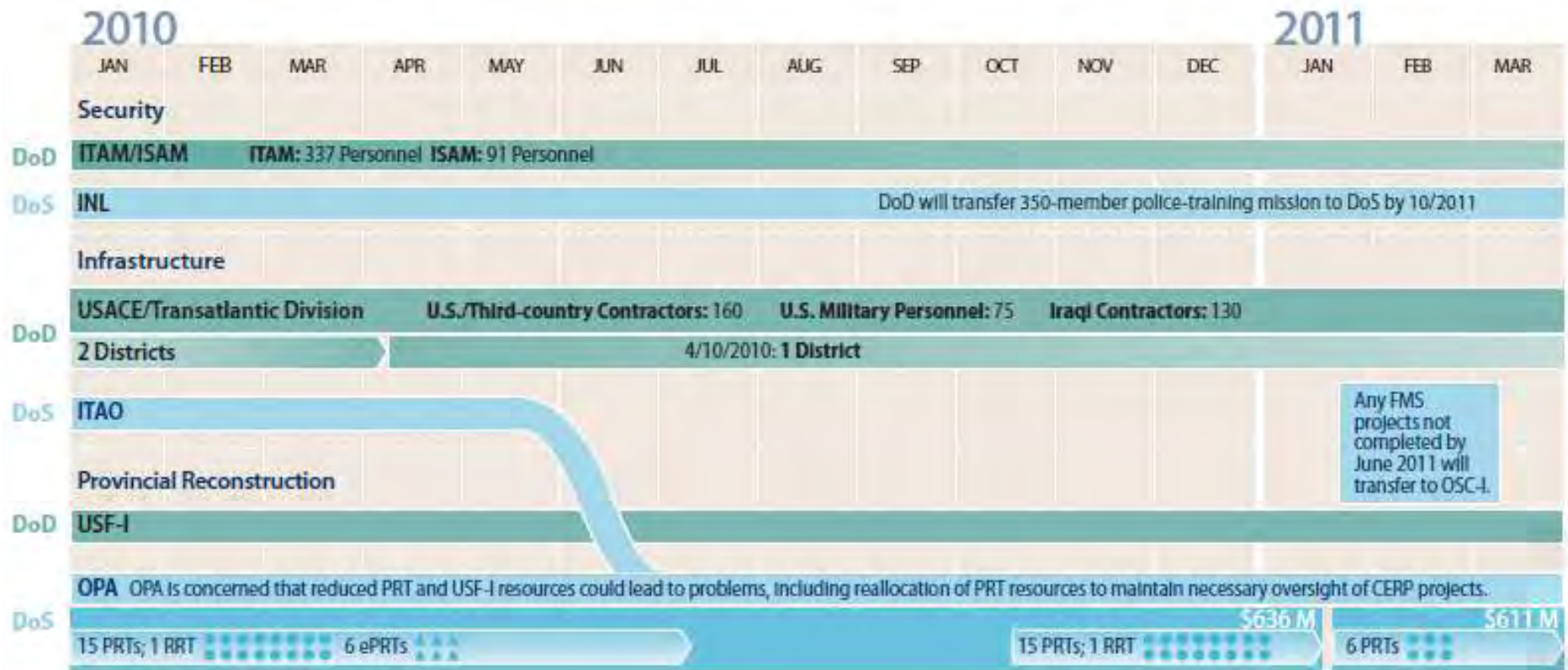


Iraq: Forming a New Government

Action	Time Frame (in Days)	
	Phase	Cumulative
Special needs voting and Election Day	3	3
Tally of results and preliminary results	4-7	7-10
Complaints and adjudications: Provisional Results	30	37
Appeals and Certification of Results	15	52
First Session of Council of Republic; negotiations for selection of Speaker (maximum of 30 days after certification)	21	73
Speaker elected	30	103
Council of the Republic elects President and other members of the Presidential Council	30	133
Prime Minister nominated (maximum of 15 days)	15	148
Prime Minister picks Council of Ministers. (maximum of 30 days)	30	178
Prime Minister and Council of Ministers sworn in. (Presidential Council must designate new Prime Minister in	30	208

US Withdrawal and Transition

US Withdrawal and Reorganization



US Aid 2009-2010

FY 2009 AND FY 2010 APPROPRIATIONS

\$ Millions

	FUND	FY 2009	FY 2010			
		APPROPRIATION	ADMINISTRATION REQUEST	HOUSE BILL	SENATE BILL	APPROPRIATION
Defense	ISFF	1,000.0	0	0	0	0
	CERP	336.1	300.0	*	200.0	200.0
	Subtotal	1,336.1	300.0	*	200.0	200.0
Foreign Operations	ESF	439.0	415.7	400.0	375.0	382.5
	INCLE	20.0	52.0	52.0	52.0	52.0
	NADR	20.0	30.3	*	30.3	*
	IMET	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	*
	Subtotal	481.0	500.0	*	459.3	466.8
Total		1,817.1	800.0	*	659.3	666.8

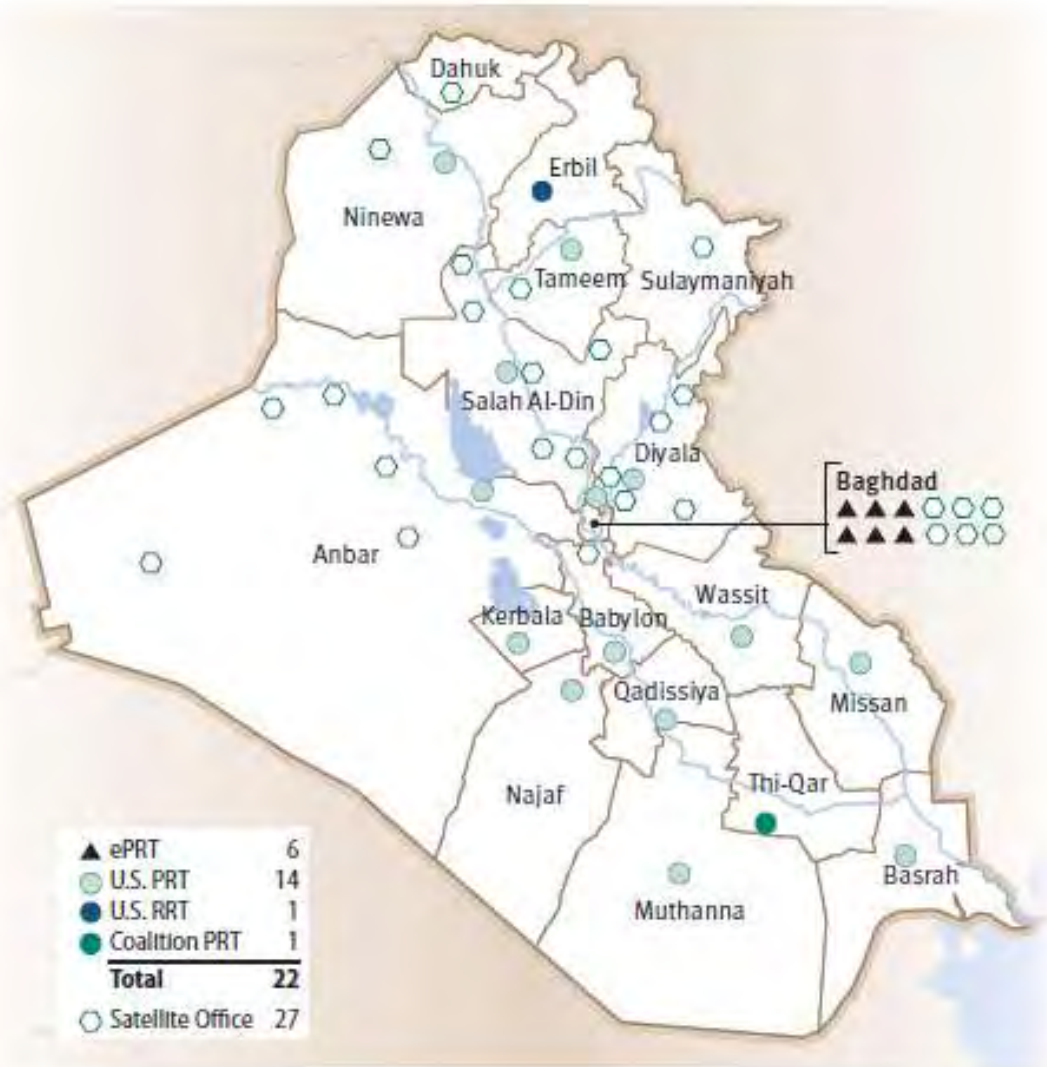
Note: Data not audited. Numbers affected by rounding. The * symbol denotes no specific allocation. The 2010 appropriation provided no specific allocations for the Nonproliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining, and Related Programs (NADR) fund or the International Military Education and Training (IMET) fund, but the difference between the budget authority provided under P.L. 111-117 and the allocations provided for the ESF and INCLE is equal to the requested amounts for the NADR and IMET, suggesting that among foreign operations accounts, only the ESF received a smaller appropriation than the administration requested.

US PRT Changes: 2009-2011

As of 12/31/2009 OPA has completed the planning process for consolidating the remaining 6 ePRTs into the main PRTs in Baghdad and Anbar. This will leave 15 main PRT locations and 1 Regional Reconstruction Team (RRT), along with smaller satellite locations established in coordination with the local U.S. military commander, to focus on capacity-building activities and projects in the immediate vicinity of these locations.

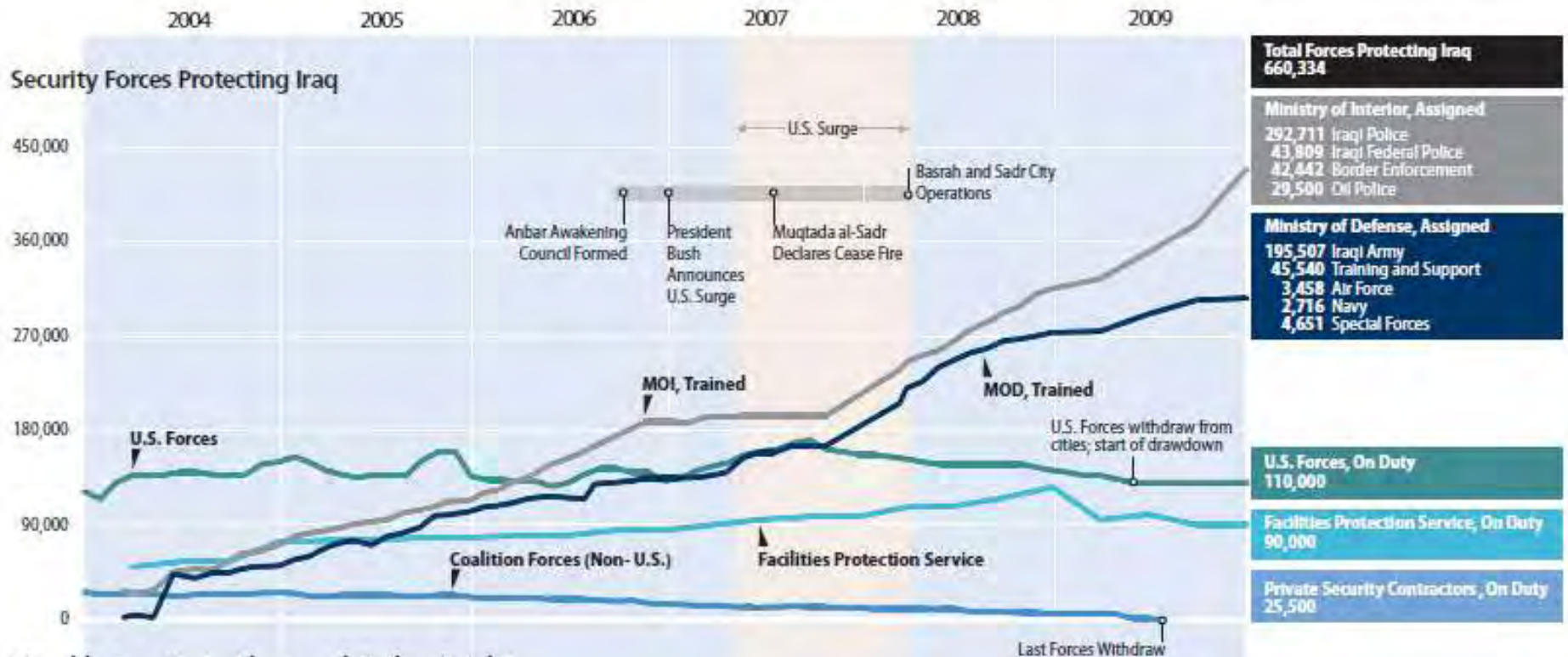
PRT satellite locations remain in operation only if military support is available and only if programs, projects, or engagements deemed vital to U.S. interests remain in progress.

The current PRT Operation Plan anticipates maintaining the 15 fully functioning PRTs and 1 RRT into the summer of 2011. The U.S. civilian presence beyond that time is still under review.



US Withdrawal and ISF Development

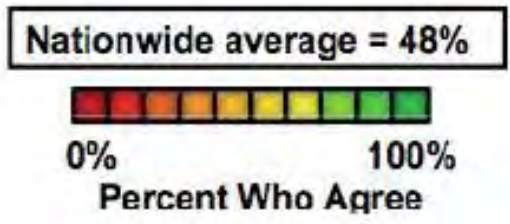
Iraqi Security Forces: 2004-2009



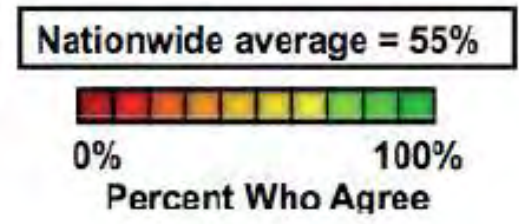
As of December 2009, ISF force strength in the MOI, MOD, and Iraqi National Counter-Terrorism Force reportedly totaled 660,334 assigned personnel. The MOD has approved a force structure that calls for 14 Iraqi Army (IA) divisions; a Navy of 3,800 personnel, including two Marine battalions; and an Air Force of 6,000 personnel.¹³⁸ The MOD has also begun to develop and plan for units across a range of disciplines: engineering, bomb disposal, medical evacuation, signal, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance

Iraqi Views of ISF and Stability: July 2009

Government Security Efforts are Effective



Iraq is Stable

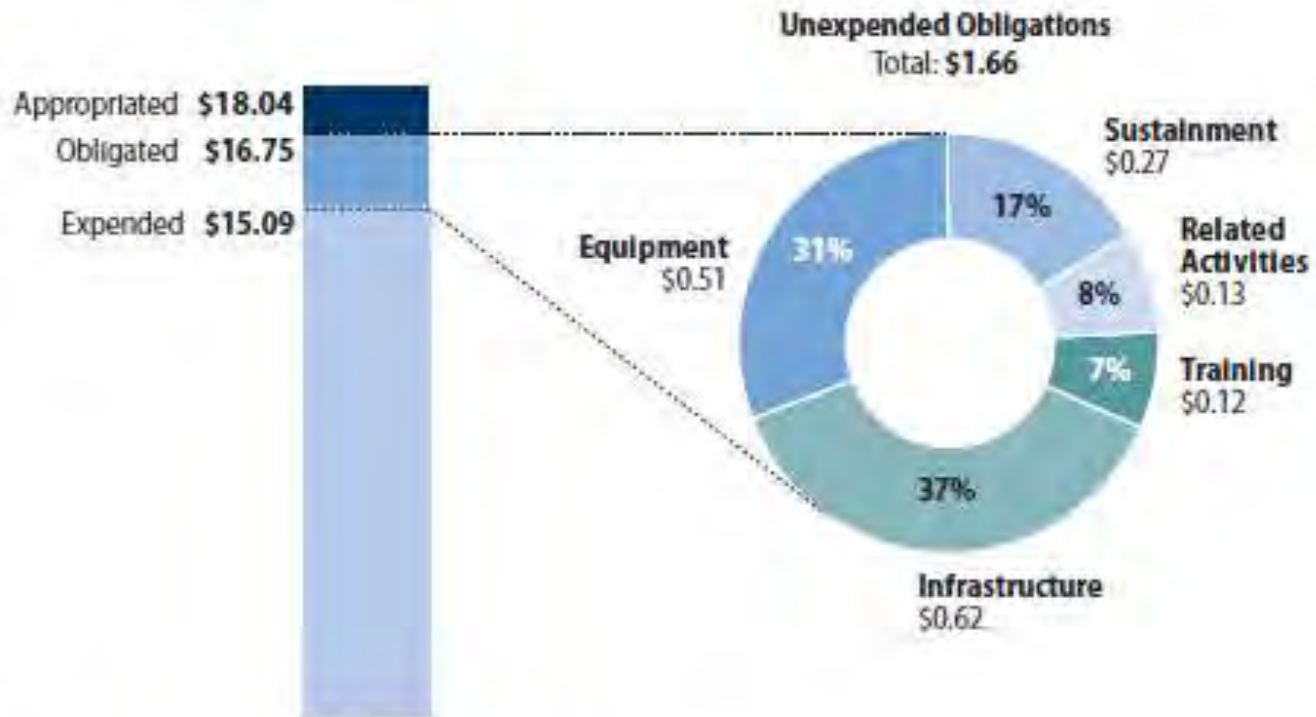


July 2009

US ISFF Funding

ISFF: STATUS OF FUNDS

\$ Billions



Note: Data not audited. Numbers affected by rounding.

US ISFF Funding By Ministry

ISFF: STATUS OF FUNDS, BY MINISTRY AND SUB-ACTIVITY GROUP

\$Millions

MINISTRY	SUB-ACTIVITY GROUP	STATUS OF FUNDS			QUARTERLY CHANGE	
		ALLOCATED	OBLIGATED	EXPENDED	OBLIGATED	EXPENDED
Defense	Infrastructure	3,272.1	3,084.7	2,740.8	-3.3 (0%)	45.1 (2%)
	Equipment	4,694.9	4,412.0	4,155.6	18.6 (0%)	115.3 (3%)
	Training	612.8	428.1	372.2	26.6 (7%)	46.2 (14%)
	Sustainment	1940.2	1,858.5	1,649.8	25.4 (1%)	0.7 (0%)
	MOD Subtotal	10,520.0	9,783.4	8,918.4	67.3 (1%)	207.3 (2%)
Interior	Infrastructure	1,447.8	1,377.5	1,102.2	-2.1 (0%)	35.0 (3%)
	Equipment	1,899.2	1,699.8	1,441.4	-35.3 (-2%)	140.0 (11%)
	Training	2,585.4	2,422.3	2,359.6	23.6 (1%)	87.6 (4%)
	Sustainment	610.5	594.5	529.0	16.7 (3%)	7.5 (1%)
	MOI Subtotal	6,542.9	6,094.1	5,432.3	2.8 (0%)	270.1 (5%)
Other	Subtotal	976.4	868.1	737.3	2.9 (0%)	39.4 (6%)
Total		18,039.3	16,745.5	15,088.0	73.0 (0%)	516.8 (4%)

Note: Data not audited. Numbers affected by rounding.

US Equipment Draw Down and Transfer

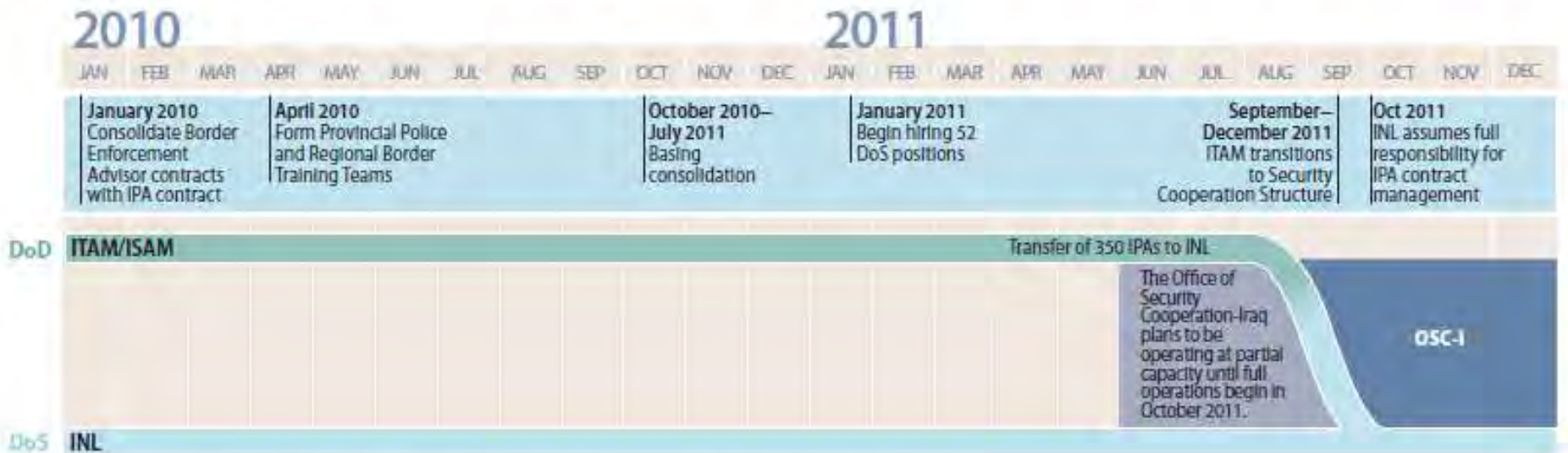
DISPOSITION OF U.S. EQUIPMENT

Pieces of Equipment, Millions



US Changes in Police Training

TRANSITION OF IRAQI POLICE TRAINING, 1/2010–12/2011



Note: The nature of this transition is still in the planning stages, and final decisions have not been made.

Iraqi Budgets and How Much Hinges on Oil

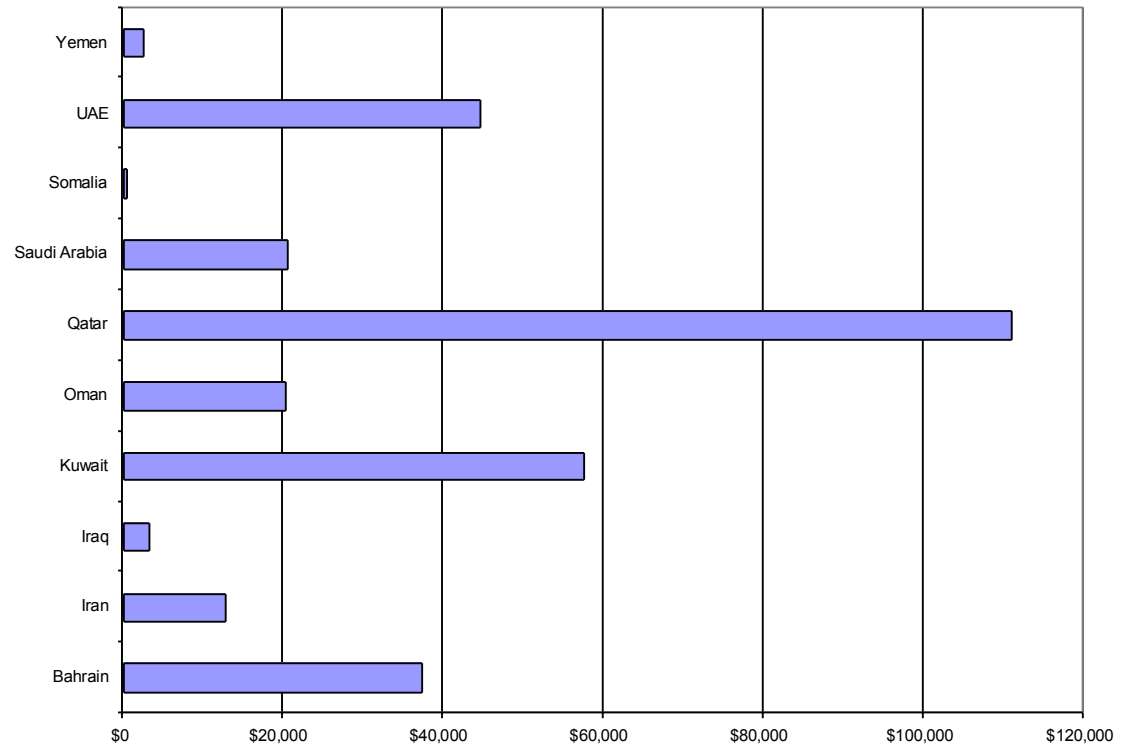
The Truth About Iraq's Oil Wealth: Poverty on the Surface; Potential Underground

Ranks 162nd in the World in Per Capita Income: One of World's Poorest Countries

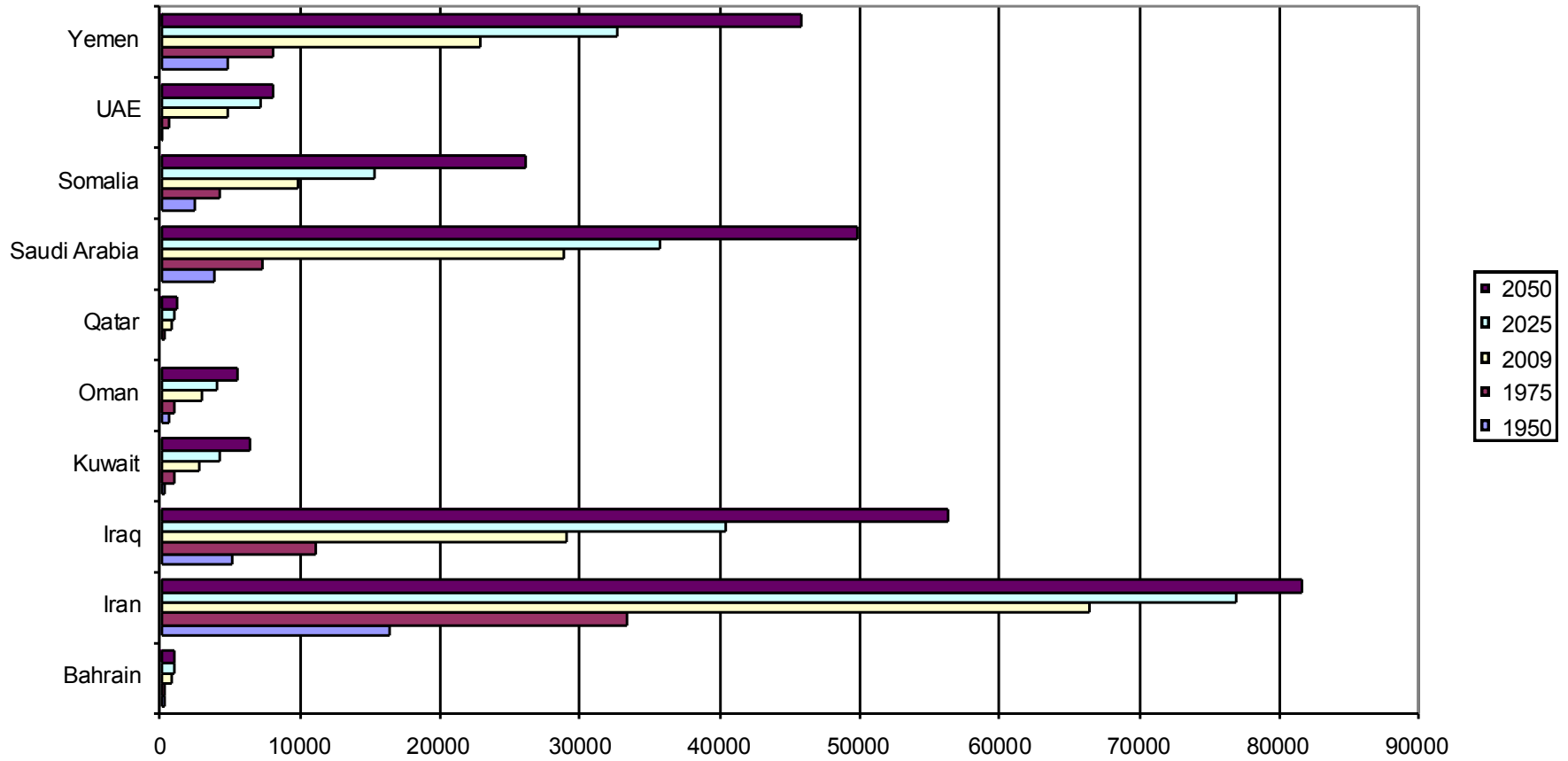
Education and Health systems in collapse

2 million IDPs outside Iraq -- including much of elite

GDP Per Capita

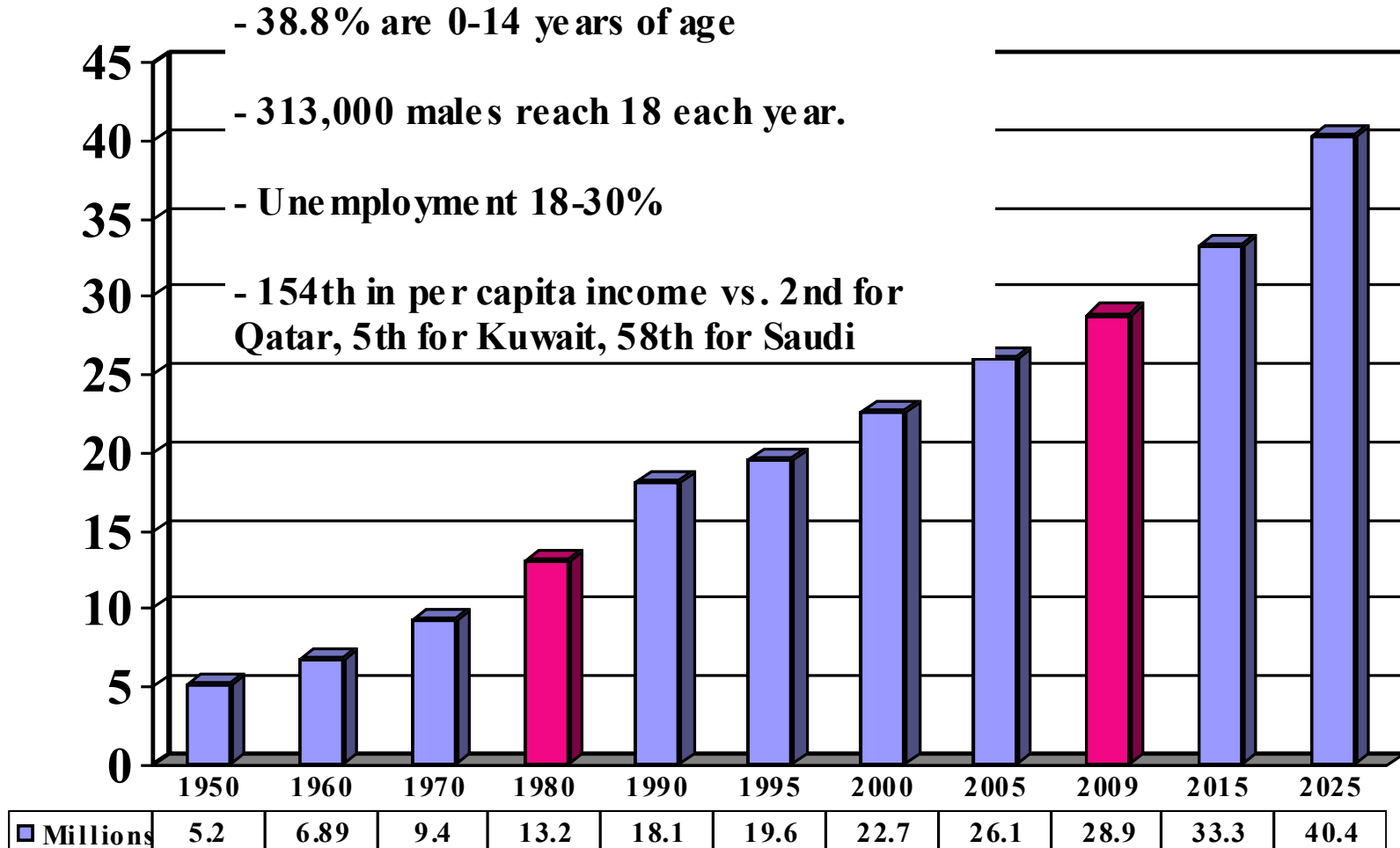


Iraq's Role in the Regional Youth Explosion



■ 2050	980	81,490	56,316	6,383	5,402	1,116	49,830	26,025	8,019	45,781
▣ 2025										
▣ 2009										
■ 1975										
▣ 1950										

The Broader Demographic Pressure



Source: US Census Bureau, IDB, 28-7-09

Iraqi Budgets: 2007-2009

COMPARISON OF GOI BUDGETS, 2007-2010

\$ Billions

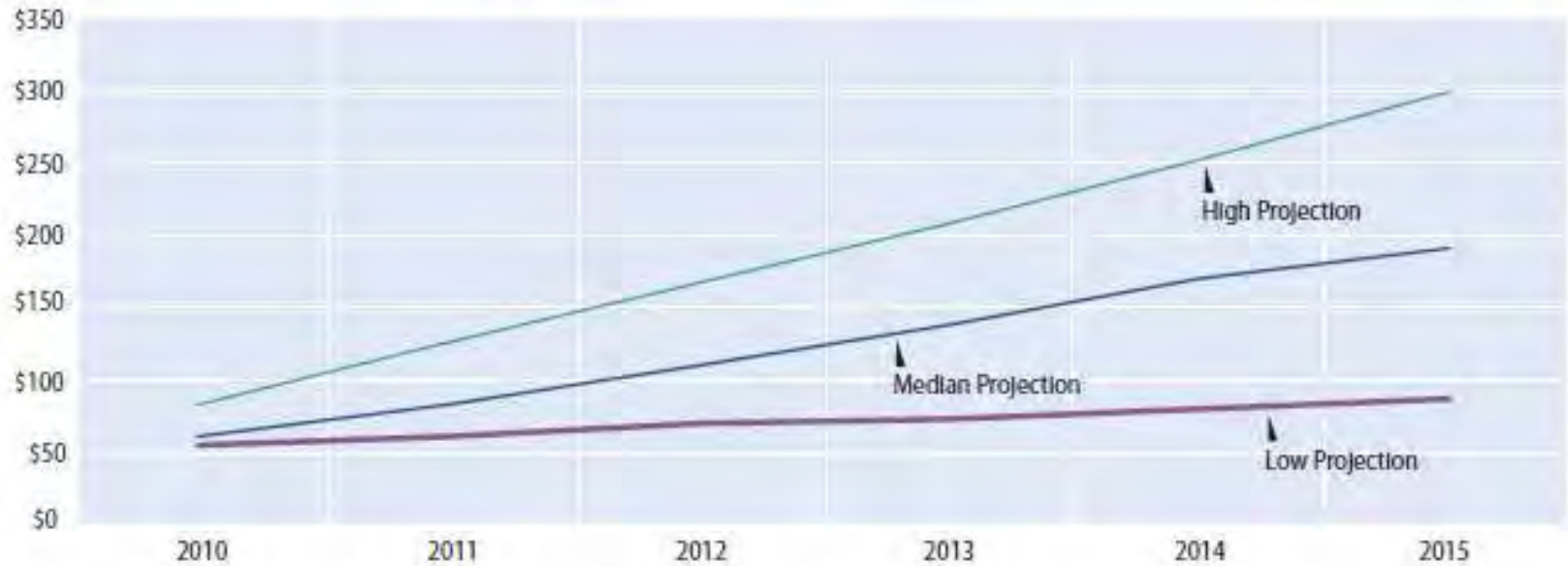
	MINISTRY/AGENCY	2007	2008	2009	2010
Revenue	Oil	31.00	63.10	36.50	47.91
	Other	2.40	7.00	6.20	4.86
Total Revenue		33.38	70.10	42.70	52.77
Operating Expenditures	Finance	14.57	25.69	9.74	10.55
	Education	1.53	1.99	3.91	4.31
	Interior	3.14	5.16	5.27	5.89
	Defense	4.09	4.92	3.85	4.52
	Trade	0.03	0.04	3.62	4.03
	Justice	0.11	0.22	0.25	0.45
	KRG	3.19	4.24	5.07	6.03
	Other	4.34	8.81	14.17	15.82
	Subtotal	31.00	51.07	45.89	51.59
	Capital Investment	Oil	2.38	2.26	2.21
Electricity		1.38	2.32	1.08	3.49
KRG		1.56	3.71	1.95	2.72
Defense		0.05	4.92	0.27	0.38
Interior		0.04	0.54	0.22	0.26
Justice		0.01	0.02	0.11	0.13
Provinces (Non-KRG)		2.10	6.40	2.17	2.18
Other		2.53	10.13	4.73	7.89
Subtotal		10.05	21.11	12.73	19.70
Total Expenditures		41.05	72.18	58.61	71.30
Surplus/Deficit		-7.67	-2.08	-15.91	-18.53

Note: Data not audited. Numbers affected by rounding. Revenue and expenditure figures reflect amounts budgeted by the GOI; they do not necessarily align with actual revenue and expenditures.

Iraqi Funding Sources: 2003-End 2009

PROJECTIONS OF POTENTIAL IRAQI OIL EXPORT REVENUES

\$ Billions

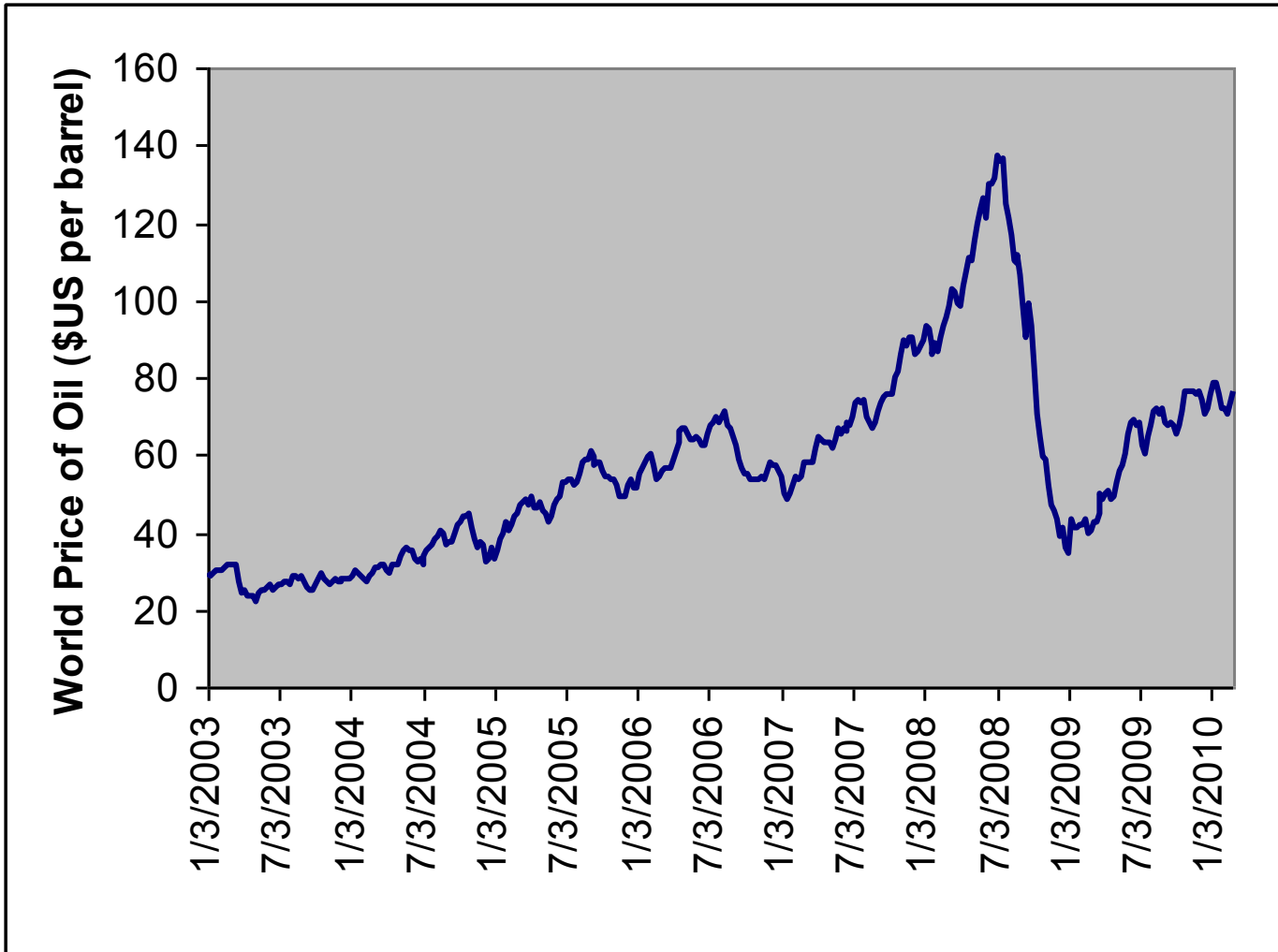


Note: This graphic represents but three of countless possible scenarios. Oil export quantity and price are treated as independent variables. The low projection assumes a slow increase in oil export volume and stable oil prices. The median projection assumes a moderate increase in oil export volume and increased oil prices. The high projection assumes a rapid increase in oil export volume and increased oil prices.

As of December 31, 2009, nearly \$141.49 billion had been made available for the relief and reconstruction of Iraq. These funds came from three main sources:³⁶

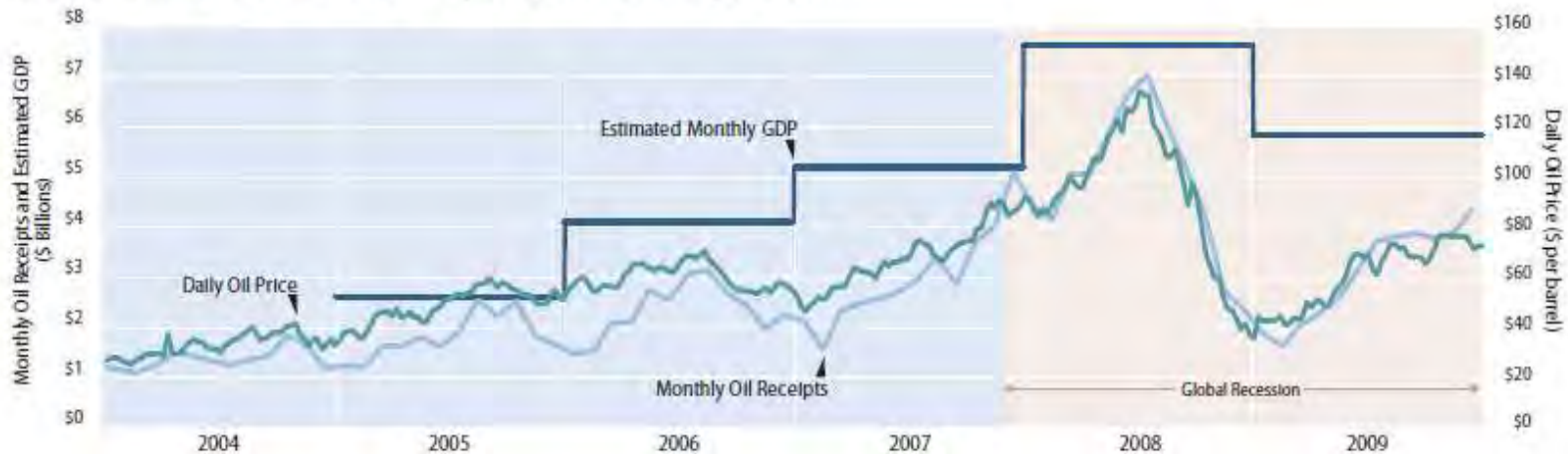
- Iraqi funds that were overseen by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) and Iraqi capital budgets—\$71.19 billion
- International pledges of assistance from non-U.S. sources—\$17.01 billion
- U.S. appropriations—\$53.30 billion CPA Era

Iraqi World Price of Oil (\$US/per barrel) 2003-2010



Iraq: The Cost-Benefit of Oil

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRICE OF OIL, IRAQI OIL RECEIPTS, AND GDP

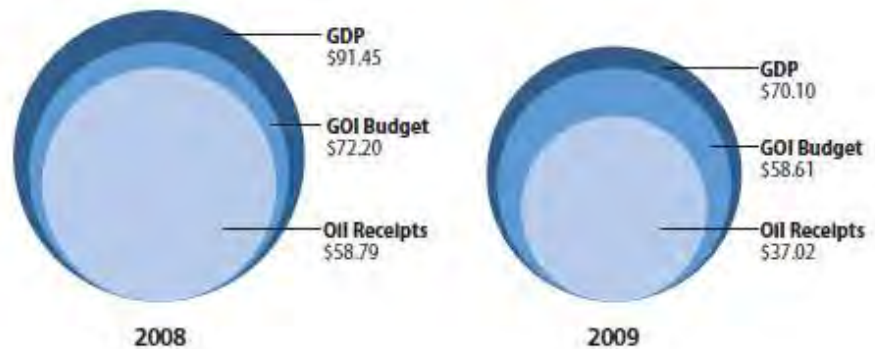


OPEC Oil Export Revenues, 2009

	NET (\$ BIL)	PER CAPITA (\$)	% OF GDP
Angola	42.2	3,294	61%
Libya	34.3	5,421	57%
Iraq	37.2	1,284	53%
Saudi Arabia	154.2	5,368	41%
Kuwait	46.0	17,061	40%
Algeria	42.7	1,250	32%
Nigeria	46.1	325	28%
Qatar	24.0	25,221	26%
UAE	52.2	10,863	23%
Iran	54.6	821	16%
Ecuador	5.8	411	10%
Venezuela	33.3	1,239	9%
OPEC	572.6	1,553	28%

Iraqi Oil Receipts, Budget, and GDP, 2008–2009

\$ Billions



Notes: Weekly Iraq Kirkuk netback price at U.S. Gulf used for all oil price descriptions, depictions, and analysis. All dollar values in current prices. Iraqi GDP is not available from the IMF for 2004; GDP figures from 2007–2009 are estimates. Data not audited. Numbers affected by rounding.

Bidding for Oil by Field: 2009



Note: These second-round fields or projects received no bids: East Baghdad (north and central); Middle Furat (Kifl, West Kifl, Merjan); and Eastern Fields (Gilabat, Khashem Al-Ahmar, Nau Doman, Qumar).

Bidding for Oil - Who Got What: 2009

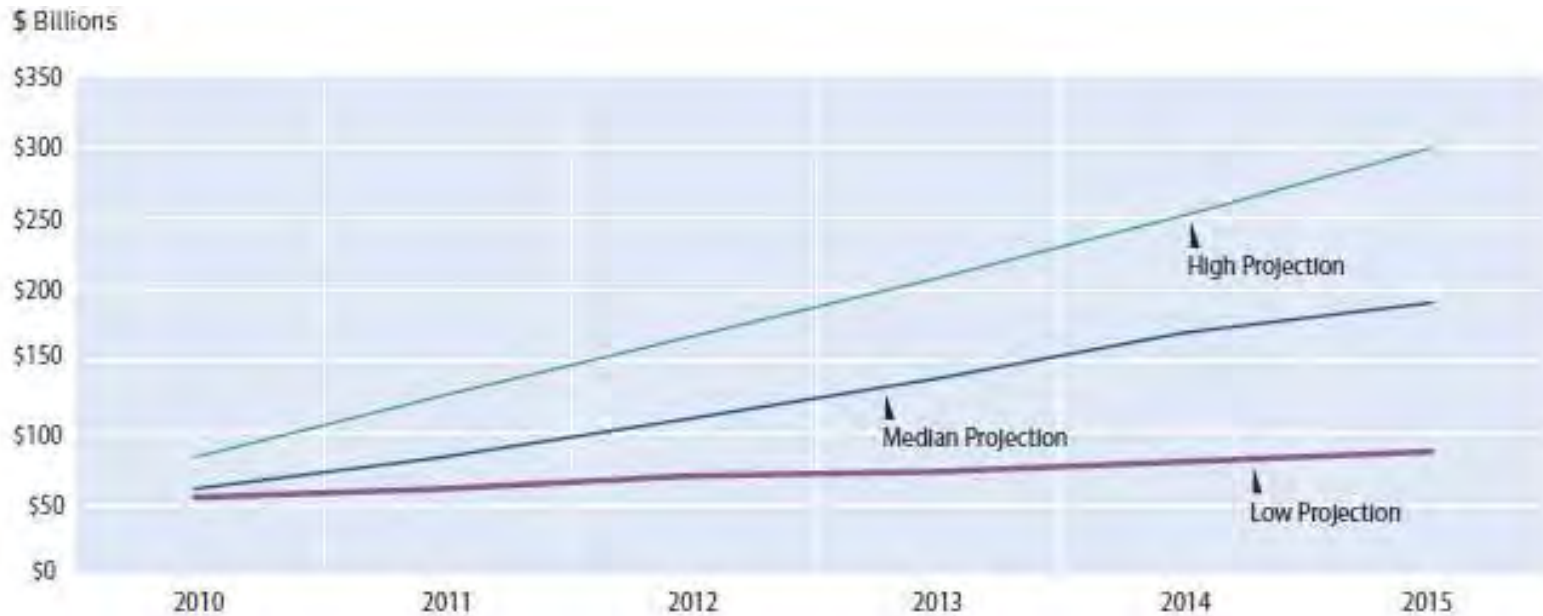
OIL FIELD	BIDDING CONSORTIUM ^a	PROVED RESERVES (BILLION BARRELS)	CURRENT PRODUCTION (BARRELS/DAY)	REMUNERATION FEE (\$/BARREL)	PLATEAU PRODUCTION COMMITMENT (BARRELS/DAY)	PRODUCTION PLATEAU PERIOD (YEARS)	SIGNATURE BONUS ^b (\$ MILLIONS)
Project Round 1							
Rumaila	BP (51%), CNPC (49%)	17.8	1,000,000	2.00	2,850,000	7	500
West Qurna 1	ExxonMobil (80%), Shell (20%)	8.6	270,000	1.90	2,325,000	7	400
Zubair	Eni (44%), Oxy (31%), Kogas (25%)	4	205,000	2.00	1,200,000	7	300
Project Round 2							
Majnoon	Shell (60%), Petronas (40%)	12.6	55,000	1.39	1,800,000	10	150
Halfaya	CNPC (50%), Petronas (25%), Total (25%)	4.1	3,000	1.40	535,000	13	150
Qaiyarah	Sonangol (100%)	0.8	2,000	5.00	120,000	9	100
West Qurna 2	Lukoil (75%), Statoil (25%)	12.9	0	1.15	1,800,000	13	150
Badra	Gazprom (40%), Kogas (30%), Petronas (20%), TPAO (10%)	0.1	0	5.50	170,000	7	100
Garraf	Petronas (60%), Japex (40%)	0.9	0	1.49	230,000	13	100
Najma	Sonangol (100%)	0.9	0	6.00	110,000	9	100
Total		62.7	1,535,000		11,140,000		2,050

Note: Numbers affected by rounding.

^a Key to acronyms and national affiliation: BP = Royal British Petroleum (United Kingdom), CNPC = China National Petroleum Corporation (China), ExxonMobil (United States), Shell = Royal Dutch Shell (United Kingdom), Eni (Italy), Oxy = Occidental Petroleum (United States), Kogas = Korea Gas Corporation (Korea), Petronas (Malaysia), Total (France), Sonangol (Angola), Lukoil (Russia), Statoil (Norway), Gazprom (Russia), TPAO = Turkish Petroleum Corporation (Turkey), Japex = Japan Petroleum Exploration Company (Japan).

^b A signature bonus is a non-recoverable sum of money that the winning bidder agrees to pay to the GOI upon award of the contract.

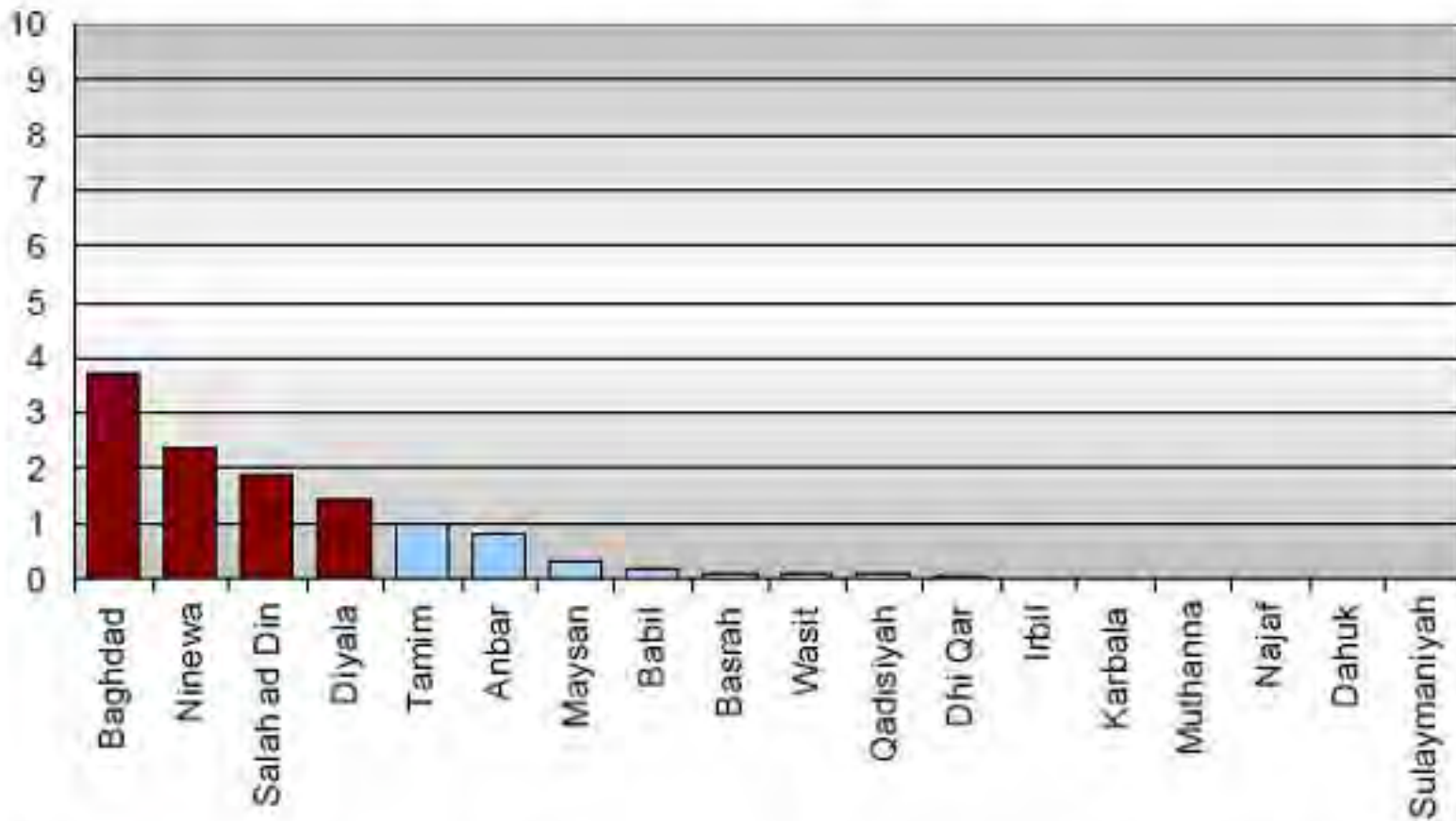
Projections of Possible Oil Revenues



Note: This graphic represents but three of countless possible scenarios. Oil export quantity and price are treated as independent variables. The low projection assumes a slow increase in oil export volume and stable oil prices. The median projection assumes a moderate increase in oil export volume and increased oil prices. The high projection assumes a rapid increase in oil export volume and increased oil prices.

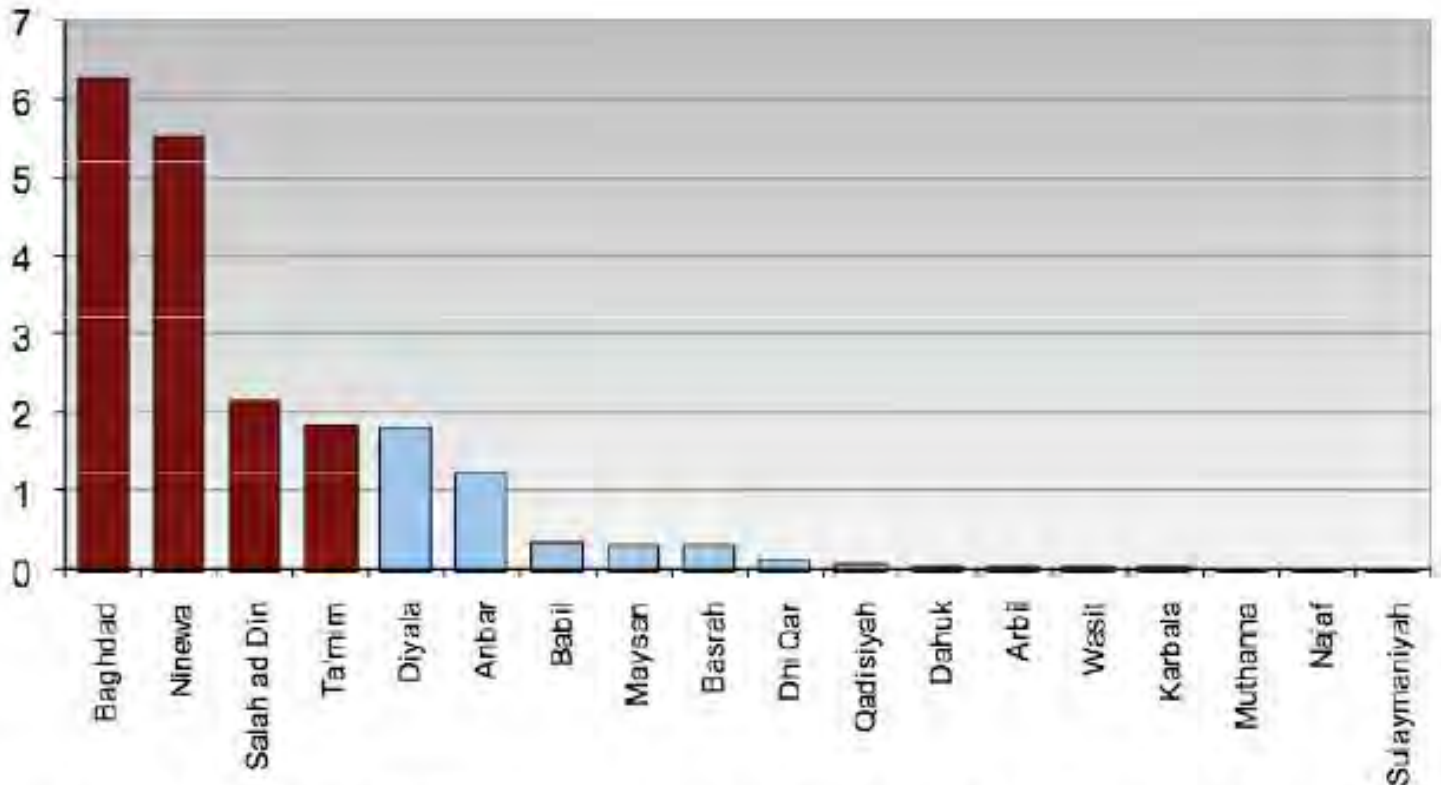
Back Up Slides

Average Daily Executed Attacks by Province December 1, 2008 – February 28, 2009



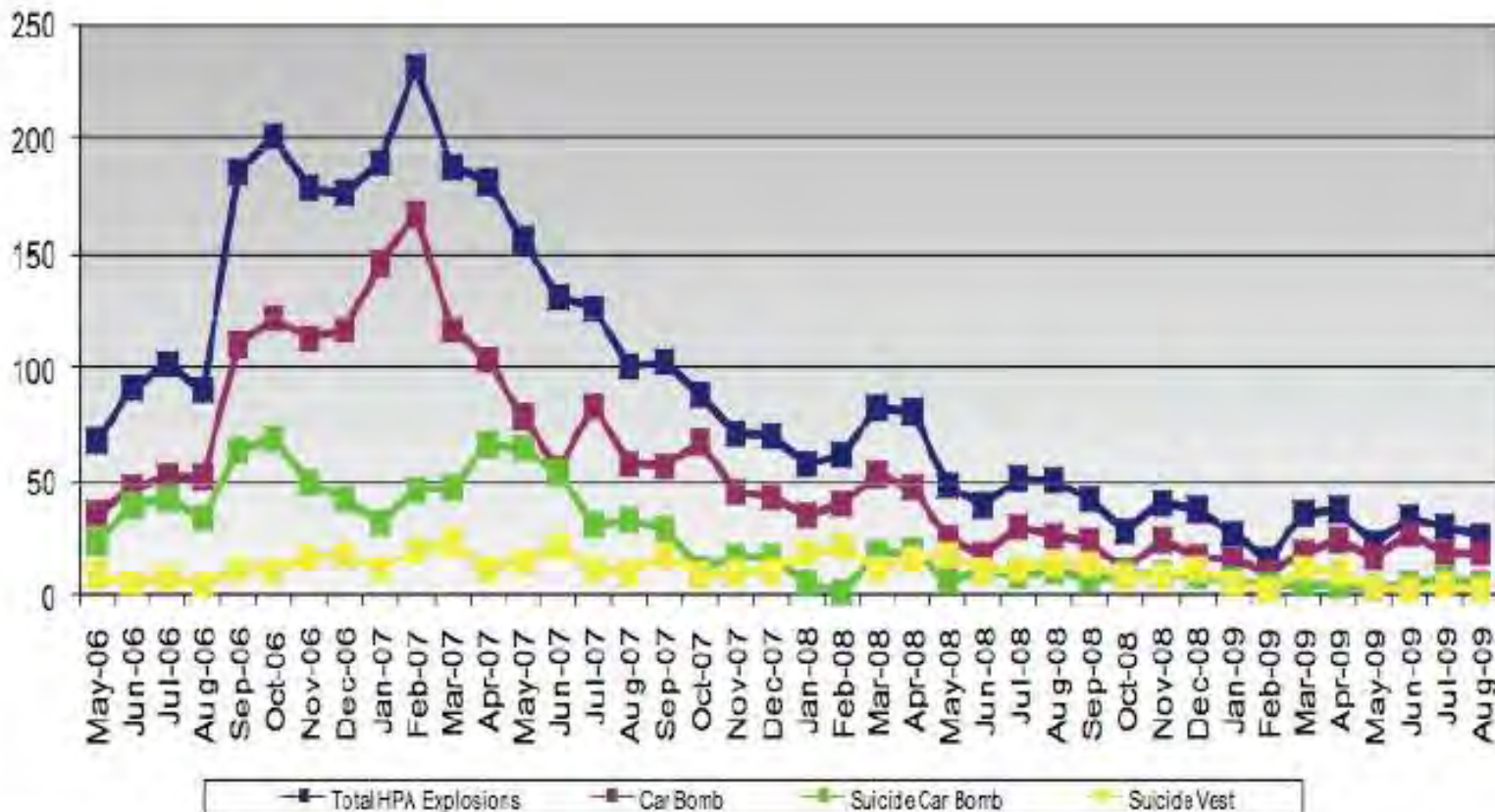
Source: MNF-I CJ5 Assessments. SIGACTS III Database (Coalition Reports only) as of February 28, 2009. Data reflects executed enemy attacks targeted against coalition, ISF, civilians, Iraqi infrastructure and government organizations. Does not include IEDs and mines found and cleared.

Average Daily Attacks by Province, June 1, 2009 - August 31, 2009



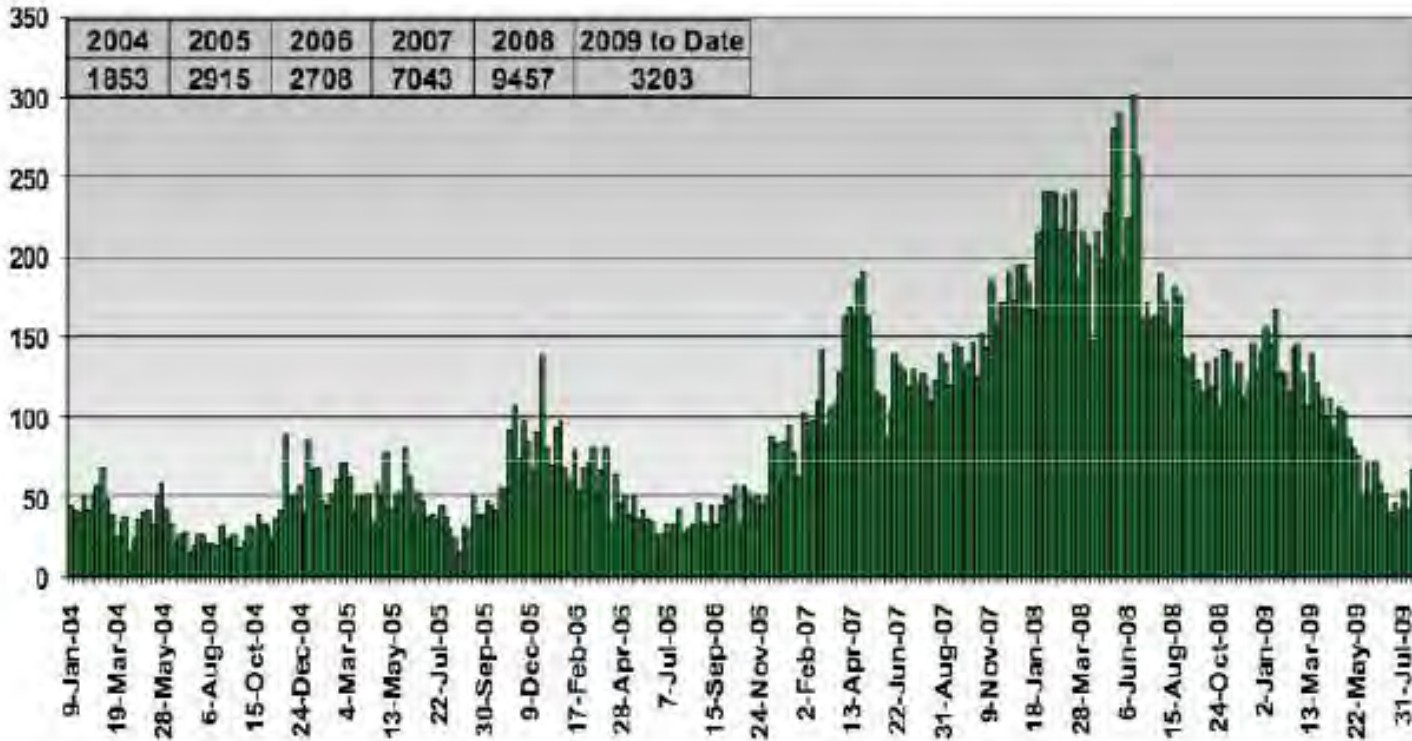
Source: MNF-ICJIS Assessments, SIGACTS (I) Database (Coalition and Iraqi Reports) as of August 31, 2009. Data reflects executed enemy attacks targeted against coalition, ISF, civilians, Iraqi infrastructure and government organizations. Does not include IEDs and mines found and cleared. As a result of the June 30, 2009 withdrawal from cities, U.S. forces must now rely on host nation reporting as the primary data source. Current charts now show a combination of Coalition and host nation reported data. The combination of these reports causes baseline numbers to increase, making it difficult to directly compare these charts with those presented in previous publications of this report.

High Profile Attacks (Bombings), May 2006 - August 2009



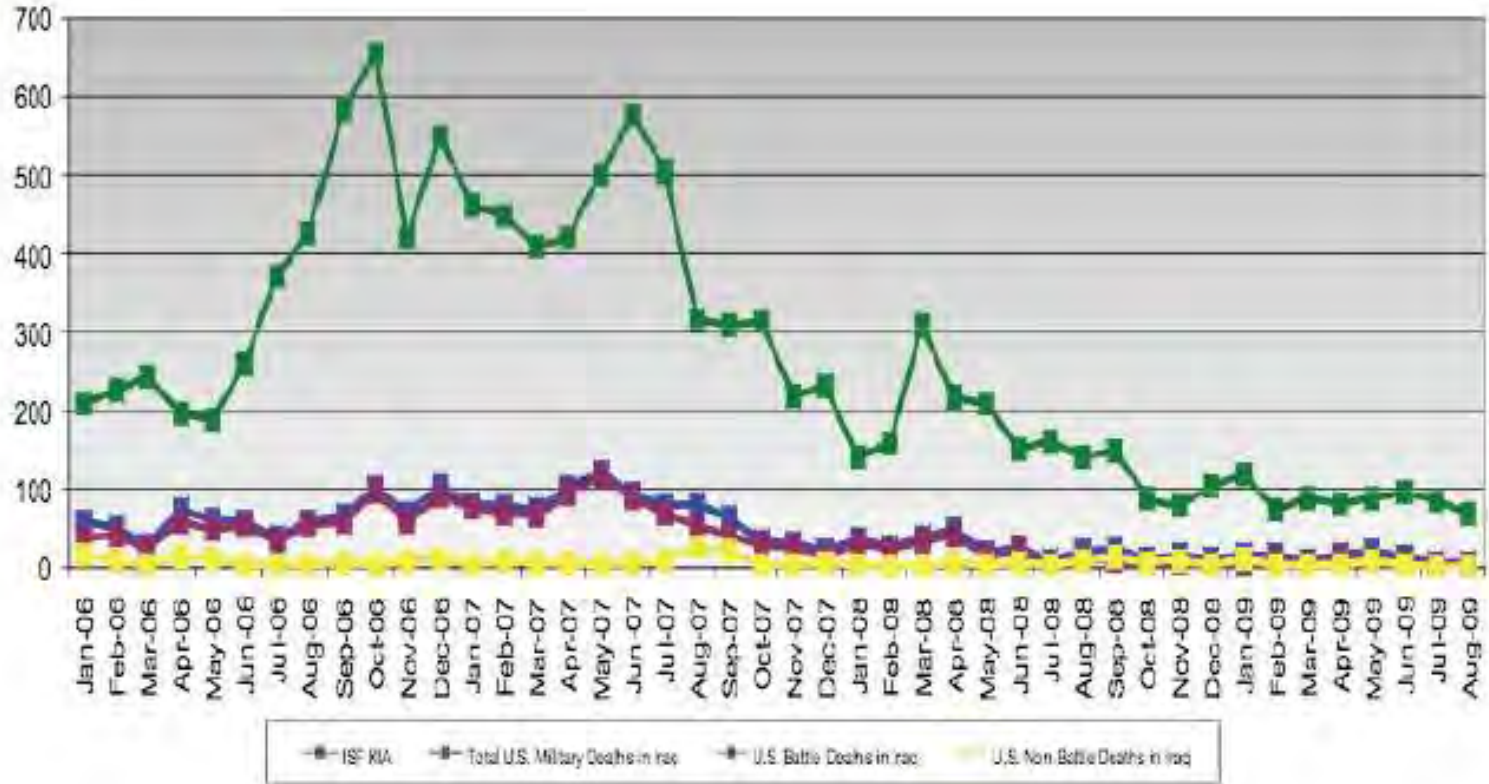
Source: MNF-I CJ5 Assessments. SIGACTS III Database (Coalition and Iraqi Reports) as of August 31, 2009. Does not include found and cleared. As a result of the June 30, 2009 withdrawal from cities, U.S. forces must now rely on host nation reporting as the primary data source. Current charts now show a combination of Coalition and host nation reported data. The combination of these reports causes baseline numbers to increase, making it difficult to directly compare these charts with those presented in previous publications of this report.

Weapons Caches Found by Iraqi & MNF-I forces), January 3, 2004 - August 28, 2009



Source: MNF-I CJ5 Assessments - SIGACTS II Database (Coalition and Iraqi Reports) as of August 28, 2009. Chart includes caches and explosive remnants of war. As a result of the June 30, 2009 withdrawal from cities, U.S. forces must now rely on host nation reporting as the primary data source. Current charts now show a combination of Coalition and host nation reported data. The combination of these reports causes baseline numbers to increase, making it difficult to directly compare these charts with those presented in previous publications of this report.

ISF and MNF-I Military Deaths, January 2006 - August 2009



Source: MNF-I CJ5 Assessments SIGACTS III Database (Coalition and Iraqi Reports), DoD News Releases and CIDNE as of August 31, 2009. Includes deaths within Iraq only. U.S. deaths under investigation are classified as battle deaths. As a result of the June 30, 2009 withdrawal from cities, U.S. forces must now rely on host nation reporting as the primary data source. Current charts now show a combination of Coalition and host nation reported data. The combination of these reports causes baseline numbers to increase, making it difficult to directly compare these charts with those presented in previous publications of this report.