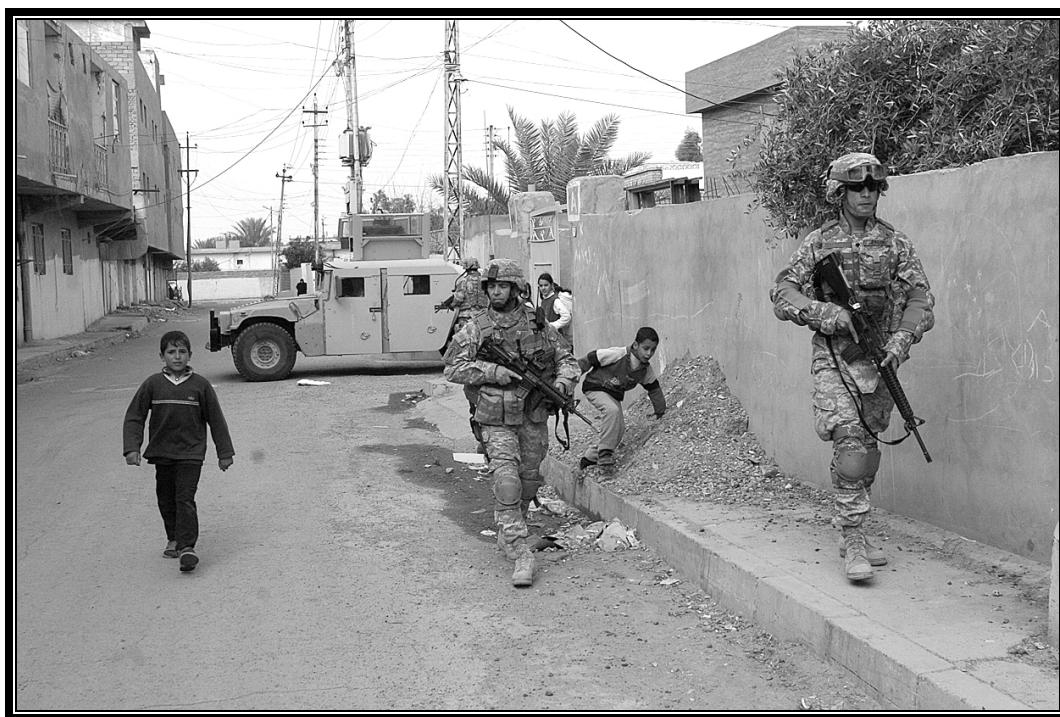


A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of

**THE SPECIAL STUDIES SERIES
FOREIGN NATIONS**

The Middle East War in Iraq 2003–2006



A UPA Collection

from



Cover: Neighborhood children follow U.S. army personnel conducting a patrol in Tikrit, Iraq, on December 27, 2006. Photo courtesy of U.S. Department of Defense Visual Information Center (<http://www.dodmedia.osd.mil/>).

**The Special Studies Series
Foreign Nations**

The Middle East War in Iraq 2003–2006

**Guide by
Jeffrey T. Coster**

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SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

This microfilm edition of *Special Studies, The Middle East: War in Iraq, 2003–2006*, offers researchers access to a rich body of source material documenting, analyzing, and debating U.S. policies and actions in the first great international crisis of the twenty-first century. From studies assessing the diplomatic and military options on the brink of war in early 2003 to the recommendations of the Iraq Study Group in late 2006, the documents in this collection examine a wide range of important issues with timely and critical analyses. Included here are reports of government agencies, transcripts of congressional hearings, communications from the White House, essays from national security experts, summaries of investigations and audits, and strategic research papers and graduate theses from military education and training centers. The collection highlights the controversial nature of U.S. involvement in Iraq in all of its dimensions.

Presented here in the chronological order in which they were published (except as noted in the Reel Index), the reports allow the narrative of the U.S. invasion and its aftermath to unfold before the reader. All but the final three documents on Reel 1 are prewar evaluations of U.S. policy options and considerations of the consequences of a U.S. invasion. A careful examination of these reports and discussions reveals the range of opinions about how to approach the question of Saddam Hussein's brutal regime and the possibility that it possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and supported international terrorism. Especially notable within these prewar essays is the debate over the viability of updating the traditional strategy of containment of Iraq—implementing sanctions, denying full diplomatic relations, and insisting on disarmament inspections. Some voices advocate a bold new approach, including conducting preemptive, even unilateral, military operations to compel Iraq's disarmament and remove Saddam from power. Most analysts discuss the significance of Iraq in the George W. Bush administration's vision of a new national security strategy in the era following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. A series of studies commissioned by the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) examines in-depth the possible international implications of war in Iraq, especially in terms of U.S. relations and antiterrorism activities in critical world regions (see Reel 1, Frames 0846–0977).

Immediately following the successful U.S. military mission in overthrowing Saddam's regime, planning officials throughout the Bush administration—military and civilian—turned to questions of the long-term stabilization and reconstruction of Iraq as a peaceful democracy in the Middle East. Appearing throughout the collection are status reports and critical analyses of various aspects of the three-pronged task of achieving security, reconstructing Iraq's infrastructure, and building democratic political institutions in the country. At the same time, critics of the war sought answers to questions about the prewar planning for both the invasion and the postwar occupation and reconstruction. An overview of each of these four themes follows.

Security

Despite the pronouncement on May 1, 2003, by President Bush that “major combat operations” had ended, the U.S. military mission to achieve long-term security in Iraq has never diminished in scope. Periodic reports from the Congressional Research Service (CRS) provide updates on the state of U.S. military operations. These accounts detail issues such as the nature and strength of the Iraqi resistance, U.S. military equipment and force levels, new enemy tactics and weapons such as the use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs), and the progress of training and equipping Iraqi security forces. Transcripts of hearings before congressional committees highlight the perspectives of administration officials, military commanders, and national security analysts and feature often contentious questioning by members of Congress about U.S. strategy and tactics. Other reports assess the roots of ethnic and sectarian conflict in Iraq and the unintended consequence of the U.S. invasion stirring up rivalries and fomenting insurgency. Many commentators address the question of the U.S. military’s basic approach in Iraq, arguing for the need for a deeper understanding of the resistance and the historical lessons of counterinsurgency operations around the world. Experts assess the place of Iraq in regional and international contexts, particularly the Global War on Terrorism. Perhaps the most obvious assessment of the security situation in Iraq was made by U.S. Army Lieutenant Colonel John C. Buckley III in his thesis on conflict resolution: “As is evident with the situation in Iraq, finishing a war is more problematic than starting one” (Reel 5, Frame 0565). Researchers using this collection will have ample material upon which to assess the causes and consequences of the gap between what the prewar planners anticipated and what actually played out in the first years of the struggle to establish security in post-Saddam Iraq.

Economic Reconstruction

The development of Iraq’s infrastructure and economy after years of neglect and corruption by Saddam Hussein’s regime was always considered a necessary step to stabilizing the country as a peaceful democracy in the Middle East. The size of the undertaking—exacerbated by the ongoing security problem—occupies the attention of many of the commentators within this collection. Under Secretary of State Alan Larson testified before Congress in June 2003: “We are looking not at reconstruction, but at construction, not at rebuilding, but at building” (Reel 3, Frame 0207). As the cost of reconstruction programs and projects mounted, Congress began asserting itself more vigorously as an oversight agency. As conditions remained inadequate and progress slow, the Iraqi people voiced their displeasure, prompting U.S. Congressman Christopher Shays (R-Conn.) to note, “It is as true in Biloxi as in Baghdad: People without electricity, clean water or basic governmental services are understandably impatient to rebuild their lives, homes, and communities. They don’t want empty promises. They rightly demand tangible results” (Reel 13, Frame 0517). The collection includes an array of assessments of the state of economic development in Iraq, from the Bush administration’s emphasis on results achieved (for example, Reel 3, Frames 0955–0978), to the audits and investigations of the inspectors general for Iraq reconstruction, to the charges of mismanagement and failure leveled by Democratic critics (for example, Reel 13, Frames 0522–0534). Documents detail the scope of corruption and fraud by Saddam Hussein’s regime in administering the United Nations’ Oil for Food Program from 1996 to 2003.

Reports from the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and the Government Accountability Office (GAO) document the expenditures from the various funds established to finance Iraq's reconstruction, especially the Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund (IRRF) and the Development Fund for Iraq (DFI).

Political Development

The third main prong of U.S. policy strategy in Iraq revolves around efforts to create a viable, broad-based, democratic, and peaceful national government that may serve as a model for the Middle East. While the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) initially replaced Saddam's regime, it always had an "expiration date" and the objective of organizing an Iraqi successor. The documents discuss the CPA's achievements, analyze its shortcomings, and detail the emergence of an Iraqi national government through various steps, from the Iraqi Governing Council to the Iraqi Interim Government to the Iraqi Transitional Government, the holding of national elections, and the writing of a permanent constitution. Many of the reports and analyses highlight the interdependence of political and security issues; indeed, among postwar assessments it has become a commonplace that stability in Iraq requires more than just a military solution. Assessments such as the Department of Defense's recurring report, "Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq," cite progress made and challenges still ahead in these areas (see for example, Reel 12, Frames 0635, for the July 2005 report, and Reel 19, Frame 1049, for the November 2006 statement).

Also featured in this collection is the report of the Iraq Study Group. Based on the investigation of a bipartisan blue-ribbon panel of former top government officials and advisors, the report contains over seventy recommendations that together constitute a comprehensive new approach in Iraq (see Reel 19, Frames 0965–1048).

Investigations of Prewar Planning

The failure of the Bush administration's strategy and policies to produce domestic stability quickly and decisively in Iraq aroused many critics and encouraged efforts to determine "what went wrong." Many of the documents in this collection, particularly the transcripts of congressional hearings, feature analysis of the Bush administration's political, ideological, and national security motivations. Various commentators evaluate the proficiency of the prewar intelligence apparatus and the administration's use of its findings. Researchers will find three extensive reports on the prewar planning process especially valuable in judging the intentions and preparation by the president and his closest advisers. First, the director of central intelligence ordered a review of prewar evidence gathered and conclusions reached about Iraq's nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons programs, reproduced here on Reel 9. Second, the minority Democratic staff of the House Committee on the Judiciary conducted an investigation into allegations that that "intelligence and facts were being fixed around the policy" (Reel 18, Frame 0696). Their report (Reel 18, Frames 0666–0938) on the "Downing Street Minutes" contains evidence of discussions within the British government as early as July 2002 of the Bush administration's determination to remove Saddam Hussein by force—months before the weapons inspection process had run its course. Finally, two sanitized versions of reports by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence provide an outside assessment of the

intelligence community's sources and procedures in gathering and interpreting information about Iraq's WMD programs (see Reel 19, Frames 0001–0362).

The variety of perspectives is also an important feature for users of *Special Studies The Middle East: War in Iraq, 2003–2006*. Nearly every reel offers material from disparate sources: government assessments, both partisan and politically neutral; scholarly analysis; the opinions and strategic thinking of senior and junior military officers, including some from armies and air forces of U.S. allies. The reconstruction and security efforts are viewed through the lenses of military strategy and tactics, national, regional, and international politics, economic development and financial accountability, and social group relations. The scope of the assessments ranges from the local, such as project development reports on village roads and fire stations, to the global, such as the place of Iraq in the international war on terrorism and the Bush administration's "freedom agenda." The documents in this collection are vital resources for researchers investigating all aspects of the Iraq War and its aftermath.

Many of the government reports are periodic updates of circumstances in Iraq, reassessments of goals and approaches to achieving those goals, and oversight surveys of the activities of U.S. government agencies and contractors. These documents often compile information on specific topics, regions of the country, government contracts, and private contractors. Quarterly reports, for example, of the CPA's Office of the Inspector General (CPA-IG, later renamed the Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, or SIGIR) provide detailed reviews of funding for a wide variety of reconstruction projects under ten general categories: security and law enforcement; justice, public safety, infrastructure, and civil society; electricity; oil infrastructure; water resources and sanitation; transportation and telecommunications; roads, bridges, and construction; health care; private sector development; and education, refugees, human rights and governance. See, for example, the first quarterly report, submitted on March 20, 2004, beginning on Reel 4, Frame 0721. Using these periodic reports, the researcher can assess the state of funding and progress for dozens of projects and follow the activities of U.S. government entities, such as the Agency for International Development (AID) over time. Careful use of the Subject Index, beginning on page 69 of this guide, will help direct the researcher to many of the periodic reports or documents on related topics. By reviewing the documents listed under the heading "Iraqi Armed Forces," for example, the researcher can trace the development of Iraq's new military, its recruiting, training, equipping, and mobilization, and the role of U.S. assistance in the emergence of that new and important institution in post-Saddam Iraq.

Other microfilm collections from LexisNexis that may be of interest include *Confidential U.S. Diplomatic Post Records*; *Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files*; National Security Files for the presidential administrations of Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon; and supplements to the Special Studies Series for regions (including the Middle East) and topics (such as nuclear weapons, arms control, and the threat of weapons of mass destruction). LexisNexis also publishes volumes of documents from the British Foreign Office and U.S. presidential libraries. Series B of *British Documents on Foreign Affairs* consists of eighty-seven volumes of material on the Near and Middle East from 1856 to 1956. Volume 2 of the *Documentary History of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidency* covers the Baghdad Pact of 1953 and Middle East security in the early cold war era.

ISSUING AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

Following are brief descriptions of federal government agencies, military educational institutions, nongovernmental think tanks, and consulting corporations that issued papers included in this publication.

Air University

Established in 1946, Air University offers courses on air and space power to both enlisted personnel and air force officers. Schools within Air University include the Air War College, Air Command and Staff College, School for Advanced Air and Space Studies, College of Aerospace Doctrine, Research, and Education, and Community College of the Air Forces. Air University students and faculty conduct research on air and space power, as well as on education, leadership, and management. Air University is located at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama.

Army War College

The mission of the U.S. Army War College (USAWC) is to prepare selected military, civilian, and international leaders to assume strategic responsibilities in military and national security organizations. USAWC programs educate students about the employment of the U.S. Army as part of a unified, joint, or multinational force in support of the national military strategy. USAWC also supports research of operational and strategic issues and conducts outreach programs.

Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities

The Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities (CETO) was established in 2000 by a partnership between the U.S. Marine Corps and the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, a technology policy research foundation. Located in Quantico, Virginia, CETO's objective is to enhance cooperation between the military and other agencies—public and private—to provide research that can translate into more effective operational capabilities for the Marines and other joint forces in small-scale combat situations around the world.

Coalition Provisional Authority

The Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) existed as the transitional government of Iraq between April 21, 2003 and June 28, 2004. The CPA's objectives were to restore security and stability to postwar Iraq, administer reconstruction, facilitate economic recovery and development, and advance efforts to establish democratic governmental institutions. Led by L. Paul "Jerry" Bremer, the CPA controlled the disbursement of funds from the Development Fund for Iraq (DFI) for reconstruction projects. The CPA dissolved after transferring civil authority to the Iraqi Interim Government.

Congressional Budget Office

The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) was created in 1974 to provide Congress with objective, nonpartisan, and timely analyses on economic and budgetary matters.

Congressional Research Service

The Congressional Research Service (CRS) is the public policy research arm of the U.S. Congress. Located within the Library of Congress, CRS provides nonpartisan, objective analyses of issues to members of Congress.

Department of the Army

The Department of the Army is the civilian agency within the Department of Defense responsible for the administration of non-operational matters of the U.S. Army. The department is headed by the secretary of the army, a presidential appointee below cabinet rank who reports to the secretary of defense. In addition to internal functions, including the office of the inspector general, the department is responsible for public affairs and interaction with Congress, the president, and other executive branch agencies.

Department of Defense

The Department of Defense (DoD) is the federal executive agency responsible for the coordination and supervision of the three branches of the armed services, the army, navy (including U.S. Marine Corps), and air force. Often nicknamed “The Pentagon” after the agency’s Arlington, Virginia, headquarters building, DoD is the primary civilian agency concerned with national security and the conduct of military operations. In 1947 the modern DoD was created by combining the departments of war and navy under one secretary of cabinet rank, appointed by the president.

Department of State

Within the executive branch, the State Department is the lead U.S. foreign affairs agency, and the secretary of state is the president’s principal foreign policy adviser. The department advances U.S. objectives and worldview through its primary role in developing and implementing the president’s foreign policy. The department also supports the foreign affairs activities of other U.S. government entities including the Commerce Department and Agency for International Development (AID). It also provides an array of important services to U.S. citizens and to foreigners seeking to visit or immigrate to the United States.

Directorate of Central Intelligence

Prior to the reorganization of the U.S. intelligence community in late 2004, the director of central intelligence (DCI) was head of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) as well as the executive branch’s principal official, and the president’s chief adviser, on intelligence matters regarding national security. Since the creation of a new organizational structure under the Intelligence Reform and Terrorist Prevention Act of 2004, the director of national intelligence (DNI) has been given broader supervisory authority over all elements of the U.S. intelligence community. The DCI is now strictly the head of the CIA.

Executive Office of the President

Often synonymous with “The White House” because many of its offices and top officials have headquarters at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D. C., the Executive Office of the President (EOP) includes key presidential advisers for both politics and policy and advisory bodies such as the Council of Economic Advisers, the Office of Management and Budget, the U.S. Trade Representatives, the Domestic Policy Council, National Security Council, and the Homeland Security Council. All high-ranking members of the EOP are political appointees who report directly to the president, rather than to an executive branch department and a cabinet secretary.

Government Accountability Office (formerly the General Accounting Office)

The General Accounting Office (GAO) is the investigative arm of Congress and is charged with examining all matters relating to the receipt and disbursement of public funds. The GAO was established by the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 to independently audit government agencies. Over the years, Congress has expanded the GAO’s audit authority, added new responsibilities and duties, and strengthened GAO’s ability to perform independently.

Supporting Congress is the GAO’s fundamental responsibility. In meeting this objective, the GAO performs a variety of services, the most prominent of which are audits and evaluations of government programs and activities. The majority of these reviews are made in response to specific congressional requests. Other assignments are initiated pursuant to standing commitments to congressional committees, and some reviews are specifically required by law. Finally, some assignments are independently undertaken in accordance with the GAO’s basic legislative responsibilities.

As of July 7, 2004, GAO’s legal name became the Government Accountability Office to better reflect the modern professional services organization GAO has become.

Iraq Study Group

The Iraq Study Group (ISG) is a ten-member bipartisan panel headed by former secretary of state James A. Baker, III, and former congressman Lee Hamilton. Also known as the Baker-Hamilton Commission, the ISG, with key support from the U.S. Institute of Peace, spent nine months in 2006 studying conditions in Iraq and reviewing U.S. policy options. The group presented its report, featuring seventy-nine specific recommendations for a comprehensive change of approach in Iraq, was released on December 6, 2006.

Joint Forces Staff College

The Joint Forces Staff College (JFSC) is an element of the National Defense University (NDU), the nation’s leading joint professional military education institution. Located in Norfolk, Virginia, JFSC has trained military officers for joint command and staff duties since 1946.

National Defense University

The mission of the National Defense University (NDU) is to ensure excellence in professional military education and research in the essential elements of national security. The NDU in Washington, D.C., consists of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces,

the National War College, and the Armed Forces Staff College. The curricula emphasize the development and implementation of national security strategy and military strategy, mobilization, acquisition, management of resources, information and information technology for national security, and planning for joint and combined operations. In addition to mission-specific education, the colleges emphasize developing executive skills and improving competencies. The NDU faculty and students conduct short-range and long-range studies of national security policy, military strategy, the allocation and management of resources for national security, and civil-military affairs. The Joint Forces Staff College and National War College are among the specialized centers operating under the auspices of NDU.

National Security Council

The National Security Council (NSC) is the president's principal forum for the consideration of foreign policy and national security matters. Established in 1947 and later placed in the Executive Office of the President, the NSC consists of the president, vice president, the president's assistant for national security affairs, the secretaries of state, defense, and the treasury, and other officials as warranted. Key NSC advisors include the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the director of national intelligence. The NSC is also responsible for the coordination of policy among federal agencies.

Naval Postgraduate School

The Naval Postgraduate School, located in Monterey, California, is an academic institution with an emphasis on study and research programs relevant to the navy's interests, as well as to the interests of the other arms of the U.S. Department of Defense. Students come from all service branches of the U.S. defense community, as well as from the Coast Guard, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and the services of more than twenty-five allied nations. The school provides more than forty programs of study, ranging from the traditional engineering and physical sciences to the rapidly evolving space science programs. Faculty members, the majority of whom are civilians, are drawn from a broad range of educational institutions.

Naval War College

The mission of the Naval War College is to enhance the professional capabilities of its students to make sound decisions in command, staff, and management positions in naval, joint, and combined environments; to provide a sound understanding of military strategy and operational art; to instill joint attitudes and perspectives; and to serve as a center for research and war gaming that will develop advanced strategic, war fighting, and campaign concepts for future employment of maritime, joint, and combined forces.

Special Inspector General for Iraqi Reconstruction

The Office of the Special Inspector General for Iraqi Reconstruction (SIGIR) replaced the Office of the Inspector General of the CPA (CPA-IG) upon the transfer of sovereignty to the Iraqi Interim Government and the dissolution of the CPA on June 28, 2004. SIGIR is an interim organization to oversee the use of funds for reconstruction programs and projects in Iraq. SIGIR conducts audits of contracts, field inspections, and investigations of charges of abuse, waste, and fraud. SIGIR produces a quarterly report

to Congress on the state of its activities and its assessments of the progress and management of Iraq's reconstruction.

Strategic Studies Institute

The Strategic Studies Institute (SSI), located in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, traces its origin to the establishment in 1947 of the Advanced Studies Group by General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, then chief of staff. The initial mission of this group was to develop concepts of national security in light of the revolution in warfare brought about with the onset of the atomic age. The group was elevated to the joint level with the creation of the DoD.

When the Army War College was reestablished in 1950, an Advanced Studies Group was chartered to consider strategy and land power. The group evolved into the Advanced Studies and Doctrine Division within the faculty of the college. As part of an army-wide reorganization in 1962, the division became the U.S. Army Combat Development Command Institute of Advanced Studies, addressing strategic questions as well as those of organizing, equipping, and preparing the army to fight. The mission became exclusively strategic in 1971, and the institute received its present name. Reorganization in 1973 brought both the U.S. Army War College and SSI under the deputy chief of staff for operations and plans, and SSI became a War College department. SSI continues to provide an analytical capability within the army to address strategic and other issues to support army participation in national security policy formulation.

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College

The mission of the Command and General Staff College (CGSC) is to educate leaders in the values and practice of the profession of arms, to act as the executive agent for the army's Leader Development Program, to develop doctrine that guides the army, and to promote and support the advancement of military art and science. CGSC training, education, and professional military excellence prepare officers for wartime duties.

U.S. Army Judge Advocate General's School

Located in Charlottesville, Virginia, the U.S. Army Judge Advocate General's School is the principal training center for U.S. military attorneys. Courses prepare attorneys for roles in the prosecution and defense of military personnel at courts-martial.

U.S. Army Public Affairs

Army Public Affairs is the agency within the Media Relations Division of the Department of the Army charged with keeping the public and the army informed of issues and policies affecting the military.

U.S. House of Representatives

The U.S. House of Representatives is one of two chambers of the U.S. Congress, the legislative branch of the federal government. Consisting of 435 members elected every two years from districts of roughly proportional size, the House is the body originally intended to represent the people, whereas its congressional counterpart, the Senate, is designed to represent the states.

Congressional committees and subcommittees review bills, hold hearings, and conduct oversight and investigations of executive branch agencies and activities. The most powerful constitutional authority held by Congress is the “power of the purse,” or control over the appropriations of funds from the federal treasury.

U.S. School for Advanced Military Studies

The School for Advanced Military Studies (SAMS) is a graduate institution for the education and training of army officers to develop military commanders and staff officers. Located within the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, SAMS also produces research for top military officials.

U.S. Senate

The U.S. Senate is one of two chambers of the U.S. Congress, the legislative branch of the federal government. Consisting of two representatives from each state elected every six years, the Senate is designed to represent the interests of the states, whereas its congressional counterpart, the House of Representatives, represents the population.

Congressional committees and subcommittees review bills, hold hearings, and conduct oversight and investigations of executive branch agencies and activities. The Senate has significant constitutional responsibilities in the conduct of foreign policy; the body not only must approve presidential appointments for high-ranking positions in the State Department, but it also must approve all treaties. Along with the House, the Senate also controls the “power of the purse,” or the appropriations of funds from the federal treasury.

SOURCE NOTE

LexisNexis filmed this microfilm collection from selected reports published by the U.S. Congress, executive branch departments and agencies, U.S. military institutions and advanced training schools, research centers and other organizations that provided research commentary and analyses under contract to the federal government.

EDITORIAL NOTE

This collection consists of studies and reports published between 2003 and 2006. LexisNexis has filmed all documents in their entirety. Any redactions of material have been made by federal government reviewers prior to the release of the documents.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used three or more times in this guide.

AID	Agency for International Development
CENTCOM	U.S. Central Command
CSIS	Center for Strategic and International Studies
CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority
CPA-IG	Office of the Inspector General, Coalition Provisional Authority
DFI	Development Fund for Iraq
DoD	Department of Defense
GAO	Government Accountability Office (formerly, General Accounting Office)
IIG	Iraqi Interim Government
IRRF	Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSVI	National Strategy for Victory in Iraq
OFFP	Oil-for-Food Program
SIGIR	Office of the Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction
SSI	Strategic Studies Institute
UN	United Nations
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

REEL INDEX

The following index is a guide to the documents in this microfilm collection. The four-digit number on the far left is the frame number at which a particular document begins. This number is followed by the document title, the originating institution and author, publication date, and the number of pages. A brief abstract follows.

Reel 1

Frame No.

2003

0001 Adjusting U.S. Strategy Towards Iraq: Toward a Comprehensive Approach.

National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Charles P. Kosak, Jim Rabon, and Harvey Rishikof. 2003. 27pp.

The authors of this report, published prior to the U.S. invasion of Iraq, assess the nature of the threat posed by Iraq and the effectiveness of current U.S. policies in deterring terrorism. The authors discuss the intentions, capabilities, and vulnerabilities of both U.S. allies and antagonists and examine the implications of preemption and preventive war. Rejecting a continued policy of containment against Iraq, they instead recommend a comprehensive program of political, diplomatic, and economic steps toward stabilizing the Middle East. Finally the authors recommend a public relations strategy focusing on the danger of Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMD)—rather than deposing Saddam Hussein—as a rationale if warfare becomes necessary.

0028 Between Iraq and a Hard Place: U.S. Policy Toward Iraq.

National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Thomas H. Harvey. 2003. 26pp.

The author of this report, published prior to the U.S. invasion, considers the ends, means, opportunities, and risks involved in various U.S. policy options on Iraq. In arguing for a modified form of containment of Iraq, the author cautions that a U.S. invasion “would saddle the US with a long-term occupation and nation building responsibility, drain precious resources from the more pressing war on terrorism, and damage US relations with a host of countries worldwide” (Frame 0051).

0054 Confronting Iraq's WMD Threat: Coercive Inspections or Military Intervention.

National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Lawrence S. Reed. 2003. 30pp.

The author examines “new forms of compellence” for eliminating the threats posed by Saddam Hussein's regime (Frame 0056). Arguing that the long-held U.S. policies of deterrence and containment are no longer viable, the author recommends vigorous inspections coupled with a realistic threat of military action to coerce Iraqi disarmament, noting that the new approach must have the support of other international allies.

0084 Critical Analysis of U.S. Policy and Options in Dealing with Iraq.

National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Donald H. Berchhoff. 2003. 33pp.

The author of this thesis assesses Iraq's threat to vital U.S. national interests and the possibilities for diminishing that threat without military intervention. In examining the international and domestic political contexts and the diplomatic, economic, and military options available, the author recommends a firm approach to eliminating Iraq's WMD capabilities and strengthening opposition to Saddam's regime. The author notes that "the US must resist engaging Iraq unilaterally, as this will only increase international tension and fuel anti-American sentiment around the world" (Frames 0106–0107).

0117 Information Pervades All Levels of War: A Study of Information Operations in Iraq.

Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala. William J. Martin. 2003. 21pp.

The author of this thesis outlines the use of "information as a weapon of war," using U.S. military involvement in Iraq to illustrate (Frame 0123). While highlighting the use of information at the tactical and strategic levels of warfare, the author is particularly interested in the less-understood applications of information warfare at the operational level, that is, the planning and coordinating of actions designed to achieve specific objectives. Information operations include the use of electronic and mass media to disseminate political messages, as well as the technologies that allow faster transmission of data between command centers and forces in the field.

0138 Iraq: A Proposal for a Strategy of Compellence.

National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Brian Grosner. 2003. 33pp.

The author of this thesis contrasts the long-held U.S. strategy of containment with a proposal for compellence, an approach more reliant on active military deployment. In outlining U.S. political goals regarding Iraq, the author sees the existing strategy insufficient, arguing that containment has not effectively curbed Saddam Hussein's "aggressive behavior over time," notably his regime's pursuit of WMD development (Frame 0146). The author addresses the moral and practical dimensions of compellence, noting the distinction between the military and political tasks involved in removing Saddam's regime and establishing a democratic Iraqi government.

0171 Iraq: Preemption or Paralysis.

National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Jeffrey S. Johnson. 2003. 33pp.

The author of this thesis argues in favor of preemptive military action by the United States to prevent Iraq's development of WMD. In defending his position, the author assesses U.S. interests and assumptions about Iraq's intentions and capabilities, while concluding that decisive military action is the appropriate response to foreclose the growth of an unmanageable future threat.

**0204 Remove Threat for the World and Establish Peace for Iraq and the Region:
A Strategy for Iraq.**

National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Reiner Schwalb. 2003. 23pp.

The author of this thesis argues prior to the U.S. invasion of Iraq that only a multilateral strategy will achieve the long-term goal of peace and stability in the Persian Gulf region. After comparing the costs, risks, and likelihood of success for three possible courses of action, the author recommends a policy combining diplomacy and force to develop a comprehensive solution to disarmament, peacekeeping, and nation building in Iraq.

0227 Iraq War? Current Situation and Issues for Congress.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Raymond W. Copson, coordinator. January 2003. 36pp.

This report summarizes recent actions by President George W. Bush, Congress, and the United Nations (UN) regarding the use of force to compel Iraq to “comply with its disarmament obligations” (Frame 0228). The authors update the current situation in Iraq, international responses and proposals, and U.S. policy debates, highlighting issues for congressional consideration including the legal and political implications of war, the costs of war and reconstruction, the impact of U.S. action on foreign relations and domestic politics, and humanitarian matters such as relief and refugee administration.

0263 The January 27 UNMOVIC and IAEA Reports to the U.N. Security Council on Inspections in Iraq.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. January 2003. 86pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from Richard Armitage, deputy secretary of state, and John Negroponte, U.S. ambassador to the UN, on U.S. responses to Saddam Hussein’s refusal to comply with the international weapons inspections mandated by UN Security Council Resolution 1441 of November 8, 2002. The witnesses respond to recent reports by the UN Monitoring, Observation, Verification, and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Topics discussed in the hearing include evidence of Iraq’s possession of mobile laboratories capable of manufacturing chemical and biological weapons such as anthrax, and the Bush administration’s efforts to develop an international coalition to pressure Iraq to disarm. An appendix reprints the updated report of UN weapons inspector Hans Blix (Frames 0342–0348).

0349 American Public Diplomacy and Islam.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. February 2003. 97pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from Under Secretary of State Charlotte Beers, Kenneth Tomlinson of the Broadcasting Board of Governors, Andrew Kohut of the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, Kenton W. Keith of the Meridian International Center, and Dr. R. S. Zaharna of the School of Communication at American University. The witnesses discuss “American efforts to communicate with the Islamic world” in the year and a half since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (Frame 0353). The commentators highlight federal programs to foster cross-cultural exchanges and promote positive media coverage between the United States and the Islamic world and assess the impact of U.S. policies on international public opinion about the United States.

0446 Combatant Commander’s Challenges for War Termination: CENTCOM and Operational Design for Post Iraq Stability.

Naval War College, Newport, R.I. Preston W. Jones. February 2003. 24pp.

The author of this thesis argues prior to the U.S. invasion of Iraq that “success will not be measured by the disarmament of an unpredictable menace, but by the stability in and around Iraq following any conflict” (Frame 0448). The author outlines the challenges that U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) and its commanding officer, General Tommy Franks, will face following the end of major combat operations. He also assesses the

resources available to meet those challenges, arguing that planning is critical to create long-term stability in the Persian Gulf region.

0470 CETO Quick Look: Dealing with the Civilian Population in Post-Saddam Iraq.

Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities, Quantico, Va. February 2003. 22pp.

This report reviews the experiences of U.S. military forces dealing with civilian populations in Somalia, the Balkans, Afghanistan, and Vietnam, in order to prepare for civil-military interactions following an anticipated U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq. The report outlines key considerations for military planners, including the need to adapt to urban environments and the specific cultural milieu to be encountered, and recommends a list of topics for training individual soldiers in peacekeeping, humanitarian, and counterterrorism operations.

0492 Effective Transition to Military Government in Iraq: Lessons Learned in Austria Applied.

Naval War College, Newport, R.I. Brendan R. McLane. February 2003. 31pp.

By drawing parallels to the post-World War II occupation of Austria, the author, a U.S. Navy officer, addresses the question of the establishment of an occupation government in Iraq as a transition to democracy following the overthrow of Saddam Hussein by U.S. military forces. The author suggests that the Austrian case highlights several key elements in planning for a new government in Iraq, including careful consideration of the postwar functions for low-level officials associated with Saddam's regime and the role of government in the planning and regulation of economic life.

0523 The Future of Iraq.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. February 2003. 98pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from Under Secretary of State Marc I. Grossman, Under Secretary of Defense, Douglas Feith, former CENTCOM commander General Anthony Zinni, Colonel Scott Feil of the Role of American Military Power, and Dr. Anthony Cordesman of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Committee chairman Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) frames the central question of the inquiry as "What must we do to help ensure that Iraq becomes a secure and responsible member of the world community following any potential military action?" (Frame 0527). Bush administration officials Grossman and Feith outline the coalition-building process and planning for the political, economic, and humanitarian challenges of reconstructing Iraq. Defense experts Zinni, Feil, and Cordesman summarize the security issues to be planned for, such as reorganizing the Iraqi military and police forces and preventing sectarian or factional violence.

0622 Nation Building: Installing Democracy in Iraq after Saddam.

Naval War College, Newport, R.I. Peter N. Turner. February 2003. 31pp.

The author, a U.S. Navy officer, addresses the problem of achieving long-term peace and stability in Iraq following the elimination of Saddam Hussein's regime. The author argues that recent experiences with nation building, such as in the Balkans, have failed, and recommends the creation of "a democracy modeled after the Swiss Cantonal System with Arab peacekeepers in the cities and America controlling the oil and hence influencing the new government" (Frame 0623).

0652 Reconstructing Iraq: Insights, Challenges, and Missions for Military Forces in a Post-Conflict Scenario.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. Conrad C. Crane and W. Andrew Terrill. February 2003. 85pp.

The authors of this report headed an interdisciplinary team that studied the possible consequences of a U.S. invasion of Iraq and recommended strategies for creating a postwar government there. Based on historical analysis of U.S. military occupations and Iraqi culture and society, the authors put forward a “mission matrix” for U.S. forces in postwar Iraq, listing essential legal, economic, political, and administrative tasks to be completed during each phase of the nation-building process (Frames 0700–0711). See Frame 0703 for a schematic overview of the mission matrix and Frames 0720–0733 for a categorized list of tasks and how responsibility for them should proceed from coalition to Iraqi authorities with each phase.

0737 Why Attacking Terrorist Groups in Iraq Should Be a Conflict-Termination Objective in the Coming War.

Naval War College, Newport, R.I. Eric K. Lundberg. February 2003. 23pp.

The author, a State Department foreign service officer, argues that the destruction of terrorist organizations residing in Iraq represents a vital U.S. interest and should be as significant an objective of U.S. operations in Iraq as the removal of Saddam Hussein’s regime and the elimination of Iraq’s WMD capabilities. While acknowledging the lack of strong ties between Al Qaeda and Iraq, the author raises the specter of other militant Islamic groups with key bases in Iraq, links to neighboring countries and extremist groups, and the potential to appeal to Iraqis angered by the U.S. invasion.

0760 Iraq: Reconstruction.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. March 2003. 86pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from Eric P. Schwartz of the Council of Foreign Relations, Dr. Gordon Adams of George Washington University, Sandra Mitchell of the International Rescue Committee, and Dr. Phebe Marr, author of a history of modern Iraq. The witnesses discuss concerns about the length and cost of U.S. involvement in Iraq, establishing the level of security necessary for political reconstruction, the degree of international support for U.S. actions in Iraq, and the extent of planning for a variety of postwar contingencies, including humanitarian needs. Included are an executive summary of “Iraq: The Day After,” the report of Schwartz’ Independent Task Force (Frames 0777–0780), and a prepared statement submitted by Bernice Romero, deputy director of policy and external affairs for Oxfam America, emphasizing concerns about the impact of a U.S. invasion on the Iraqi civilian population (Frames 0844–0845).

0846 Strategic Effects of Conflict with Iraq.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. March 2003. 132 pp.

Frames 0846–0977 consist of a series of related studies conducted by the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) on the impact of war in Iraq on regions around the world. The seven-part series explores the position of major countries in each region toward U.S. military action in Iraq and U.S. relations with countries in the region and how war might affect those. Each part of the series was compiled by an SSI expert in that region.

0846 Strategic Effects of Conflict with Iraq: Australia and New Zealand.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. Andrew Scobell. March 2003. 12pp.

The author contrasts the strong support of the Australian government for U.S. intervention, even unilateral action, with the more cautious approach of New Zealand, which prefers multilateral action through the UN.

0858 Strategic Effects of Conflict with Iraq: Europe.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. Raymond A. Millen. March 2003. 21pp.

The author concludes that “for all the bluster and acrimony regarding the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq, the European Union (with the exception of Germany) will strive to extract the greatest economic and political benefits in post-war Iraq” (Frame 0862). The author cautions, however, that future European participation in the global war on terrorism may well be dependent upon success in stabilizing Iraq and preventing a backlash of terrorist violence in Europe.

0879 Strategic Effects of Conflict with Iraq: Latin America.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. Max G. Manwaring. March 2003. 20pp.

The author summarizes the complex relationship between Latin American states and the United States. Centered on shared regional security interests and growing economic ties, U.S. relations with Latin America often founder over disagreements on the efficacy of U.S. intervention and different priorities regarding U.S. commitments to help stabilize its hemispheric partners.

0899 Strategic Effects of the Conflict with Iraq: Post-Soviet States.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. Stephen J. Blank. March 2003. 22pp.

The author speculates on the indirect consequences of war in Iraq on “the potentially volatile set of regions that comprise the former Soviet Union” (Frame 0903). The author notes that U.S. operations to combat terrorist organizations and stabilize a democratic government in Afghanistan have a more significant impact in Central Asia. Russia’s economic interests in Iraq’s energy sector are also a key potential source of contention.

0921 Strategic Effects of the Conflict with Iraq: South Asia.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. Dr. Amit Gupta. March 2003. 18pp.

The author notes that while both India and Pakistan “have distanced themselves from the proposed U.S.-led military action in Iraq ... the war will not change either country’s long-term relationship with the United States” (Frame 0925) because of the congruence of security and economic interests.

0939 Strategic Effects of the Conflict with Iraq: Southeast Asia.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. Anthony L. Smith. March 2003. 20pp.

The author notes the wide variation in U.S. relations with member nations of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Thailand, the Philippines, and Singapore are more supportive of U.S. policies, while Vietnam, Burma, and Laos are more likely to oppose U.S. intervention. Indonesia and Malaysia, both with large Muslim populations, may consider the domestic political costs of supporting U.S. actions, especially in a prolonged war in Iraq.

0959 Strategic Effects of the Conflict with Iraq: The Middle East, North Africa, and Turkey.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. W. Andrew Terrill. March 2003. 19pp.

The author describes the considerable pressure that many Arab states (especially Egypt and Saudi Arabia) will face in the event of a U.S. invasion of Iraq and the need of those governments to balance good relations with the United States with domestic political and security imperatives. Iran's antagonism toward the United States is not likely to be placated by the American role in bringing down the much-hated Saddam Hussein and may inflame anti-Americanism in Iran further. U.S. allies Israel and Turkey also must balance their support of U.S. actions to topple Saddam Hussein with increased security threats to their own countries, both from within and without.

0978 International Law and the Preemptive Use of Force in Iraq.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. David M. Ackerman. April 2003. 6pp.

The author examines the issue of preemptive military attacks under traditional and contemporary notions of international law, including the provisions of Article 51 of the UN Charter on the scope of the right of national and collective self-defense.

0984 Iraq: U.S. Military Operations.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Steve Bowman. April 2003. 16pp.

This report provides an update of U.S. military actions and accomplishments after twenty-five days of operations in Iraq. The memorandum includes summaries on the background to the conflict, the options considered, roles of other countries and international opinion on the war, an assessment of Iraq's military forces and capabilities, and a consideration of postwar requirements of money, personnel, and other resources.

1000 Iraq War: Background and Issues Overview.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Raymond W. Copson, coordinator. April 2003. 59pp.

The last in a series of reports to Congress on the buildup to war with Iraq and the war itself, this document outlines issues for congressional consideration of continued U.S. involvement in Iraq, including military issues, the impact of the war on U.S. foreign relations, the search for WMD in Iraq, planning for postwar governance, and funding for relief and reconstruction purposes.

Reel 2

2003 cont.

0001 Operation Iraqi Freedom: Operations and Reconstruction.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 2003. 667pp.

Frames 0001–0677 consist of transcripts of seven hearings before the House Committee on Armed Services, held between April and October 2003, on the conduct and consequences of the U.S. invasion, occupation, and reconstruction of Iraq.

0008 Iraqi Violations of the Law of Armed Conflict.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. April 2003. 48pp.

This hearing transcript includes testimony from W. Hayes Parks, special assistant to the Army's Judge Advocate General for Law of War Matters. Parks discusses international law on the conduct of warfare and the treatment of prisoners, violations of that law by the Iraqi military, and U.S. legal mechanisms for prosecuting war crimes.

0056 Operation Iraqi Freedom: The Commander's Perspective.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. July 2003. 88pp.

This hearing transcript includes testimony from General Tommy Franks, the commander of CENTCOM during the U.S. invasion of Iraq. Franks comments on the achievements of the U.S. military and its coalition partners in Iraq and Afghanistan and the lessons learned and improvements made in planning, deployment, and communications. He also discusses the challenges ahead in building a new government, and providing security, humanitarian assistance, and economic reconstruction in Iraq. Other topics include the impact of the war and occupation on U.S. military forces and the global war on terrorism.

0144 United States Policy and Operations in Iraq.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. September 2003. 146pp.

This hearing transcript includes testimony from Paul Wolfowitz, deputy secretary of defense, L. Paul Bremer III, administrator for the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in Iraq, and General John P. Abizaid, commander of CENTCOM. The witnesses, speaking in support of congressional passage of President Bush's \$87 billion supplemental budget request, discuss the situation in Iraq and efforts to address reconstruction problems there, especially security, public works construction, and the provision of essential services. An appendix summarizes the CPA's funding request with brief descriptions of the objectives and needs for various programs (Frames 0270–0276).

0290 Operational Lessons Learned from Operation Iraqi Freedom.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. October 2003. 74pp.

This hearing transcript includes testimony from Admiral Edmund P. Giambastiani, Jr., commander of U.S. Joint Forces Command, who offers an assessment of U.S. military actions in Iraq at the operational level. Giambastiani especially highlights successes achieved in joint planning and readiness among the different branches of the armed services. He also notes areas, such as flexibility in deployment planning and execution, needing improvement.

0364 Iraq: Reconstruction and Rehabilitation.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. October 2003. 106pp.

This hearing transcript includes testimony from Assistant Secretary of Defense Peter W. Rodman, Dr. John J. Hamre of the Iraq Reconstruction Assessment Mission, and David Oliver, director of Management and Budget in Iraq. The witnesses, speaking in support of congressional passage of President Bush's \$87 billion supplemental budget request, discuss security, economic reconstruction, and the development of government institutions in Iraq. Appendixes include a summary of the CPA's key objectives for restoring full sovereignty to the Iraqi people (Frames 0442–0450) and the report of the Iraq Reconstruction Assessment Mission highlighting elements of postwar Iraq needing immediate attention (Frames 0451–0465).

0470 Operation Iraqi Freedom: Outside Perspectives.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. October 2003. 108pp.

This hearing transcript includes testimony from Major General Robert Scales, Jr., former commandant of the U.S. Army War College, Dr. Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, and Dr. Stephen D. Biddle of the U.S. Army War College. The witnesses offer critical analysis of the successes and shortcomings of U.S. combat operations in Iraq and their implications for the future of U.S. military and foreign policy.

0578 Iraq Reconstruction and Stability Operations: The Way Forward.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. October 2003. 100pp.

This hearing transcript includes testimony from Karl Zinsmeister of the American Enterprise Institute, Michael O'Hanlon of the Brookings Institution, and Dr. Marina S. Ottaway of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The witnesses offer critical analyses of the effects of the U.S. invasion and reconstruction of Iraq on the Iraqi people. Zinsmeister contributes the most optimistic evidence of positive developments, while O'Hanlon raises concerns about discontent among the Iraqi people, the high level of violence in Baghdad, and the sustainability of U.S. troop levels, deployment lengths, and combat effectiveness. Ottaway discusses the development of a constitutional government in Iraq, noting concerns about timing the stages of transition to full Iraqi sovereignty.

0678 Prosecuting Iraqi War Crimes: A Consideration of the Different Forum Options.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. April 2003. 82pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs includes testimony from Pierre-Richard Prosper, U.S. ambassador-at-large for war crimes issues, W. Hayes Parks, of the Army's Judge Advocate General for Law of War Matters, David J. Scheffer, former U.S. ambassador-at-large for war crimes issues, Professor Ruth Wedgwood of Johns Hopkins University and the UN Human Rights Committee, and Tom Malinowski of Human Rights Watch. The witnesses discuss the issue of creating a war crimes tribunal for Saddam Hussein and top officials of his regime for the illegal use of schools, hospitals, and mosques and for atrocities against civilians. Specific topics include the historical precedents for war crimes trials and their basis in international and U.S. military law and the role Iraqis should play in the prosecution.

0760 Sitting in the Dock of the Day: Applying Lessons Learned from the Prosecution of War Criminals and Other Bad Actors in Post-Conflict Iraq and Beyond.

U.S. Army Judge Advocate General's School, Charlottesville, Va. Jeffrey L. Spears. April 2003. 132pp.

The author of this thesis examines the historical precedent for prosecuting war crimes represented by the post-World War II International Military Tribunals in Germany and Japan. The author sees carefully organized war crimes trials as an important step in postwar reconciliation between enemies and for "the needs of the local civilian population to see the rule of law in action while learning of the atrocities that brought the war to their communities" (Frame 0840). He also considers the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a form of justice and public healing and makes recommendations for a model that will be most effective for Iraq.

0892 Trans-Atlantic Collective Security in Light of the “War on Terrorism” and the War on Iraq.

Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala. Robert A. Hopkins, Jr. April 2003. 76pp.

The author of this thesis evaluates U.S. security relationships with European countries in the post-9/11 era defined by a new U.S. national security strategy. Assessing the security concerns of key U.S. allies (the United Kingdom, France, and Germany) as well as neutral states in Europe and the United States’ one-time cold war antagonist Russia, the author makes recommendations for improving collective security on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean and preserving political and military stability in Asia.

0968 U.S. Use of Preemptive Military Force.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Richard F. Grimmett. April 2003. 6pp.

The author of this report to Congress reviews the history of preemptive military actions by the United States, especially nineteenth- and twentieth-century interventions in Latin America and the Caribbean.

0975 An Effective Framework for Stabilization and Reconstruction: Kosovo or Iraq?

Naval War College, Newport, R.I. Richard A. Powers. May 2003. 23pp.

The author of this thesis examines peacekeeping efforts by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Kosovo, Serbia, following sectarian warfare in that province in the late 1990s. The author compares the social and political circumstances in Kosovo with those in Iraq to assess the relevance of the Kosovo experience for postwar nation-building efforts in Iraq.

Reel 3

2003 cont.

0001 The French Experience in Algeria, 1954–1962: Blueprint for U.S. Operations in Iraq.

U.S. Army School for Advanced Military Studies, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. Gregory D. Peterson. May 2003. 61pp.

The author of this thesis examines the French military campaign against nationalist insurgents in Algeria in the 1950s to suggest parallels with U.S. operations in occupied Iraq. After tracing the long and costly French efforts to develop a counterinsurgency strategy, the author notes that political considerations eventually outweighed military ones in the resolution of the Algerian conflict. Critically assessing the state of U.S. counterinsurgency doctrine and training and finding them deficient, the author recommends careful consideration of the Algerian crisis for lessons applicable to Iraq.

0062 The Role of the IMF and World Bank in Reconstructing Iraq.

U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C. May 2003. 13pp.

This report of Congress’s Joint Economic Committee discusses opportunities for international investment in the reconstruction of Iraq. Drawing on an analysis of Iraq’s economic conditions, the report suggests ways in which the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) can contribute to the institutional development of Iraq’s financial and trade sectors, particularly in the areas of currency, taxation, and foreign debt.

0075 Constitutionalism, Human Rights, and the Rule of Law in Iraq.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. June 2003. 119pp.

This transcript of a joint hearing before U.S. Senate subcommittees on the Near East and the Constitution includes testimony from Dr. Kenneth Pollack of the Brookings Institution, Dr. Bernard Haykel of New York University, Sermid Al-Sarraf of the Iraqi Jurists' Association, Zainab Salbi of Women for Women International, John Yoo of the American Enterprise Institute, Neil Kritz of the U.S. Institute of Peace, Japanese diplomat Naoyuki Agawa, and law professors Khaked Abou El Fadl, Donald Kommers, and A. E. Dick Howard. The witnesses discuss the development of a new constitution and the reconstruction of democratic legal institutions in Iraq. Islamic history and culture experts El Fadl and Haykel address the relationship between Islamic traditions and democracy. Al-Sarraf cautions that reform efforts must maximize Iraqi participation in the process and deliver prompt results. Yoo outlines the responsibilities and limits of occupying powers under international law. Agawa, Kommers, and Howard describe historical examples of constitution-making in post-World War II Japan and Germany and post-Soviet Eastern Europe. The witnesses emphasize the importance of safeguarding the rights of women and ethnic and religious minorities. An appendix reproduces the Report of the Working Group on Transitional Justice in Iraq and the Iraqi Jurists' Association, a blueprint for reestablishing the rule of law and restoring civil society in Iraq (Frames 0169–0187).

0194 Iraq Stabilization and Reconstruction: International Contributions and Resources.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. June 2003. 85pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from representatives of U.S. federal agencies responsible for stabilization and reconstruction activities in Iraq who address congressional inquiries about funding priorities and how decisions are made about the allocation of resources in Iraq. Under Secretary of State Alan P. Larson identifies four critical sectors for investment and infrastructure development: oil, agriculture, transportation, and telecommunications. Under Secretary of Defense Dov Zakheim outlines sources of funding available for tasks in Iraq, including international contributions, U.S. appropriations, and Iraqi state assets. Under Secretary of the Treasury John B. Taylor comments on currency, budget, banking, and foreign debt issues. U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) administrator Andrew S. Natsios summarizes on-the-ground operations to provide humanitarian relief, restore essential services to the civilian population, and monitor public health and education.

0279 Iraq: United Nations and Humanitarian Aid Organizations.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Tom Coipuram Jr. June 2003. 12pp.

This report to Congress provides an updated list and brief descriptions of UN and U.S. agencies and international organizations conducting humanitarian programs in Iraq.

0291 Iraq War: Defense Program Implications for Congress.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Ronald O'Rourke, coordinator. June 2003. 77pp.

This report to Congress surveys the potential effects of the war in Iraq on U.S. defense programs, including the overall size and composition of the U.S. military. Among the issues identified for congressional consideration are aerial, artillery, and naval operations,

network-centric warfare, urban combat, missile defense, intelligence, chemical and biological warfare, special operations, overseas bases, and reserve forces.

0368 The Objectives of United States Military Intervention in Northern Iraq between Operation Desert Storm and Operation Iraqi Freedom.

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

Michael A. Schiesl. June 2003. 66pp.

The author of this thesis examines the humanitarian, military, and political objectives of U.S. operations PROVIDE COMFORT and NORTHERN WATCH. Conducted between 1991 and 2002, the operations aimed to deter air strikes and infantry attacks by Saddam Hussein on Kurds in northern Iraq while also providing food, medical care, and refugee assistance. The author assesses the effectiveness of these missions in the years between major wars in the Persian Gulf region.

0434 The War That Never Happened: The Sharing of the Euphrates-Tigris Rivers' Water Between Turkey, Syria, and Iraq.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Mehmet Yilmaz. June 2003. 117pp.

The author, an officer in the Turkish Air Force, investigates the reasons why—contrary to the predictions of many experts—competition for scarce water resources has not triggered war between three neighboring countries of the near east. The author suggests that not only has the degree of scarcity been exaggerated but also that Syria, Turkey, and Iraq have cooperated on solutions to their water problems even as they remain in tension with one another over more vexing military and political issues.

0551 Attack on the 507th Maintenance Company, 23 March 2003, An Nasiriyah, Iraq: Executive Summary.

U.S. Army Public Affairs, Washington, D.C. July 2003. 15pp.

This summary reports the findings of an investigation into the causes and consequences of an attack on U.S. forces resulting in the death of eleven soldiers and the capture of six others, including Private First Class Jessica Lynch. The report presents a narrative of events rather than an assessment of decision making and troop conduct. The episode later became prominent in the news media following Lynch's rescue and a controversy surrounding the details of the ambush and her treatment as a prisoner.

0566 Iraq: Status and Prospects for Reconstruction—Next Steps.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. July 2003. 72pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from Dr. John Hamre and the other members of CSIS's Commission on Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project. The witnesses discuss their observations and analysis following a recent tour of Iraq. The record reproduces the executive summary of the team's field review and recommendations of areas requiring immediate attention, including public safety, providing basic services, and encouraging Iraqi participation in the reconstruction process (Frames 0577–0587). Also adding his perspective based on observations in Iraq is Anthony Borden of the Institute for War and Peace Reporting, who suggests several ways to restructure and empower the news media in Iraq.

0638 Iraq: Status and Prospects for Reconstruction—Resources.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. July 2003. 101pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from Joshua Bolten, director of the Office of Management and Budget, and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz. The witnesses discuss the progress of reconstruction in Iraq and the allocation and management of resources for the successful continuation of military operations and political and economic programs there.

Respondents address congressional concerns about the costs of U.S. operations in Iraq and problems stemming from insufficient planning for postwar reconstruction and security tasks. Additional materials submitted for the record include a quarterly report from Bolten updating Congress on the status, costs, and achievements of relief and reconstruction programs (Frames 0717–0728).

0739 “Lessons Learned” During Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan and Operation Iraqi Freedom, and Ongoing Operations in the U.S. Central Command Region.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. July 2003. 99pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Armed Services includes testimony from Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and former CENTCOM commander Tommy Franks. Rumsfeld emphasizes United States and coalition achievements in liberating Iraq, though noting that the war revealed the primacy of intelligence, speed, joint force coordination, and precision in executing military operations. Franks assesses Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan and other regional concerns such as terrorism and WMD proliferation within CENTCOM’s area of responsibility. The witnesses also address questions about the conditions of U.S. troop deployments and the mobilization of National Guard and reserve forces.

0838 Nationalism, Sectarianism, and the Future of the U.S. Presence in Post-Saddam Iraq.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. W. Andrew Terrill. July 2003. 50pp.

The author, SSI’s Middle East specialist, reviews the history of Iraqi national identity and suggests directions and forms it may take and the implications for future relations between Iraq and the United States. Of particular concern is the potential for sectarian conflict between Iraq’s majority Shi’ite population and the Sunni Arabs who held disproportionate power under the Ba’ath Party regime of Saddam Hussein. Also discussed is the case of Iraqi Kurds, non-Arab Muslims long in search of a state of their own. The author recommends a strong public relations campaign and the cultivation of moderate groups to counter extremists and misinformation and assuage social tensions.

0888 90 Day Update Report on United States Strategy for Relief and Reconstruction in Iraq.

Coalition Provisional Authority, Baghdad, Iraq. July 2003. 18pp.

This report is the second quarterly update to Congress on U.S. activities in Iraq. The report highlights achievements in the areas of food, water, and power supply and public health and safety. The report summarizes funding available for projects in Iraq and describes initiatives for the upcoming quarter.

0906 Why They Fight: Combat Motivation in the Iraq War.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. Leonard Wong, Thomas A. Kolditz, Raymond A. Millen, and Terrence M. Potter. July 2003. 38pp.

The authors of this study examine the reasons why U.S. soldiers fight, comparing the perspectives of U.S. and Iraqi troops and reviewing the research literature on combat motivation. While reaffirming the importance of unit cohesion and camaraderie as key motivational factors, the authors note the importance to many soldiers of concepts such as freedom and democracy. The authors suggest their conclusions point to a crucial advantage of volunteer military forces over conscripted troops.

0944 Iraq: U.S. Military Operations.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Steve Bowman. August 2003. 11pp.

This report to Congress provides an update of U.S. military actions in Iraq, focusing on operations since May 2003. The author notes the problem of unanticipated looting and the dual task of coalition forces in trying to restore public order and basic services (especially electricity and water).

0955 Results in Iraq: 100 Days Toward Security and Freedom: Highlights of the Renewal of Iraq and the End of Saddam's Regime.

Executive Office of the President, Washington, D.C. August 2003. 24pp.

Issued on the hundredth day since President Bush's declaration of the end of major combat operations in Iraq, this publication lists indicators of improvements in each of ten "areas where the liberation of Iraq has improved the lives of Iraqis and the safety and security of the world" (Frame 0958), such as antiterrorism, women's rights, economic development, child welfare, democratic reform, and cultural renewal.

0979 Blocking Property of the Former Iraqi Regime, Its Senior Officials and Their Family Members, and Taking Certain Other Actions: Communication from the President of the United States.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. September 2003. 12pp.

This executive order allows for the confiscation of property of former members of Saddam's regime, to be transferred to the Development Fund for Iraq for humanitarian and reconstruction purposes. An annex lists Ba'ath party officials—mostly national cabinet ministers and regional command chairmen—to whom the order applies.

Reel 4

2003 cont.

0001 Iraq: Next Steps—How Can Democratic Institutions Succeed in Iraq and the Middle East?

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. September 2003. 63pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from Dr. Noah Feldman, adviser to the CPA for constitutional law, Dr. Phebe Marr, author of a history of Iraq, Dr. Rami Khouri, editor of the Beirut (Lebanon) *Daily Star*, and Dr. Isam al-Khafaji of the State Department's Future of Iraq Project and Iraq Reconstruction and Development Council. As part of the congressional deliberations

over President Bush's request for \$87 billion in supplemental spending for Iraq, the witnesses discuss the process of developing a constitution and a system of democratic self-government in Iraq. Feldman discusses plans for convening a constitutional convention and drafting a new constitution. Al-Khafaji expresses concern that those processes need to include much more direct Iraqi participation. Khouri summarizes the historical reasons for the weakness of democratic institutions in the Middle East but insists that trend can be reversed with diligent efforts. Marr discusses the consequences for Iraq following the "destruction of the central government in a country that was previously overwhelmingly dependent on it," noting a spectrum of outcomes ranging from intense factionalism to strong democratic local communities (Frame 0031).

0064 Iraq: Next Steps—How to Internationalize Iraq and Organize the U.S. Government to Administer Reconstruction Efforts.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. September 2003. 91pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from J. Brian Atwood, former administrator of AID, James Dobbins of the RAND Corporation, and John J. Hamre of CSIS. The witnesses discuss how the United States can bring more international governments and agencies into the reconstruction effort in Iraq and how to improve processes for managing that effort. Atwood emphasizes the vital importance of security and support from the Iraqi people for the success of any postwar projects, warning "Democracy in Iraq cannot be imposed from the top down" (Frame 0074). Dobbins comments on the findings of a RAND report on comparative nation-building projects by the United States in post-World War II Germany and Japan, as well as Kosovo, Haiti, Somalia, and Bosnia in the 1990s. Hamre reiterates earlier comments that U.S. success in Iraq is dependent on the ability to "broadly indigenize ... and internationalize" reconstruction efforts (Frame 0087). In a statement submitted for the record, Richard N. Haass of the Council on Foreign Relations notes the importance of consensus and the active involvement of both international actors and the Iraqi public.

0155 Iraq: Next Steps—What Will an Iraq 5-Year Plan Look Like?

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. September 2003. 71pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from L. Paul "Jerry" Bremer, administrator of the CPA in Baghdad, as Congress discusses the shape of President Bush's request for \$87 billion in supplemental aid for Iraq. Bremer comments on goals, costs, benefits, and drawbacks of a sustained U.S. presence in Iraq. Senators express concerns about the price—in dollars and human lives—of continued unilateralism by the United States.

0226 Periodic Report on the National Emergency With Respect to Iraq.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. September 2003. 19pp.

This presidential communication provides Congress with a semiannual update on executive branch actions in Iraq. The report notes the confiscation of funds held in the United States by members of Saddam Hussein's regime, the lifting of economic sanctions against Iraq, and the implementation of humanitarian and reconstruction programs.

0245 Winning the Peace in Iraq: Confronting America's Informational and Doctrinal Handicaps.

Joint Forces Staff College, Norfolk, Va. Justin Gage, William Martin, Tim Mitchell, and Pat Wingate. September 2003. 18pp.

The authors, U.S. army and air force officers, examine the obstacles to the non-combat tasks involved in the successful creation in Iraq of "a politically and economically stable nation friendly to U.S. interests" (Frame 0248). Two critical elements of the problem of "winning the peace" are, first, the inherent friction between providing security and developing legitimacy, and, second, an insufficient understanding of Arab society and culture among U.S. military forces. The authors cite the need for high-level planning to overcome these limitations to U.S. effectiveness.

0263 Iraq: U.S. Military Operations.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Steve Bowman. October 2003. 13pp.

This report provides an update of U.S. military actions in Iraq, focusing on operations since May 2003. The author notes the problem of armed Iraqi resistance, the debate within the U.S. government over how to achieve stability, the role of non-U.S. forces, and the cost of U.S. reconstruction and security programs.

0276 90 Day Update Report on United States Strategy for Relief and Reconstruction in Iraq.

Coalition Provisional Authority, Baghdad, Iraq. October 2003. 30pp.

This report is the third quarterly update to Congress on U.S. activities in Iraq, noting "the key trend of the past 90 days has been empowering Iraqis to play greater roles in their own security, governance, and other affairs" (Frame 0280). The report highlights achievements in the areas of security, the provision of essential services and infrastructure, economic development, and governance. The report summarizes funding available for projects in Iraq and describes initiatives for the upcoming quarter.

0306 Human Rights Violations Under Saddam Hussein: Victims Speak Out.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. November 2003. 49pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the House of Representatives Subcommittee on the Middle East and Central Asia includes testimony from U.S. Marine Corps Major Alvin Schmidt, Susannah Sirkin of Physicians for Human Rights, and doctors Athir Morad and Maha Alattar. Schmidt discusses his work in investigating reports of mass graves in Iraq. Morad describes his experiences as a victim of Saddam Hussein's genocidal campaign against Iraqi Kurds. Alattar highlights the former dictator's deportation and executions of Shi'ite Muslims of distant Iranian heritage. Sirkin comments on her organization's documentation of human rights abuses in Iraq since the 1980s. The record also includes statements by Representatives Deborah Pryce (R-Ohio) and Darlene Hooley (D-Oreg.) on their observations during a recent trip to Iraq focusing on the status of women there.

0355 Defense Logistics: Preliminary Observations on the Effectiveness of Logistics Activities during Operation Iraqi Freedom.

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. William M. Solis. December 2003. 26pp.

This report evaluates the Department of Defense (DoD) accounting and logistics support problems regarding supplies and equipment shipped to Iraq. The report identifies key factors contributing to the ineffectiveness of current DoD systems.

0381 Eastern Europe and the 2002–2003 Iraq Crisis.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Edgars Svarenieks. December 2003. 75pp.

The author, an employee of the ministry of defense of the Republic of Latvia, examines the reasons why thirteen Eastern European countries supported U.S. policy toward Iraq leading up to the invasion of March 2003. The author focuses on Poland, Latvia, Bulgaria, and Albania, arguing that Eastern European countries seek a strong strategic partnership with the United States, especially to counter Russia's potential to dominate the region. The author also addresses the possible implications of Eastern Europe's position on the Iraq War for NATO and regional security.

2004

0456 Paying for Iraq's Reconstruction.

Congressional Budget Office, Washington, D.C. January 2004. 45pp.

This report examines the key resource issues related to Iraq's recovery and reconstruction, especially assessing the key economic sectors of electric power production, the oil industry, water and sanitation systems, education, and health care. The report also offers a summary of the U.S. budgetary impact of three different approaches to reconstructing Iraq in the short- and medium-term.

0501 Section 2207 Report.

Office of Management and Budget, Washington, D.C. January 2004. 106pp.

This document is the first quarterly report to congressional oversight committees on programs and projects funded by U.S. appropriations to the Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund (IRRF). The report includes brief descriptions of CPA programs in Iraq and an accounting of the funds allocated for projects in the areas of law enforcement, public safety, electricity, oil production, water power, sanitation, transportation, telecommunication, health care, employment, education, and human rights.

0607 The United States and Iraq's Shi'ite Clergy: Partners or Adversaries?

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. W. Andrew Terrill. February 2004. 55pp.

The author, SSI's Middle East specialist, examines the attitudes, actions, and beliefs of major Shi'ite clerics in Iraq in order to assess the possibilities that these influential social actors will cooperate with or challenge U.S. reconstruction efforts. Terrill particularly focuses on Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani, head of the central *Hawza* seminary, the young militant Muqtada al Sadr, and the leadership of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), an anti-Saddam organization-in-exile in Iran. The report includes a glossary of Shi'ite terms, organizations, and major persons mentioned.

0662 United States and the Iraqi Marshlands: An Environmental Response.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. February 2004. 59pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the House Subcommittee on the Middle East and Central Asia includes testimony from Dr. Azzam Alwash, adviser of the Eden Again Project, Dr. Fernando Miralles-Wilhelm of the University of Miami, and Gordon West and Dr. John Wilson of AID. The witnesses, lobbying for greater U.S. attention to an overlooked area, discuss the ecological disaster in southern Iraq, emphasizing the man-made causes of the wetlands crisis in Saddam Hussein's retribution against political enemies among the Marsh Arabs. West and Wilson detail the historical background of

the Iraqi marshlands and their people and the devastation wrought on them by Saddam's regime in the 1990s, noting AID's program goals and resource needs to restore the area. Miralles-Wilhelm offers expert testimony from a civil engineering perspective and discusses his proposed watershed project, Iraq-AWARE. Alwash describes the relevant environmental conservation efforts by the Iraqi Foundation for the southern marshlands.

0721 Quarterly Report to Congress from the Office of the Inspector General, Coalition Provisional Authority.

Coalition Provisional Authority, Baghdad, Iraq. March 2004. 161pp.

This document is the first quarterly report to Congress from Office of the Inspector General of the CPA (CPA-IG), created by Congress in late January 2004 to audit, review, inspect, and investigate U.S., Iraqi, and other funds committed to Iraq relief and reconstruction efforts. The report highlights the initial activities of the CPA-IG, discusses the sources and uses of funds and the processes and controls overseeing them, and summarizes agency accomplishments and objectives. Appendixes include information on various assets for Iraq reconstruction, such as the IRRF and the Development Fund for Iraq (DFI), a list of all contracts awarded in the continental United States, and the provisions of CPA orders establishing the anticorruption Iraqi Commission on Public Integrity and inspectors general within each Iraqi ministry.

0882 Iraq on the Record: The Bush Administration's Public Statements on Iraq.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. March 2004. 36pp.

This report of the Democratic staff of the House Committee on Government Reform summarizes the data compiled for *Iraq on the Record*, a database of speeches, press conferences, interviews, and other public statements made by top Bush administration officials about the threat of Saddam Hussein's regime. The report contains an analysis of 237 comments by President Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of State Colin Powell, and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, that the authors identified as "misleading statements about the threat posed by Iraq" between March 2002 and January 2004 (Frame 0885).

0918 Iraq: U.S. Military Operations.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Steve Bowman. March 2003. 16pp.

This report provides an update of U.S. military actions and accomplishments after twelve days of operations in Iraq. The memorandum includes summaries on the background to the conflict, the options considered, current air and ground operations, roles of other countries and international opinion on the war, an assessment of Iraq's military forces and capabilities, and a consideration of postwar requirements of money, personnel, and other resources.

[Note: This 2003 document was mistakenly filmed out of chronological order.]

0934 Military Prepositioning: Observations on Army and Marine Corps Programs During Operation Iraqi Freedom and Beyond.

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. William M. Solis. March 2004. 20pp.

This report reproduces testimony before the House Subcommittee on Readiness by the director of defense management of the General Accounting Office (GAO) on the importance of prepositioned stocks of combat equipment and supplies to U.S. success in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. While noting problems with out-of-date and mismatched

materials and a shortage of some replacement parts, Solis generally praises DoD's prepositioning program, recommending adaptations for future emergencies.

- 0954 Recovering Iraq's Assets: Preliminary Observations on U.S. Efforts and Challenges.**
General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. Joseph A. Christoff and David M. D'Agostino. March 2004. 16pp.

This report reproduces testimony before the House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations of GAO's directors of international affairs and trade (Christoff) and financial markets and community investment (D'Agostino) on U.S. efforts to recover assets illegally acquired and hidden by Saddam Hussein's regime, including over \$10 billion in embezzled funds from the UN's Oil for Food Program (OFFP).

Reel 5

2004 cont.

- 0001 Iraq Transition: Civil War or Civil Society? [Part 1].**

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. April 2004. 85pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from former national security advisor Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger, former secretary of defense James R. Schlesinger, Dr. Juan Cole of the University of Michigan, Dr. Benjamin T. "Toby" Dodge of the Institute for Strategic Studies, and Richard N. Perle, former chair of the Defense Policy Board. The witnesses discuss the procedure for and implications of the transition to Iraqi sovereignty. Schlesinger emphasizes the importance of building up Iraqi security forces and addressing economic problems. Berger reiterates that reconstruction and security efforts in Iraq must be internationalized, while Perle expresses skepticism that third parties can accomplish what should primarily be the responsibility of the Iraqi people. Middle East historian Cole argues that U.S. frustrations in Iraq grow out of a lack of understanding about the country and its society and a problem of legitimacy in the eyes of the Iraqi people. Dodge emphasizes the limited historical development of Iraqi politics and a need for a deeper understanding of the nature of the conflicts plaguing the country.

- 0086 Iraq Transition: Civil War or Civil Society? [Part 2].**

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. April 2004. 78pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from Dr. Ahmed S. Hashim of the Naval War College, former NATO commander General George A. Joulwan, New York Police Department deputy commissioner for counterterrorism Michael A. Sheehan, and policy experts Dr. Michael E. O'Hanlon and Dr. Kenneth M. Pollack of the Brookings Institution. The witnesses discuss the procedure for and implications of the transition to Iraqi sovereignty. Pollack counsels, "The events of this month are a warning ... that all is not well in Iraq, and that if the United States does not make some major course corrections quickly, worse will likely follow" (Frame 0100) but recommends remedies, especially addressing immediate security needs. General Joulwan emphasizes the need for a comprehensive civil and military effort at stabilization—providing security and creating the necessary political and economic infrastructure for the country. Sheehan outlines a process for building

effective police and security structures in Iraq. O'Hanlon highlights "some of what is still going well in Iraq" (Frame 0120), even as he raises questions about the trajectory of the situation there. Hashim discusses the sources of sectarian conflicts in Iraq and recommends approaches to resolving them.

0164 The Iraq Transition: Obstacles and Opportunities [Part 3].

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. April 2004. 117pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from Under Secretary of State Marc Grossman, AID administrator Andrew S. Natsios, and Assistant Secretary of Defense Peter W. Rodman. The witnesses discuss the procedure for and implications of the transition to Iraqi sovereignty. Grossman outlines the State Department's needs for the transition from the CPA to a U.S. Embassy in Iraq. Natsios highlights AID's achievements providing reconstruction and humanitarian relief. Rodman reiterates the administration's commitment to a political solution that empowers Iraqi moderates to govern their own country. A copy of the Transitional Administrative Law, a temporary constitution for the transition period, is on Frames 0251–0265.

0281 Iraq: U.S. Military Operations.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Steve Bowman. April 2003. 16pp.

This report provides an update of U.S. military actions and accomplishments after twenty-five days of operations in Iraq. The memorandum includes summaries on the background to the conflict, the options considered, roles of other countries and international opinion on the war, an assessment of Iraq's military forces and capabilities, and a consideration of postwar requirements of money, personnel, and other resources.

[Note: This 2003 document is a duplicate of one found on Reel 1.]

0297 The Nomination of Hon. John D. Negroponte to be U.S. Ambassador to Iraq.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. April 2004. 63pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from John D. Negroponte, President Bush's nominee to be ambassador to Iraq. Negroponte, former U.S. representative to the UN, discusses the priorities for U.S. diplomats in Iraq, outlining a vision of a "prosperous, stable, and democratic Iraq" (Frame 0316) and the role of the United States and the UN in bringing about that vision.

0360 Operation Iraqi Freedom: Long-standing Problems Hampering Mail Delivery Need to Be Resolved.

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. April 2004. 42pp.

This report to congressional committees assesses the quality and timeliness of mail delivery to and from U.S. troops serving in Iraq. The report recommends a new system of tracking and reporting for DoD's Military Postal Service Agency.

0402 Section 2207 Report.

Office of Management and Budget, Washington, D.C. April 2004. 107pp.

This document is the second quarterly report to congressional oversight committees on programs and projects funded by U.S. appropriations to the IRRF. The report includes brief descriptions of CPA programs in Iraq and an accounting of the funds allocated for projects in the areas of law enforcement, public safety, electricity, oil production, water

power, sanitation, transportation, telecommunication, health care, employment, education, and human rights.

0509 State Department: Issues Affecting Funding of Iraqi National Congress Support Foundation.

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. April 2004. 27pp.

This report to Congress reviews the State Department's funding of the Iraqi National Congress Support Foundation (INCSF) and addresses issues concerning funding decisions. The State Department provided funding for INCSF's Liberty TV broadcasts but cited concerns with the organization's management and operations in limiting the aid.

0536 United Nations: Observations on the Oil for Food Program.

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. Joseph A. Christoff. April 2004. 22pp.

This report reproduces testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on corruption in the management of the OFFP by members of Saddam Hussein's regime. The author notes challenges as the program is transferred first to the CPA, then to Iraqi officials. An appendix includes a timeline of major events related to sanctions against Iraq and the administration of the OFFP (Frames 0552–0555).

0558 Conflict Resolution in Iraq: A Two-Track Process.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. John C. Buckley II. May 2004. 39pp.

The author of this thesis examines U.S. efforts to pursue security and political objectives in postwar Iraq. The author outlines U.S. involvement in post–World War II Germany and in Bosnia and Kosovo in the 1990s. Using the historical comparative analyses, the author then assesses three alternatives to conflict resolution in Iraq: the U.S. emphasis on security, a French proposal stressing political issues, and the Iraqi Governing Council preference for a more balanced approach to political and security questions.

0597 Cutting the Gordian Knot: Formation of a Consociational Government for Post-Saddam Iraq.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Kenneth N. Brown. May 2004. 35pp.

The author of this thesis identifies four distinct “semi-autonomous consociational camps” among Iraq's population of 25 million—northern Kurds, other northern minorities, a central region divided between Sunni and Shi'ite Arabs, and a southern majority-Shi'ite area (Frame 0608). The author recommends a confederated system for Iraq, citing elements of the governments of Switzerland and Canada as potential models.

0632 Entanglement in Iraq.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Hassan M. Alkubaisi. May 2004. 27pp.

The author, an officer in Qatar's military, outlines U.S. policies toward Iraq since 1991 and notes challenges facing the development of a stable and peaceful Iraq.

0659 The Future Role of Iraq in the Global War on Terrorism: Divining the Strategy.

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. Matthew P. Donovan. May 2004. 51pp.

Using the historical examples of U.S. involvement in the post–World War II reconstruction of Germany and Japan, the author argues for a long-term U.S. military commitment in Iraq as a necessary measure in combating international terrorism.

0710 A Global Hegemon's Prerogative: The Bush Doctrine of Preemption and the Road to Iraq.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Mark A. Dungan. May 2004. 29pp.

The author of this thesis examines the Bush administration's preemptive strike against Iraq as a viable doctrine for national defense. The author finds that, despite the costs and consequences of initiating combat, preemption is a valid strategy if international mechanisms (notably the UN) are insufficient to counter emerging threats.

0739 Iraq, 2003–4, and Mesopotamia, 1914–18: A Comparative Analysis in Ends and Means.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. James D. Scudieri. May 2004. 39pp.

The author of this thesis compares the current U.S. military intervention in Iraq with Britain's experience in the Mesopotamia region during World War I, focusing on the transition from combat to reconstruction operations in the two cases. The author especially notes that in both cases the strategic importance placed on achieving certain goals in the region (the "ends") was insufficiently matched by the planning for and resources made available to the projects (the "means").

0778 Iraq and Vietnam: Differences, Similarities, and Insights.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. Jeffrey Record and W. Andrew Terrill. May 2004. 76pp.

The authors, SSI specialists on the Middle East and international security, compare U.S. experiences in Iraq and Vietnam. While the authors dismiss comparisons of the military situations, noting the much greater scale of operations in Vietnam, they caution that the problems of state building and declining domestic political support that plagued U.S. efforts in the 1960s and 1970s hold lessons for the current administration.

0854 Iraq: Impediments to Democracy and the Role of Coalition Forces.

Naval War College, Newport, R.I. Warren J. "John" McChesney Jr. May 2004. 26pp.

The author of this thesis evaluates the challenges facing U.S. efforts to build a stable, democratic Iraq, with an eye toward identifying military courses of action that might assist that process. He notes the importance of engaging moderate clerics within Iraq, stemming the insurgency, and broadening the U.S. coalition—especially to include Arab nations—and stepping up member commitments to the reconstruction effort.

0880 Iraq Reconstruction: Time for a Plan.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Mark D. Franklin. May 2004. 33pp.

The author of this thesis recounts the Bush administration's planning—prior to the U.S. invasion—for reconstruction in Iraq, highlighting the miscalculations and assumptions in that process. The author assesses the challenges remaining and the lessons learned from U.S. experiences in postwar Iraq.

Reel 6

2004 cont.

0001 Iraq's Transition—The Way Ahead [Part I].

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. May 2004. 109pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, and Lieutenant General Walter Sharp of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The witnesses discuss the status of coalition security and reconstruction efforts in Iraq as the CPA prepares to transfer sovereignty to the Iraqi Interim Government (IIG) on June 30, 2004. Wolfowitz highlights CPA achievements, lessons learned, and challenges ahead for the path to full Iraqi autonomy under a permanent constitution. Armitage emphasizes the State Department's diplomatic initiatives, both through UN and the new office of the U.S. ambassador to Iraq. Sharp discusses the state of the U.S. military mission in Iraq. Commentators also address budgetary, security, and political matters.

0110 Iraq's Transition—The Way Ahead [Part II].

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. May 2004. 87pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from Dr. Anthony Cordesman of CSIS, Dr. Larry Diamond of the Hoover Institution, General Joseph P. Hoar, former commander of CENTCOM, and historian Dr. Phebe Marr. The witnesses especially address the Senate panel's concerns about the slow pace of reconstruction and the apparent lack of a comprehensive plan for the political, social, and economic development of postwar Iraq. Cordesman outlines the lessons learned in Iraq and Afghanistan, especially the need for planning and diplomacy within a context of ongoing military conflict. Cordesman cautions military and political leaders to consider the realistic limits to U.S. intervention. Hoar recommends a course of action for addressing ongoing problems in Iraq. Marr offers insights into the history and politics of Iraq, urging careful consideration of the country's unique cultural heritage. Diamond similarly argues for a comprehensive approach that takes into account the interrelated nature of social, political, economic, and security challenges in Iraq.

0197 Iraq's Transitional Law.

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. Joseph A. Christoff. May 2004. 17pp.

This report to congressional leaders reviews the components of the Transitional Administrative Law (TAL), the governing framework for the IIG as it prepares a permanent constitution. The report examines the structures established by the TAL and their relationship to other Iraqi laws, institutions, and existing security arrangements (coalition forces, Iraqi security forces, and militias).

0214 Preparing for War, Stumbling to Peace: Planning for Post-conflict Operations in Iraq.

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

James R. Howard. May 2004. 65pp.

Examining the prewar planning process, the author of this thesis assesses "whether a disparate focus on war-fighting operations" prevented "sufficient attention to the likely requirements of the post-conflict environment" (Frame 0218). The author suggests that

elements of the planning process inhibited more comprehensive arrangements for reconstruction and security stabilization and negatively affected troop preparation.

0279 Rebuilding Iraq's Infrastructure Through Iraqi Nationals.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Martin B. Pitts. May 2004. 27pp.

The author of this thesis analyzes the reconstruction process in postwar Iraq, drawing comparisons between current developments there and the era of Reconstruction following the U.S. Civil War. The author critiques U.S. reconstruction strategy in Iraq, arguing for changes in the contracting process to increase opportunities for Iraqis to take charge of civil infrastructure projects in their own country.

0306 Restoring the Rule of Law in Post-War Iraq: Steps, Missteps, and a Call to Maximize International Support for Iraqi-Led Processes.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Richard O. Hatch. May 2004. 49pp.

The author of this thesis discusses the reconstruction of Iraq's judicial, penal, and law enforcement systems. He argues not only for the creation of institutions that will promote the rule of law but also for a vigorous effort to prosecute Ba'ath party officials for decades of corruption, abuse, and atrocities.

0355 Rule of Law in Iraq: Transitional Justice under Occupation.

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

Leonard J. Law. May 2004. 60pp.

The author of this thesis assesses the restoration of Iraq's justice system, the creation of new legal institutions, and the elimination of Ba'ath party influences.

0415 Security Strategy for Postwar Iraq.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. George Fella. May 2004. 29pp.

The author of this report critiques elements of the planning and execution of U.S. security strategy concerning Iraq. In particular, the author warns that the Iraq experience demonstrates the need for more careful prewar preparation involving input from a wide variety of political officials, military leaders, and civilian experts.

0444 Shifting Interests: The Impact of the Iraq Crisis on NATO and the Evolution of the Transatlantic Relationship.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Charles W. Van Bebber. May 2004. 29pp.

The author of this thesis examines the implications of the Iraq War on U.S. relations with its NATO allies. Despite the tensions created by some European opposition to the war, the author sees transatlantic relations remaining strong and adapting as the post-cold war order continues to emerge. Of particular interest for NATO security arrangements will be the development of U.S. relations with the former Soviet states of Eastern Europe.

0473 Somewhere in the Middle: The Nuremberg and Tokyo Trials as a Model for Postwar Trials in Iraq.

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

Thomas A. Crowson. May 2004. 75pp.

The author of this thesis considers the applicability for Iraq of the post-World War II international war crimes tribunals. The author finds parallels between the Allies' need to reestablish justice and allay political fear in Germany and Japan and similar needs for the CPA in contemporary Iraq. The author differentiates between the creation and conduct of each set of trials, noting possible applications from each to the Iraqi situation.

0548 Strategic Consequences of the Iraq War: U.S. Security Interests in Central Asia Reassessed.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. Elizabeth Wishnick. May 2004. 54pp.

The author of this report examines U.S. security interests in Central Asia, arguing that a focus on antiterrorism in the region “addresses a symptom, rather than the causes” of regional instability (Frame 0552). Instead, the author recommends an approach aimed at alleviating the conditions that heighten vulnerabilities to terrorist activity in the region. She especially notes the potential security value of investing in humanitarian efforts, drug interdiction, and the removal of land mines.

0602 The United States Experience in the Balkans and its Implications for Post-Conflict Operations in Iraq.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Thomas M. Muir. May 2004. 37pp.

The author of this thesis studies U.S. peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia and Kosovo in the 1990s, seeking lessons for operations in Iraq. The author raises issues about the “lessons learned from the ends, ways, and means” of the two European cases, arguing for their application to the occupation of Iraq (Frame 0605).

0639 When Will We Leave Iraq?

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. William E. Harmon. May 2004. 37pp.

The author of this thesis considers “the conditions that must exist for U.S. military forces to depart Iraq and when that departure might occur” (Frame 0642). He identifies key requirements (such as reduced casualties and Iraqi control of weapons, ammunition, and key facilities) that must precede U.S. troop withdrawals and addresses the ways and means available to achieving those benchmarks.

0676 America’s Last Battles: Organizing Brigades to Win the Peace: Lessons from East Timor, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. John A. Basso. June 2004. 118pp.

The author of this thesis assesses three models of organizing and training brigade-level military forces for nation building during ongoing combat operations. Comparing the case of New Zealand Defense Forces in East Timor in 1999–2000 with U.S. operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, the author describes variations in peacekeeping operations at the village, city, and national levels. Ultimately, he argues, military culture must adapt before structural changes can take root and create forces effective at fighting small wars.

0794 The British Experience in Iraq from 1914–1926: What Wisdom Can the United States Draw from Its Experience?

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. Matthew W. Williams. June 2004. 120pp.

The author of this thesis compares two eras of foreign occupation in Iraq’s history. By studying the British military campaign and civil administration in Mesopotamia during and after World War I, the author raises issues for U.S. activities in contemporary Iraq.

0914 Contract Management: Contracting for Iraq Reconstruction and for Global Logistics Support.

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. David M. Walker. June 2004. 15pp.

This transcript of testimony before the House Committee on Government Reform summarizes the report of the U.S. comptroller general's investigation of the process of awarding federal contracts for reconstruction projects in Iraq in 2003.

0929 Audit Report: Coalition Provisional Authority Coordination of Donated Funds.

Coalition Provisional Authority, Office of the Inspector General, Baghdad, Iraq. June 2004. 22pp.

This report assesses the adequacy of CPA controls of the accounting, handling, and monitoring of international funds donated to the Iraqi Ministry of Planning and Development Cooperation for Iraq's reconstruction. The audit finds problems with the process of allocating funds and recommends changes.

0951 Estimated Costs of Continuing Operations in Iraq and Other Operations of the Global War on Terrorism.

Congressional Budget Office, Washington, D.C. June 2004. 16pp.

This report to Congress estimates that DoD operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, and other features of the Global War on Terror, will cost \$55 billion to \$60 billion for 2005.

0967 Audit Report: Federal Deployment Center Forward Operations at the Kuwait Hilton.

Coalition Provisional Authority, Office of the Inspector General, Baghdad, Iraq. June 2004. 17pp.

This report assesses the effectiveness of the CPA operation of the Federal Deployment Center at the Kuwait Hilton. The audit recommends more careful CPA policies regarding the use of the facility.

0984 Iraq: U.S. Military Operations.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Steve Bowman. June 2004. 18pp.

This report provides an update of U.S. military actions and accomplishments after one year of operations in Iraq. The memorandum includes summaries on the background to the conflict, military planning and combat operations, Iraqi resistance, the prisoner abuse scandal at Abu Ghraib, and concerns about equipment (such as shortages of body armor for U.S. combat troops), U.S. force levels, and the role of non-U.S. forces. The author also notes various estimates of the costs of continued operations in Iraq.

Reel 7

2004 cont.

0001 Audit Report: Management of Personnel Assigned to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad, Iraq.

Coalition Provisional Authority Inspector General, Baghdad, Iraq. June 2004. 15pp.

This report assesses the effectiveness of the CPA's "control over and insight into the number of civilians assigned to" its operations in Baghdad (Frame 0004). The audit identifies several factors inhibiting accurate counting of CPA personnel.

0016 *Realpolitik* and Iran's Post-Saddam Strategy for Iraq.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Ryan Gutzwiller. June 2004. 97pp.

The author of this thesis examines Iran's national security interests and strategy, identifying a strain of *realpolitik* in Iran's foreign policy where most previous analysts have focused on the influence of Islamic fundamentalist ideology. After discussing Iran's history and politics, the author assesses the country's strategic interests in relation to post-Saddam Iraq.

0113 Rebuilding Iraq: Fiscal Year 2003 Contract Award Procedures and Management Challenges.

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. June 2004. 60pp.

This report to Congress assesses whether contracts for reconstruction projects in Iraq were awarded properly and administered effectively by federal agencies. GAO reviewed over \$3 billion in contract obligations to determine compliance with competition requirements and oversight mandates. The report includes GAO recommendations for further safeguards in contract award and management procedures.

0173 Rebuilding Iraq: Resource, Security, Governance, Essential Services, and Oversight Issues.

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. June 2004. 105pp.

This report updates Congress on the status of key issues concerning resources, security, governance, and essential services following the CPA's transfer of power to the IIG on June 28, 2004. The report summarizes the sources of funding (U.S. appropriations, Iraqi assets, and international donations) for Iraq's reconstruction and their obligations and disbursements. Each segment of the report concludes with a set of oversight questions for congressional consideration.

0278 Stabilization and Democratization of Iraq: A Strategic Analysis of the Constitution-Building Process.

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

Gunther De Kerpel. June 2004. 117pp.

The author of this thesis discusses Iraq's five major religious-ethnic populations (Sunni Arabs, Shi'ite Arabs, Kurds, Turkomans, and Assyrians) and discusses the implications of the country's sectarian divisions for the creation of a viable national constitution.

The author also addresses Iraq's historical experiences with constitutions and Afghanistan's new constitution for models of how to synthesize Islam, democracy, and respect for human rights into a foundational document for Iraq.

0395 Turbulent Transition in Iraq: Can it Succeed?

National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Judith S. Yaphe. June 2004. 9pp.

The author of this essay considers the key factors that will determine Iraq's future, including the goals, aspirations, and willingness to compromise of the country's Sunni Arab, Shi'ite Arab, and Kurdish populations. She identifies "three distinct 'dramas'" currently playing out: the possibility of civil war; the fate of the transitional government; and the viability of newly created political institutions

0404 United Nations: Observations on the Oil for Food Program and Iraq's Food Security.

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. Joseph A. Christoff. June 2004. 26pp.

This report includes testimony before the House Committee on Agriculture on corruption in the management of the UN's OFFP by members of Saddam Hussein's regime. The report also addresses challenges in food supply and distribution in Iraq under current security conditions.

0430 United States Counterinsurgency Doctrine and Implementation in Iraq.

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

Jonathan K Graff Jr. June 2004. 95pp.

The author of this thesis assesses the conduct of the U.S. Army's counterinsurgency campaign in Iraq from late May 2003 through March 2004. Examining the origins of existing military doctrine, the author contrasts strategy and tactics used in Iraq with U.S. historical experiences in counterinsurgency operations in the Philippines, Vietnam, and El Salvador. The report concludes with recommendations for adjustments.

0525 Audit Report: Coalition Provisional Authority Control Over Seized and Vested Assets.

Coalition Provisional Authority Inspector General, Baghdad, Iraq. July 2004. 19pp.

This report assesses whether the CPA adequately implemented safeguards to control and account for seized and vested assets of the Iraqi government. The audit finds problems with the accounting measure currently in place and recommends new documentation requirements for the use and disbursement of these resources.

0544 Quarterly Report of the Office of the Inspector General, Coalition Provisional Authority.

Coalition Provisional Authority, Office of the Inspector General, Baghdad, Iraq.

July 2004. 80pp.

This document is the second quarterly report to Congress from the CPA-IG, created by Congress in late January 2004 to audit, review, inspect, and investigate U.S., Iraqi, and other funds committed to Iraq relief and reconstruction efforts. The report highlights the activities of the CPA-IG, discusses the sources and uses of funds and the processes and controls overseeing them, and summarizes CPA-IG accomplishments and objectives. The report includes information on various assets for Iraq relief and reconstruction and a summary of all CPA-IG audits, investigations, and initiatives

0624 Detainee Operations Inspection.

U.S. Department of the Army, Washington, D.C. July 2004. 321pp.

This report of the inspector general reviews the U.S. Army's conduct of detainee and interrogation operations in Iraq. Despite a general finding of individual compliance with regulations, the review identifies "system failures that resulted in incidents of abuse" in the capture, detention, and interrogation of prisoners (Frame 0626). The authors of the report recommend changes in policies, practices, training, and supervision of forces conducting detainee and interrogation operations.

0945 Developing Adaptive Leaders: The Crucible Experience of Operation Iraqi Freedom.
Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. Leonard Wong. July 2004. 29pp.

The author of this essay assesses the chaotic environment of postwar Iraq as a “development opportunity” in which junior military officers can develop as “creative, innovative, and independent leaders” (Frame 0947). The unpredictable dimension behind many U.S. military operations in Iraq forces lieutenants and captains to develop the ability to adapt quickly and take initiative. The author notes the implications for top army officials of the existence of a cadre of experienced, adaptive junior officers.

Reel 8

2004 cont.

0001 Iraq—Post Transition.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. July 2004. 37pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reviews U.S. activities in Iraq since the transfer of sovereignty to IIG. Witnesses Ronald L. Schlicher of the State Department and David C. Gompert, former adviser to CPA administrator L. Paul Bremer in Iraq, discuss the formation of the new Iraqi government, its goals in providing security and preparing for legislative elections, U.S. economic and military assistance to Iraq, and international support. Gompert notes the problem of public support in Iraq, its relationship to the occupation and slow pace of reconstruction, and its effects on armed resistance within Iraq.

0038 Report on the U.S. Intelligence Community’s Prewar Intelligence Assessments on Iraq.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. July 2004. 521pp.

This report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence reviews the process of gathering and analyzing information on Iraq’s nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons programs, links to terrorist organizations, human rights violations, and threats to regional stability and security. The committee’s investigation especially focused on the October 2002 National Intelligence Estimate (NIE), the most comprehensive assessment provided to President Bush on Iraq’s capabilities prior to the U.S. invasion. The report criticizes some of the NIE’s key conclusions, faulting intelligence collection processes, analytical shortcomings, and political pressures for the flawed assessments.

The review scrutinizes the evidence regarding three controversial elements of the Bush administration’s claims against Iraq: the fraudulent reports of Iraq’s efforts to obtain yellowcake uranium from Niger; Iraq’s attempts to purchase high-strength aluminum tubes, assumed to be for a reconstituted nuclear program; and information obtained from a classified informant, codenamed CURVE BALL, alleging Iraq’s possession of mobile laboratories for producing bacterial and toxic agents for weapons. The report discusses Bush administration use of the flawed intelligence to persuade the international community of Iraq’s noncompliance with UN inspection mandates. Finally, the investigation addresses charges of political pressure put on intelligence analysts to report that evidence supported the administration’s policy goals. An appendix includes a “scorecard” rating elements of the NIE’s strengths and weaknesses (Frames 0470–0475).

0559 Section 2207 Report.

Office of Management and Budget, Washington, D.C. July 2004. 113pp.

This document is the third quarterly report to congressional oversight committees on programs and projects funded by U.S. appropriations to the IRRF. The report describes activities and expenses in the areas of security, law enforcement, public safety, health care, education, civil administration, and infrastructure (especially the electric, oil, water, transportation, and telecommunications sectors). For each project, the report notes accomplishments since the last report, achievements anticipated for the upcoming quarter, and a summary accounting of the project's budgeted costs. As the first audit to follow the transfer of authority from the CPA to the IIG on June 28, 2004, the report notes the new objective of preparing for national legislative elections along with the ongoing Bush administration goals of improving security, expanding reconstruction, and encouraging international support for Iraq's development.

0672 United Nations: Observations on the Oil for Food Program and Areas for Further Investigation.

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. Joseph A. Christoff. July 2004. 25pp.

This report contains the testimony of the director of GAO's International Affairs and Trade division in a congressional hearing on corruption in the administration of the OFFP. The UN created the OFFP in 1996 as a mechanism for providing humanitarian aid to the people of Iraq during an era when Saddam Hussein's regime faced international sanctions for its pursuit of weapons programs. The report discusses evidence of over \$10 billion in illegal revenues obtained by the former Iraqi government and how the structure of the OFFP administration failed to prevent this misuse of funds. An appendix includes a timeline of major events from 1990 through 2004 related to sanctions against Iraq and the administration of the OFFP (Frames 0691–0694).

0697 Investigation of the Abu Ghraib Prison and 205th Military Intelligence Brigade.

U.S. Department of the Army, Washington, D.C. Anthony R. Jones and George R. Fay. August 2004. 177pp.

This report reviews the operation of a U.S. military detention facility at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq and allegations of abuse in the conduct of interrogations and the treatment of prisoners there. Separate investigating officers examined the actions of the military police unit running the prison and the involvement of higher officials in the incidents at Abu Ghraib. While acknowledging criminal behavior by individual soldiers and a failure of direct leadership at the prison, the report notes that deficiencies in personnel, equipment, and training contributed to the circumstances.

0874 Accelerating U.S. Assistance to Iraq.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. September 2004. 72pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from deputy assistant secretaries of state Joseph W. Bowab and Ronald Schlicher. The witnesses discuss the progress of reconstruction in Iraq. Schlicher provides an overview of the accomplishments over the previous eleven weeks under the IIG, though acknowledging that renewed violence has slowed the pace of reconstruction projects. Bowab explains the administration's recent reallocation of over \$3 billion of IRRF funds to high priority areas, including security and law enforcement, economic

development, and governance programs. Senators express frustration at the slow pace of reconstruction efforts and news reports of a growing insurgency in Iraq.

Reel 9

2004 cont.

0001 Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq's WMD [6 parts].
Directorate of Central Intelligence, Washington, D.C. September 2004. 964pp.

This report examines the context within which the former Iraqi regime developed, used, and planned to use nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. The authors insist, "Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) were an integral element in the range of tools Saddam drew upon to advance his ambitions" (Frame 0002). By emphasizing a dynamic rather than static analysis, the authors seek to provide an understanding of the pattern of the regime's experience with WMD over time and from the perspective of Saddam Hussein as he made decisions concerning WMD. This introductory section provides an overview of the scope of the report and the approach taken in organizing and presenting information obtained by the Iraq Survey Group (ISG) between June 2003 and September 2004. The report contains transcripts and facsimiles of important documentary evidence collected by the ISG.

[Note: Because of the size and organization of this document, each chapter is treated here and in the Subject Index as if it were an individual report. An abstract for each section appears below and major topics appear in the Subject Index along with the frame number for the beginning of each section.]

0024 Regime Strategic Intent [Part 1 of 6].

This section outlines Saddam Hussein's decision-making process, leadership mechanisms, governmental structures, and sense of himself. The report addresses the aspirations Saddam considered achievable through the development and usage of WMD. Important events shaping the development of Saddam's thinking and policies included the 1980s Iran-Iraq War, the 1991 Gulf War, international sanctions against Iraq in the 1990s, the UN's OFFP, and the regime's subsequent corruption of it.

0130 Regime Finance and Procurement [Part 2 of 6].

This chapter "details the evolution of Iraq's campaign to evade and overcome the UN ban on its import of material related to WMD and conventional military forces" (Frame 0136). The report addresses the regime's financing and trade of Iraq's illicit procurement, especially through illegal sales of oil and corruption in the administration of the UN's OFFP. Among the annexed material are a list of "Suspected Intermediary and Front Companies Associated with Iraq" (Frames 0426–0429); a list of acronyms used in this section (Frames 0430–0434); and a timeline of events involving Iraq and WMD from 1980 to 2003 (Frames 0436–0449).

0452 Delivery Systems [Part 3 of 6].

This section discusses Iraq's purchases, adaptations, and development of missile technologies to enable the long-range delivery of nuclear, biological, and/or chemical

warheads. The chapter includes designs, blueprints, and plans for propulsion, guidance, and control systems for missiles as well as piloted and unmanned aerial vehicles. Among the annexed material is an accounting of “all 819 SCUD-B missiles according to the year of delivery and serial number,” most of which were used during the Iraq-Iraq War in the 1980s, while some were used during the 1991 Gulf War and others were destroyed either unilaterally or by UN inspectors (Frames 0538–0550).

0582 Nuclear [Part 4 of 6].

This chapter traces the evolution of Iraq’s nuclear weapons program. The Iraq Survey Group investigated allegations of Iraq’s efforts to obtain yellowcake uranium and aluminum tubes, two elements cited by the Bush administration in 2002–2003 as evidence that Saddam Hussein was attempting to reconstitute Iraq’s WMD programs.

0720 Iraq’s Chemical Warfare Program [Part 5 of 6].

This chapter addresses the development of chemical weapons programs in Iraq, assessing both the stated intentions of Saddam Hussein and the infrastructure and capabilities actually achieved in weaponizing chemical agents.

0848 Biological Warfare [Part 6 of 6].

This chapter addresses the development of biological weapons programs in Iraq, assessing both the stated intentions of Saddam Hussein and the infrastructure and capabilities actually achieved in weaponizing biological agents. This section includes a glossary of terms and acronyms used throughout the report (Frames 0950–0964).

Reel 10

2004 cont.

0001 France, Italy, and the 2002–2003 Iraq Crisis.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Anne Marie Fenton. September 2004. 109pp.

The author of this thesis contrasts Italy’s support for the U.S. invasion of Iraq with France’s opposition, examining the factors influencing each government’s decision. The author discusses domestic political issues as important elements in the foreign policy decisions in both European countries.

0110 Iraq: Next Steps—What Will an Iraq 5-Year Plan Look Like?

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. September 2003. 71pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from L. Paul “Jerry” Bremer, administrator of the CPA in Baghdad, as Congress discusses the shape of President Bush’s request for \$87 billion in supplemental aid for Iraq. Bremer comments on goals, costs, benefits, and drawbacks of a sustained U.S. presence in Iraq. Senators express concerns about the price—in dollars and human lives—of continued unilateralism by the United States.

[Note: This 2003 document was mistakenly filmed out of chronological order.]

0181 Rumors in Iraq: A Guide to Winning Hearts and Minds.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Stephanie R. Kelley. September 2004. 85pp.

The author of this thesis examines the study of rumors, how they function and what they imply about a society, and proposes lessons that may be valuable for the civil dimensions of nation building in postwar Iraq. Rumors, the author argues, provide an indication of public sentiment and widespread social concerns. Additionally, understanding how rumors work in Iraq brings to light differences in American and Arab cultural communication styles and may provide useful insights into coalition efforts to build local support for the reconstruction process.

0266 The *Small Wars Manual* and Current Operations in Iraq: Teaching a New Dog Old Tricks?

Naval War College, Newport, R.I. Tyler J. Zagurski. February 2004. 24pp.

The author of this thesis analyzes the U.S. Marine Corps's *Small Wars Manual* to determine what strategic, operational, and tactical lessons can be applied from it to current operations in Iraq. Originally published in 1940, the *Small Wars Manual* highlights a core of "enduring themes or principles" for military operations requiring a concurrent political mission (Frame 0268).

[Note: This February 2004 document was mistakenly filmed out of chronological order.]

0290 Termination of the National Emergency with Respect to Iraq: A Communication from the President of the United States Transmitting Notification to Terminate the National Emergency with Respect to Iraq.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. September 2004. 18pp.

This presidential message to Congress includes the text of Executive Order 13350, terminating the national emergency with respect to Iraq first declared by President George H. W. Bush in Executive Order 12722 on August 2, 1990, following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The new presidential directive eliminates the sanctions imposed on Iraq by the 1990 decree.

0308 9/11 and Iraq War Costs Are Not Primary Cause of Deficits.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. October 2004. 4pp.

This statement published by the Democratic Caucus of the House Budget Committee argues that neither the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, nor the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq are primarily responsible for an accumulation of nearly \$1 trillion in federal debt between 2002 and 2004.

0312 Quarterly Report to Congress from the Office of the Inspector General, Coalition Provisional Authority.

Coalition Provisional Authority, Office of the Inspector General, Baghdad, Iraq. October 2004. 214pp.

This document is the third quarterly report to Congress from the CPA-IG, created by Congress in late January 2004 to audit, review, inspect, and investigate U.S., Iraqi, and other funds committed to Iraq relief and reconstruction efforts. The report highlights the activities of the CPA-IG, discusses the sources and uses of funds and the processes and controls overseeing them, and summarizes CPA-IG accomplishments and objectives.

The report includes information on various assets for Iraq relief and reconstruction and a summary of all CPA-IG audits, investigations, and initiatives

0526 International Auditors Find Serious Problems with Bush Administration Management of Iraqi Funds.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. October 2004. 4pp.

This fact sheet published by the Democratic staff of the House Committee on Government Reform highlights the results of an audit finding “serious problems with the [Bush] Administration’s management of Iraqi funds” (Frame 0526).

0530 Report of an Inquiry into the Alternative Analysis of the Issue of an Iraq–al Qaeda Relationship.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. October 2004. 46pp.

This report of an investigation conducted by the Democratic staff of the Senate Armed Services Committee focuses on the use by DoD policy makers of intelligence regarding the relationship between al Qaeda and Iraq.

0576 Section 2207 Report.

Department of State, Washington, D.C. October 2004. 136pp.

This document is the fourth quarterly report to congressional oversight committees on programs and projects funded by U.S. appropriations to the IRRF. The report describes activities and expenses in the areas of security, law enforcement, public safety, health care, education, civil administration, and infrastructure (especially the electric, oil, water, transportation, and telecommunications sectors). For each project, the report notes accomplishments since the last report, achievements anticipated for the upcoming quarter, and a summary accounting of the project’s budgeted costs. The report notes the achievements of the IIG since its assumption of power on June 28, 2004, and its plans for national legislative elections in January 2005.

0712 Frequently Asked Questions About Iraq and Afghanistan War Costs.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. November 2004. 5pp.

This fact sheet distributed by the Democratic Caucus of the House Budget Committee to other Democrats provides data on U.S. funding for homeland security programs and operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

0717 What You Need to Know About U.S. Sanctions.

U.S. Department of the Treasury, Washington, D.C. November 2004. 13pp.

This informational brochure of the Office of Foreign Assets Control offers an overview for U.S. businesses of the provisions of executive orders governing U.S. trade with Iraq.

0730 An Analysis of the 1964 Johnson Letter: Lessons for the 2003 Iraq Crisis, Turkish-American Relations, and Global Power–Regional Partner Interactions.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Turgut Akgul. December 2004. 129pp.

The author of this thesis examines relations between the United States and Turkey, especially a 1964 controversy over Cyprus, for clues to current interactions between the two countries with respect to Iraq. The author identifies the factors producing the 1964 disagreement and the lessons that episode holds for current and future bilateral relations.

0859 Halliburton's Iraq Contracts Now Worth over \$10 Billion.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. December 2004. 6pp.

This fact sheet produced by the Democratic staff of the House Committee on Government Reform provides information on Halliburton's federal contracts in Iraq and concerns about the company's performance, including charges of fraud.

0865 Iraq and Failures in U.S. Compellence Policy, 1990–2003.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Esther R. Robinson. December 2004. 61pp.

The author of this thesis assesses U.S. compellence policy, or the "strategy of control designed to impose changes, using military or non-military means, upon an opponent" (Frame 0871), with particular respect to the effectiveness of compellence in U.S. relations with Iraq from 1990 to 2003.

2005

0926 Insurgency in Iraq: A Historical Perspective.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. Ian F. W. Beckett. January 2005. 28pp.

The author, a historian with expertise in small-scale conflict, assesses the contemporary military situation in Iraq in relation to the historical pattern of civil uprisings in the Middle East. The author contrasts the elements of guerrilla warfare (resistance, primarily military, usually irregular) with the more organized and politically oriented characteristics of insurgency. He then discusses both insurgent movements and counterinsurgency campaigns in the Middle East, finding parallels today in Iraq.

Reel 11

2005 cont.

0001 Quarterly and Semiannual Report of the Office of the Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction (SIGIR).

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. January 2005. 119pp.

This document is the fourth quarterly report to Congress of the CPA-IG (and the first since its re-designation as SIGIR in October 2004) reviewing financial oversight of Iraqi reconstruction projects. The report highlights the activities of SIGIR, discusses the sources and uses of funds and the processes and controls overseeing them, and summarizes SIGIR accomplishments and objectives. The report includes information on various assets for Iraq relief and reconstruction and a summary of all SIGIR audits, investigations, and initiatives.

0120 Iraq War Cost Estimate: Costs to Date and Costs to Go.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. February 2005. 13pp.

This report of the Democratic staff of the House Budget Committee assesses the costs of U.S. operations in Iraq, future projections of expenditures, and their budgetary impact.

0133 Pre-war Planning for a Post-war Iraq.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Robert K. Mendenhall. February 2005. 33pp.

The author of this thesis examines planning within the departments of State and Defense for Iraq's reconstruction and the interaction between the two agencies. Critical of bureaucratic and personal conflicts in national security decision making, the author recommends scenarios for unifying and strengthening planning for post-conflict operations in the future.

0166 Strategic Implications of Intercommunal Warfare in Iraq.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. W. Andrew Terrill. February 2005. 57pp.

The author, SSI's Middle East specialist, discusses the possible regional consequences of ethnic and sectarian war in Iraq. The author outlines a scenario that might ignite civil war—the deterioration of Sunni-Shi'ite relations—and how Iraq's other ethnic minorities and regional neighbors (especially Iran, Turkey, Syria) might respond.

0223 Strategies for Reshaping U.S. Policy in Iraq and the Middle East.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. February 2005. 127pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the first following national legislative elections in Iraq, considers the framework for adjustments in U.S. involvement in Iraq outlined in a paper by Anthony Cordesman of CSIS titled, "Playing the Course: A Strategy for Reshaping U.S. Policy in Iraq and the Middle East" (the full text of which is reproduced on Frames 0244–0286). Cordesman tries to articulate an alternative policy to either "cut-an-run" or "stay at any cost" (Frame 0229), offering an assessment of nine critical mistakes in U.S. policy to this point and approaches he thinks might remedy them. Two commentators, former U.S. Marine Corps General Gregory Newbold and former CPA official Peter Khalil, generally support and reinforce Cordesman's analysis and recommendations.

0350 Building Iraqi Security Forces.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. March 2005. 183pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the House Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations considers the question of recruiting, training, and equipping adequate numbers of Iraqi security forces (police, military, civil defense, and border enforcement personnel) to allow U.S. forces to transition from combat roles to advisory responsibilities. Witnesses include academic experts and officials from GAO, DoD, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the State Department discussing the achievements and challenges to building a strong indigenous security force in Iraq, including the costs and political implications of such a mission.

0533 Examining the Effectiveness of U.S. Elements of National Power in Iraq.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Stephen J. McHugh. March 2005. 29pp.

The author, a U.S. Army officer, assesses how the Bush administration used diplomatic, economic, informational, and military means toward achieving its objectives in postwar Iraq. The author recommends ways to more effectively conduct the transition from combat to stabilization operations in future international interventions.

0562 Operation Iraqi Freedom: First Steps on the Long Road Toward Successful United States Strategy in Iraq.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Bjarne M. Iverson. March 2005. 39pp.

The author examines the social and political environment in the Middle East within which the United States attempts to eliminate WMD and the causes of terrorism, and “to establish conditions that are conducive to democratic reform” (Frame 0569).

0601 The Patterns and Dynamics of Revolution: Insights into Iraq.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Richard C. Stockhausen. March 2005. 42pp.

The author of this thesis considers the ways in which the removal of Saddam Hussein’s regime exhibits the characteristics of a revolution. The paper first examines a classic social science model of how governments are overthrown and the resulting social and political dynamics. The author then addresses ways in which the Iraqi case deviates from the traditional pattern and the implications of unique features of the Iraq experience for reconstruction and nation-building efforts there.

0643 Rebuilding Iraq: Preliminary Observations on Challenges in Transferring Security Responsibilities to Iraqi Military and Police.

Government Accountability Office, Washington, D.C. Joseph A. Christoff. March 2005. 23pp.

This report reproduces testimony before the House Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations on plans for shifting primary responsibility for Iraq’s security from coalition forces to indigenous personnel. The report examines the strategy for transferring security duties to Iraqi forces, the status of those forces, and challenges to that process.

0666 Strategic Application of Rail to Help Build a Free and Stable Iraq.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Robert S. Korpany. March 2005. 37pp.

The author of this thesis argues for enhanced attention to the potential value of railroad systems in planning for Iraq’s future. The author identifies railroad development as valuable not only to problems of transportation but also to issues such as employment. The author illustrates his thesis with a consideration of the historical application of railroads in the settlement of the American West in the nineteenth century and the construction of the Panama Canal in the early twentieth century.

0703 Transatlantic Relations After Iraq.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Dean Stodter. March 2005. 31pp.

The author examines the impact of the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq on relations with Europe, especially allies who opposed the military operations. The author reviews reasons for European disagreement with U.S. policy and the viability for future transatlantic relations of the Bush administration’s global antiterrorism strategy.

0734 Quarterly Report of the Office of the Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction (SIGIR).

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2005. 115pp.

This document is the fifth quarterly report to Congress of SIGIR (and its predecessor agency, CPA-IG) reviewing financial oversight of Iraqi reconstruction projects. The report highlights the activities of SIGIR, discusses the sources and uses of funds and the processes and controls overseeing them, and summarizes SIGIR accomplishments and

objectives. The report includes information on various assets for Iraq relief and reconstruction and a summary of all SIGIR audits, investigations, and initiatives.

0849 Filling the Information Void: Adapting the Information Operation (IO) Message in Post-hostility Iraq.

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

Peter A. Sicoli. May 2005. 73pp.

The author of this thesis considers the importance of information operations (IO) in the political reconstruction of Iraq. Defining IO as coordinated efforts to influence public support and perception, the author identifies several challenges in Iraq (e.g., Arab culture, the media, rumors) requiring special attention to the implementation of IO doctrine, tactics, techniques, and procedure.

0922 Iraq and After: Taking the Right Lessons for Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction.

National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Michael Eisenstadt. May 2005. 28pp.

The author of this report discusses “recent proliferation surprises in the Middle East—the failure to find WMD in Iraq, Libya’s decision to eliminate its WMD, and evidence of significant progress by Iran toward a nuclear weapons capability” (Frame 0930).

The author emphasizes the vital importance of foreign assistance in spreading WMD capabilities and argues for the revitalization of counterproliferation strategies such as export controls, international sanctions, inspections, and military threats.

Reel 12

2005 cont.

0001 Report on Illegal Surcharges on Oil-for-Food Contracts and Illegal Oil Shipments from Khor Al-Amaya.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. May 2005. 128pp.

This report, prepared by the Democratic minority staff of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, examines allegations of corruption in the UN’s OFFP, focusing on the involvement of U.S. citizens and effects on U.S. interests. Subtitled “Oil for Influence: How Saddam Used Oil to Reward Politicians and Terrorist Entities under the United Nations Oil-for-Food Program,” the report presents evidence of fraud by the U.S. corporation Bayoil and implicates the United States and UN in failures to adequately supervise the OFFP. The report details illegal shipments of oil in 2003 from the Iraqi port of Khor al-Amaya.

0129 The Development Fund for Iraq: U.S. Management of Iraq Oil Proceeds and Compliance with U.N. Security Council Resolution 1483.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. June 2005. 235pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the House Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations includes testimony from Stuart W. Bowen Jr., head of SIGIR, Colonel Emmett DuBose of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Stan Z. Soloway of the Professional Services Council, Dr. Richard Garfield of Columbia University, William H. Reed of the Defense Contract Audit Agency, and DoD’s Joseph A. Benkert and David Norquist. Witnesses discuss reconstruction contracting and

financial management by U.S. government agencies under the DFI, the successor to the UN's OFFP. Subcommittee chairman, Congressman Christopher Shays (R-Conn.) emphasizes the need for transparency and oversight in the allocation of funds for reconstruction projects in Iraq and acknowledges the problem of disbursements unaccounted for. Bowen and Reed defend the auditing work of their offices, though acknowledging problems due to weak controls of DFI funds. DuBose discusses the Corps of Engineers' Restore Iraqi Oil program and its contracts with Kellogg Brown and Root (KBR), a source of controversy concerning the disclosure of project costs. Norquist and Benkert describe DoD's audit process. Soloway, representing an association of federal contractors, notes the problem of conducting concurrent military and reconstruction tasks in Iraq and confusion over U.S. contract procurement rules, suggesting changes in DoD policies. Garfield adds the perspective of a private consultant working on humanitarian projects in Iraq, blaming problems with the use of health care funds on ineffective program management. The record includes a copy of a report, "Rebuilding Iraq: U.S. Mismanagement of Iraqi Funds," prepared by the Democratic minority staff of the House Committee on Governmental Reform (Frames 0140–0164). That report concludes, after examining U.S. government audit records, that CPA officials in Iraq operated heavily in cash transactions unaccounted for by traditional financial controls, leading to substantial waste, fraud, and abuse.

0364 Iraq's Transition to Democracy.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. June 2005. 56pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the House Subcommittee on the Middle East and Central Asia includes testimony from Ambassador Richard Jones, U.S. State Department Coordinator for Iraq, discussing the state of democratic reform in Iraq one year after the transfer of sovereignty to the IIG and the formation of the Iraqi Transitional Government in May 2005. Jones discusses his efforts to coordinate U.S. support and build international backing for Iraq's political transition and economic reconstruction.

0420 The Kurds: Their Effect on the Attempt to Democratize Iraq—A Strategic Estimate.

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. Stephen A. Miller. June 2005. 77pp.

The author of this thesis considers Iraq's Kurdish population as vital to the success or failure of efforts to establish democracy in the country. The author examines the options facing the Kurds regarding Iraq's political reconstruction, especially the choice between integration into a unified Iraqi state or seeking national independence, and how the United States might respond to the latter scenario.

0497 Understanding Iraq's Shi'is: Evolving Misperceptions Within the U.S. Government from the 1970s to the Present.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Daron M. Mizell. June 2005. 87pp.

The author of this thesis "explores shifting perceptions within the U.S. government regarding Iraq's Shi'ite majority, and their impact on the decision to remove Saddam, and on current U.S. endeavors in post-war Iraq" (Frame 0503). Arguing that understanding this vital population is key to success in Iraq, the author traces how U.S. policy makers have changed their views of Shi'ite Muslims since the 1970s and how Shi'ites may influence Iraq's future.

0584 Iraq: U.S. Regime Change Efforts and Post-Saddam Governance.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Kenneth Katzman. July 2005. 51pp.

This report provides a summary of four main topics: anti-Saddam groups and U.S. policy toward Iraq since the 1990s, post-Saddam governance and the transition to a democratic Iraqi government, the insurgency and coalition efforts to stabilize key regions of the country, and economic reconstruction.

0635 Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq.

U.S. Department of Defense, Washington, D.C. July 2005. 23pp.

This report to Congress provides an update on the status of efforts to achieve security, political stability, and economic progress in Iraq. The report includes a data from the Transition Readiness Assessment, an appraisal of the training and development of Iraqi security forces.

0658 Policy Options for Iraq.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. July 2005. 199pp.

This document consists of transcripts of three hearings before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held to consider the security, political, and economic dimensions of U.S. and coalition efforts in Iraq. Witnesses discuss the implications of a set of policy options articulated by the committee. The discussion of security issues involves questions about U.S. counterinsurgency strategy, international assistance for Iraq's border security, the training of Iraqi security forces, and the structure of the U.S. military presence in Iraq. Commentators on Iraq's political development (beginning on Frame 0743) address the issues of drafting a constitution, public relations and the use of the media for a public education campaign, the possibilities for settling Sunni-Shi'ite conflicts, and the cultivation of unifying leaders in Iraq. Assessments of economic progress begin on Frame 0809 and revolve around the topics of regional and local development, employment and job creation, corruption and sabotage in the oil sector, and the efficacy of regularly publishing economic indicators for public relations purposes.

0857 Rebuilding Iraq: Actions Needed to Improve Use of Private Security Providers.

Government Accountability Office, Washington, D.C. July 2005. 70pp.

This report to Congress evaluates the acquisition and costs of private security services for U.S. agencies and contractors in Iraq and the relationship between those civilian forces and the U.S. military. The report recommends improving communication between the two sets of security providers.

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2005 cont.

0001 Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction Report to Congress.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2005. 108pp.

This document is the sixth quarterly report to Congress of SIGIR (and its predecessor agency, CPA-IG) reviewing financial oversight of Iraqi reconstruction projects. The report highlights the activities of SIGIR, discusses the sources and uses of funds and the processes and controls overseeing them, and summarizes SIGIR accomplishments and

objectives. The report includes information on various assets for Iraq relief and reconstruction and a summary of all SIGIR audits, investigations, and initiatives.

0109 Oversight Hearing on Iraqi Reconstruction.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. September 2005. 8pp.

This document reproduces the testimony of SIGIR head Stuart W. Bowen Jr. before the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs, reporting on a recent tour of Iraq and SIGIR's oversight of reconstruction projects there.

0117 Radiological Sources in Iraq: DOD Should Evaluate Its Source Recovery Effort and Apply Lessons Learned to Future Recovery Missions.

Government Accountability Office, Washington, D.C. September 2005. 57pp.

This report to Congress provides information on DoD's ability to collect and secure sources of radioactive material in Iraq. The report assesses DoD capabilities as well as its achievements and the lessons learned throughout the process.

0174 Rebuilding Iraq: U.S. Water and Sanitation Efforts Need Improved Measures for Assessing Impact and Sustained Resources for Maintaining Facilities.

Government Accountability Office, Washington, D.C. September 2005. 47pp.

This report to Congress assesses the funding and status of U.S. activities in restoring water and sanitation services in Iraq and factors affecting the sustainability of those programs. The report recommends the establishment of indicators to measure progress and continued communication with Iraqi officials to identify and respond to critical needs in these areas.

0221 Third Generation Gangs Revisited: The Iraq Insurgency.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Nicholas I. Haussler. September 2005. 127pp.

The author of this thesis uses social science theories about gang activity "to illuminate the street-level dynamics that drive insurgent violence" in Iraq (Frame 0227). After outlining the theoretical model, the author examines the nature of armed groups in Iraq and identifies characteristics that both fit and challenge it, creating an alternate pattern that suggests the implications of insurgency on stability and security.

0348 U.S. Treatment of Prisoners in Iraq: Selected Legal Issues.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Jennifer K. Elsea. September 2005. 32pp.

This report to Congress summarizes the provisions of the Geneva Conventions and other international agreements with respect to the treatment of prisoners and the means for investigating allegations of abuse against detainees.

0380 An Analysis of the U.S. Military's Ability to Sustain an Occupation in Iraq: An Update.

Congressional Budget Office, Washington, D.C. October 2005. 15pp.

This report to Congress examines fluctuations between 2003 and 2005 in the size of the U.S. military force deployed to Iraq and factors affecting the variations. The report also comments on the ability of the U.S. military to maintain a large-scale occupation in Iraq and the implications for the military's ability to respond to other threats.

0395 Award Fee Process for Contractors Involved in Iraqi Reconstruction.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. October 2005. 29pp.

This report evaluates the process by which contractors involved in Iraq's reconstruction are rewarded financially for meeting performance objectives.

0424 Iraq in U.S. Foreign Policy.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. October 2005. 89pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations includes testimony from Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice on a myriad of issues concerning the U.S. occupation and reconstruction of Iraq. Rice discusses U.S. objectives in Iraq, plans to achieve them, and the resources needed to overcome obstacles. She also places the issues surrounding Iraq in the context of broader U.S. foreign relations and efforts to address international problems such as terrorism and the existence of WMD.

0513 Iraq: Perceptions, Realities, and Cost to Complete.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. October 2005. 199pp.

This transcript of a hearing before the House Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations includes commentary on the state of U.S. security and reconstruction efforts in Iraq, obstacles to those efforts, and estimates of the cost to complete vital missions. The first panel of witnesses includes Stuart W. Bowen Jr., head of SIGIR, and officials from auditing and inspection agencies in the departments of State and Defense, GAO, AID, and the U.S. Army. Bowen in particular emphasizes "the reconstruction gap," the difference between projects originally planned and those that will actually be completed, attributing the diminished capacity to rising costs, delays, competition for resources, and security needs (Frame 0553). Other commentators present oversight reports on law enforcement and governance projects, police training, the provision of public utilities, and reconstruction contracts and program management. Material submitted for the record includes "The Bush Administration Record: The Reconstruction of Iraq," a report prepared by Democratic staff of the House Committee on Government Reform evaluating U.S. programs in the oil, water, and electric power sectors in Iraq (Frames 0522–0534).

A second panel of witnesses begins on Frame 0671 with commentary from nongovernmental experts Dr. Mary Habeck of Johns Hopkins University, Judy Van Rest of the International Republican Institute, and Les Campbell of the National Democratic Institute. Basing their remarks on firsthand accounts while in Iraq, Habeck and Van Rest offer more optimistic assessments of progress, while Campbell expresses concerns about the possibilities for a unifying constitutional order in Iraq amid serious ethnic and sectarian divisions.

0712 Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq.

U.S. Department of Defense, Washington, D.C. October 2005. 44pp.

This report to Congress includes data highlighting achievements in security, political stability, and economic progress in Iraq. The report includes an appraisal of the training and performance of Iraqi security forces.

0756 Precedents, Variables, and Options in Planning a U.S. Military Disengagement Strategy from Iraq.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. W. Andrew Terrill and Conrad C. Crane. October 2005. 68pp.

The authors of this report assess the state of U.S. military operations in Iraq and the process of training Iraqi security forces with an eye toward developing a strategy for the withdrawal of non-Iraqi forces. The authors emphasize the need for flexibility in the U.S. mission, cautioning against the establishment of timetables for troop removals.

0824 Rebuilding Iraq: Enhancing Security, Measuring Program Results, and Maintaining Infrastructure Are Necessary to Make Significant and Sustainable Progress.

Government Accountability Office, Washington, D.C. Joseph A. Christoff. October 2005. 26pp.

This document reproduces testimony before the House Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations on the status of funding for security and reconstruction projects in Iraq and the continuing challenges to U.S. efforts in those areas. The presenter acknowledges that funding needs have expanded beyond initial estimates and that funding priorities have shifted in response to the insurgency.

0850 Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction Report to Congress.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. October 2005. 114pp.

This document is the seventh quarterly report to Congress of SIGIR (and its predecessor agency, CPA-IG) reviewing financial oversight of Iraqi reconstruction projects. The report highlights the activities of SIGIR, discusses the sources and uses of funds and the processes and controls overseeing them, and summarizes SIGIR accomplishments and objectives. The report includes information on various assets for Iraq relief and reconstruction and a summary of all SIGIR audits, investigations, and initiatives.

0964 Improvised Explosive Devices in Iraq: Effects and Countermeasures.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Clay Wilson. November 2005. 7pp.

The author of this report to Congress discusses the creation and use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs), the crudely made bombs that have killed hundreds of soldiers and civilians in markets, mosques, and government facilities across Iraq. The report highlights countermeasures being developed to detect IEDs or lessen their impact (e.g., protective armor for vehicles).

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2005 cont.

0001 National Strategy for Victory in Iraq.

National Security Council, Washington, D.C. November 2005. 39pp.

Subtitled "Helping the Iraqi People Defeat the Terrorists and Build an Inclusive Democratic State," this report presents an overview of the Bush administration's rationale and plan for achieving its objectives in Iraq. The report presents the goals and strategy of

enemy insurgents and outlines the political, economic, and security tracks to be integrated into a comprehensive program to overcome that opposition.

0040 Al Qaeda in Iraq: Demobilizing the Threat.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Timothy A. Kraner. December 2005. 171pp.

The author of this thesis uses social mobilization theories to study the organization and actions of al Qaeda in Iraq. The author then evaluates U.S. counterinsurgency strategy in light of the assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the insurgent network.

0211 The Oil-for-Food Program: The Systematic Failure of the United Nations.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. December 2005. 183pp.

This investigative report of the House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations details the management and leadership weakness in the UN's administration of the OFFP in Iraq. The report especially faults the UN's incapacity for managing an operation of this scope and the program's grant of significant authority to Saddam Hussein to arrange purchases of Iraq oil and the distribution of humanitarian relief.

0394 Revisions in Need of Revising: What Went Wrong in the Iraq War.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. David C. Hendrickson and Robert W. Tucker. December 2005. 45pp.

The authors of this report address the critique of the Bush administration's planning for postwar Iraq. While acknowledging that some elements of "what went wrong" were because of poor planning and execution, they shift the terms of the debate to highlight instead that the very nature of the invasion and occupation itself made certain problems all but inevitable. The authors particularly address the charges that the size of the U.S. invasion and occupation force was insufficient and that civil disorder and insurgency were not anticipated in prewar planning.

0439 U.S. Intelligence and Policymaking: The Iraq Experience.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Richard A. Best Jr. December 2005. 6pp.

The author of this report to Congress discusses the gathering and use of intelligence prior to the U.S. invasion of Iraq. The author summarizes intelligence collection process and the administration's public statements based on estimates about Iraq's WMD programs.

0445 What Lies Beneath: Saddam's Legacy and the Roots of Resistance in Iraq.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Peter J. Munson. December 2005. 149pp.

The author of this thesis examines the impact of Ba'ath party rule on Iraq's society and government, linking the legacy of Saddam Hussein's regime to the emergence of the insurgency in postwar Iraq. The author's approach implies the need for a sociopolitical dimension to military counterinsurgency efforts to quell the resistance.

2006

0594 Al Balda Police Station, Hilla, Iraq.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. January 2006. 20pp.

This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of a police station.

- 0614 Ammunition Supply Point, Umm Qasr, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. January 2006. 21pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of an ammunition supply facility.
- 0635 Border Forts Numbered 602, 604, 628, and 634, Sulaymaniyah, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. January 2006. 60pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of security posts along Iraq's northeastern border with Iran.
- 0695 Challenges Faced in Carrying Out Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund Activities.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. January 2006. 40pp.
This report to the U.S. ambassador for Iraq discusses the challenges faced by the State Department in directing and supervising IRRF program activities. The report audits changes in funding allocations between 2003 and 2005, highlights obstacles to the successful completion of reconstruction projects, and summarizes the use of IRRF resources in the key areas of security, law enforcement, oil, water and sanitation, transportation and communication, health care, education, and governance.
- 0735 Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Human Capital Management.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. January 2006. 65pp.
This report, the first from SIGIR's Lessons Learned Initiative, addresses personnel issues that emerged during the Iraq reconstruction process. The report presents the findings and recommendations of a team of government, industry, and academic experts on such topics as workforce planning and development, recruitment and training, staff continuity, and the transfer of information in a constantly changing work environment.
- 0800 Iraq's New Security Forces: The Challenges of Sectarian and Ethnic Influences.**
Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Jeremy M. Sharp. January 2006. 6pp.
This report to Congress analyzes the prospects for building an Iraqi security force that can overcome the country's ethnic and sectarian divisions. The author discusses the history of the Iraqi army, disbanded by the CPA in May 2003, and U.S. efforts to train new units and convince Sunni Iraqis (both Arabs and Kurds) to participate in them.
- 0806 Islam: Sunnis and Shiites.**
Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Christopher M. Blanchard. January 2006. 6pp.
The author of this report discusses the two major branches of Islam, their historical development and basic tenets, and the sources of sectarian conflict between them.
- 0812 Kerbala Library, Kerbala, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. January 2006. 17pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of a public library.
- 0829 Operations Center & Security Facilities Construction, Umm Qasr, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. January 2006. 26pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward the completion of renovations to facilities at one of Iraq's main ports.

0855 Post-War Iraq: Foreign Contributions to Training, Peacekeeping, and Reconstruction.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Jeremy M. Sharp and Christopher M. Blanchard. January 2006. 24pp.

This report provides an update of international assistance, especially from NATO members, for the training and equipping of Iraqi security forces. The report includes a chronology highlighting significant events in and international contributions to security and peacekeeping in Iraq from 2003 through 2005.

0879 Security Upgrades for the Port of Umm Qasr, Iraq.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. January 2006. 23pp.

This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward the reinforcement of security features at one of Iraq's main ports.

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2006 cont.

0001 Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction Report to Congress.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. January 2006. 246pp.

This document is the eighth quarterly report to Congress of SIGIR (and its predecessor agency, CPA-IG) reviewing financial oversight of Iraqi reconstruction projects.

The report highlights the activities of SIGIR, discusses the sources and uses of funds and the processes and controls overseeing them, and summarizes SIGIR accomplishments and objectives. The report includes information on various assets for Iraq relief and reconstruction and a summary of all SIGIR audits, investigations, and initiatives.

0247 Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) Police Station, Hilla, Iraq.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. January 2006. 33pp.

This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of a specialized police station with helicopter landing facilities.

0280 Harmony and Disharmony: Exploiting al-Qa'ida's Organizational Vulnerabilities.

United States Military Academy, West Point, New York. February 2006. 116pp.

This study, conducted by faculty and research fellows at the U.S. Military Academy's Center for Combating Terrorism, provides an in-depth analysis of al Qaeda based on recently captured documents. The report combines the approaches of organization and agency theory with empirical data to assess the internal challenges and vulnerabilities of the terrorist group as a means to developing effective countermeasures to their abilities. The authors assess the experiences of Islamic terrorist networks in Syria in the 1970s as a comparative case study.

0396 Hearing on Contracting Issues in Iraq.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. February 2006. 20pp.

This document reproduces a statement of SIGIR head Stuart W. Bowen Jr. before the Senate Subcommittee on Readiness and Management Support highlighting the achievements of his agency's oversight of Iraq reconstruction programs and contracts.

- 0416 Iraq: U.S. Regime Change Efforts and Post-Saddam Governance.**
Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Kenneth Katzman. February 2006. 48pp.
This report to Congress provides an updated summary of political, economic, and security challenges in Iraq during the transitional development of full Iraqi sovereignty. The report discusses new government structures, international economic assistance, the insurgency, and the training and development of Iraqi security forces.
- 0464 Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq: Report to Congress.**
U.S. Department of Defense, Washington, D.C. February 2006. 57pp.
This report to Congress includes data highlighting achievements in security, political stability, and economic progress in Iraq. The authors emphasize the development of rule-of-law institutions and the success of the December 2005 elections. The report includes an appraisal of the training and performance of Iraqi security forces.
- 0521 U.S. Intelligence and Policymaking: The Iraq Experience.**
Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Richard A. Best Jr. February 2006. 6pp.
The author of this report to Congress discusses the gathering and use of intelligence prior to the U.S. invasion of Iraq. The author summarizes the intelligence collection process and the administration's statements based on estimates about Iraq's WMD programs.
- 0527 Addressing the Components of Will in the National Strategy for Victory in Iraq.**
U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. David S. Hubner. March 2006. 21pp.
The author of this thesis considers the concept of human will as an element in military planning. By studying the components of will and its relationship to military operations, the author argues in favor of considering an analysis of the will of both friendly and enemy forces in the preparation of military doctrine.
- 0548 Al Fatah River Crossing Tie-Ins, Al Fatah, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. March 2006. 22pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the reconstruction of manifolds on both sides of the Tigris River to connect two of Iraq's major oil pipelines.
- 0570 Al Kaffat Substation, Basrah, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. March 2006. 21pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of an electric power facility.
- 0591 Al Nahrwan Water Supply Project, Al Nahrwan, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. March 2006. 17pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of a water pipeline and connections to local houses.
- 0608 Al Seraji Substation, Basrah, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. March 2006. 21pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of an electric power facility.

- 0629 Al Wahda Water Treatment Plant, Baghdad, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. March 2006. 20pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of a water treatment facility.
- 0649 Babil Railway Station Rehabilitation, Hilla, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. March 2006. 19pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward the completion of repairs to a railroad station.
- 0668 From the Balkans to Iraq: A Strategic Policy Outline for Integrated Stability Operations.**
U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Robert J. Botters Jr. March 2006. 22pp.
The author of this thesis addresses what he sees as a “void in joint doctrine between stability operations strategy development, campaign planning, and campaign execution” (Frame 0670). Based on U.S. experiences in Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq, the author points to the need for an integrated approach to planning for the non-military functions of stability or peacekeeping operations.
- 0690 Hilla Maternity and Children’s Hospital, Hilla, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. March 2006. 27pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward the completion of repairs to a health care facility.
- 0717 Iraq: Elections, Government, and Constitution.**
Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Kenneth Katzman. March 2006. 6pp.
This report to Congress summarizes recent events in the development of an Iraqi constitution and democratically elected government, noting the impact of sectarian violence in delaying further progress.
- 0723 Iraq: How We May Lose the War We Won.**
U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Stephen E. Castlen. March 2006. 29pp.
The author of this thesis addresses “the changing American will regarding the Iraq war to evaluate” the chances for the ultimate achievement of the Bush administration’s prewar objectives (Frame 0725). The author examines actions and comments signifying the will of the president, press, politicians, and people—as well as that of the Iraqi resistance—as vital factors affecting outcomes in Iraq.
- 0752 Iraq: Post-Saddam Governance and Security.**
Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Kenneth Katzman. March 2006. 48pp.
This report to Congress provides an updated summary of political, economic, and security challenges in Iraq during the transitional development of full Iraqi sovereignty. The report discusses new government structures, international economic assistance, the insurgency, and the training and development of Iraqi security forces.

0800 Iraq: Recent Developments in Reconstruction Assistance.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Curt Tarnoff. March 2006. 31pp.

This report to Congress provides an update on the sources for reconstruction programs in Iraq, including U.S. assistance, Iraqi government assets, and international contributions. The report outlines important issues such as security and accountability.

0831 Phasing Out Private Security Contractors in Iraq.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Bobby A. Towery. March 2006. 18pp.

The author of this thesis assesses the effectiveness of private companies in providing security personnel for U.S. government and reconstruction projects in Iraq. Despite the value of private security contractors, the author sees them as a political liability, both in terms of “undermining the legitimacy” of the Iraqi government (Frame 0833) and in hindering the transfer of security responsibilities to Iraqi citizens.

0849 Post-Transition Violence in Iraq (2004–2005): The Military Perspective of an Insider.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. Jabbar Naeemah Karam. March 2006. 20pp.

The author of this thesis examines the insurgents in Iraq, discussing who they are, what they hope to gain, and what motivates their violence. In understanding the resistance more clearly, the author hopes to help develop an effective counterinsurgency.

0869 Provincial Reconstruction Teams: Afghanistan vs. Iraq—Should We Have a Standard Model?

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, Pa. John D. Drolet. March 2006. 22pp.

The author of this thesis highlights the structure and accomplishments of Provincial Reconstructions Teams (PRTs) in Afghanistan, recommending their adaptation as primary institutions of nation building in Iraq.

0891 Seif Sa’ad Police Station, Hilla, Iraq.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. March 2006. 18pp.

This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of a police station.

0909 Shaat al Arab Substation, Basrah, Iraq.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. March 2006. 21pp.

This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of an electric power facility.

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2006 cont.

0001 U.S. Foreign Assistance to the Middle East: Historical Background, Recent Trends, and the FY2007 Request.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Jeremy M. Sharp. March 2006. 31pp.

This report provides an overview of U.S. foreign aid to the Middle East from 2002 to 2006 and planned spending for 2007. The report summarizes U.S. economic and/or military assistance to each country in the region and discusses issues such as the

Palestinian Authority, state-sponsored terrorism, human rights development, and democratic reform.

0032 U.S. Occupation Assistance: Iraq, Germany, and Japan Compared.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Nina Serafino, Curt Tarnoff, and Dick K. Nanto. March 2006. 16pp.

This report provides data on U.S. aid to Iraq and compares it with assistance to Germany and Japan following World War II. Whereas post–World War II assistance was largely humanitarian (especially food aid), funding for Iraq has involved a much greater focus on the economic reconstruction of critical infrastructure.

0048 Women in Iraq: Background and Issues for U.S. Policy.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Aaron D. Pina. March 2006. 20pp.

The author, an analyst in Middle East religions and cultures, compares the general experiences of Iraqi women in such areas as education, labor, and legal rights under Ba’athist rule and in post-Saddam Iraq. The report highlights U.S. programs for women in Iraq and current issues concerning security, democratic reform, and cultural change.

0068 Aviation Base Building, Kirkuk, Iraq.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 35pp.

This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of an aviation hanger and a barracks and operations center.

0103 The Cost of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Global War on Terrorism Operations Since 9/11.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Amy Belasco. April 2006. 40pp.

The author of this report discusses the \$368 billion appropriated by Congress since September 11, 2001, for military base security enhancements and U.S. military missions in Afghanistan and Iraq. The author raises potential oversight questions for Congress.

0143 Development Fund for Iraq Cash Accountability Review: Joint Area Support Group—Central/Fallujah.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 14pp.

This report summarizes an SIGIR audit of DFI funds held by Iraqi officials in Fallujah.

0157 Erbil City Transformers, Erbil, Iraq.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 27pp.

This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward the completion of repairs and upgrades to an electrical power facility.

0184 Fire Station Construction, Ainkawa, Iraq.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 32pp.

This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward the completion of construction of a facility for fire protection services.

- 0216 Iraq: Elections, Government, and Constitution.**
Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Kenneth Katzman. April 2006. 6pp.
This report to Congress summarizes recent events in the development of an Iraqi constitution and democratically-elected government, noting the impact of sectarian violence in delaying further progress.
- 0222 Iraq Oil: Reserves, Production, and Potential Revenues.**
Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Lawrence Kumins. April 2006. 6pp.
The author, a specialist in energy policy, examines Iraq's oil reserves, production history, recent production, domestic fuel needs, and production potential.
- 0228 Iraq: Post-Saddam Governance and Security.**
Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Kenneth Katzman. April 2006. 47pp.
This report to Congress provides an updated summary of political, economic, and security challenges in Iraq during the transitional development of full Iraqi sovereignty. The report discusses new government structures, international economic assistance, the insurgency, and the training and development of Iraqi security forces.
- 0275 Iraqi Armed Forces Seized Assets Fund: Review of Contracts and Financial Documents.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 21pp.
This report summarizes an audit to determine the completeness of records maintained by the Joint Contracting Command regarding transactions involving seized Iraqi assets.
- 0296 Mosul Air Traffic Control Tower and Navigational Aids, Mosul, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 30pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of an air traffic control facility.
- 0326 New 2nd Brigade Base, Kirkuk, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 37pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of a military base.
- 0363 Ninewa Village Roads, Segment 3, Governorate of Ninewa, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 27pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of a paved road connecting three villages in Ninewa province.
- 0390 Primary Health Care Centers Numbered KE-01, KE-02, KE-03, KE-04, and KE-05, Kirkuk, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 94pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of five health care facilities.
- 0484 Review of Task Force Shield Programs.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 44pp.
This report summarizes an audit of the management, training, and equipment responsibilities of U.S. agencies involved in Task Force Shield, a program established in 2003 to rebuild the security of Iraq's oil and electrical infrastructure.

0528 Review of the Multi-National Security Transition Command—Iraq: Reconciliation of the Iraqi Armed Forces Seized Assets Fund.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 27pp.

This report summarizes an audit of the documentation and procedures of the use of the Iraqi Armed Forces Seized Assets Fund.

0555 Sheile Primary School, Dahuk, Iraq.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 22pp.

This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of an elementary school.

0577 Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction Report to Congress.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 363pp.

This document is the ninth quarterly report to Congress of SIGIR (and its predecessor agency, CPA-IG) reviewing financial oversight of Iraqi reconstruction projects. The report highlights the activities of SIGIR, discusses the sources and uses of funds and the processes and controls overseeing them, and summarizes SIGIR accomplishments and objectives. The report includes information on various assets for Iraq relief and reconstruction and a summary of all SIGIR audits, investigations, and initiatives.

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0001 Summary Report: Ground Project Surveys for the Quarter Ended December 31, 2005.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 52pp.

This report summarizes the results of fifty-five ground project surveys conducted by SIGIR in the last quarter of 2005. The surveys provide information on the progress of contractual requirements in the construction of facilities for border control, education, medical services, public safety, and transportation.

0053 U.S. Military Operations in Iraq: Planning, Combat, and Occupation.

Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, Pa. Kate Phillips, Shane Lauth, and Erin Schenk. April 2006. 28pp.

This report is a synopsis of a forum of national security scholars, military officers, and policy makers addressing issues involved in the transition to Phase IV operations in Iraq. Commentators discuss the successes and problems associated with elements of the Iraq War, from defeating Saddam Hussein's regime to reconstruction to counterinsurgency.

0081 Zakho Military Academy, Zakho, Iraq.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. April 2006. 32pp.

This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of a military officers training facility.

0113 Iraq: Elections, Government, and Constitution.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Kenneth Katzman. May 2006. 6pp.

This report to Congress summarizes recent events in the development of an Iraqi constitution and democratically elected government, noting also the impact of sectarian violence in delaying further progress.

0119 Iraq: Post-Saddam Governance and Security.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Kenneth Katzman. May 2006. 48pp.

This report to Congress provides an updated summary of political, economic, and security challenges in Iraq during the transitional development of full Iraqi sovereignty. The report discusses new government structures, international economic assistance, the insurgency, and the training and development of Iraqi security forces.

0167 Iraq: Recent Developments in Reconstruction Assistance.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Curt Tarnoff. May 2006. 32pp.

This report to Congress provides an update on the sources for reconstruction programs in Iraq, including U.S. assistance, Iraqi government assets, and international contributions. The report also discusses important issues such as security and accountability.

0199 Iraq: U.S. Military Operations.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Steve Bowman. May 2006. 17pp.

This report provides an update of U.S. military actions and accomplishments after three years of operations in Iraq. The memorandum includes summaries on the background to the conflict, military planning and combat operations, Iraqi resistance, and concerns about equipment (such as shortages of body armor for U.S. combat troops), U.S. force levels, and the role of non-U.S. forces. The author notes various estimates of the costs of continued operations in Iraq.

0216 Kuwait: Security, Reform, and U.S. Policy.

Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. Kenneth Katzman. May 2006. 6pp.

This report discusses recent events in Kuwait, including a succession crisis following the death of the country's long-ruling Amir and the dissolution of parliament and plans for new elections. The author comments on the state of U.S. relations with Kuwait, especially in terms of cooperation on Iraq policy.

0222 Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq.

U.S. Department of Defense, Washington, D.C. May 2006. 67pp.

This report to Congress includes data highlighting achievements in security, political stability, and economic progress in Iraq. The report also includes an appraisal of the training and performance of Iraqi security forces.

0289 Total Iraq War Costs Through 2006 Estimated at \$320 Billion.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. May 2006. 42pp.

This memorandum from the Democratic staff of the House Committee on the Budget notes issues related to funding of the war in Iraq and other U.S. operations in the Global War on Terror. The document includes a copy of the Congressional Research Service report, "The Cost of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Global War on Terror Operations Since 9/11" (see Reel 16, Frames 0103–0142).

- 0331 Updating the National Strategy in Iraq: The Ideological Element.**
Joint Forces Staff College, Norfolk, Va. Jefferson L. DuBinok. May 2006. 79pp.
The author of this thesis assesses the relevance of U.S. strategy in Iraq in light of the ideological dimension of the conflict. The author examines Islamist ideology and the motivating factors behind the insurgency in Iraq to recommend modifications to the U.S. approach.
- 0410 U.S. Forces in Iraq.**
Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C. JoAnne O'Bryant and Michael Waterhouse. May 2006. 4pp.
This report provides data on force levels in Iraq for the four U.S. military branches, the National Guard, and reserves.
- 0414 Winning the Counterinsurgency Fight in Iraq: The Role of Political Culture in Counterinsurgency Warfare 2003–2006, in Iraq.**
U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. Joseph Pepper Jr. May 2006. 65pp.
The author of this thesis examines the impact of Iraq's political culture on U.S. counterinsurgency and political reform efforts. The author attributes ineffectiveness in U.S. strategy to a failure to fully appreciate Iraq's history and religion and assess the root causes of popular support for the insurgency.
- 0479 Basrah International Airport—Air Side Power Supply to NAVAIDS and VISAIDS, Basrah, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. June 2006. 24pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of electrical system upgrades at the Basrah Airport.
- 0503 Muthanna Village Roads, Segment 4, Governorate of Muthanna, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. June 2006. 31pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of paved roads in Muthanna province.
- 0534 Review of Iraq Reconstruction.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. June 2006. 6pp.
This document reproduces the testimony of SIGIR head Stuart W. Bowen Jr. before the House Committee on International Relations on the state of his agency's oversight efforts in Iraq. Bowen highlights SIGIR accomplishments in the five critical areas of security, reconstruction, the oil industry, anticorruption, and encouraging international donors.
- 0540 609th Iraqi National Guard Battalion Garrison, Thi Quar Governorate, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2006. 35pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of a military outpost.
- 0575 Baghdad Railway Station Rehabilitation, Baghdad, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2006. 37pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward the completion of repairs of the utility systems and passenger convenience facilities at Iraq's main railroad station.

- 0612 Basrah International Airport—Terminal and Tower Restoration, Basrah, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2006. 32pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward the completion of repairs to the terminals, administration building, and air traffic control tower at one of Iraq's three major airports.
- 0644 Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons in Contracting and Procurement.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2006. 140pp.
This report, the second of SIGIR's Lessons Learned Initiative, addresses U.S. government experiences with contracting and procurement for Iraq relief and reconstruction projects. The report presents the findings and recommendations of a team of government, industry, and academic experts on changes over time in the planning and implementation of acquiring and providing services for government-funded programs.
- 0784 Joint Survey of the U.S. Embassy—Iraq's Anticorruption Program.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2006. 33pp.
This report summarizes the results of a survey of the participation in the Anticorruption Program of the U.S. Embassy—Iraq by agencies administering reconstruction projects. The audit assesses the effectiveness of the program's goals, measures of success, communication of expectations, and provision of resources.
- 0817 Kirkuk to Baiji Pipeline Project.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2006. 83pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward the completion of repairs to an important component of Iraq's oil infrastructure.
- 0900 Nasiriyah Fire Station, Nasiriyah, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2006. 29pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward the completion of construction of a facility for fire protection services.
- 0929 Nasiriyah Prison Facility, Nasiriyah, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2006. 34pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward completion of the construction of a maximum/medium security prison.
- 0963 Police Station—Safwan IHP 404, Basrah, Iraq.**
Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2006. 29pp.
This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward the completion of construction of a regional barracks and administrative facility for the Iraqi Highway Patrol.

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0001 Rebuilding Iraq: More Comprehensive National Strategy Needed to Help Achieve U.S. Goals and Overcome Challenges.

Government Accountability Office, Washington, D.C. David M. Walker. July 2006. 28pp.

This document reproduces testimony of the U.S. comptroller general before the House Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations. David M. Walker discusses the extent to which the Bush administration's National Strategy for Victory in Iraq (NSVI) demonstrates the characteristics of an effective national strategy and assesses the potential impact of security, political, and economic factors on the ability of the administration to achieve its goals. Walker cautions that the NSVI only partially addresses questions of U.S. government responsibilities, the coordination of the strategy across U.S. agencies and the Iraqi government, and the costs and sources of funding for the effort.

0029 Rebuilding Iraq: More Comprehensive National Strategy Needed to Help Achieve U.S Goals

Government Accountability Office, Washington, D.C. July 2006. 59pp.

This report to Congress addresses the extent to which the NSVI demonstrates the characteristics of an effective national strategy and assesses the potential impact of security, political, and economic factors on the ability of the administration to achieve its goals. The report cautions that the NSVI only partially addresses questions of U.S. government responsibilities, the coordination of the strategy across U.S. agencies and the Iraqi government, and the costs and sources of funding for the effort.

0088 Report to Congress Submitted Pursuant to U.S. Policy in Iraq Act, Section 1227(c) of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2006 (PL 109-163).

U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. July 2006. 28pp.

This report highlights the diplomatic, political, economic, and military measures undertaken to complete the U.S. mission in Iraq successfully. Programs include democratic reforms and the strengthening of Iraq's government ministries, the delivery of basic services, training Iraqi security forces, obtaining international pledges of assistance, and conducting counterinsurgency operations.

0116 Review of the U.S. Agency for International Development's Management of the Basrah Children's Hospital Project.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2006. 45pp.

This report provides an assessment of the management of the construction of a children's hospital in Basrah by AID and the Iraq Reconstruction Management Office.

0161 Section 2207 Report.

Department of State, Washington, D.C. July 2006. 159pp.

This document is a quarterly report to congressional oversight committees on programs and projects funded by U.S. appropriations to the IRRF. The report describes activities and expenses in the areas of security, law enforcement, public safety, health care, education, civil administration, and infrastructure (especially the electric, oil, water,

transportation, and telecommunications sectors). For each project, the report notes accomplishments since the last report, achievements anticipated for the upcoming quarter, and a summary accounting of the project's budgeted costs. The report notes the roles of Iraq's new national government formed on May 20, 2006.

0320 Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction Report to Congress.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2006. 231pp.

This document is the tenth quarterly report to Congress of SIGIR (and its predecessor agency, CPA-IG) reviewing financial oversight of Iraqi reconstruction projects. The report highlights the activities of SIGIR, discusses the sources and uses of funds and the processes and controls overseeing them, and summarizes SIGIR accomplishments and objectives. The report includes information on various assets for Iraq relief and reconstruction and a summary of all SIGIR audits, investigations, and initiatives.

0551 Summary Report: Ground Project Surveys for the Quarter Ended March 31, 2006.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2006. 55pp.

This report summarizes the results of forty-one ground project surveys conducted by SIGIR in the first quarter of 2006. The surveys provide information on the progress of contractual requirements in the construction of facilities for border control, education, medical services, public safety, and transportation.

0606 Transition of Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund Projects to the Iraqi Government.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2006. 30pp.

This report addresses the transition to the Iraqi government of completed projects funded by the IRRF. The report provides an assessment of the ability of U.S. supervising agencies to meet deadlines for the transitions and the capacity of the Iraqi government for assuming management responsibilities for the projects.

0636 Umm Qasr Water Scheme, Iraq.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. July 2006. 30pp.

This project assessment report evaluates contractor compliance with task orders and progress toward the completion of construction of a canal to transport freshwater to Basrah, whose water source suffers from elevated salination.

0666 The Constitution in Crisis: The Downing Street Minutes and Deception, Manipulation, Torture, Retribution, and Coverups in the Iraq War.

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. August 2006. 273pp.

This report contains the analysis and conclusions of the Democratic staff of the House Committee on the Judiciary following an investigation into whether the Bush administration misled the public leading up to the war in Iraq. The investigation particularly examines the "Downing Street Minutes," a transcript of discussions within the cabinet of British Prime Minister Tony Blair (held July 23, 2002, released to the public on May 1, 2005) in which an official complained that the U.S. government "intelligence and facts were being fixed around the policy" (Frame 0696). The report uses this and other evidence in its claims that the Bush administration was determined to go to war before receiving congressional authorization for the action and that top U.S. officials misstated and manipulated intelligence to justify the pre-emptive war. The report also charges the Bush administration with retaliating against critics of its policies and

“encouraging and countenancing torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment” in detention centers (Frame 0762). The report calls for a full-scale congressional investigation into the allegations and measures to limit certain executive powers.

0939 Iraq Reconstruction: Lessons Learned in Contracting and Procurement.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. August 2006. 8pp.

This document reproduces testimony of SIGIR head Stuart W. Bowen Jr. before the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs regarding the release of his agency’s latest quarterly report on audits and inspections of Iraq reconstruction projects (see Reel 18, Frames 0320–0550) and its assessment of contracting and procurement processes for those projects (see Reel 17, Frames 0644–0783).

0947 Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq.

U.S. Department of Defense, Washington, D.C. August 2006. 66pp.

This report to Congress includes data highlighting achievements in security, political stability, and economic progress in Iraq. The report also includes an appraisal of the training and performance of Iraqi security forces and an overview of plans for transferring security responsibilities from U.S. and coalition forces to Iraqi personnel.

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0001 Report of the Select Committee on Intelligence on Postwar Findings on Iraq’s WMD Programs and Links to Terrorism and How They Compare With Prewar Assessments, together with Additional Views.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. September 2006. 151pp.

This report is the unclassified version of an assessment by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence of the prewar WMD capabilities, links to al Qaeda, and intent of Saddam Hussein’s government. The panel examined Iraq’s nuclear, chemical, biological, and delivery systems and reports of contacts and interaction between al Qaeda and Saddam’s regime. The committee’s findings do not support the assertions of 2002 National Intelligence Estimate regarding Iraqi actions, capabilities, and intentions.

0152 Report of the Select Committee on Intelligence on the Use by the Intelligence Community of Information Provided by the Iraqi National Congress, together with Additional Views.

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. September 2006. 211pp.

This report is the unclassified version of an assessment by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence of the prewar relationship between the U.S. government’s intelligence community (IC) and the exile Iraqi National Congress (INC). The panel evaluates information supplied to the IC by INC sources, particularly one code-named CURVE BALL, who insisted that Iraq possessed mobile laboratories capable of manufacturing biological weapons agents. The committee concludes that much of the information provided by the INC was false, some of it passed on deliberately, and that the IC insufficiently evaluated INC sources.

0363 Stabilizing Iraq: An Assessment of the Security Condition.

Government Accountability Office, Washington, D.C. David M. Walker. September 2006. 27pp.

This document reproduces testimony of the U.S. comptroller general before the House Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations assessing security conditions in Iraq and the status of the training and development of Iraqi security forces. The report addresses the roles of the Sunni insurgency and Shi'ite militias in fueling sectarian violence.

0390 Iraq Weekly Status Report.

U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. October 2006. 36pp.

This report of the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs “provides weekly updates in the eight key areas identified as pillars of US government policy for victory in Iraq”: counterinsurgency, Iraqi security self-reliance, constitutional development, government services, economic development, rule of law and civil rights, international support, and improving public opinion toward the coalition and against the insurgency (Frame 0391). The report highlights key developments in each of the eight categories.

0426 Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) U.S. Casualty Status: Fatalities as of October 5, 2006.

U.S. Department of Defense, Washington, D.C. October 2006. 1pp.

This report provides data on U.S. military and civilian personnel killed and wounded.

0427 Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) U.S. Casualty Status: Fatalities as of October 16, 2006.

U.S. Department of Defense, Washington, D.C. October 2006. 1pp.

This report provides data on U.S. military and civilian personnel killed and wounded.

0428 Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction Report to Congress.

Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, Arlington, Va. October 2006. 537pp.

This document is the eleventh quarterly report to Congress of SIGIR (and its predecessor agency, CPA-IG) reviewing financial oversight of Iraqi reconstruction projects. The report highlights the activities of SIGIR, discusses the sources and uses of funds and the processes and controls overseeing them, and summarizes SIGIR accomplishments and objectives. The report includes information on various assets for Iraq relief and reconstruction and a summary of all SIGIR audits, investigations, and initiatives. An appendix lists all 6,695 contracts funded by the IRRF, the contractor, a project description, and a summary of funds obligated, expended, and undelivered for that contract award (Frames 0665–0865).

0965 Iraq Study Group Report

Iraq Study Group, Washington, D.C. December 2006. 84pp.

This report contains the analysis and recommendations of a bipartisan commission supported by the U.S. Institute of Peace and co-chaired by former secretary of state James A. Baker III and former congressman Lee H. Hamilton. The panel first assessed security, political, and economic conditions in Iraq and international responses to the Iraq crisis. After discussing the consequences of continued violence and instability in Iraq, the group examined alternative courses of action, including U.S. troop withdrawals, troop increases, and partitioning the country into three regions. The panel presented its recommendations as “The Way Forward—A New Approach,” with proposals for an external strategy aimed at building an international consensus and placing Iraq in the

wider regional context of the Middle East and an internal strategy focusing on helping Iraqis help themselves. The report contains seventy-nine specific recommendations representing a comprehensive change of policy and actions “to improve the situation and protect American interests” (Frame 0968).

[Note: This document was mistakenly filmed out of chronological order.]

1049 Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq.

U.S. Department of Defense, Washington, D.C. November 2006. 53pp.

This report to Congress includes data highlighting achievements in security, political stability, and economic progress in Iraq. The report includes an appraisal of the training and performance of Iraqi security forces.

NAME INDEX

The following index is a guide to the individuals in this microform publication who feature prominently either as subjects or as contributors of statements and/or testimony in congressional hearings. The first number after each entry refers to the reel, while the four-digit number following the colon refers to the frame number at which a document containing information on, or major statements by, the person begins. Hence, 2: 0144 directs researchers to Frame 0144 of Reel 2. By referring to the Reel Index, which constitutes the initial section of this guide, the researcher will find the document title, author, issuing agency, publication date, and a brief abstract of the document.

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