

Testimony Before the House Armed Services Committee, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations

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# STABILIZING IRAQ

Factors Impeding the Development of Capable Iraqi Security Forces

Statement of Joseph A. Christoff, Director International Affairs and Trade

This testimony was amended on March 23, 2007, to reflect a change on page 9. Footnote 5 was removed because the information in Appendix I supercedes the information in the footnote.



Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

I am pleased to be here today to discuss U.S. efforts to develop Iraqi security forces. In November 2005, the National Security Council issued the National Strategy for Victory in Iraq to clarify the President's strategy for achieving U.S. political, security, and economic goals in Iraq. The strategy articulated the desired end-state for U.S. operations in Iraq: a peaceful, united, stable, and secure Iraq, well integrated into the international community, and a full partner in the global war on terrorism. To achieve this end state, the United States is, among other things, developing Iraqi military and police forces that will be capable of leading security operations. Ultimately the U.S. goal is to transfer security responsibilities from the Multinational Force-Iraq (MNF-I) to Iraqi security forces and the Iraqi government as their capability and the security situation improve. From 2003 through 2006, the United States provided about \$15.4 billion to develop Iraqi military and police forces. <sup>1</sup>

My testimony discusses (1) the results of U.S. efforts to develop Iraqi security forces, and (2) factors that affect the development of effective Iraqi forces. This testimony is based on GAO's issued reports<sup>2</sup> and ongoing work on U.S. efforts to stabilize Iraq. Although we reviewed both classified and unclassified documents, the information in this statement is based only on unclassified documents.

To develop the information presented here, we relied on a number of prior GAO reports and, where appropriate, we updated data. To update data on the results of U.S. efforts to develop Iraqi security forces, we reviewed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>In May 2004, the President issued a National Security Presidential Directive, which stated that DOD would be responsible for U.S. activities relating to security and military operations in Iraq after the transition of power from the Coalition Provisional Authority to the Iraqi government. The presidential directive established that the U.S. Central Command would direct all U.S. government efforts to organize, equip, and train Iraqi security forces. The Coalition Provisional Authority, established in May 2003, was the U.N.-recognized coalition authority led by the United States and United Kingdom that was responsible for the temporary governance of Iraq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>GAO, Securing, Stabilizing, and Rebuilding Iraq: Key Issues for Congressional Oversight, GAO-07-308SP (Washington, D.C.: Jan. 2007); and GAO, Rebuilding Iraq: Preliminary Observations on Challenges in Transferring Security Responsibilities to Iraqi Military and Police, GAO-05-431T (Washington, D.C.: Mar. 14, 2005); and Rebuilding Iraq: Resource, Security, Governance, Essential Services, and Oversight Issues, GAO-04-902R (Washington, D.C.: June 28, 2004).

DOD and MNF-I documents and obtained and assessed MNF-I data on enemy-initiated attacks against the coalition and its Iraqi partners from the Defense Intelligence Agency. We determined that the data were sufficiently reliable for establishing general trends in the number of attacks. To assess and update information on factors affecting the development of Iraqi security forces, we reviewed DOD and State reports, transcripts of MNF-I and U.S. Embassy conferences, and MNF-I guidance on Iraqi readiness assessments. This work was conducted in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards.

### Summary

As of February 2007, DOD reported that it had trained and equipped 327,000 Iraqi security forces—a substantial increase from the 142,000 reported in March 2005. The number of Iraqi security forces is more than double that of MNF-I's January force level of about 153,000 personnel. While the Iraqi security forces have grown in size and are increasingly leading counterinsurgency operations, they and MNF-I have been unable to reduce the levels of violence in Iraq. Enemy-initiated attacks per day have increased from about 70 in January 2006 to about 160 in December 2006.

Several factors have complicated the development of effective Iraqi security forces and help explain why the reported growth in Iraqi forces has not decreased violence.

- First, the Iraqi security forces are not a single unified force with a primary mission of countering the insurgency in Iraq. Only one major component of the Iraqi security forces, the Iraqi army, has counterinsurgency as its primary mission. The Iraqi army represents about 40 percent of the 327,000 Iraqi security personnel. The other major component—the Iraqi police—has civilian law enforcement as its primary mission.
- Second, high rates of absenteeism and poor ministry reporting result in an overstatement of the number of Iraqi security forces present for duty. The Ministry of the Interior does not maintain standardized reports on personnel strength. As a result, DOD does not know how many coalition-trained police the ministry still employs or what percentage of the 180,000 police thought to be on the payroll are coalition trained and equipped. In addition, DOD estimates that one-third of Iraqi soldiers are on leave at any one time as they return home to provide money to their families.
- Third, sectarian and militia influences have divided the loyalties of Iraqi security forces. In November 2006, for example, the Director of the

Defense Intelligence Agency stated that the Ministry of Interior and the police were heavily infiltrated by militia members of the Badr Organization and Mahdi Army. According to the 2007 National Intelligence Estimate on Iraq, sectarian divisions have eroded the dependability of many Iraqi army units.

• Fourth, as we previously reported, Iraqi units remain dependent upon the coalition for their logistical, command and control, and intelligence capabilities. As of December 2006, the coalition was providing significant levels of support to the Iraqi military, including life support, fuel, uniforms, building supplies, ammunition, vehicle maintenance and spare parts, and medical supplies.

The extent of these problems cannot be fully assessed without detailed information on the readiness of each Iraqi unit. MNF-I captures such information in its Transition Readiness Assessments (TRAs), but DOD does not provide this critical information to Congress. The TRA reports provide information on and identify gaps in areas such as each Iraqi unit's manpower, equipment, training levels and, as of late 2006, operational effectiveness and reliability. Congress needs this information to make informed appropriations decisions and engage in meaningful oversight. Despite repeated attempts over many months, we have yet to be provided the TRA information we are seeking.

## Background

In May 2003, the Coalition Provisional Authority dissolved the military organizations of the former regime, and the United States and Iraq began the process of reestablishing or creating new Iraqi military and police forces. Over time, multinational force commanders assumed responsibility in their areas for recruiting and training some Iraqi military and police forces. In October 2003, the multinational force outlined a multistep plan for transferring security missions to the Iraqi forces. The plan had the objective of gradually decreasing the number of U.S. forces in conjunction with neutralizing Iraq's insurgency and developing Iraqi forces capable of securing the country. From the fall of 2003 through April 2006, MNF-I revised its security transition plan a number of times because the Iraqi government and its military and police forces proved incapable of assuming security responsibilities within the timeframes envisioned by the plans. MNF-I first revised the security transition plan in its August 2004 campaign plan and later in the April 2006 joint MNF-I/U.S. Embassy Baghdad Campaign Plan. In our classified briefings to members and staff, we have discussed the campaign plan and conditions for drawing down

U.S. forces. Details of the plans are classified and can be discussed separately from this unclassified statement.  $^{\rm 3}$ 

The current version of MNF-I's security transition plan includes the following four phases. According to State and DOD officials, MNF-I and the U.S. Embassy Baghdad are in the process of revising their April 2006 Joint Campaign Plan, which includes the current security transition plan.

- **Partnership:** During the first phase, which occurred from 2005 through 2006, MNF-I expanded the use of military, police, and other transition teams to assist in the development of Iraqi security forces and ministries. Its major subordinate commands established partnerships with Iraqi military units.
- **Iraqi army lead:** In the second phase, currently ongoing, MNF-I is attempting to organize and develop Iraqi army units so that they can assume the lead for counterinsurgency operations. Units in the lead, however, still require MNF-I support because they need to develop additional capabilities, particularly in the logistics and combat support areas.
- **Provincial Iraqi control:** For the third phase, MNF-I and the Iraqi government determine when the Iraqi provinces can assume responsibility for security based on the threat level in the province, the capabilities of the Iraqi security forces and the provincial government, and MNF-I's ability to respond to major threats, if needed. According to an MNF-I official, as these conditions are met, MNF-I forces will then move out of all urban areas and assume a supporting role.
- **Iraqi security self-reliance:** The government of Iraq is capable of planning, conducting, and sustaining security operations and forces through its security ministries.

DOD has asked for an additional \$5.8 billion to develop the Iraqi security forces in its fiscal year 2007 supplemental request and the fiscal year 2008 Global War on Terror budget request (see table 1). Of this amount, about \$3.25 billion (about 56 percent) would purchase equipment and transportation for the Iraqi security forces. For example, DOD requests

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>See GAO, *DOD Reports Should Link Economic, Governance, and Security Indicators to Conditions for Stabilizing* Iraq, GAO-06-152C (Washington, D.C.: Oct. 18, 2005); and *Plans for Stabilizing Iraq*, GAO-06-673C (Washington, D.C.: July 27, 2006).

resources to establish vehicle maintenance facilities at the National Maintenance Depot located in Taji and to procure equipment for the Iraqi military. DOD is also requesting about \$1.29 billion for sustainment projects, such as those to support the Ministry of Interior's seven central warehouses that manage the storage and distribution of mission essential equipment procured for the Iraqi police.

#### Table 1: Request for Additional Funds to Develop Iraqi Security Forces (dollars in millions)

		2007 Supplemental			2008			
Category	MOD	MOI	Not Specified	Subtotal	MOD	ΜΟΙ	Subtotal	Total
Infrastructure	264.8	205.0	0	469.8	0	0	0	469.8
Equipment and Transportation	1,584.3	373.6	0	1,957.9	1,043.0	245.0	1,288.0	3,245.9
Training and Operations	51.7	52.9	0	104.6	77.0	500.0	577.0	681.6
Sustainment	1,079.6	72.9	0	1,152.5	135.0	0	135.0	1,287.5
Related Activities	0	0	157.5	157.5	0	0	0	157.5
Total	2,980.4	704.4	157.5	3,842.3	1,255.0	745.0	2,000.0	5,842.3

Source: Fiscal Year 2008 Security Forces Fund, Justification for Iraq Security and Afghan Security Forces Fund, February 2007.

DOD is also requesting smaller amounts for infrastructure and training projects, as well as related activities. For example, infrastructure projects include the construction of logistical sustainment facilities at the Taji National Depot, while training projects include the training of Iraqi police officers who will serve as trainers at the 18 Iraqi provincial police headquarters. Finally, under the related activities category, DOD has requested about \$155 million to support Iraqi security forces in the implementation of a disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration program for militias.

Changing Composition and Growth of Iraqi Security Forces Have Not Led to a Decrease in Violence The Iraqi security forces are comprised of Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Interior forces that vary in size and training. Overall, the number of operational Iraqi military and police personnel has increased from about 142,000 in March 2005 to about 327,000 in February 2007. Ministry of Interior forces are made up of the Iraqi police and other components such as the national police (formerly known as special police) that have differing levels of training. The Iraqi police account for over 70 percent of all Ministry of Interior personnel. Even though the number of Iraqi forces has grown and more have taken the lead for security operations, violence in Iraq increased significantly through the end of 2006.

### Iraqi Military and Police Force Levels Have Increased Over Time

The number of military and police forces in Iraq has increased from about 142,000 in March 2005 to about 327,000 in February 2007, making the total number of personnel over twice that of the 153,000 U.S. and other coalition forces under MNF-I, as of January 2007. The Iraqi total includes about 135,000 personnel under the Iraqi Ministry of Defense and about 192,000 personnel under the Ministry of Interior. Table 2 provides the force levels for the major components of the Iraq security forces in March 2005 and in February 2007.

Ministry	Component	March 2005 Operational/ Trained and Equipped <sup>a</sup>	February 2007 Operational/ Trained and Equipped <sup>a</sup>
Defense	Iraqi Army	59,880	132,856 <sup>♭</sup>
	Air Force	186	929
	Navy	517	1,135
	Sub-total	60,583°	134,920°
Interior	Iraqi Police Service	55,015 <sup>d</sup>	135,000
	Other MOI forces		
	<ul> <li>National Police</li> </ul>		24,400
	Border Enforcement		28,400
	Other		4,400
	Subtotal	26,874	57,200
	Sub-total	81,889°	192,200
Total		142,472	<b>327,120</b> <sup>t</sup>

#### **Table 2: Status of Iraqi Security Forces**

Sources: State Department and Multinational Security Transition Command reports.

<sup>a</sup>The term "operational" refers to Ministry of Defense forces. The term "trained and equipped" refers to Ministry of Interior forces. Numbers are from State Department's 3/9/05 and 2/28/07 Iraq Weekly Status Report and Multinational Security Transition Command Iraqi Security Forces Update, 1/26/07.

<sup>b</sup>Army numbers include Special Operations Forces and Support Forces.

<sup>°</sup>Unauthorized absent personnel are not included in Ministry of Defense numbers.

<sup>d</sup>The number in the Iraqi police service in 2005 includes highway patrol forces.

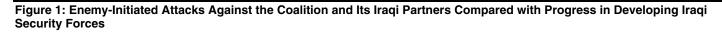
<sup>e</sup>Unauthorized absent personnel are included in Ministry of Interior numbers.

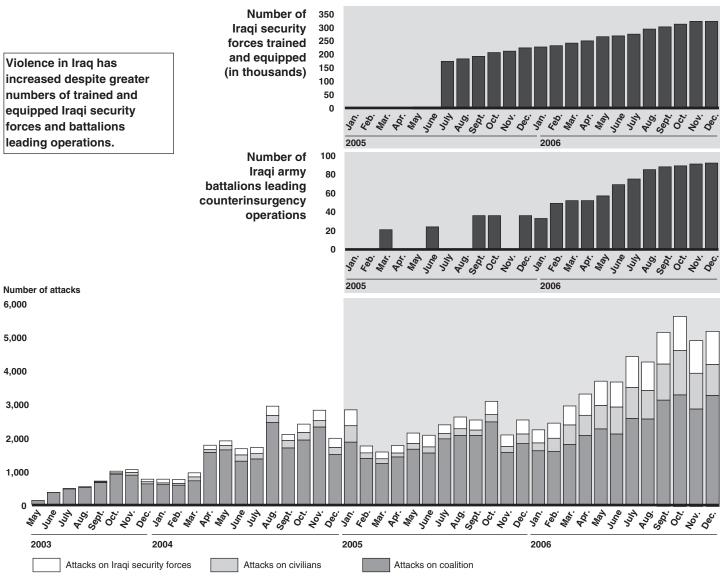
<sup>'</sup>The total does not include the approximately 144,000 Facilities Protection Service personnel working in 27 ministries.

	as well as a small air force and navy. <sup>4</sup> The Iraqi army generally receives 13 weeks of basic training, up from 8 weeks of basic training in 2005. Iraqi Ministry of Interior forces consist of Iraqi police—which represents about 72 percent of police personnel within the interior ministry—and other units, specifically, the national police (formerly the special police), Department of Border Enforcement, and Center for Dignitary Protection. Iraqi police precincts are under the operational control of their local municipality and the corresponding provincial government. New Iraqi police recruits generally undergo a 10-week basic training course. Police with prior experience attend a 3-week course instead of the basic course. The national police receive 6 weeks of initial training.
Levels of Violence in Iraq Remain High Despite Increased Numbers of Iraqi Security Forces and Greater Numbers of Iraqi Battalions Leading Operations	The overall growth in trained and equipped Iraqi security forces and the increasing number of Iraqi army battalions leading counterinsurgency operations has not resulted in lower levels of violence in Iraq. As shown in figure 1, since June 2003, overall security conditions in Iraq have deteriorated and grown more complex, as evidenced by the increased numbers of attacks against the coalition and its Iraqi partners and the Sunni-Shi'a sectarian strife after the February 2006 bombing of the Golden Mosque in Samarra.

Ministry of Defense forces are comprised of the Iraqi army's 10 divisions,

 $<sup>^4</sup>$ As of January 2007, the Iraqi army consisted of 10 divisions, 36 brigades, and 112 battalions. Nine Iraqi army divisions are light infantry and one is a mechanized division. The Iraq air force consists of 5 squadrons; the Iraqi navy has 4 squadrons and a marine battalion.





Sources: Multinational Force-Iraq, DOD and State Reports, and DIA.

Notes: DOD recently provided GAO unclassified data through February 2007. This information is shown in appendix I.

The average total attacks per day has increased from about 70 per day in January 2006 to about 160 per day in December 2006, near the previous record high of 180 per day reached in October 2006. These attacks have increased around major religious and political events, including Ramadan and elections. Coalition forces are still the primary target of attacks, but the number of attacks on Iraqi security forces and civilians also has increased since 2003. In October 2006, the State Department reported that the recent increase in violence had hindered efforts to engage with Iraqi partners and showed the difficulty in making political and economic progress in the absence of adequate security conditions. In the President's revised strategy for Iraq, he stated that while political progress are unlikely absent a basic level of security.

In an effort to expand the combat power of the Iraqi army, Prime Minister Maliki announced in the fall of 2006 that the Iraqi government would expand the Iraqi army from 133,000 to about 164,000 personnel. This would allow the Iraqi army to grow from 10 to 13 divisions, 36 to 41 brigades, and 112 to 132 battalions. The initiative would also help compensate for personnel shortages in some existing Iraqi army units.

In the fiscal year 2007 supplemental request, DOD stated that the government of Iraq will fund the equipment for new Iraqi army units as the government assumes increasing financial responsibility for Iraqi security forces. However, the request also stated that the United States has approved assistance to the Iraqi government to train and equip the additional Iraqi army units that the Prime Minister requested. Iraq's financial contribution to the continued development of its security forces was not specified in the supplemental request. We are completing a review of the Iraqi ministries' abilities to provide for their own security and reconstruction needs.

Several Factors Complicate the Development of the Iraqi Security Forces; More Information Is Needed to Assess Their Capabilities	Several factors have complicated the development of effective Iraqi security forces and help explain why the reported growth in Iraqi security forces has not resulted in lower levels of violence. These factors include (1) the portion of Iraqi security forces dedicated to a counterinsurgency mission, (2) high-rates of absenteeism and poor Iraqi ministry reporting of active duty personnel, (3) sectarian and militia influences within Iraqi forces, and (4) shortfalls in Iraqi logistical, command and control, and sustainment capabilities. A complete assessment of the capabilities and limitations of the Iraqi security forces can only be determined through an analysis of data on their readiness. We have requested unit-level TRAs from DOD but have not received them as of March 9, 2007.
Several Factors Have Complicated the Development of Effective Iraqi Security Forces	The following factors help explain why the reported growth in Iraqi security forces has not resulted in lower levels of violence. First, Iraqi security forces are not a single, unified force; instead, they are comprised of a wide range of units with different missions that have changed over time. Of the security forces' major components, only the Iraqi army currently has the primary mission of conducting counterinsurgency operations. The Iraqi army has evolved over the past 3 years from two distinct forces: (1) army units that had the mission of defending Iraq against external threats, and (2) former national guard battalions <sup>6</sup> that were established to perform constabulary duties such as setting up traffic control points and cordoning off streets in their home areas. In early 2005, the Iraqi government decided to move Iraqi national guard battalions into the Iraqi army and give the entire army the mission of conducting counterinsurgency operations countrywide. The Iraqi army is currently the second largest component of the Iraqi security forces and represents about 41 percent of all Iraqi security personnel. The Iraqi national police—a paramilitary force of about 24,000 personnel under the Ministry of Interior—had conducted counterinsurgency operations in the past, but the Iraqi government decided in late 2006 to transform it into a civil security force due to frequent allegations of abuse and other illegal activities. This transformation includes a 4–week retraining program for Iraq's national police. While the 135,000 Iraqi police are often forced to engage insurgents and other anti-Iraqi forces, their

 $<sup>^5\</sup>mathrm{The}$  Iraqi National Guard was first known as the Iraqi Civil Defense Corps.

primary mission and training has focused on civilian law enforcement. The Iraqi police currently comprise about 41 percent of Iraqi security forces.

Second, the number of Iraqi security forces who are present for duty is significantly lower than the number of trained and equipped Iraqi personnel reported by DOD and State. For example, data on the number of trained and equipped Ministry of Interior personnel include police who are absent without leave, while Ministry of Defense data exclude military personnel who are absent without leave. In addition, according to DOD's November 2006 report to Congress, due to a lack of standardized personnel strength reporting in the Ministry of Interior, it is unclear how many of the coalition-trained police the ministry still employs, or what percentage of the 180,000 police thought to be on the ministry payroll are coalition trained and equipped. Moreover, according to a DOD report, the Iragi army generally has about one-third of its soldiers (about 44,000 of 133,000 personnel) on leave so that they can take their pay home to their families. In addition, some Iraqi army units directed to deploy for combat operations outside of their normal operating areas have absent without leave rates of more than 50 percent. This high-rate of absenteeism significantly affects the manning levels of Iraqi army units at any given time.

Third, sectarian and militia influences on the Iraqi security forces have frustrated U.S. efforts to develop effective Iraqi military and police forces and have contributed to the high levels of violence in Iraq. According to the unclassified January 2007 National Intelligence Estimate on Iraq, sectarian divisions have eroded the dependability of many Iraqi units and a number of Iraqi units have refused to serve outside the areas where they were recruited. According to an August 2006 DOD report, sectarian lines among the Iraqi security forces are drawn geographically, with Sunni, Shi'a, or Kurdish soldiers serving primarily in units located in areas familiar to their group. According to the report, commanders at the battalion level tend to command only soldiers of their own sectarian or regional background. DOD also reported in November 2006 that political forces in Iraq may have influenced senior military appointments on the basis of sectarian affiliation.

Moreover, DOD and State also have reported numerous instances of sectarian and militia influences on Iraqi police and national police. For example, according to a DOD report, during operations to secure Baghdad in summer 2006, Shi'a death squads received support from some elements of the Iraqi police and the national police. DOD reported that the police facilitated militia movement and warned death squads of operations, serving as the major reason for the increased levels of murders and executions. Further, in November 2006, the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) stated that the Ministry of Interior and the Iraqi police were heavily infiltrated by militia members of the Badr Organization and Mahdi Army. According to the DIA Director, the Mahdi Army often operates under the protection or approval of Iraqi police to detain and kill suspected Sunni insurgents and civilians. In November 2006, the State Department reported that corruption and infiltration by militias and others loyal to parties other than the Iraqi government have resulted in the Iraqi security forces, particularly the police, being part of the problem in many areas instead of the solution.

Fourth, as we previously reported, Iraqi units remain dependent upon the coalition for their logistical, command and control, and intelligence capabilities.<sup>6</sup> As of December 2006, the coalition was providing significant levels of support to the Iraqi military, including life support, fuel, uniforms, building supplies, ammunition, vehicle maintenance and spare parts, and medical supplies.

More Information Is Needed to Fully Assess Progress in Developing Effective Iraqi Security Forces The extent of the challenges affecting the development of effective Iraqi security forces cannot be fully assessed without detailed information on the readiness of each Iraqi unit. MNF-I captures such information in its TRAs, but DOD does not provide this critical information to Congress. The TRA reports provide ratings of Iraqi capabilities and identify gaps in areas such as each Iraqi unit's manpower, equipment, training levels and, as of late 2006, operational effectiveness and reliability. GAO has requested but DOD has not provide these unit-level TRAs.

MNF-I uses the TRA system to determine when units of the Iraqi security forces can assume the lead for conducting security operations. The TRA is a classified joint assessment, prepared monthly by the unit's coalition commander and Iraqi commander. For the Iraqi army, commanders use the TRA process to determine when a unit—specifically, a battalion, a brigade headquarters, or a division headquarters—is prepared to assume

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>GAO-07-582T, Operation Iraqi Freedom: Preliminary Observations on Iraqi Security Forces' Logistical Capabilities (Washington, D.C.: March 9, 2007); and Securing, Stabilizing, and Rebuilding Iraq: Key Issues for Congressional Oversight, GAO-07-308SP (Washington, D.C.: Jan. 2007).

the lead in counterinsurgency operations.<sup>7</sup> The TRA report contains capabilities ratings and detailed narrative information for each unit in personnel, command and control, equipment, sustainment/logistics, training, and leadership.<sup>8</sup> Appendix 2 shows a sample TRA form, as of December 1, 2006. As of late 2006, the TRA also includes measures for determining how militia and sectarian influences affect the loyalty and reliability of Iraqi police and military forces. According to MNF-I guidance, the purpose of the TRA system is to provide commanders with a method to consistently evaluate units. It also helps to identify factors hindering unit progress, determine resource shortfalls, and make resource allocations.

DOD provided GAO with classified, aggregate information on overall readiness levels for the Iraqi security forces and information on units in the lead. In mid-February, DOD allowed us to review TRAs from 2 battalions—1 Iraqi army battalion and 1 national police battalion. However, DOD has not provided us with all unit-level TRA reports. We are continuing to work with the department to obtain these reports because they would help fully inform Congress on the capabilities and needs of Iraqi security forces. As of March 9, 2007, DOD has not provided GAO with this important data.

Conclusion

Capable and effective Iraqi security forces are a critical element in the U.S. strategy to stabilize Iraq, drawdown U.S. forces, and lay the foundation for political reconciliation and economic development. For the past 3 years, MNF-I has tried to reduce violence in Iraq so that Iraqi forces can assume greater responsibility for their country's security. The additional \$5.8 billion that DOD now seeks for the Iraqi security forces attests to the importance of this mission. But, after 3 years, more than \$15 billion in prior U.S. assistance and a substantial increase in the number of Iraqi security forces, violence in Iraq's society has not lessened.

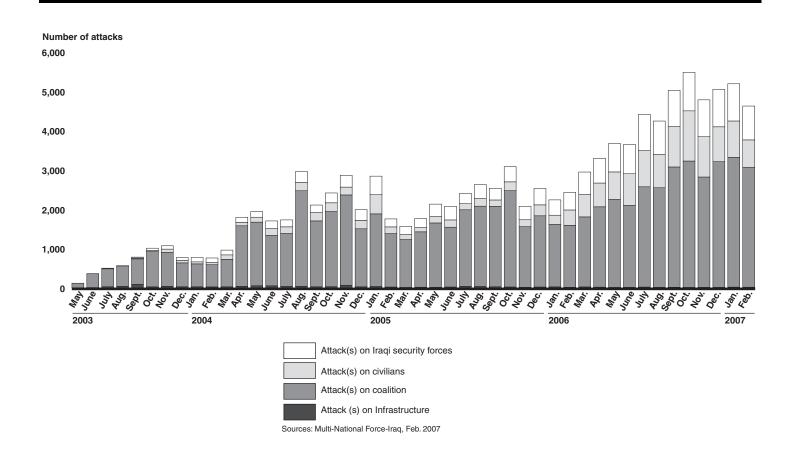
This outcome is partly explained by the differing capabilities among Iraqi forces, high absenteeism, divided loyalties, and the continued reliance on U.S. logistical support. Other reasons may be discerned from the readiness assessments coalition advisors complete on Iraqi units. These classified assessments show whether Iraqi units have their required manpower,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>MNF-I uses similar measures to assess the capabilities of other components of the Iraqi security forces.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>See GAO-07-308SP for more information on the TRA process.

	equipment, and training and how well they perform in battle. We have asked DOD to provide us the TRAs, but they have not done so. We appreciate the Committee's continuing support for our request.					
	Mr. Chairman, this concludes my statement. I would be pleased to answer any questions that you or other members may have at this time.					
GAO Contact and Acknowledgments	For questions regarding this testimony, please call Joseph A. Christoff at (202) 512-8979. Other key contributors to this statement were Judith McCloskey, David Bruno, Lynn Cothern, Whitney Havens, Dorian Herring, and Mary Moutsos.					

## Appendix I: Enemy-Initiated Attacks Against the Coalition and Its Iraqi Partners



## Appendix II: Example of the TRA Form Used to Assess Iraqi Army Capabilities

#### UNCLASSIFIED

Unit:	Location:	Location: TRANSITION READINESS ASSESSMENT Report Date:							
1. Person	nel	OVE	RALL ASSESS	MENT	4. Training	g	OV	ERALL ASSES	SMENT
Overall Manning (assigned-On Ha Officer Manning	and) manning	50-69% of auth manning 50-69% of auth manning	auth manning n 70-84% of ≥	85% of auth nanning 85% of auth nanning	METL	Achieves 'P' or 'T' in ≤25% of all METL tasks	Achieves 'P' or 'T' in 26%-99% of all METL tasks	Achieves 'P' or 'T' in ALL METL tasks	Capable of planning_and executing training to sustain 'P' or 'T'
NCO Manning	< 50% of auth	50-69% of	70-84% of ≥	85% of auth					in METL tasks
Admin	manning         auth manning         auth manning         manning           Unable to pay         Pay System         ≥80% Personnel         • S1/G1 mainta		S1/G1 maintains	5. Equipm	ient	OV	ERALL ASSES	SMENT	
Admin	troops	Established	•	current UMR ≥90% Personnel paid ≥80% Personnel paid	ON HAND Weapons	< 50% of authorization	50-69% of authorization	70-84% of authorization	≥ 85% of authorization
			RALL ASSESS	IAW pay grade	Vehicles	< 50% of authorization	50-69% of authorization	70-84% of authorization	≥ 85% of authorization
2. Comma	nd & Control	Able to process,	Participates in	Able to conduct Intel	Commo	< 50% of authorization	50-69% of authorization	70-84% of authorization	≥ 85% of authorization
Intelligence	capability	analyze, disseminate info	decision-making; develops enemy	based ops	OPERATIONAL READINESS	-			
Operations	No operational	Able to establish	COAs Able to send and	Able to conduct	Weapons	< 50% OR	50-69% of OR	70-84% OR	≥ 85% OR
Operations	capability	TOC; Maintains	receive reports/orders	Staff Planning and	Vehicles	< 50% OR	50-69% of OR	70-84% OR	≥ 85% OR
		situational awareness		Execution	Commo 6. Leaders	< 50% OR	50-69% of OR	70-84% OR	≥ 85% OR
Communications	No ability to communicate	Able to establish/maintain internal communications	Able to maintain external communications with higher	HSC Signal Platoon/CO formed     ≥70% personnel MIOS qualified			50-69% of leaders and staff primaries	70-84% of leaders and staff primaries	≥ 85% of leaders and staff primaries
3. Sustainment/Logistics OVERALL ASSESSMENT				7. Perform	nance Capal	oility Assess	ment:		
Supply (I, III, V, IX)	Secure/Store supplies	Account/Issue items	Forecast/Requisitio supplies	n Maintain Stockage to meet mission requirements	Annotate total n required catego		tached to this report	t. See supplemental	instructions for
Maintenance	No Maint. conducted	Conducts PMCS and reports equipment status	<ul> <li>Conducts 1<sup>st</sup> line repair</li> <li>Request repair parts</li> <li>30% Personnel qualified</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>≥70% personnel qualified</li> <li>Utilizes 2nd line or above Maintenance</li> </ul>	A Level 2 counterin A Level 3	nsurgency opera 2 unit is capable nsurgency opera 3 unit is partially	tions. of planning, exec tions with ISF or capable of condu	euting, and sustair cuting, and sustair coalition support. acting counterinsu	Ū.
Transportation	No organic transport capability	Capable of executing limited transport requirements	Capable of executing essential transport requirements	<ul> <li>≥70% transport personnel driver qualified</li> <li>Able to conduct independent transport operations</li> </ul>	A Level 4 operation This Unit is	ns. s Currently A	and/or incapable	of conducting cou evel months	0,
Infrastructure	Temporary Billeting	Statement of Work/Construction has begun	Minimal billeting, administrative and perimeter security infrastucture	Adequate billeting, adminstrative, mess, motor pool and perimeter security infrastructure	HSC is as	sessed at lev	/el	overall.	
Medical	<ul> <li>No treatment capability</li> <li>No evacuation capability</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Limited treatmen capability</li> <li>Limited evacuation capability</li> </ul>	t Able to conduct treatment and evacuation operations with ISF or CF support	Able to conduct treatment and evacuation operations	UNCLAS	SIFIED			

Source: MNF-I.

Note: MNF-I revised this form effective January 10, 2007. The revised form is for official use only

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