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## "Failed State Wars" in Iraq and Syria: The Strategic Challenges

Key Trends, Maps, and Graphics

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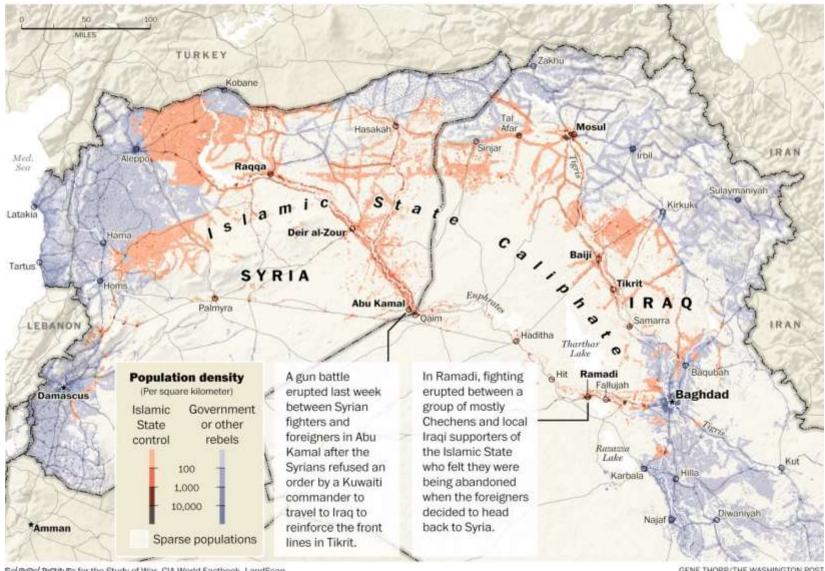


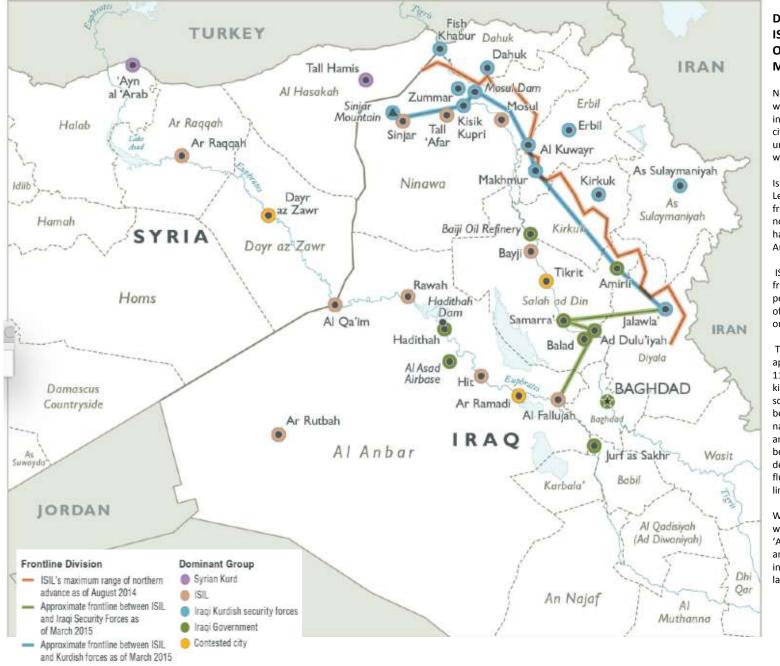
Burke Chair In Strategy May 28, 2015

# Rise of ISIL and Areas of Occupation in both Iraq and Syria

#### Islamic State setbacks

Dissent, defections and reversals on the battlefield are steadily eroding the Islamic State's aura of invincibility in Syria and Iraq, suggesting that the group is starting to fray from within as its many enemies step up their offensives on multiple fronts.





#### DoD: Iraq and Syria: ISIL's Reduced Operating Areas as of March 2015

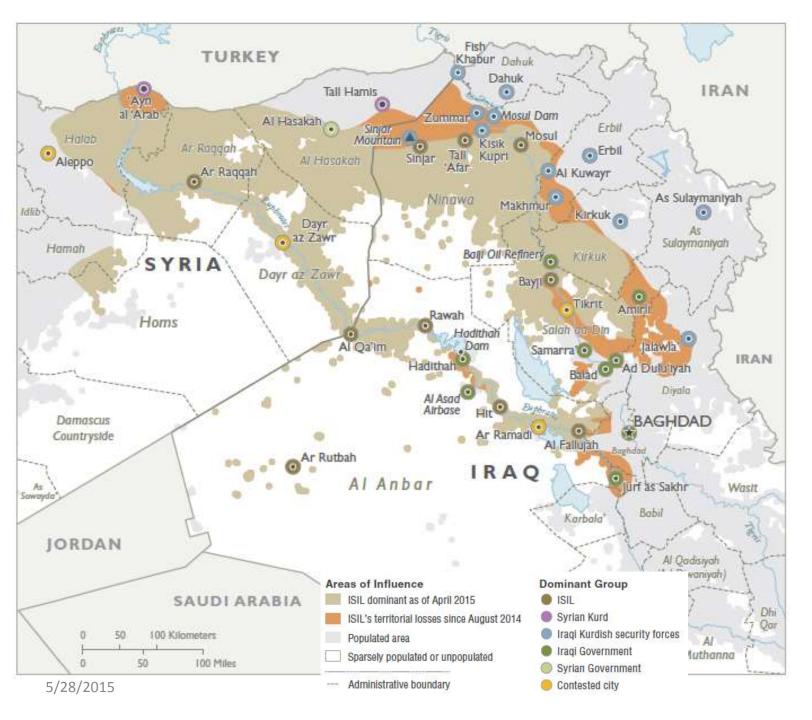
Note: Our judgment as to which group has dominant influence over a particular city is based on a body of unclassified sources that we deem reliable.

Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant's (ISIL) frontlines in much of northern and central Iraq have been pushed back since August.

ISIL can no longer operate freely in roughly 20-25 percent of populated areas of Iraqi territory where they once could.

These areas translate into approximately 11,000-13,500 square kilometers (4,100-5,200 square miles). However, because of the dynamic nature of the conflict in Iraq and Syria, this estimate could be higher or lower depending on daily fluctuations in the battle lines.

With the exception of its withdrawal from 'Ayn al 'Arab and Tall Hamis, ISIL's area of influence in Syria remains largely unchanged.



#### DoD: Iraq and Syria: ISIL's Reduced Operating Areas as of April 2015

The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant's (ISIL) frontlines in much of northern and central Iraq have been pushed back since August 2014.

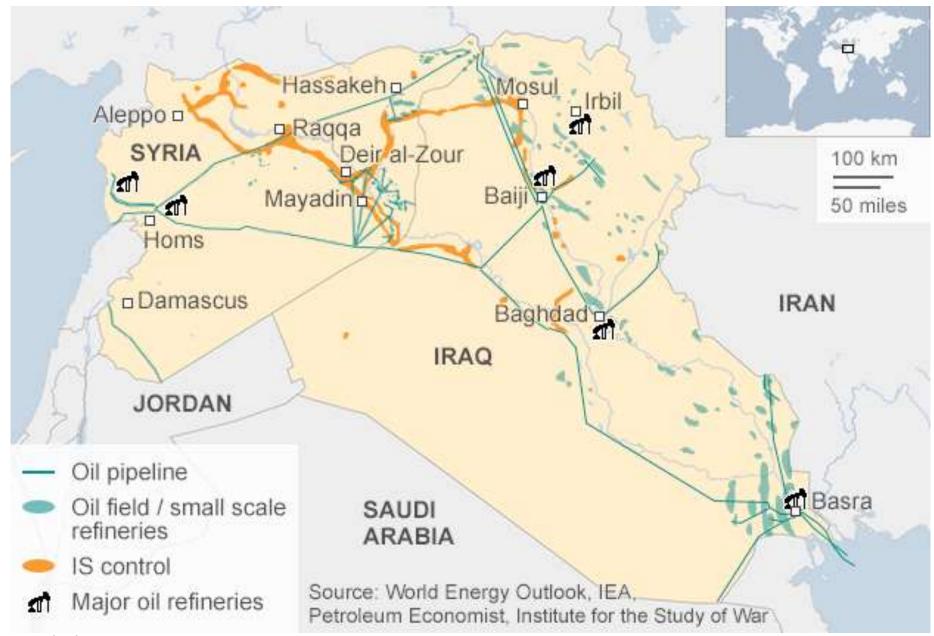
ISIL can no longer operate freely in roughly 25 to 30 percent of populated areas of Iraqi territory where it once could.

These areas translate into approximately 13,000 to 17,000 square kilometers (or 5,000 to 6,500 square miles).

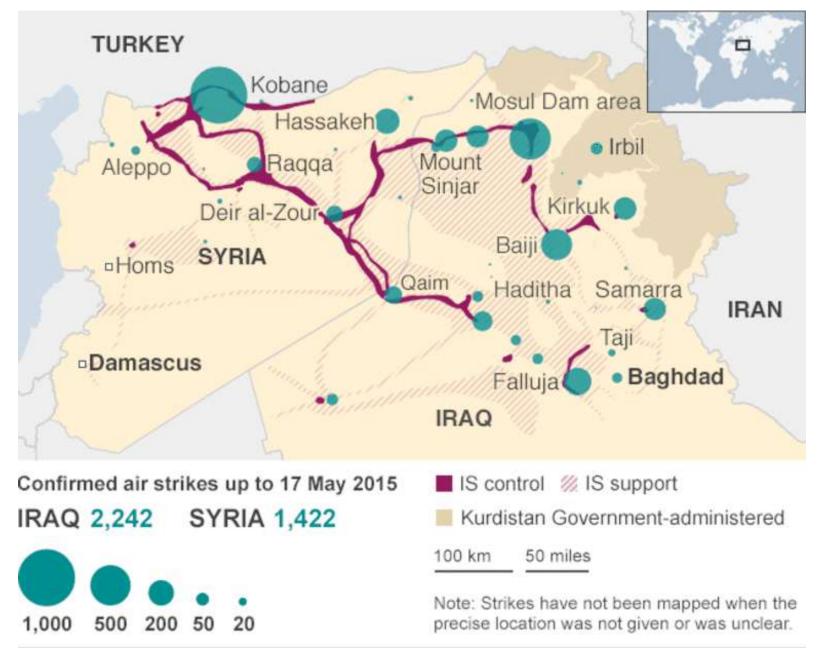
However, because of the dynamic nature of the conflict in Iraq and Syria, this estimate could increase or decrease depending on daily fluctuations in the battle lines.

ISIL's area of influence in Syria remains largely unchanged, with its gains in As Suwayda', Damascus Countryside, and Homs Provinces offset by losses in Halab and Al Hasakah Province

http://www.defense.g ov/home/features/201 4/0814\_iraq/20150410 \_ISIL\_Map\_Unclass\_Ap proved.pdf.



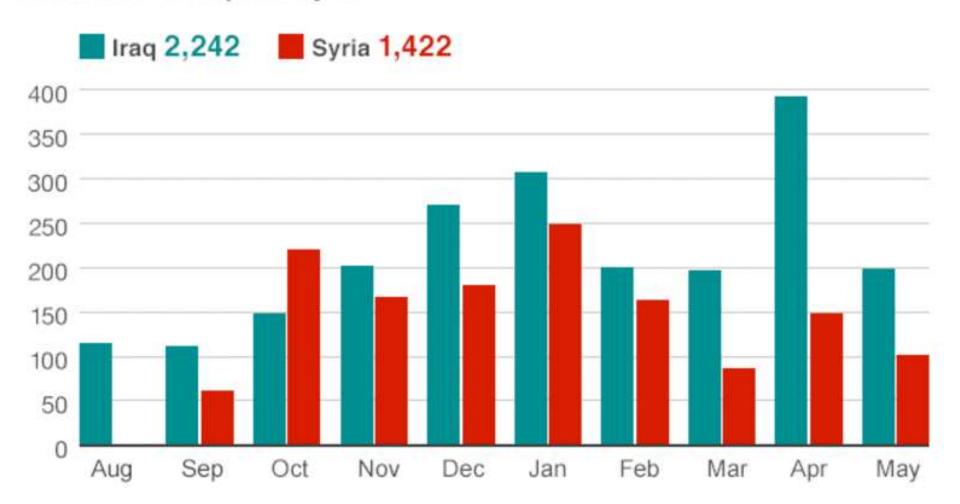
## **Air Campaign**



Source: Institute for the Study of War, US Central Command 5/28/2015



#### Air strikes in Iraq and Syria



Figures are up to 17 May 2015

Source: US Central Command

# OPERATION INHERENT RESOLVE TARGETS DAMAGED/DESTROYED\*

77
288
427
1,779
1,415
152
2,140
6,278

\*Numbers may fluctuate based on battle damage assessments Current as of 08 May 2015

Source: CENTCOM CCCI

#### UNCLASSIFIED

# Combined Forces Air Component Commander 2010-2015 Airpower Statistics

As of 30 April 2015

#### **OPERATION INHERENT RESOLVE**

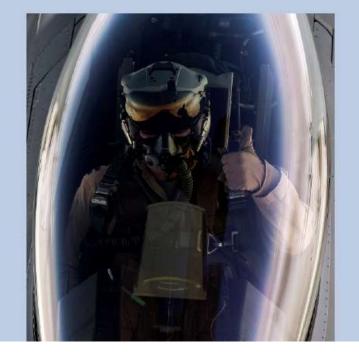
Close Air Support/Escort/Interdiction

Sorties							
2014	6,981						
2015	7,319						

Sorties with at least							
one weapon release							
2014	1,411						
2015	1,859						

Num	ber o	f Wea	pon l	Releas	ses	b	ess Activ	vity			N	lore Acti	vity
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
2014								211	760	1,641	1,407	1,867	5,886
2015	2,308	1,756	1,600	1,685									7,349

	2014	2015
Intel, Surveillance and Recon Sorties	2,164	2,680
Airlift and Airdrop Sorties	1,992	3,080
Airlift Cargo (Short Tons)*	14,555	23,000
Airlift Passengers*	9,900	14,500
Supplies Airdropped (Pounds)	1,417,900	0
Tanker Sorties	4,828	4,409
Fuel Offloaded (Millions of Pounds)	282	298
Aircraft Refuelings	28,956	29,042



5/28/2015

Operation Inherent Resolve

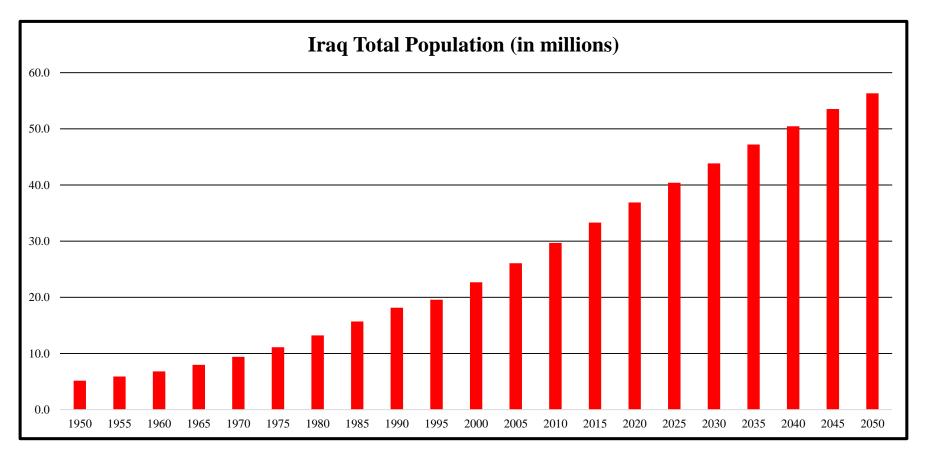
<sup>\*</sup> Iraq only

# Fighting in Iraq

#### Iraq Country Profile: (CIA World Factbook, May 2015)

- Population: 32,585,692 (July 2014 est.)
- Youth Bulge: 56.3%: 0-14 years: 36.7% (male 6,093,069/female 5,878,590); 15-24 years: 19.6% (male 3,237,212/female 3,142,202)
- Entering Labor Force Annually: male: 332,194; female: 322,010 (2010 est.)
- Ethnic Divisions: Arab 75%-80%, Kurdish 15%-20%, Turkoman, Assyrian, or other 5%
- Sectarian Divisions: Muslim (official) 99% (Shia 60%-65%, Sunni 32%-37%), Christian 0.8% (cut 50% since 2003), Hindu <.1, Buddhist <.1, Jewish <.1, folk religion <.1, unafilliated .1, other <.1
- **Urbanization:** 69.4% (3.01% per year)
- GDP vs. Labor Force: agriculture: 3.3%, industry: 64.5%, services: 32.2% (2014 est.) versus agriculture: 21.6%, industry: 18.7%, services: 59.8% (2008 est.)
- **GDP:** \$505.4B (PPP 2014) \$232.2B (2014 Official Exchange Rate)
- Per Capita Income: \$14,100 (2014 in \$2013) (109th in the world)
- **Budget:** revenues: \$101.4 billion; expenditures: \$94.58 billion (2014 est.)
- Taxes & Other Revenues: 43.6% of GDP
- Exports vs. Imports: \$94.43 billion(84% crude oil) vs. \$62.34 billion
- Direct Unemployment: 16% (2012)
- Poverty Level: 25% (2008)
- Transparency International Global Corruption Ranking: 170<sup>th</sup> worst of 175 countries

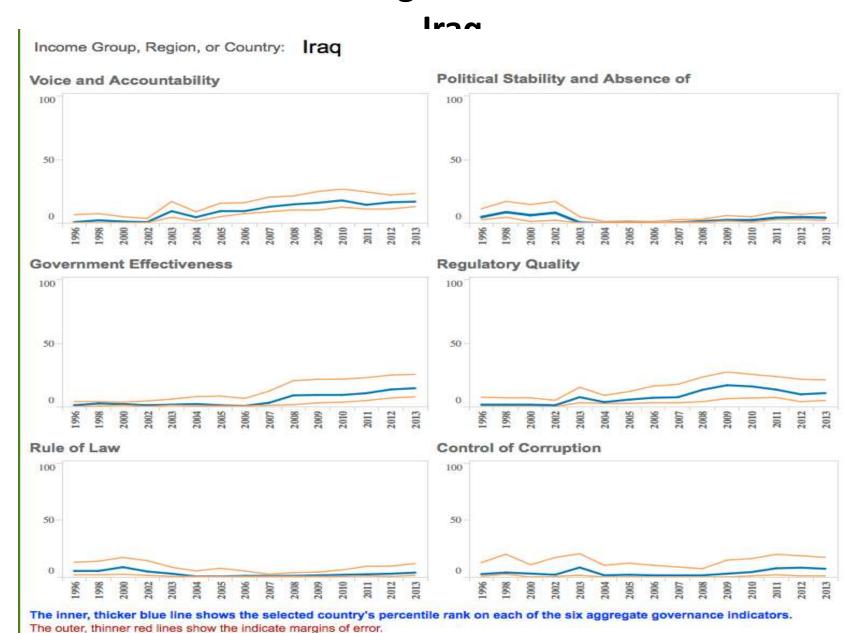
#### **Demographic Pressures on Iraq**



	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020	2025	2030	2035	2040	2045	2050
<b>Total Population</b>	5.2	5.9	6.8	8.0	9.4	11 1	13.2	15.7	18.1	19.6	22.7	26.1	29.7	33.3	36.9	40.4	43.8	47.2	50.5	53.5	56.3
(millions)	3.2	3.9	0.0	0.0	). <del>1</del>	11.1	13.2	13.7	10.1	17.0	22.1	20.1	27.1	33.3	30.7	40.4	45.0	47.2	30.3	33.3	30.3
Population Growth Rate (percent)	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	-2.7%	3.1%	2.9%	2.7%	2.4%	2.2%	1.9%	1.7%	1.6%	1.4%	1.3%	1.1%	0.9%
Total Annual Births (millions)	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base (IDB), http://www.census.gov/population/international/data/idb/informationGateway.php

#### World Bank Rankings of Failed Governance in

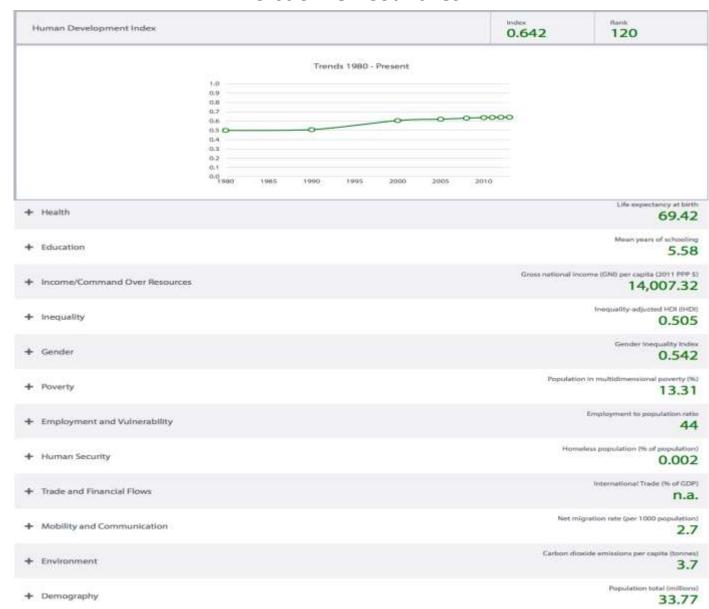


# World Bank Global Ranking of Ease of Doing Business in Iraq in 2015: 156<sup>th</sup> worst of 185 Countries

REGION	Middle East & North Africa	DOING BUSINESS 2015 RANK	DOING BUSINESS 2014 RANK***	CHANGE IN RANK
INCOME	Upper middle income	156	146	<b>♣</b> -10
POPULATION	33,417,476	DOING BUSINESS	DOING BUSINESS	CHANGE IN DTF** (%
GNI PER CAPITA (US\$)	6,710	2015 DTF** (% POINTS)	2014 DTF** (% POINTS)	POINTS)
CITY COVERED	Baghdad	50.36	50.79	₩ -0.43

Rankings	Distance to Frontier			
TOPICS	At a second	DB 2015 Rank	DB 2014 Rank	Change in Rank
Starting a Bu	usiness	142	136	+ -6
Dealing with	Construction Permits	9	8	+ -1
Getting Elec	tricity	36	18	+ -18
Registering I	Property	109	108	+ -1
Getting Cred	dit	180	178	+ -2
Protecting M	Minority Investors	146	136	+ -10
Paying Taxe	s	52	49	+ -3
Trading Acro	oss Borders	178	178	No change
Enforcing Co	ontracts	141	140	+ -1
Resolving In	solvency	189	189	No change

## UNDP Ranking of Human Development Indicators in Iraq in 2015: 120<sup>th</sup> worst of 187 Countries

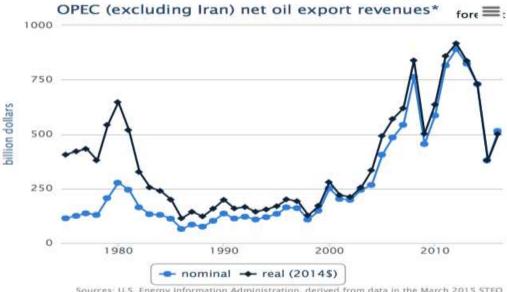


#### **IMF Summary Data on Iraq in 2015**

Subject Descriptor	Units	Scale	Country/Series- specific Notes	2013	2014	2015
Gross domestic product, constant prices	Percent change		В	6.572	-2.399	1.315
Gross domestic product, current prices	U.S. dollars	Billions	B	232.497	221.130	173.819
Gross domestic product per capita, current prices	U.S. dollars	Units	Н	6,685.526	6,164.617	4,700.729
Gross domestic product based on purchasing-power-parity (PPP) per capita GDP	Current international dollar	Units	В	15,177.547	14,570.805	14,448.114
Inflation, average consumer prices	Percent change		Н	1.879	2.239	3.000
Volume of imports of goods and services	Percent change					
Volume of exports of goods and services	Percent change					
Unemployment rate	Percent of total labor force					
Population	Persons	Millions	В	34.776	35.871	36.977
General government revenue	Percent of GDP		B	42.575	40.485	40.930
General government total expenditure	Percent of GDP		В	48.412	43.452	50.928
General government net debt	Percent of GDP					
General government gross debt	Percent of GDP		B	32.103	37.022	55.553
Current account balance	U.S. dollars	Billions	B	3.052	-7.748	-16.636
Current account balance	Percent of GDP		B	1.313	-3.504	-9.571

IMF

#### The Myth of Iraqi Oil Wealth



Sources: U.S. Energy Information Administration, derived from data in the March 2015 STEO



The Energy Information Administration (EIA) estimates that, excluding Iran, members of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) earned about \$730 billion in net oil export revenues (unadjusted for inflation) in 2014. This represents an 11% decline from the \$824 billion earned in 2013, largely because of the decline in average annual crude oil prices, and to a lesser extent from decreases in the amount of OPEC net oil exports. This was the lowest earnings for the group since 2010.

For 2015, EIA projects that OPEC net oil export revenues (excluding Iran) could fall further to about \$380 billion in 2015 (unadjusted for inflation) as a result of the much lower annual crude oil prices expected in 2015, a 48% drop from 2014.

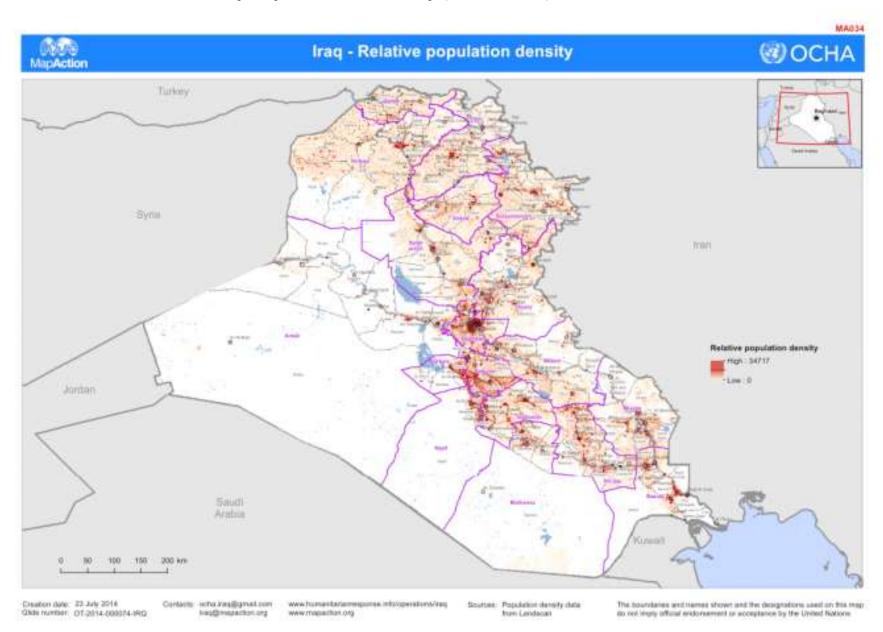
For Irag – assuming no military problems, this means a drop from \$87 billion in 2014 to \$45.2 billion.

On a per capita basis, OPEC (excluding Iran) net oil export earnings are expected to decline by half from about out \$2,186 in 2014 to \$1,114 in 2015. OPEC net oil export revenues in 2015 are based on projections of global oil prices and OPEC production levels from EIA's March 2015 ShortTerm Energy Outlook (STEO).

Irag's per capita oil income in 2014 was \$,2682, compared to \$7,900 for Saudi Arabia, \$25,362 for Kuwait, and \$36,013 for Qatar. If EIA is right, it will drop to \$1,368 in 2015.

EIA does estimate that OPEC revenues will rebound to \$515 billion in 2016, with the expected rebound in crude oil prices. (+36%)

#### **Iraq Population Density (UN OCHA) 7/2014**

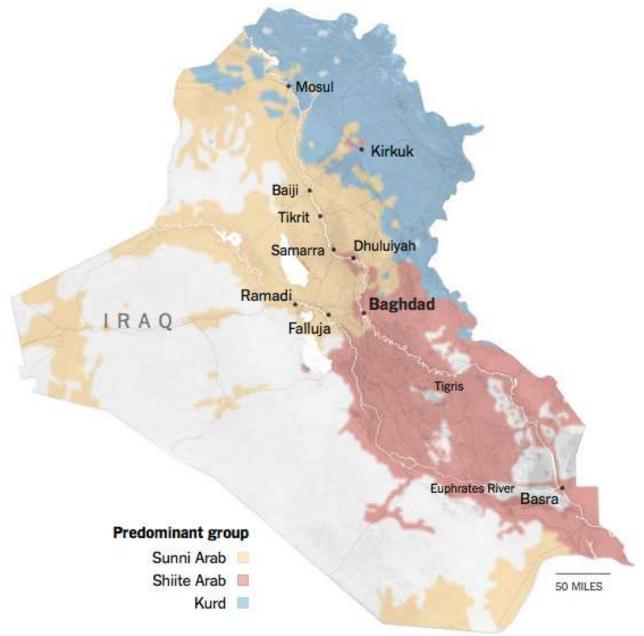


### **Sectarian Divisions** in Iraq

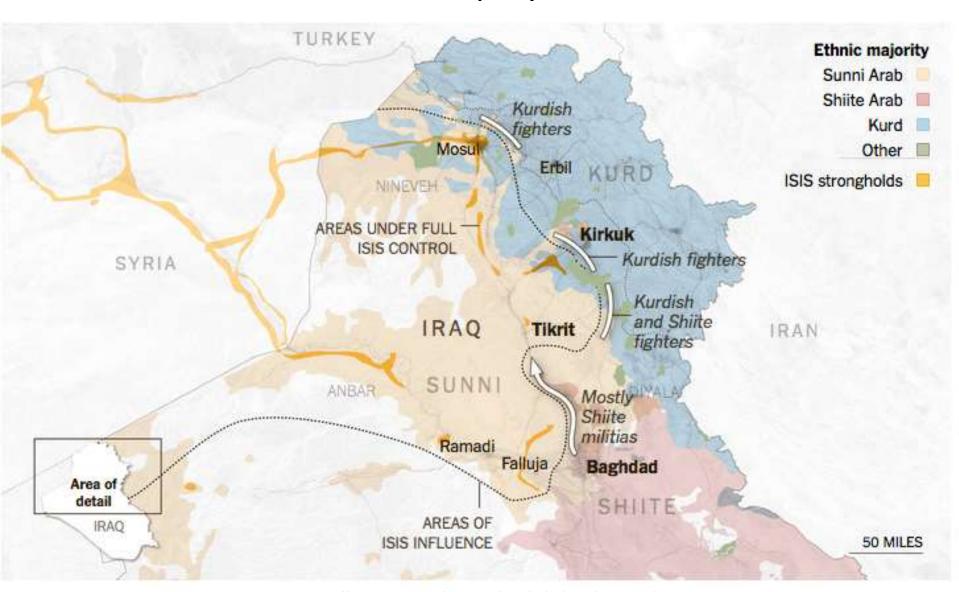
Source: New York Times, Updated May 11, 2015http://www.nytimes.com/inter active/2014/06/12/world/middleeas t/the-iraq-isis-conflict-in-mapsphotos-and-

video.html?action=click&contentColl

ection=Middle%20East&region=Foot er&configSection=article&isLoggedI n=false&moduleDetail=undefined& pgtype=Multimedia

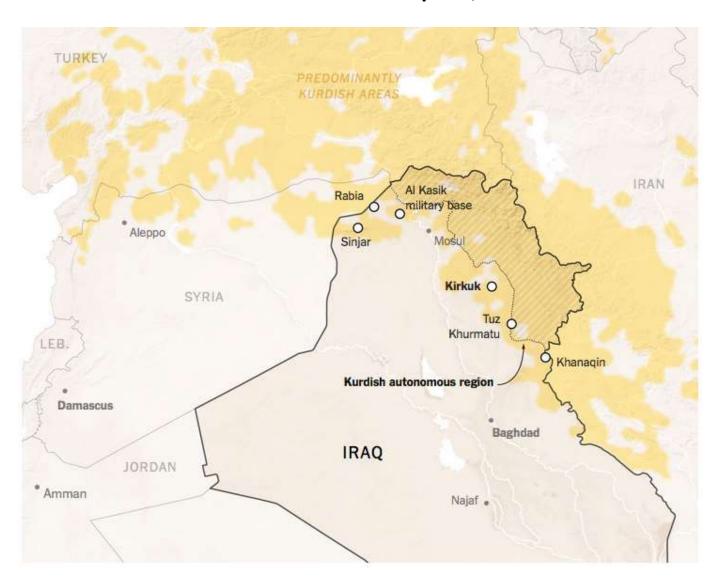


#### ISIS Control of Iraq: May 20, 2015

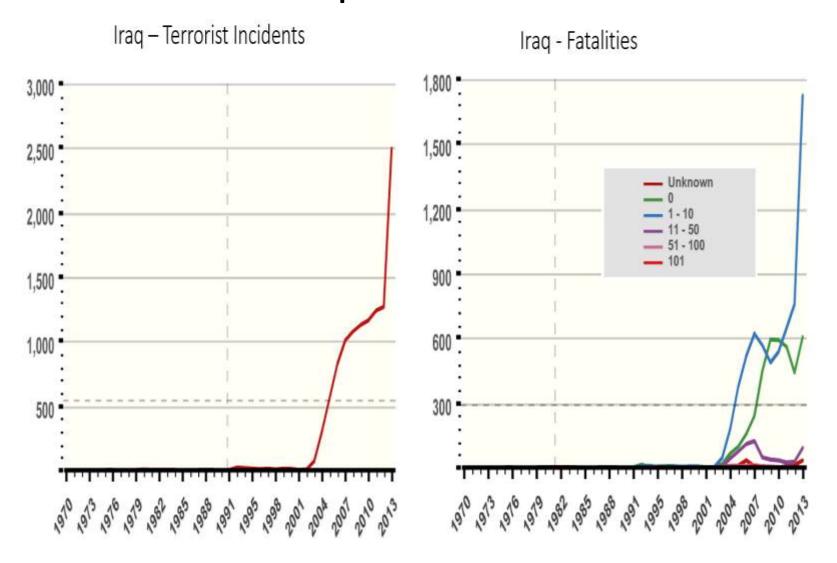


Source: New York Times, Updated May 20, 2015; http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/06/12/world/middleeast/the-iraq-isis-conflict-in-maps-photos-and-video.html

#### The "Kurdish Problem:" April 7, 2015

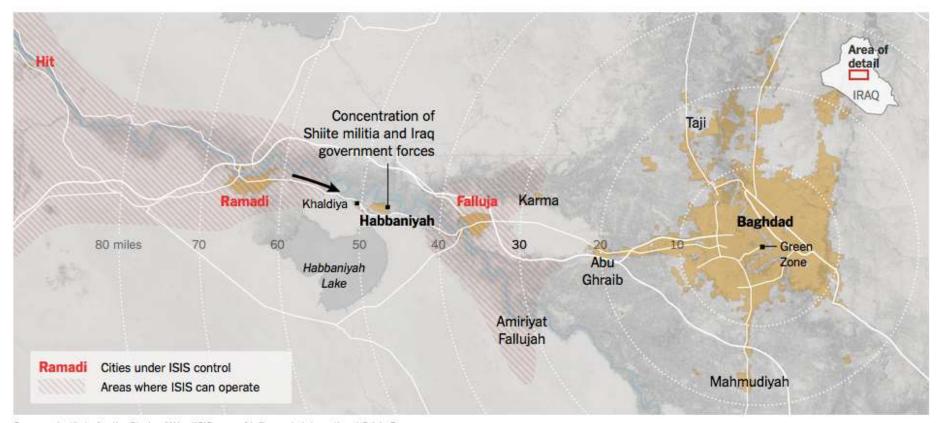


#### Rise of Iraqi Terrorism: 1970-2013



Source: START Global Terrorism Database, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, <a href="http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/">http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/</a>;

#### Fall of Ramadi and Approaches to Baghdad



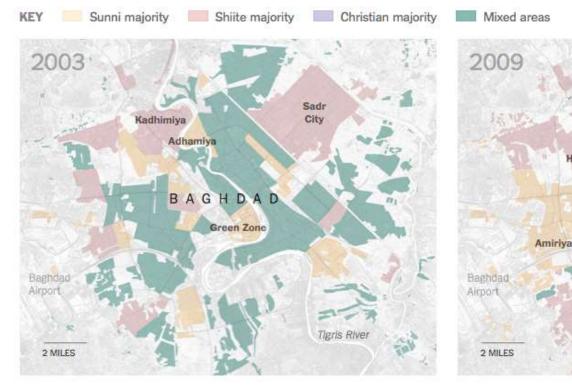
Sources: Institute for the Study of War (ISIS area of influence); International Crisis Group.



**Northern Approaches to Baghdad and Key Points in** 2014 Fighting

> Source: New York Times, Updated May 20, 2015; http://www.nytimes. com/interactive/2014 /06/12/world/middle east/the-iraq-isisconflict-in-mapsphotos-andvideo.html 26

#### Sectarian Division of Baghdad: 2003-2009



#### 2003: Before the Invasion

Before the American invasion, Baghdad's major sectarian groups lived mostly side by side in mixed neighborhoods. The city's Shiite and Sunni populations were roughly equal, according to Juan Cole, a University of Michigan professor and Middle East expert.

- Kadhimiya, a historically Shiite neighborhood, is home to a sacred Shiite shrine.
- Adhamiya, a historically Sunni neighborhood, contains the Abu Hanifa Mosque, a Sunni landmark.
- The Green Zone became the heavily fortified center of American operations during the occupation.
- Sadr City was the center of the insurgent Mahdi Army, led by the Shiite cleric Moktada al-Sadr.

#### 2009: Violence Fuels Segregation

Sectarian violence exploded in 2006. Families living in areas where another sect was predominant were threatened with violence if they did not move. By 2009 Shiites were a majority, with Sunnis reduced to about 10 percent to 15 percent of the population.

HDAD

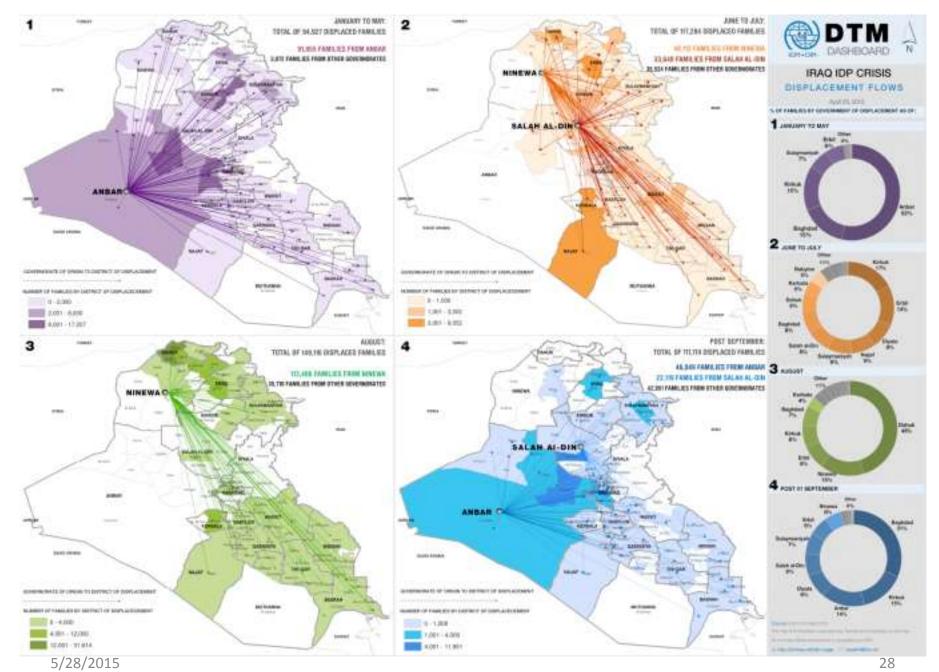
Adhamiya

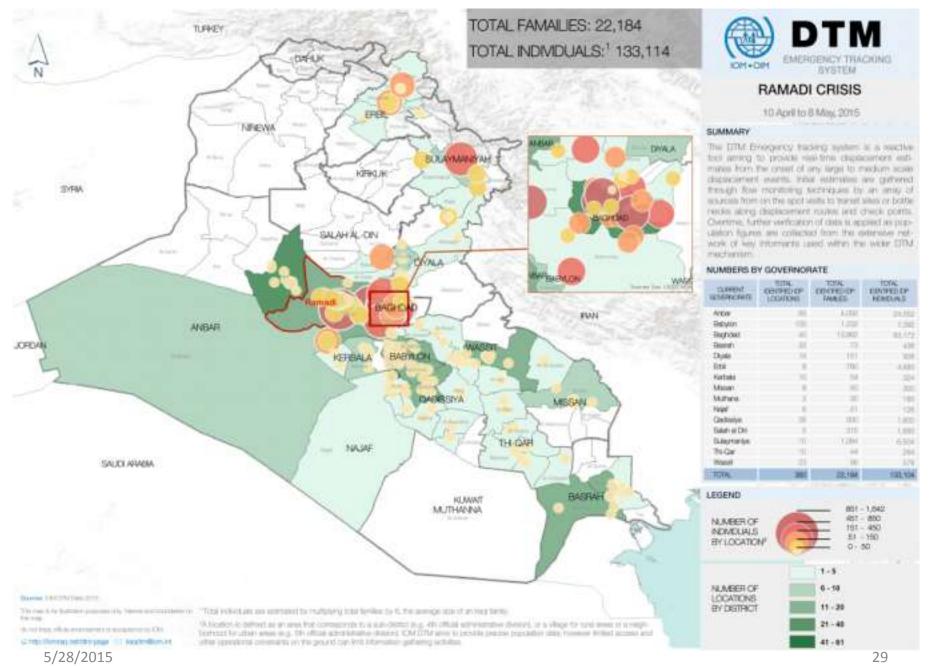
Huriya

- Huriya was transformed in 2006 when the Mahdi Army pushed out hundreds of families in a brutal spasm of sectarian cleansing.
- More than 8,000 displaced families relocated to Amiriya, the neighborhood where the Sunni Awakening began in Baghdad.
- Adhamiya, a Sunni island in Shiite east Baghdad, was walled and restricted along with other neighborhoods in 2007 for security.

Tigris River

Neighborhoods east of the Tigris
River are generally more densely
populated than areas to the west.



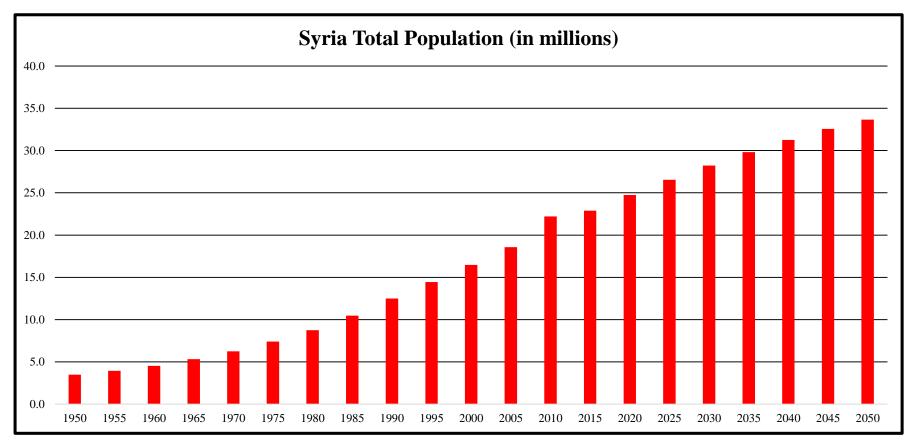


# Fighting in Syria

#### Syria Country Profile: (CIA World Factbook, May 2015)

- **Population:** 17,951,639 (July 2014 est.)
- Youth Bulge: 53.3%: 0-14 years: 33.1% (male 3,046,922/female 2,898,060); 15-24 years: 20.2% (male 1,833,802/female 1,789,854)
- Entering Labor Force Annually:
- Ethnic Divisions: Arab 90.3%, Kurds, Armenians, and other 9.7%
- Sectarian Divisions: Muslim 87% (official; includes Sunni 74% and Alawi, Ismaili, and Shia 13%), Christian (includes Orthodox, Uniate, and Nestorian) 10% (includes Orthodox, Uniate, and Nestorian), Druze 3%, Jewish (few remaining in Damascus and Aleppo)
- Urbanization: 57.3% (1.37% per year)
- **GDP vs. Labor Force: GDP:** \$107.6 (PPP 2011) \$64.7B (2011 Official Exchange Rate)
- Per Capita Income: \$5,100 (2011 in \$2011) (165<sup>th</sup> in the world)
- Budget:
- Taxes & Other Revenues:
- Exports vs. Imports:
- Direct Unemployment: 33% (2014)
- **Poverty Level:** 11.9% (2009)
- Transparency International Global Corruption Ranking: 159<sup>th</sup> worst of 175 countries

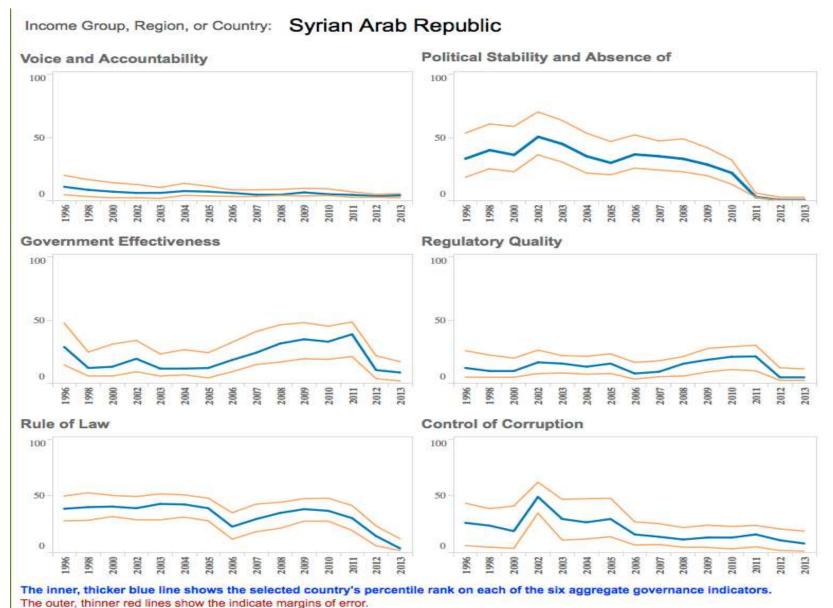
#### **Demographic Pressures on Syria**



	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020	2025	2030	2035	2040	2045	2050
<b>Total Population</b>	3.5	3.9	4.5	5.3	6.3	7.4	8.8	10.5	12.5	14.4	16.5	18.6	22.2	22.9	24.7	26.5	28.2	29.8	31.3	32.6	33.7
(millions)	3.3	3.9	4.)	٥.٥	0.5	7.4	0.0	10.5	12.3	14.4	10.3	10.0	22.2	22.9	24.7	20.3	20.2	29.0	31.3	32.0	33.7
Population Growth Rate	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	3.6%	3.9%	2.7%	2.5%	2.3%	2.0%	1.4%	1.5%	1.3%	1.2%	1.0%	0.9%	0.7%	0.6%
(percent)	1 1/2 1	1 1/2 1	1 1/2 1	1 1/2 1	1 1/2 1	1 1/2 1	11/1	3.070	3.770	2.770	2.570	2.570	2.070	1.170	1.570	1.570	1.270	1.070	0.570	0.770	0.070
<b>Total Annual Births</b>	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4
(millions)	11/1	11/1	11/1	11/1	11/1	11/7	11/1	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base (IDB), http://www.census.gov/population/international/data/idb/informationGateway.php

#### World Bank Rankings of Failed Governance in Syria

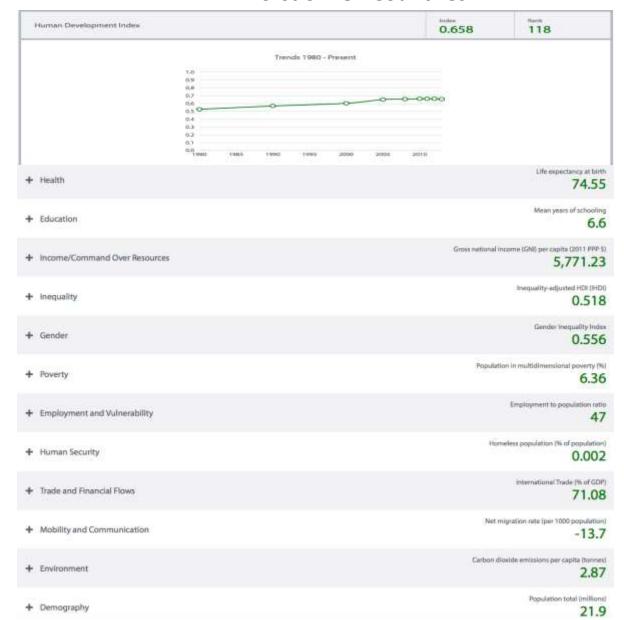


## World Bank Global Ranking of Ease of Doing Business in Syria in 2015: 175<sup>th</sup> worst of 185 Countries

REGION	Middle East & North Africa	DOING BUSINESS 2015 RANK	DOING BUSINESS 2014 RANK***	CHANGE IN RANK
INCOME CATEGORY	Lower middle income	175	165	₩ -10
POPULATION	22,845,550	DOING BUSINESS	DOING BUSINESS	CHANGE IN DTF** (%
GNI PER CAPITA (US\$)	2,803	2015 DTF** (% POINTS)	2014 DTF** (% POINTS)	POINTS)
CITY COVERED	Damascus	46.51	46.91	₩ -0.40

TOPICS	DB 2015 Rank	DB 2014 Rank	Change in Rank
Starting a Business	152	141	+ -11
Dealing with Construction Permits	189	189	No change
Getting Electricity	76	64	* -12
Registering Property	140	140	No change
Getting Credit	165	163	* -2
Protecting Minority Investors	78	77	*
Paying Taxes	117	113	*
Trading Across Borders	146	143	* -:
Enforcing Contracts	175	175	No change
Resolving Insolvency	146	145	

## UNDP Ranking of Human Development Indicators in Syria in 2015: 118<sup>th</sup> worst of 187 Countries

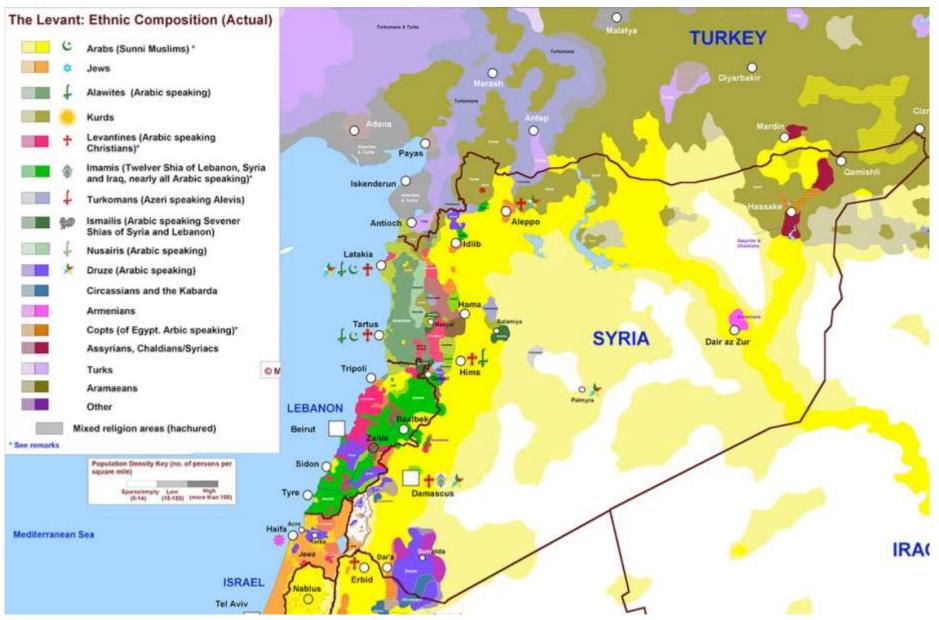


#### **IMF Summary Data on Syria in 2015**

Subject Descriptor	Units	Scale	Country/Series- specific Notes	2013	2014	2015
Gross domestic product, constant prices	Percent change		В	n/a	n/a	n/a
Gross domestic product, current prices	U.S. dollars	Billions	B	n/a	n/a	n/a
Gross domestic product per capita, current prices	U.S. dollars	Units	Н	n/a	n/a	n/a
Gross domestic product based on purchasing-power-parity (PPP) per capita GDP	Current international dollar	Units	В	n/a	n/a	n/a
Inflation, average consumer prices	Percent change		ii ii	n/a	n/a	n/a
Volume of imports of goods and services	Percent change		В	n/a	n/a	n/a
Volume of exports of goods and services	Percent change		B	n/a	n/a	n/a
Unemployment rate	Percent of total labor force		B	n/a	n/a	n/a
Population	Persons	Millions	В	n/a	n/a	n/a
General government revenue	Percent of GDP		B	n/a	n/a	n/a
General government total expenditure	Percent of GDP		Н	n/a	n/a	n/a
General government net debt	Percent of GDP		B	n/a	n/a	n/a
General government gross debt	Percent of GDP		B	n/a	n/a	n/a
Current account balance	U.S. dollars	Billions	В	n/a	n/a	n/a
Current account balance	Percent of GDP		B	n/a	n/a	n/a

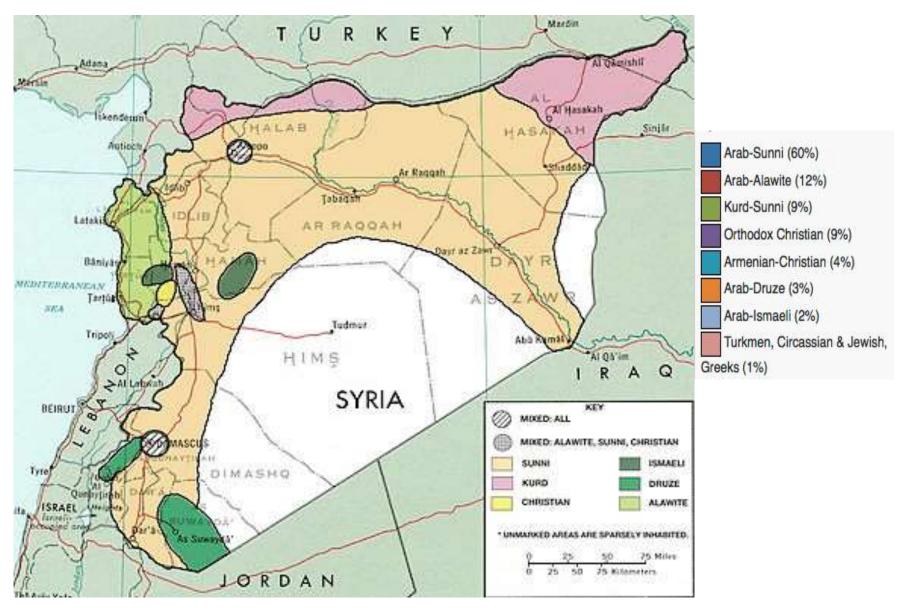
IMF,

## The Pre-War Ethnic Sectarian Nightmare in the Levant



Source: Columbia University Gulf/2000 Project, and http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2013/08/27/the-one-map-that-shows-why-syria-is-so-

## The Pre-War Ethnic Sectarian Nightmare in the Syria

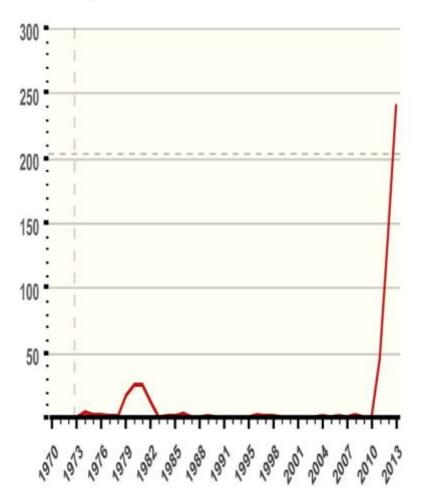


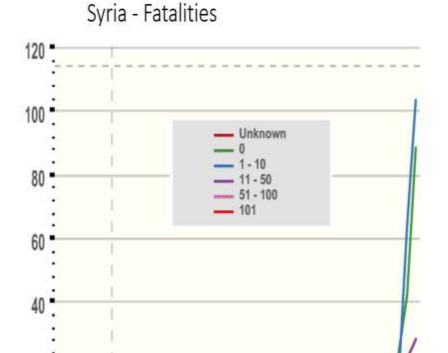
 $Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sectarianism\_and\_minorities\_in\_the\_Syrian\_Civil\_Warpdf$ 

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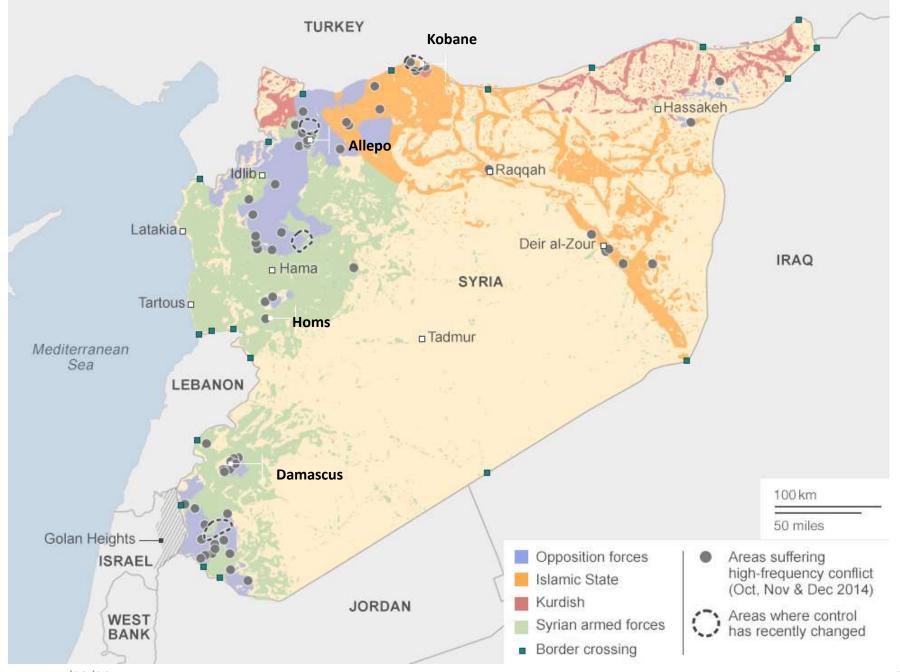
# Rise in Terrorism in Syria

Syria – Terrorist Incidents

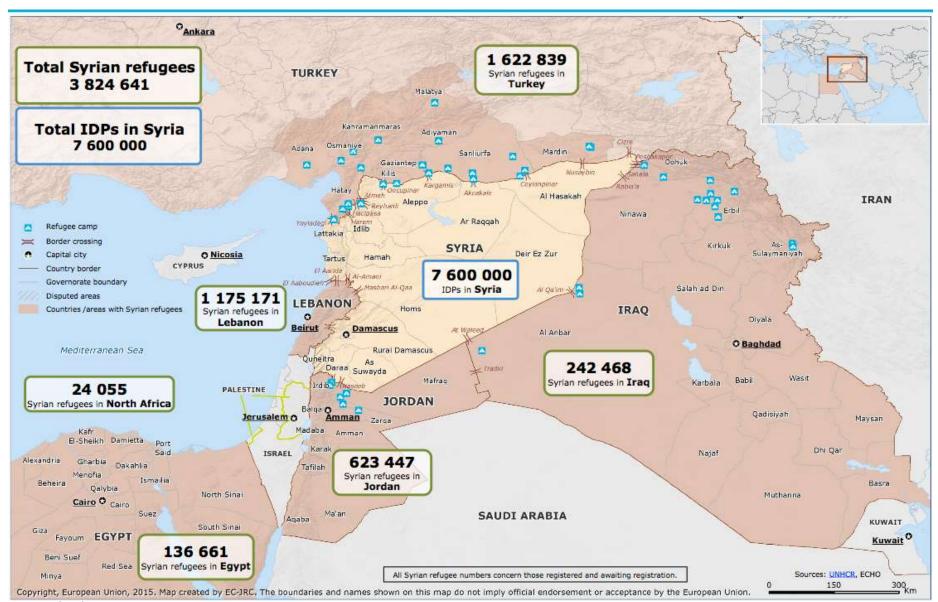


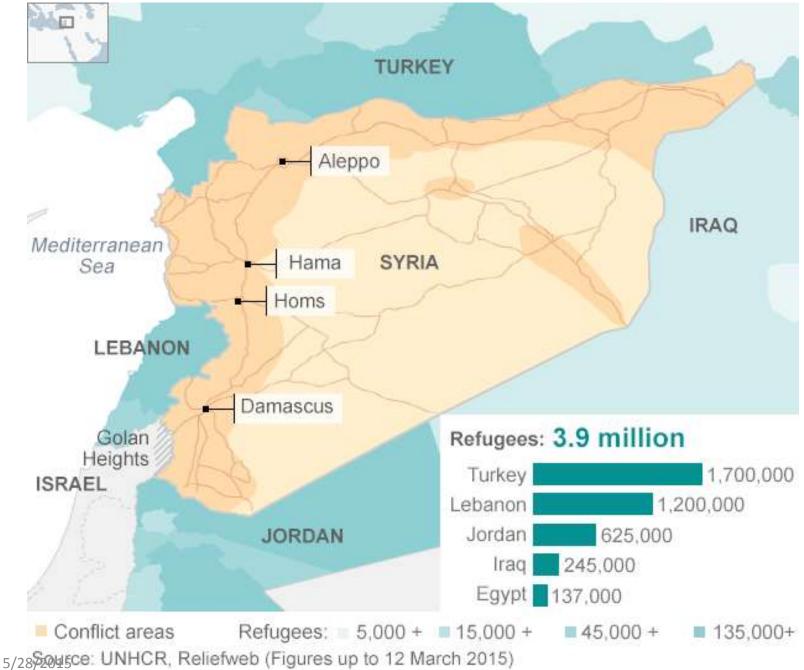


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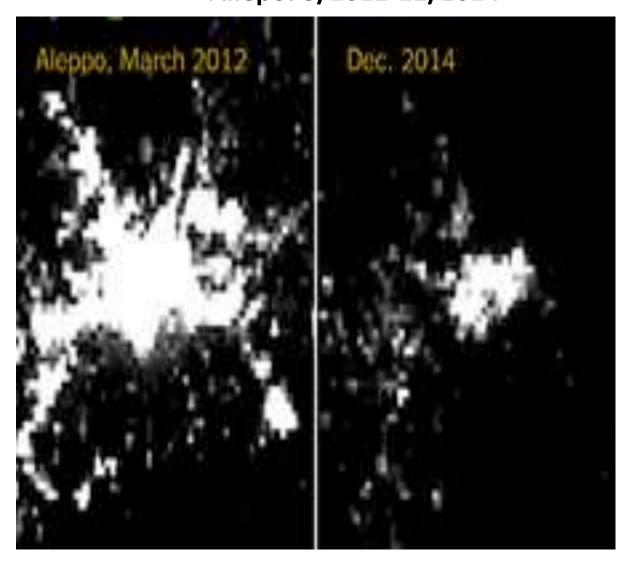


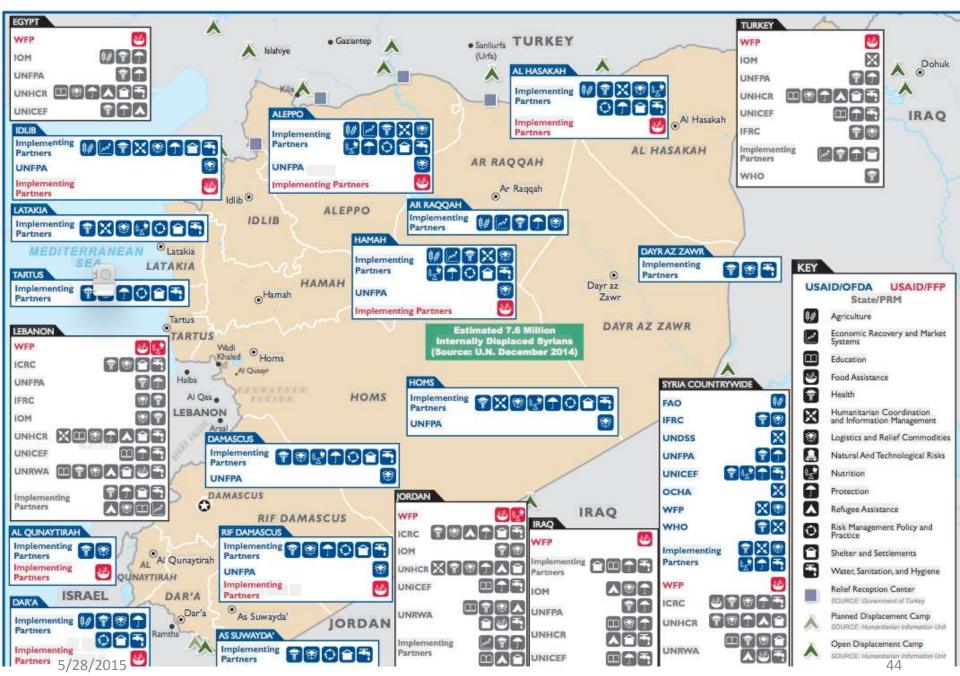
### Syrian Refugee and IDB Crisis: March 1, 2015



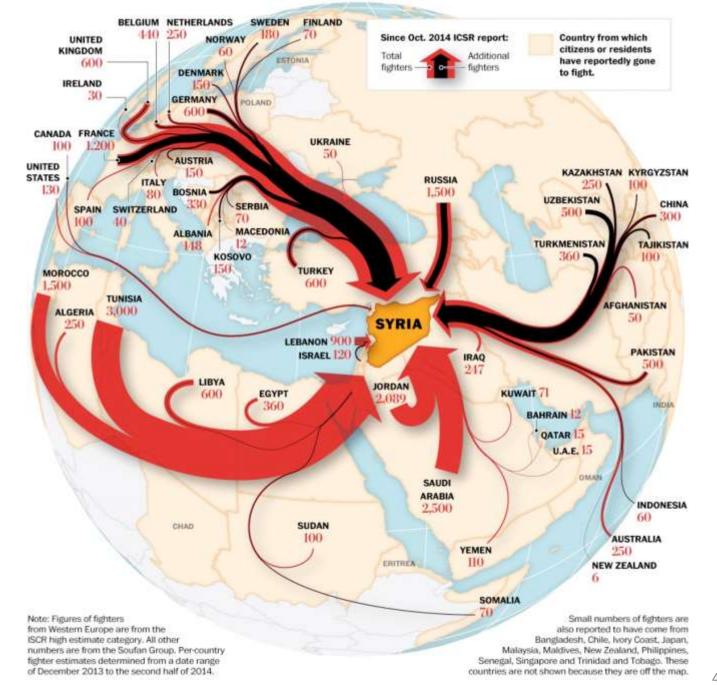


# Syria: The Lights Go Out in Allepo: 3/2012-12/2014





# **Foreign Volunteers**



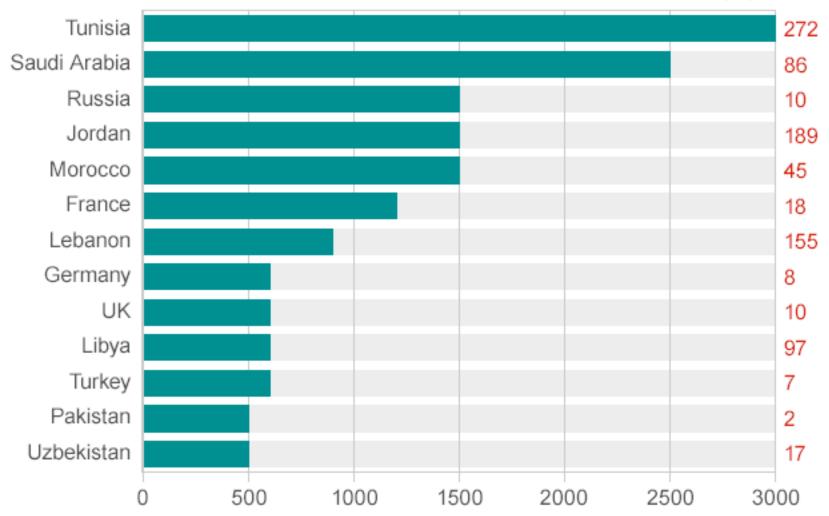
http://www.washin gtonpost.com/world /middle\_east/theislamic-state-isfraying-fromwithin/2015/03/08/ 0003a2e0-c276-11e4-a188-8e4971d37a8d\_stor y.html

TOTAL: 21,632

5/28/2015

## Foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq

Per million population



Note: Upper estimates used. Countries with fewer than 500 fighters not included

Source: ICSR, CIA World Factbook

### NYT Estimate of Foreign Fighters

#### North Africa and Middle East

The largest share of foreign fighters counted in the study came from Tunisia, a country with one of the more stable post-Arab Spring governments. Saudi Arabia's share is also large, but recent government crackdowns have stanched the flow of fighters.

#### Former Soviet States

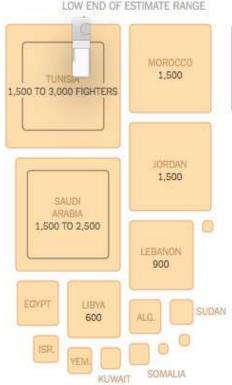
Decades of officially sanctioned religious persecution, ethnic conflicts and Islamic radicalization are key reasons for the flow of fighters from post-Soviet states, according to Peter Neumann, director of the I.C.S.R. Many fighters have combat experience from decades of war in the Caucasus.

#### Western Europe

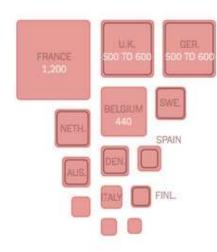
The war in Syria has drawn young Europeans, many of whom have used cheap flights to Turkey as a route to Syria. Mr. Neumann noted that some small European countries like Belgium produce a remarkable number of fighters in relation to their population.

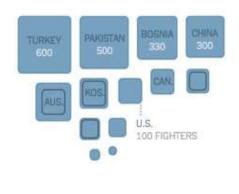
#### Other regions

American law enforcement officials have focused not only on monitoring social media networks more aggressively, but also on educating state and local authorities about ways to identify potential travelers.









MENA: 7,500-10,000 FSU: 1,300-2,000

W. Europe: 2,260-2,460 Other: 1,730

Total: 12,790 – 16,190

## Origin of foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq

