

## Index

- 17th Benchmark, 3, 4, 18, 23, 144, 145, 149, 156, 162, 170, 172, 196, 203, 205, 215, 219, 220, 248, 251
- Abbas, Nasser Hassani, 231
- Abdulhamid II, 27, 28
- Abdul-Mahdi, Adel, 136, 138, 139, 215, 216, 217
- Adhoob, Salam, 199, 200
- AECOM, 195, 196, 253. *See also* Legislative Strengthening Program (LSP)
- Ahrar block, 240
- al-Atroushi, Sami, 235
- al-Attiya, Khalid, 231
- al-Azzawi, Hikmat Mizban Ibrahim, 35, 73, 78
- al-Dayni, Muhammad, 222
- al-Duleimy, Halim, 234
- al-Duri, Izzat Ibrahim, 39
- al-Essawi, Rafia, xi, 238, 249
- al-Gailani, Kamil Mubdir, 136, 215
- al-Hafiz, Mahdi, 226
- al-Hashimi, Tariq, xi, 249
- Ali, Faysal, 244
- al-Iraqiya Alliance, 236, 237, 238, 241
- al-Khattab, Abd al-Mun'im, 38
- Allawi, Ali A., xiii, 78, 86, 87, 96, 97, 113, 114, 120, 121, 136, 137, 138, 139, 199, 217, 218, 219, 238
- Allawi, Iyad, 236, 241
- al-Mahdi, Adil, 120
- al-Maliki, Nouri, xi, 136, 146, 165, 166, 199, 200, 220, 227, 232, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 249, 254
- al-Mashhadani, Mahmoud, 227
- al-Mayahi, Munadil, 223
- al-Moussawi, Samira, 235
- al-Nujafi, Osama, 240
- al-Radhi, Rahdi, 200
- al-Saadi, Sabri Zire, 54
- al-Sadr, Muqtada, xi, 196, 237, 249
- al-Samarra'i, Iyad, 221
- al-Samarra'i, Ahmad Husayn Khudayir, 39
- al-Shabibi, Sinan, xi, 54, 120
- al-Wahid, Karim, 165
- al-Zubeidi, Baqir Jabr, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 179, 200, 220, 222, 224, 229, 230
- al-Zuheiri, Abdulrazeq, 234
- Andersson, Krister, 19, 22, 142
- Australian Department of Finance and Deregulation, 61
- Aziz, Jaffar Hassam, 138, 139, 141, 142, 178, 216, 246
- Aziz, Kazem Alwan, 223
- Ba'ath Party budgeting and finance, 34–45
- Baban, Ali, 179, 220, 226, 254
- Balo, Ali Hussein, 231
- BearingPoint, 23, 64, 113, 116, 117, 118, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 173, 178, 183, 251, 252. *See also* Economic Governance Program; Financial Management Information System (FMIS)
- Board of Supreme Audit, 80, 86, 95, 104, 105, 107, 197, 201
- Bowen, Stuart, xiii, 108, 159, 165, 168, 179, 198
- Boyce, James, 7, 12
- Bremer, L. Paul, 50, 75, 76, 78, 81, 82, 85, 92, 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 110, 111, 124, 125, 126, 127, 138, 145, 251
- Brennan, Arthur, 197
- Brinkley, Paul, xiii, 181, 182, 192, 206
- British budgeting and finance, 28–32

- British Mandate, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 46, 109, 197, 245, 248, 259  
 British Oil Development Company, 32  
 Brownlee, Jason, 20  
 Bush, George H. W., 75  
 Bush, George W., xii, 1, 2, 3, 4, 18, 47, 48, 55, 56, 63, 68, 69, 74, 75, 86, 98, 99, 117, 144, 149, 150, 152, 160, 189, 251, 256, 257, 258  
  
 Carnahan, Michael, 8  
 Carney, Tim, 140, 203  
 Casey, George W., 189  
 Central Bank of Iraq (CBI), xi, 36, 38, 41, 49, 54, 56, 58, 65, 66, 67, 71, 75, 94, 95, 99, 107, 120, 147, 148, 201, 211, 230, 231, 238  
 Central Criminal Court of Iraq, 197  
 Clinton, William (Bill) J., 47, 48, 259  
 Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), 4, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 55, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 136, 138, 139, 141, 144, 145, 146, 147, 166, 167, 169, 170, 173, 185, 186, 187, 192, 197, 199, 201, 202, 208, 209, 210, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 219, 224, 230, 241, 245, 248, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 257  
     making the 2003 budget, 75–87  
     making the 2004 budget, 87–92  
 Collier, Paul, 9, 10, 11, 255  
 Collins, Susan, 154  
 Commanders Emergency Response Program (CERP), 167, 168, 190  
 Commission on Public Integrity, xv, 158, 197  
 Council of Representatives, 172, 194, 195, 209, 214, 220, 222, 223, 226, 227, 234, 236, 238, 241, 249, 250, 253  
 Cox, Kendall, 166  
 CPA Memorandum 4 Contract and Grant Procedures, 101, 104  
 CPA Office of Management and Budget (CPA OMB), 75, 79  
 CPA Order 1 De-Ba'athification of Iraqi Society, 78  
 CPA Order 71 Local Governmental Powers, 92, 96, 186  
 CPA Order 77 Board of Supreme Audit, 95, 197  
  
 CPA Order 87 Public Contracts, 92  
 CPA Order 95 Public Financial Management Law and Public Debt Law, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 119, 144, 147, 166, 167, 186, 187, 210, 213, 214, 216, 245, 246  
 CPA Regulation 3 Program Review Board, 101, 102  
 Crocker, Ryan C., xii, xiii, 50, 143, 156, 198, 203, 212, 224, 226, 227, 228  
  
 de-Ba'athification, 78, 79, 80, 114, 172  
 del Castillo, Graciana, 7, 11  
 Development Board, 33–34  
 Development Fund for Iraq (DFI), 23, 85, 86, 91, 94, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 120, 122, 145, 168, 170, 199, 220  
  
 Easterly, William, 10, 11  
  
 Faisal I, 29, 30, 46, 213  
 Faisal II, 36  
 Feeny, Simon, 8  
 Financial Management Information System (FMIS), 23, 112, 116, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 148, 210, 211, 253, 255  
 Fukuyama, Francis, 12, 13, 19, 47, 48  
 Future of Iraq Project, 22, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 67, 68, 97  
  
 Gaddafi, Muammar, 261  
 Garner, Jay, 23, 53, 56, 64, 65, 67, 69, 71, 74, 124, 173  
 Gaskin, W.E., 153  
 General Accounts Procedure Law Number 28 of 1940, 32, 94  
 Ghani, Ashraf, 6, 7, 137  
 Gibson, Clark, 19  
 Grant Thornton, 159, 167, 170, 174, 182, 183, 184, 196, 204, 205, 206, 212. *See also* Task Force on Business and Stability Operations  
  
 Hadi, Amin, 249  
 Hadi, Nouzhad, 235  
 Hadley, Steven, 53  
 Harsin, Ari, 244, 245  
 Hashim, Jawad, 36  
 Haskil, Susan Effendi, 29  
 Haslach, Patricia, xiii, 259  
 Hassan, Bayazid, 237

## Index

285

- Helmick, Frank, 233  
 Husari, Ruba, 239  
 Huslin, Tracy, 131  
 Hussein, Qussay, 39  
 Hussein, Saddam, 2, 3, 13, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 25, 26, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 64, 66, 70, 71, 75, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 99, 109, 110, 138, 139, 146, 174, 183, 208, 212, 216, 217, 219, 250, 251, 254, 261
- International Advisory and Monitoring Board (IAMB), 99, 100, 104  
 International Budget Partnership Open Budget Survey 2010, 199  
 International Monetary Fund (IMF), 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 20, 59, 61, 62, 87, 111, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 129, 140, 148, 163, 170, 210, 211, 218, 219, 224, 229, 230, 234, 239, 247, 249, 255
- Iraq Petroleum Company, 32, 33, 34  
 Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund (IRRF), 88, 97, 98, 99, 146, 153, 154, 155, 157, 168, 170, 190, 197, 199, 218
- Iraqi budgets  
   2003 CPA budget, 75–87  
   2004 CPA budget, 87–92  
   2005 transition budget, 215–217  
   2006 ownership budget, 217–219  
   2007 17th Benchmark budget, 219–224  
   2008 goodtimes budget, 224–229  
   2009 crisis budget, 229–232  
   2010 stabilization budget, 233–236  
   2011 electoral uncertainty budget, 236–241
- Iraqi Governing Council, 79, 85, 89, 93, 215, 217  
 Iraqi National Alliance, 237
- Jeffrey, James, xiii, 247  
 Johnson, John, 233  
 Jorstad, Van, 57, 59, 60, 67, 71
- Kahler, Miles, 19, 20  
 Khalilzad, Zalmay, 188, 189  
 KPMG, 104, 105, 108, 111, 141  
 Kraham, Sherri, xiii, 101  
 Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), xvi, 243, 244  
 Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), xvi, 54, 107, 159, 215, 226, 239, 241, 243, 244, 245  
 Kuwait, 44, 53, 67, 75, 84, 90, 199, 222
- Law of the Unified General State Budget, Number 107 of 1985, 40  
 Lockhart, Clare, 6, 7, 8  
 Loftis, Robert, 258, 259, 261
- Mahoney, James, 16, 17, 248, 252  
 Management Systems International (MSI), xvi, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 196, 204, 205, 206, 207, 253. *See also* *Tatweer*
- Massoum, Fouad, 226  
 McCain, John, 155  
 McDonald, W. Larry, 49, 61, 65, 66, 156, 157  
 McGillvray, Mark, 8  
 McPherson, Peter, 75, 76, 85, 98, 102, 125, 126, 260  
 Milligan, Chris, 64  
 Ministry of Finance, 21, 22, 23, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 49, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 62, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 147, 148, 149, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 164, 168, 174, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 186, 187, 194, 198, 199, 201, 206, 208, 210, 211, 213, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 226, 227, 229, 230, 231, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 254, 255  
 Ministry of Oil, 67, 71, 81, 85, 94, 149, 218, 221, 230  
 Ministry of Planning, 22, 26, 34, 35, 36, 38, 42, 65, 67, 77, 81, 83, 87, 90, 94, 110, 115, 159, 160, 161, 162, 166, 174, 177, 179, 181, 182, 183, 187, 199, 209, 212, 213, 221, 241, 243, 244, 254
- Moore, Peter, 132  
 Mubarak, Hosni, 240  
 Mullinax, George, 57, 65, 71  
 Mustapha, Abdulrahman, 235
- Nabi, Fadhil, 233  
 Nabi, Fathel, 236  
 Nash, David, 102  
 Nasser, 36  
 Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 36

- National Center for Consultation and Management Development (NCCMD), xvi, 174, 176, 177, 178, 179
- National Security Council (NSC), 53
- National Security Presidential Directive 24 (NSPD 24), 53
- National Security Presidential Directive 44 (NSPD 44), xvi, 257
- Natsios, Andrew, 19, 98, 119, 245, 260
- Nelson, Ben, 154
- New Way Forward strategy, 144, 149
- North, Douglass, 15, 18, 248
- NorthStar Consultants, 104
- Nummy, David, 57, 58, 59, 60, 65, 68, 71, 76
- O'Donnell, Madalene, 7, 12
- Obama, Barack, 155, 157, 256, 261, 262
- Obeid, Hashim, 80, 136
- Odierno, Raymond T., 153
- Office of Accountability and Transparency (OAT), 197
- Oil for Food Program, 44, 45, 46, 90, 99
- Oliver, David R. Jr., 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 98, 101, 103, 106, 107, 126, 145, 212, 215
- Open Society Iraq Revenue Watch, 86
- Ostrom, Elinor, 19, 22, 142
- Ottoman budgeting and finance, 26–28
- Ottoman Public Debt Administration, 27
- Pasha, Midhad, 27
- Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), xvi, 243, 244
- Peshmerga, 226, 238, 243. *See also* Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG)
- Petraeus, David H., xii, 189
- Powell, Collin, xii
- Program Review Board (PRB), 86, 101, 102, 103, 105, 109, 170
- Public Finance Management Action Group (PFMAG), 203
- Rafidain bank, 41, 42, 49, 81, 133
- Rasheed bank, 42, 49, 81, 226
- Reagan, Ronald, 75
- Research Triangle Institute International (RTI), xvi, 113, 185. *See also* Local Governance Program
- Rice, Condoleezza, 22, 53, 54, 69, 119, 188, 250
- Ries, Charles P., xiii, 139, 156, 158, 178, 179, 203, 205, 228
- Rock drill, 65
- Rumsfeld, Donald, 22, 53, 250
- Saadoun, Mohsen, 236
- Salih, Barham, 47, 184, 244, 245, 276
- Salim, Wujdan, 222
- Shivakumar, Sikao, 19
- Sideek, Nasreen, 54
- Snow, John, 55, 56, 68, 69
- Spratt, John, 154
- State of Law block, 237
- Supreme Islamic Council, 237
- Tahir, Rasheed, 243
- Talabani, Jalal, 237
- Taylor, John B., 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 61, 63, 67, 68, 69, 73, 74, 75, 106, 109
- Thelen, Kathleen, 16, 17, 248, 252
- Trimble, Laura, 57, 58, 59, 73, 77
- UK Department for International Development (DFID), 9, 59, 137, 190
- UK Department of the Treasury, 61
- United Nations (UN), 34, 44, 89, 90, 97, 99, 121, 174, 243
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1546, 99
- U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), 3, 14, 22, 23, 24, 53, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 73, 75, 81, 85, 98, 101, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132, 135, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 160, 161, 173, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 193, 194, 195, 196, 202, 204, 205, 206, 245, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 280
- Economic Governance Program, 24, 64, 68, 116, 119, 123, 125, 127, 131, 132, 137, 141, 142, 251
- Legislative Strengthening Program (LSP), xvi, 194, 195, 196
- Local Governance Program, 24, 185, 187, 188, 194, 206, 256
- Tatweer, 24, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 202, 206, 207, 253, 254, 255, 280
- U.S. Congressional Research Service (CRS), 14, 257, 258, 259
- U.S. Department of Defense, 3, 22, 24, 48, 53, 57, 65, 67, 76, 83, 104, 147, 149, 154, 159, 164, 173, 176, 181, 182, 184, 191, 192, 193, 202, 204, 205, 206, 254, 255, 257

*Index*

287

- Task Force on Business and Stability Operations, 24, 176, 181, 184, 255
- U.S. Department of State, 3, 6, 7, 11, 13, 14, 19, 22, 24, 41, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 80, 97, 99, 113, 123, 148, 153, 159, 160, 161, 173, 175, 176, 182, 183, 184, 185, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 220, 230, 236, 250, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262
- U.S. Department of the Treasury, 3, 21, 22, 23, 32, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 89, 93, 94, 102, 106, 109, 110, 113, 115, 116, 120, 123, 125, 127, 128, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 143, 145, 148, 155, 156, 157, 159, 160, 161, 163, 174, 175, 179, 182, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 215, 216, 217, 218, 250, 251, 253, 254, 257, 261
- Office of Technical Assistance (OTA), 9, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 68, 69, 73, 76, 77, 79, 93, 106, 115, 116, 123, 127, 132, 135, 138, 141, 145, 174, 175, 179, 202, 203, 251, 254, 257
- pre-war planning, 53–61
- U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO), 4, 14, 100, 128, 149, 152, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 173, 175, 190, 202, 203
- U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB), 3, 59, 77
- U.S. Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA), 53, 56, 60, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 75, 76, 113, 124, 125
- U.S. Office of the Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction (SIGIR), 14, 15, 99, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 111, 122, 123, 155, 165, 168, 173, 175, 177, 178, 189, 191, 198, 199, 204, 205, 206
- U.S. Program Management Office (PMO), xvi, 102, 104
- U.S. Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRT), xvi, 159, 160, 161, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 205
- Waldner, David, 18
- Warrick, Thomas, 67
- Washington Consensus, 48
- Wildavsky, Aaron, 42, 213
- Wolfowitz, Paul, 154
- World Bank, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 22, 25, 26, 59, 61, 62, 87, 89, 97, 99, 110, 121, 124, 142, 170, 206, 207, 210, 211, 230, 239, 246, 249, 255