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Iraq Index *Tracking Variables of* *Reconstruction & Security in Post-Saddam Iraq*

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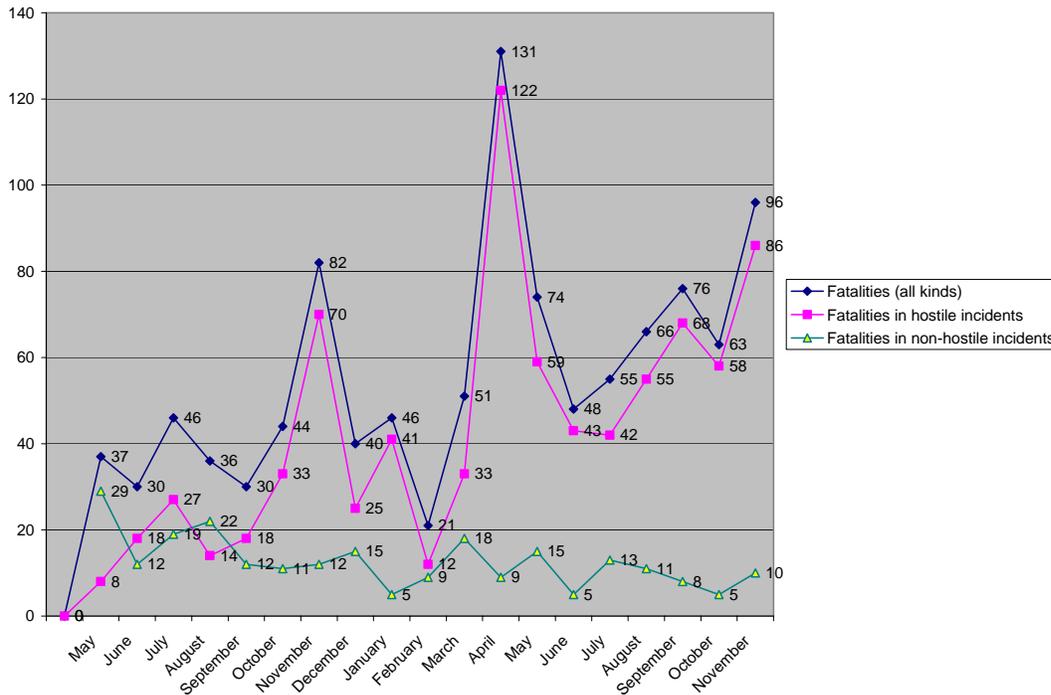
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SECURITY INDICATORS

U.S. TROOPS FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 2003¹



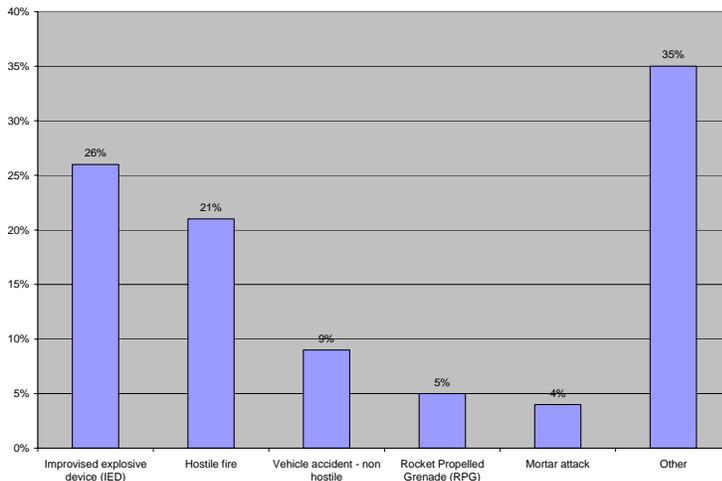
Total through November 16, 2004:

Fatalities (all kinds): **1,072**

Fatalities in hostile incidents: **832**

Fatalities in non-hostile incidents: **240**

MOST FREQUENT CAUSES OF U.S. MILITARY FATALITIES IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 1, 2003²



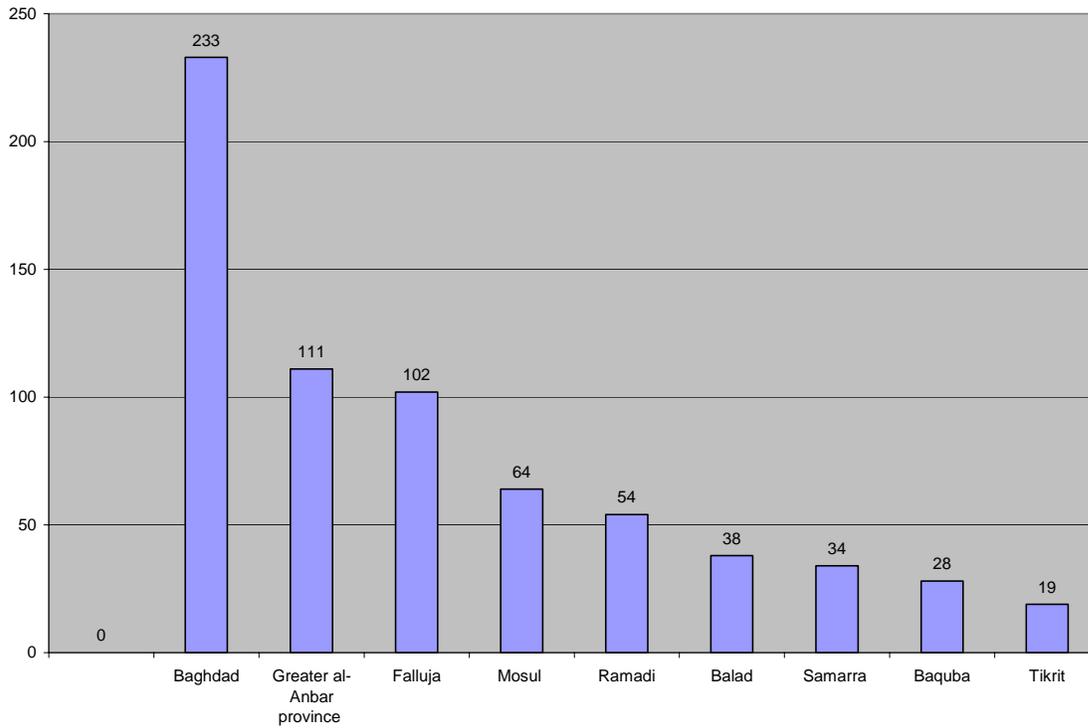
Through November 16, 2004

NOTE ON U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY TABLE: The American fatality numbers are based on a Defense Department news release that is updated 10AM daily. Since those numbers do not include fatalities that occur later that same day, even considering the time difference in Iraq, we interpret the numbers as representing fatalities that occurred the throughout the previous day.

NOTE ON U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY TABLE: At least 170 of the 923 American military killed as of October 6., 2004 were in the reserve component (National Guard and Army, Marine, Navy, and Air force reserves.)

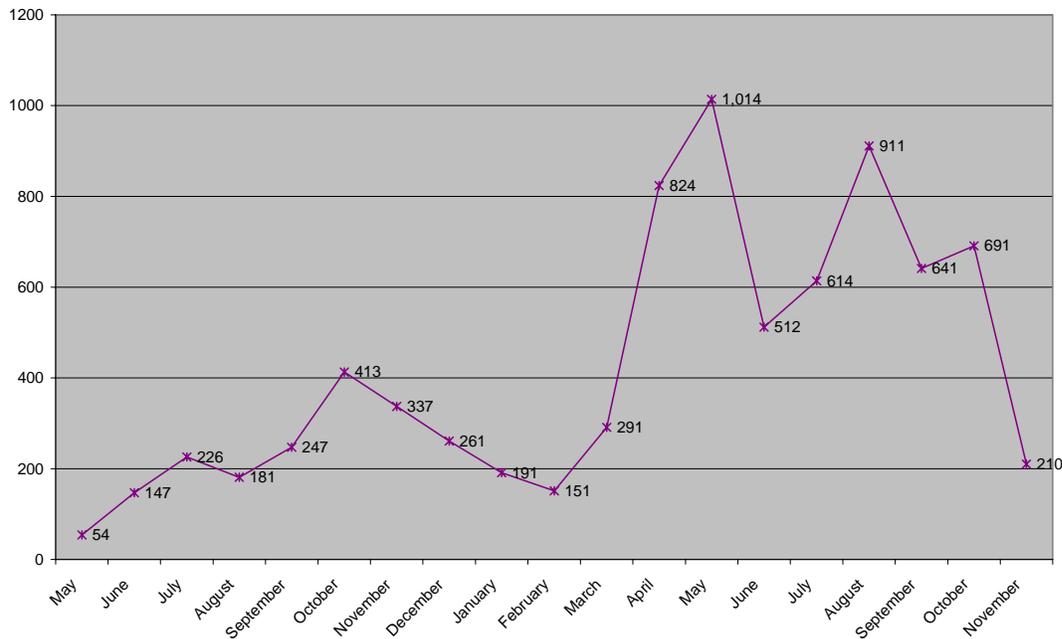
NOTE ON U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY TABLE: From the start of the war on March 19 until the end of major combat operations on April 30, 2003, Operation Iraqi Freedom caused 138 American troop fatalities. Of those, 109 were the result of hostile action, and 29 the result of non-hostile action. 65 U.S. troops were killed in March 2003. There were a total of 73 American fatalities in April 2003, 22 of which were killed after April 9. Of those 22, 10 were the result of hostile action and 12 the result of non-hostile action.

LOCATIONS OF FREQUENT U.S. MILITARY FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1, 2003³



Through November 15, 2004: 700

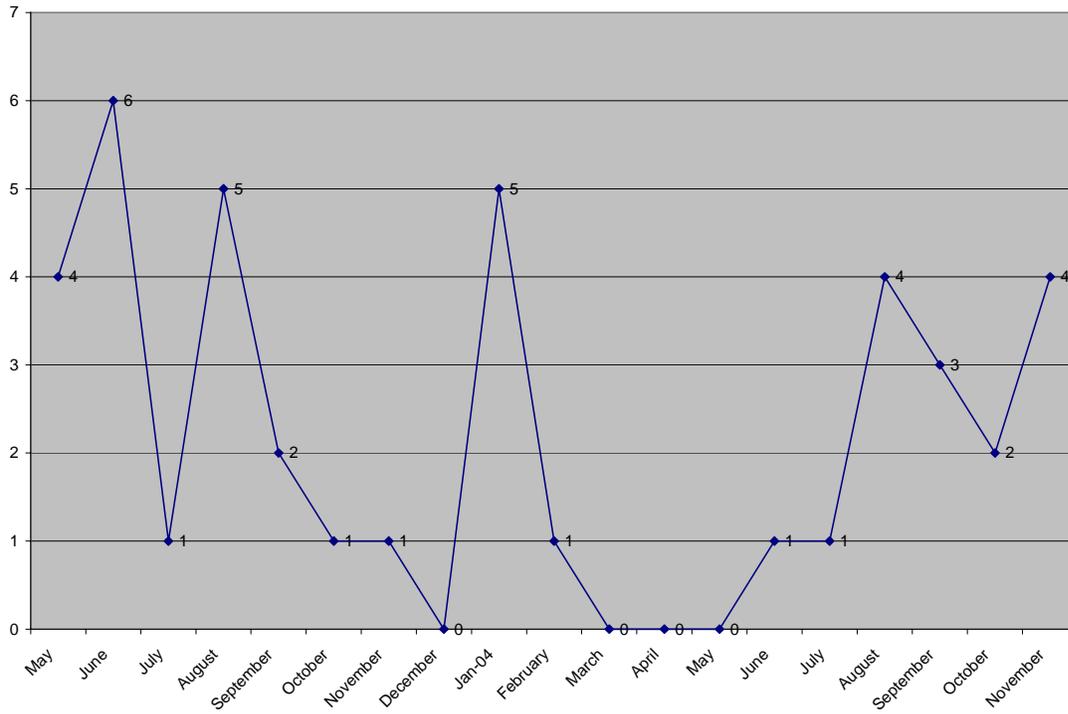
U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY, 2003⁴



Total through November 14, 2004: 7,916

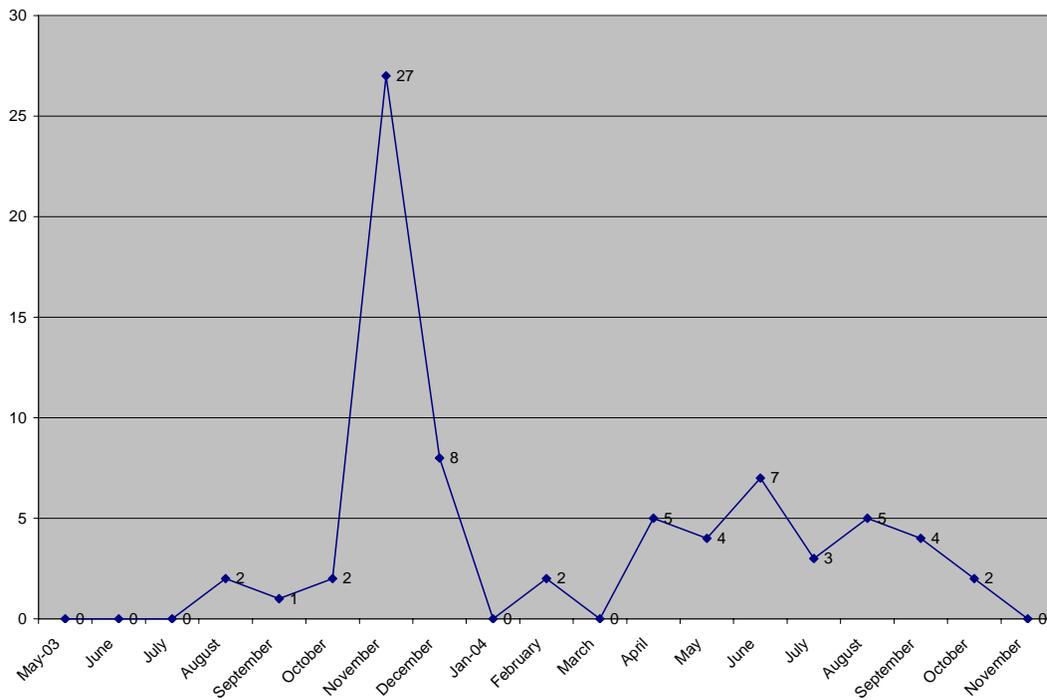
NOTE ON U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY 1, 2003 TABLE: 541 American troops were wounded in action between March 19 and April 30, 2003.

BRITISH TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 2003⁵



Total through November 16: 41

NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 2003⁶

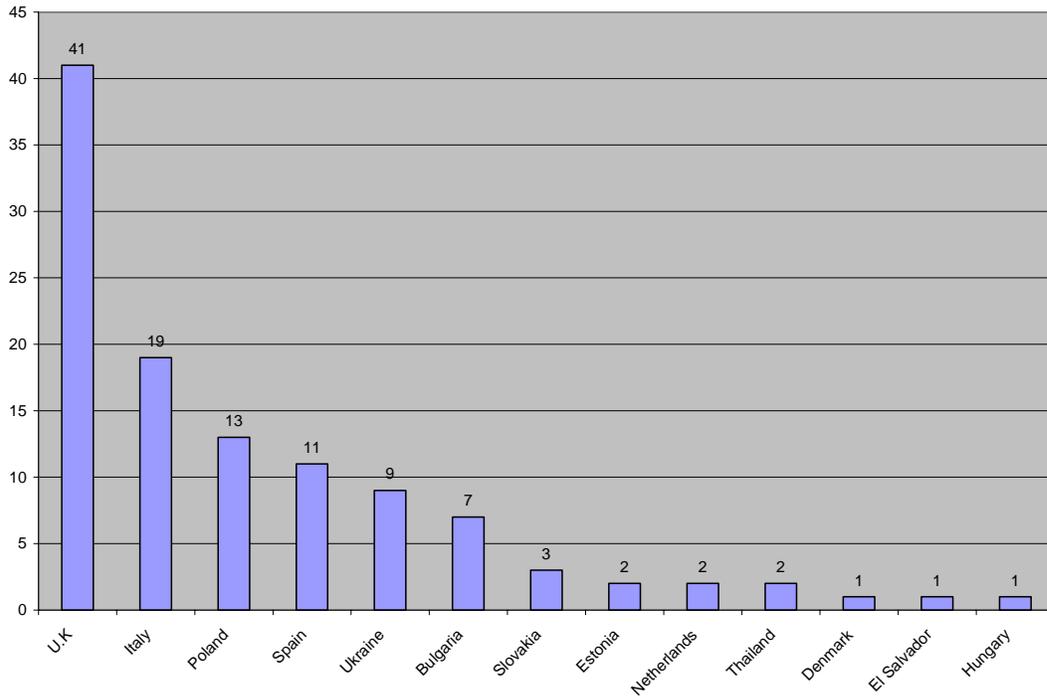


Total through November 16, 2004: 72

NOTE ON BRITISH TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1 TABLE: Up until May 1, 2003, Operation Iraqi Freedom caused 33 British troop fatalities. Of those 33 fatalities, 6 occurred during the month of April. Of the 6 fatalities that occurred in April, 2 occurred after April 9.

NOTE ON NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1 TABLE: Excluding American and British troop fatalities, there were no coalition fatalities from the start of the war up until May 1. All such fatalities occurred after that date.

NON-U.S. COALITION TROOP FATALITIES BY COUNTRY SINCE MAY, 2003⁷



Total through November 16, 2004: 113

IRAQI POLICE KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi police killed January 1, 2004 - September 28, 2004 750 ⁸

IRAQI SECURITY FORCES RECRUITS KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi security recruits killed	
May 1, 2003 -September 23, 2004	721 ⁹
September 24-October 26, 2004	779
Total as of October 26, 2004	1,500 ¹⁰

IRAQI INTERPRETERS WORKING FOR COALITION FORCES KILLED

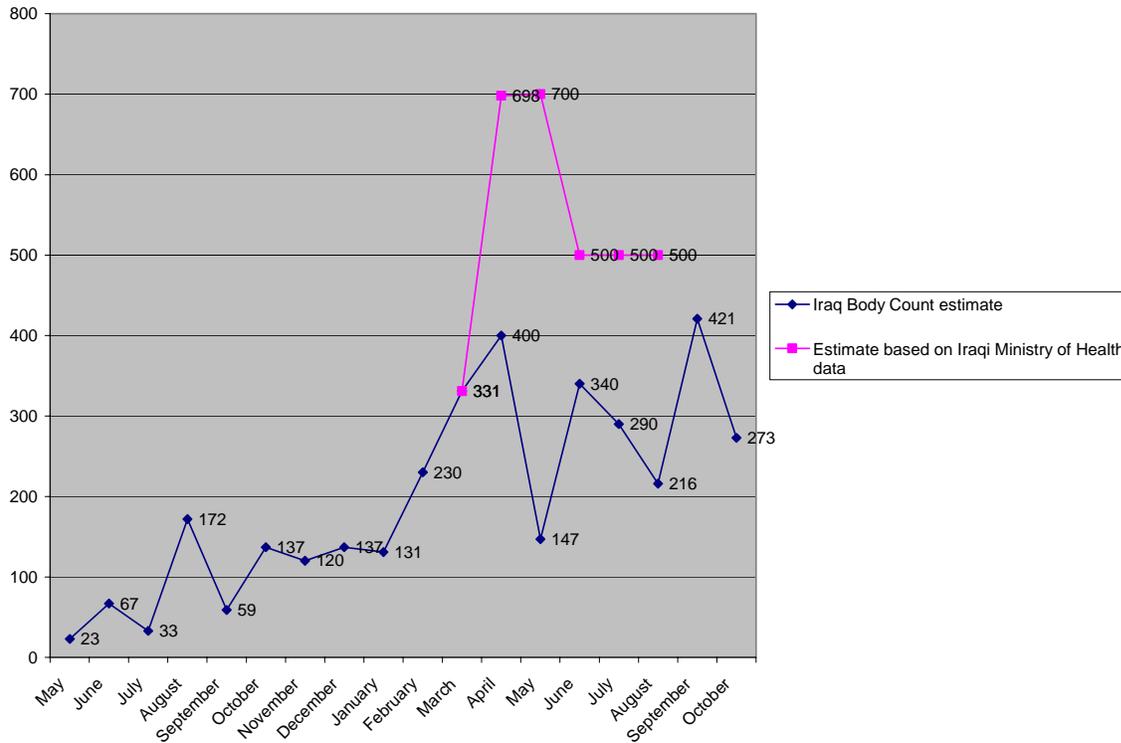
Total number of Iraqi interpreters killed January, 2004 - September 18, 2004 52 ¹¹

ESTIMATES OF IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE THE START OF THE WAR

Iraq Index (assume 7,350 Iraqi civilians killed from start of the war until May 1, 2003 as reported by Iraq Body Count)	Not including deaths from crime as of October 31: 10,887-12,382 Including deaths from crime as of September 30: 24,150-38,750
Iraq Body Count	13,000-15,000 as of September 10, 2004 ¹²
Statement by British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw Shaik Omar Clinic, Baghdad	>10,000 as of February 2004 ¹³ 10,363 as of September 8, 2004 ¹⁴ (in Baghdad and surrounding towns alone)
Amnesty International (London)	>10,000 as of September 8, 2004 ¹⁵
The Human Rights Organization, Iraq	>30,000 ¹⁶

IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR SINCE MAY 2003¹⁷

Total as of October 31: 3,527 – 5,032



ESTIMATES OF IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE THE START OF THE WAR: A report featured in the Lancet claim that at least 100,000 civilians have been killed in Iraq since the start of the invasion. We do not agree with the methodology and agree with Human Rights Watch that the numbers seem inflated. We have therefore chosen not to include it in the different estimates provided in this table. For the Lancet report, please see (www.thelancet.com)

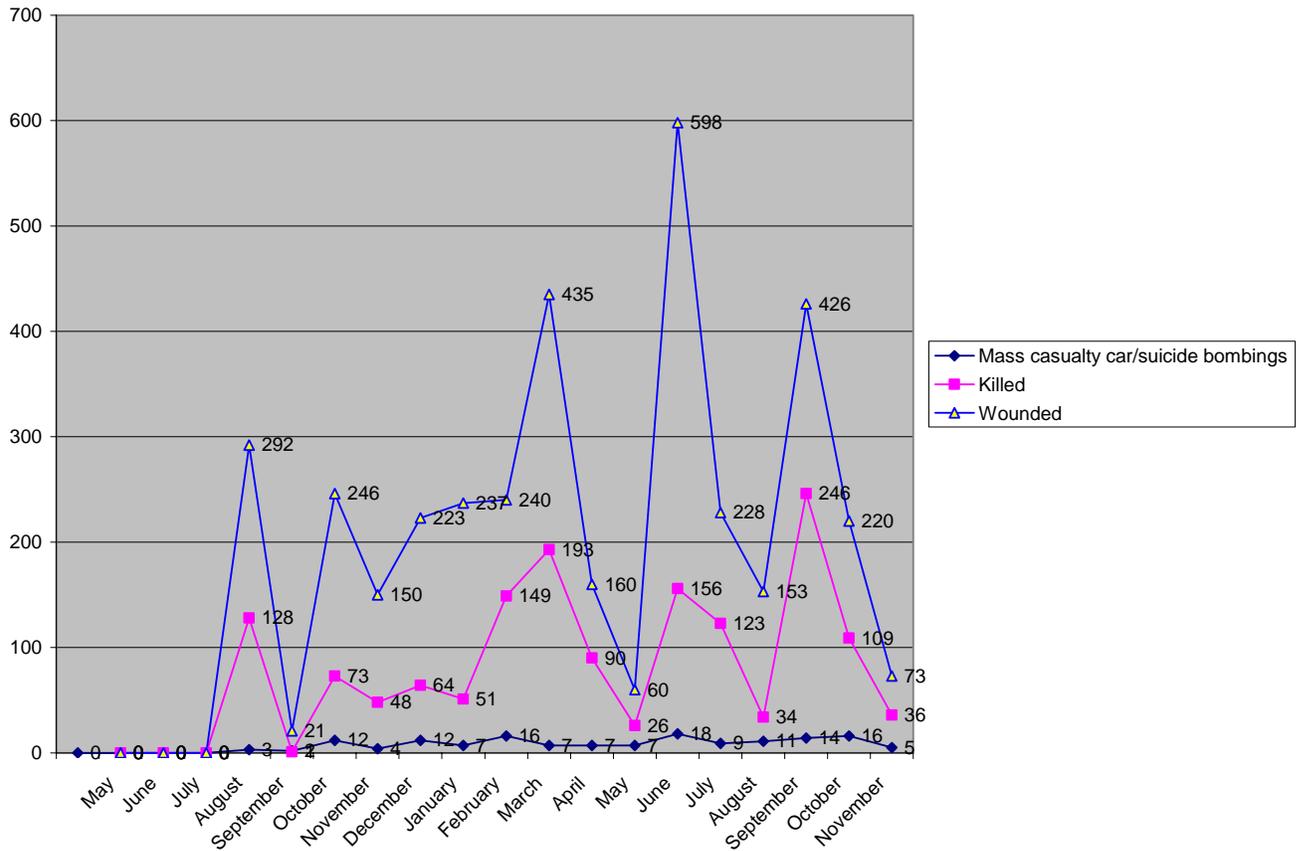
NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: Fatalities from mass casualty bombings are included in the estimate of Iraqi civilian killed. Insurgent casualties, to the extent that we can tell who is who, are not included in this tally.

NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: Iraq Body Count estimate that 7,350 Iraqi civilians were killed during major combat operations until May 1, 2003. (www.iraqbodycount.net [September 14, 2004]).

NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: Because reports of Iraqi civilian fatalities are not necessarily reported in the order they occur, the estimated number of civilians killed up until a certain date may change as more cases are reported.

NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: This is our best estimate of a monthly breakdown of how many Iraqi civilians have been killed as a result of acts of war, both by insurgents and U.S. military. We have relied on information in Iraq Body Count up until March 2004, but have created a lower and upper bound starting in April. The upper bound is the amount of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of mass casualty bombings and by fighting between insurgents and coalition forces as reported by the Iraqi Ministry of Health. The lower bound is estimates as reported by Iraq Body count, and includes civilians and police killed by fighting between insurgents and coalition forces, and as a result of mass casualty bombings. We recognize that it is very possible that both these estimates are most probably lower than the actual number as a result of the fact that many separate incidents go unreported or unnoticed. We are doing our utmost not to include suspected Iraqi insurgents killed deliberately by U.S. forces or as a result of crime. There may be some double counting of the people that are reported as dead by the Iraqi morgue due to crime, although measures to minimize any such double counting have been taken by focusing on reports of separate incidents only. The Associated Press reported that there had been 5,558 violent deaths in Iraq since May 1, 2003 and up until April 30. The article points out that “there is no precise count for Iraq as a whole on how many people have been killed, nor is there a breakdown of deaths caused by the different sorts of attacks. The U.S. military, the occupation authority and Iraqi government agencies say that they don’t have the ability to track civilian deaths.” The Associated Press estimate that 3,240 Iraqi civilians died between March 20 to April 20, 2003, but conclude that “the real number of civilian deaths was sure to be much higher.” Daniel Cooney, Omar Sinan, “AP Enterprise: More Than 5,000 Iraqi Civilians killed Since Occupation Began According to Morgue Records,” *Associated Press*, May 18, 2004.

MASS CASUALTY BOMBINGS IN IRAQ SINCE MAY, 2003¹⁸



Total through November 16, 2004:

Mass casualty bombings: 150

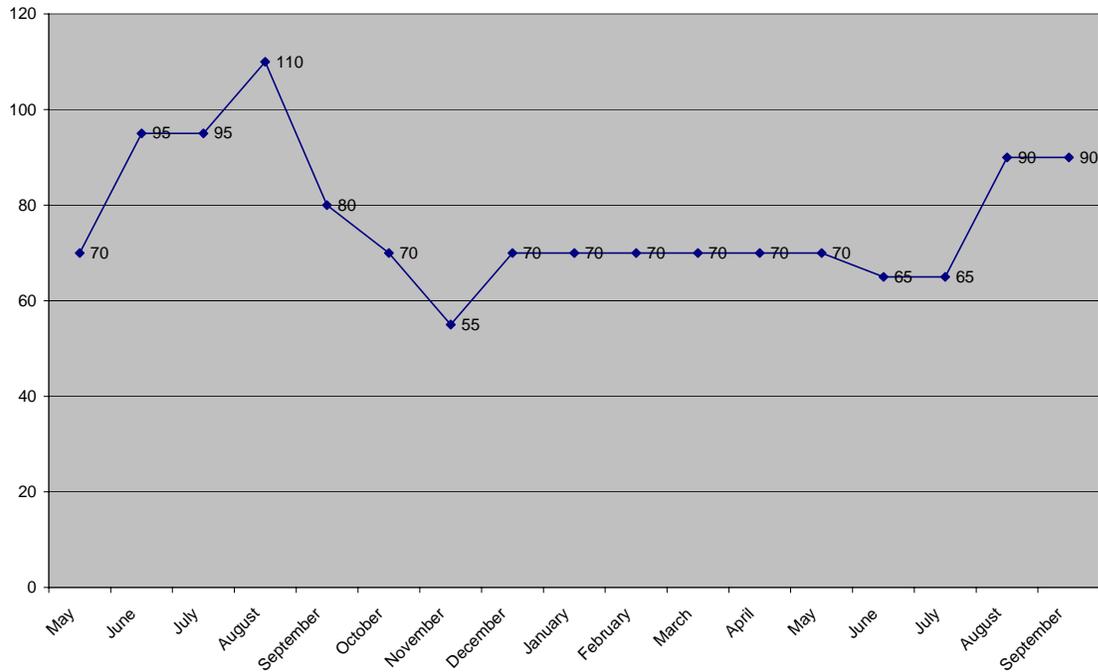
Killed: 1,527

Wounded: 3,762

NOTE: At least 93 of the 150 mass casualty bombings reported so far were suicide bombings. The casualties listed above do not include the suicide bombers. The tallies for the number of killed and wounded are approximate. Attacks that kill or injure more than 2 people are considered mass-casualty bombings. Roadside bombs are not included in the tally of mass casualty bombing. 59 car bombs exploded in September, 2004, according to Steve Fainaru, "U.S. Frees Fallujah Negotiator," *Washington Post*, October 19, 2004. This higher number includes all car bombs, both those that killed more than 2 people, and those that did not. Another estimate that includes both lethal and non-lethal bombs was made by the Iraqi interior minister. He said that 18 car bombs killed 126 people in June, 34 car bombs in August killed 245 people, 20 car bombs killed 28 in August, and 20 car bombs killed 168 people in September, 2004. "Iraqi Official Car Bombings killed 569 over 4 Months," *USA Today*, October 27, 2004.

CRIME-RELATED DEATHS IN BAGHDAD SINCE MAY, 2003¹⁹

Estimated annualized murder rate per 100,000 citizens[] (For comparison Washington DC rate: 43[ii])



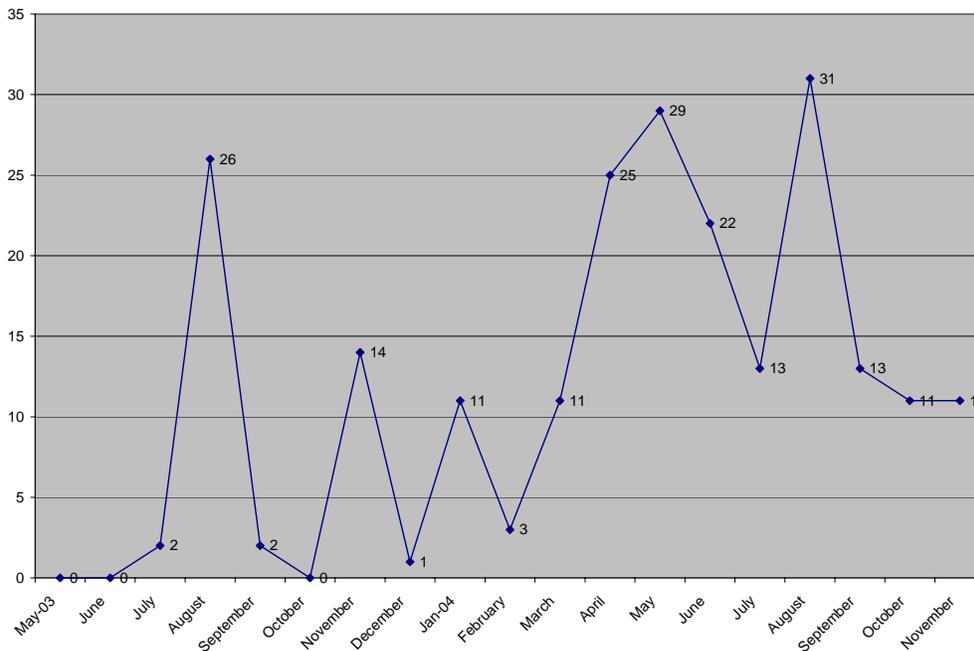
NOTE: Estimates for each month are typically based on the number of bodies brought to the Baghdad morgue with mortal gunshot wounds. We recognize that our estimates could be too high as a result of some of the gunshot victims could be insurgents killed intentionally by U.S. military, but also that they could be too low since many murder victims are never taken to the morgue, but buried quickly and privately and never recorded in official tallies. The homicide rate is calculated based on an estimated population of 5.6 million people in Baghdad.

NOTE: Interpol lists the following nationwide numbers per 100,000 citizens for countries in the region Libya 2.08, Jordan 6.33, Lebanon 3.38, Saudi Arabia, 0.71. However, Interpol notes that these [nationwide] statistics cannot be used as a basis for comparison between different countries. This is partly because "police statistics reflect reported crimes, but this only represents a fraction of the real level. The volume of crimes not reported to the police may depend on the actions, policies and perceptions of the police. These can vary with time, as well as from country to country." Because of the inherent difficulty in interpreting and comparing international murder rates, all such statistics - including those stated in the table above - should be interpreted guardedly.

TOTAL IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF VIOLENCE FROM WAR AND VIOLENCE FROM CRIME²⁰

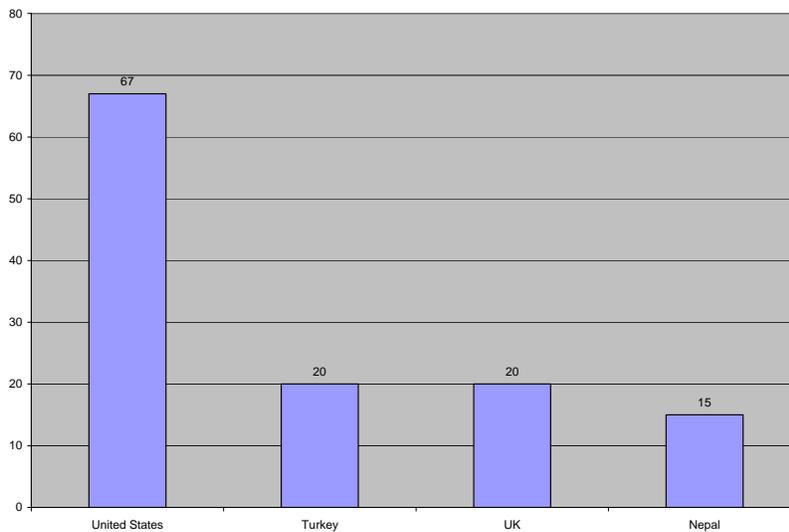
<p>Number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of violence from war and violence from crime between May, 2003 and September 30, 2004</p>	<p>16,800-31,400</p>
--	-----------------------------

NON-IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE MAY, 2003²¹



Total through November 16: 225

COUNTRIES WITH MORE THAN 10 CIVILIANS KILLED IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 1, 2003²²



Through November 16, 2004

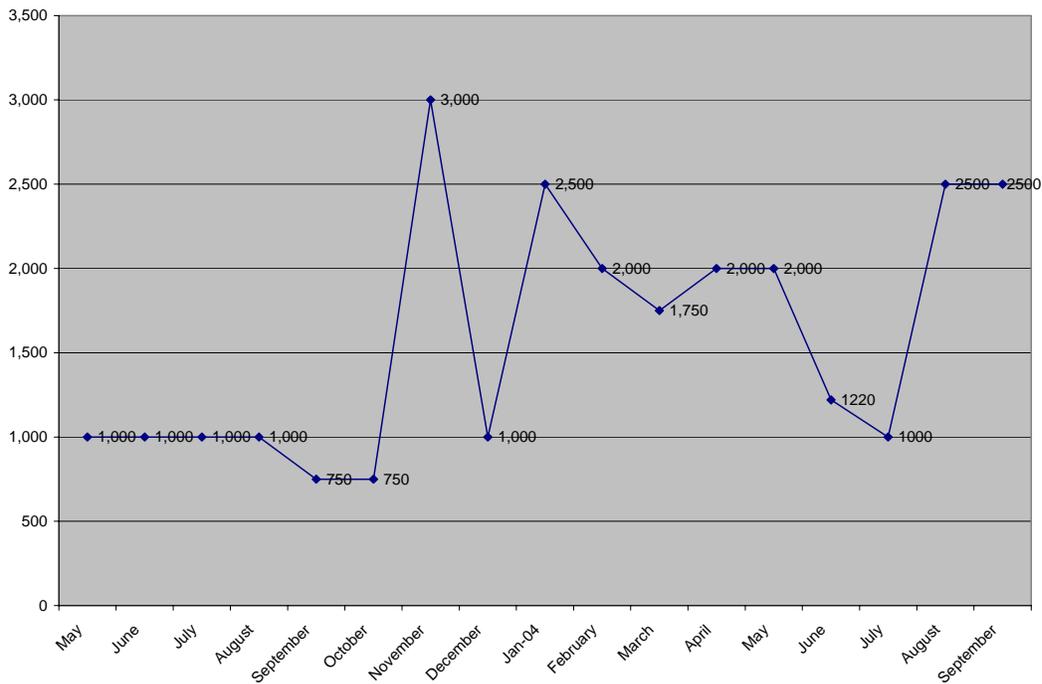
NOTE ON TOTAL IRAQI CIVILIANS CASUALTIES AS A RESULT OF POLITICAL AND CRIMINAL VIOLENCE SINCE MAY, 2003: Recognizing that the statistics for civilian casualties are not good, and that it is very hard to differentiate whether Iraqi civilian fatalities are due to violence from war or violence from crime, we have estimated how many people have died of both causes since May, 2003 and up until September 30, 2004. The total represented by this table is a rough but we believe reasonable range of how many Iraqi civilians have been killed during this period.

NOTE ON NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES TABLE: At least 157 of the non-Iraqi civilians killed were contractors. At least 45 Halliburton employees have been killed in Iraq since March 2003, and up until August 29, 2004. T Christian Miller, "In Iraq, 'Road Warriors' Deliver the Goods," *Los Angeles Times*, August 29, 2004. There are approximately 15,000 security contractors working in Iraq as of April 15, 2004, according to Peter Singer, National Security Fellow at the Brookings Institution.

FOREIGN NATIONALS KIDNAPPED IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 2003

Month	Number of foreigners kidnapped	Status
Date of capture unknown	14 ²³	11 unknown, 3 killed
May 2003 - October 2003	0	
November	1 ²⁴	1 released
December 2003 -March 2004	0	
April	43 ²⁵	3 killed, 30 released, 2 still held, 1 escaped, 7 status unknown
May	2 ²⁶	1 killed, 1 still held
June	3 ²⁷	2 killed, 1 escaped
July	26 ²⁸	3 killed, 13 released, 6 still held, 1 rescued, 1 escaped, 2 unknown
August	29 ²⁹	15 killed, 13 released, 1 still held
September	31 ³⁰	4 killed, 4 released, 22 still held, 1 rescued
October	7 ³¹	3 killed, 2 released, 2 still held
November	3 ³²	1 killed, 2 still held
Total through November 16, 2004	157	33 killed, 63 released, 37 still held, 3 escaped, 2 rescued, 20 status unknown

TOTAL NUMBER OF INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED³³



NOTE ON TOTAL NUMBER OF INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED TABLE: The estimate of suspected insurgents killed or detained since May is a very rough one. The substantial increase in number of people detained or killed in November and onwards may not imply a huge increase in people detained or killed but rather that the data improved starting that month. The numbers for suspected insurgents killed or detained from November to March is not a monthly total, but the projected total given the daily pace of *detained* anti-coalition suspects only, since we have no data on how many insurgents were killed during those months.

IRAQI PRISON POPULATION ³⁴

Peak prison population in 2003	10,000
Prison population in July, 2004	5,700 ³⁵ (of which 90 are foreign nationals)
Prison population as of September 7, 2004	5,500 (whereof 2 are women, 65-70 are juveniles and 130-140 are foreign nationals)

ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE

Month	Estimated strength of Iraqi resistance nationwide
November	5,000 ³⁶
December	5,000 ³⁷
January 2004	3, 000-5,000 ³⁸
February	N/A
March	N/A
April	5,000 ³⁹
May	N/A
June	N/A
July	20,000 ⁴⁰
August	20,000
September	20,000 ⁴¹
October	20,000
November	20,000 ⁴²

NOTE ON IRAQI PRISON POPULATION TABLE: Military official now claims that the duration of processing those arresting and releasing those who are innocent have been decreased to an average of 60 days from having been between 120 – 140 days. Only 25 individuals of those released have been recaptured for being suspected of conducting attacks against American forces. Dexter Filkins, “General Says Less Coercion of Captives Yields Better Data,” *New York Times*, September 7, 2004.

NOTE ON ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE TABLE: The Deputy Commander of Coalition forces in Iraq, British Major General Andrew Graham, estimates that there are 40,000 to 50,000 active insurgent fighters” in Iraq. Johanna McGeary, “Mission Still Not Accomplished,” *Time Magazine*, September 2, 2004.

NOTE ON ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE TABLE: Army General John P. Abizaid, head of Central Command, estimate that there are less than 1,000 foreign fighters in Iraq as of September 28, 2004. Mark Mazzetti, “Insurgents are Mostly Iraqis, U.S. Military Says,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 28, 2004. 200 insurgents are estimated to be loyal to Abu Musab Zarqawi as of July 7, 2004.. U.S. officials estimate that foreign fighters in Iraq are in the low hundreds as of July 7, 2004. Robin Wright, “In Iraq, Daunting Tasks Await,” *Washington Post*, July 7, 2004. “Over 90 percent” of the enemy combatants are Bath Party loyalists, according to John E. McLaughlin, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence. Dana Priest, “The CIA’s ‘Anonymous’ No. 2; Low-Profile Deputy Director Leads Agency’s Analytical Side,” *Washington Post*, January 9, 2004.

COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY

Month	U.S. troops in Iraq			Other coalition troops in Iraq (excluding U.S. & Iraqi forces)	Total international troop strength in Iraq
	Active	Reserve (includes National Guard)	Total		
May	~142,000 ⁴³	~8,000 ⁴⁴	150,000 ⁴⁵	23,000 ⁴⁶	173,000
June	~126,000 ⁴⁷	~24,000 ⁴⁸	150,000 ⁴⁹	21,000 ⁵⁰	171,000
July	~124,000 ⁵¹	~25,000 ⁵²	149,000 ⁵³	21,000 ⁵⁴	170,000
August	~114,000 ⁵⁵	~25,000 ⁵⁶	139,000 ⁵⁷	22,000 ⁵⁸	161,000
September	~103,000 ⁵⁹	~29,000 ⁶⁰	132,000 ⁶¹	24,000 ⁶²	156,000
October	~102,000 ⁶³	~29,000 ⁶⁴	131,000 ⁶⁵	25,000 ⁶⁶	156,000
November	N/A	N/A	123,000 ⁶⁷	23,900 ⁶⁸	146,900
December	~85,400 ⁶⁹	~36,600 ⁷⁰	122,000 ⁷¹	24,500 ⁷²	146,500
January	N/A	N/A	122,000 ⁷³	25,600 ⁷⁴	147,600
February	N/A	N/A	115,000 ⁷⁵	24,000 ⁷⁶	139,000
March	N/A	N/A	130,000 ⁷⁷	24,000 ⁷⁸	154,000
April	N/A	N/A	137,000 ⁷⁹	25,000 ⁸⁰	162,000
May	N/A	N/A	138,000 ⁸¹	24,000 ⁸²	162,000
June	89,700	48,300 ⁸³	138,000 ⁸⁴	23,000 ⁸⁵	161,000
July	N/A	N/A	140,000 ⁸⁶	22,000 ⁸⁷	162,000
August	84,000	56,000 ⁸⁸	140,000 ⁸⁹	23,700 ⁹⁰	163,700
September	82,800	55,200 ⁹¹	138,000 ⁹²	24,600 ⁹³	162,600
October	82,800	55,200 ⁹⁴	138,000 ⁹⁵	24,000 ⁹⁶	162,000

N/A= Not available

**U.S. TROOPS ENGAGED IN OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM
STATIONED IN THE VICINITY OF IRAQ AND AT SEA**

6/18/2004

Month	Number of U.S. troops
September	51,000 ⁹⁷
December	45,000 ⁹⁸

NOTE ON COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY TABLE: In late 2003 the Department of Defense announced that it planned to draw down the number of American troops in Iraq to 105, 000 by May 2004. The current planning as of June 2004 entails maintaining a force of approximately 138,000 troops until the end of 2005. "GAO-04-902R Rebuilding Iraq," June 2004, General Accounting Office.

NOTE ON COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY TABLE: All numbers are end of month estimates or latest data available for the current month.

NOTE ON U.S. TROOPS ENGAGED IN OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM STATIONED IN THE VICINITY OF IRAQ AND AT SEA TABLE: 26,000 U.S. and Coalition personnel providing logistical support to Operation Iraqi Freedom were deployed in Kuwait, as of March 4, 2004. Commander USCENTCOM, John Abizaid, "Prepared Testimony before the Senate Committee on Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee", March 4, 2004, p. 8.

NOTE ON U.S. TROOPS ENGAGED IN OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM STATIONED IN THE VICINITY OF IRAQ AND AT SEA TABLE: Of the 51,000 troops involved in Operation Iraqi Freedom stationed outside of Iraq in September 2003, approximately 10,070 were Navy personnel (most at sea in the Persian Gulf). The majority of the remaining 40,090 troops are assumed to have been stationed in Kuwait. Since approximately 2,500 Marines were stationed in Kuwait, we assume that roughly 37,590 Army troops were stationed in Kuwait or in the vicinities.

TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ

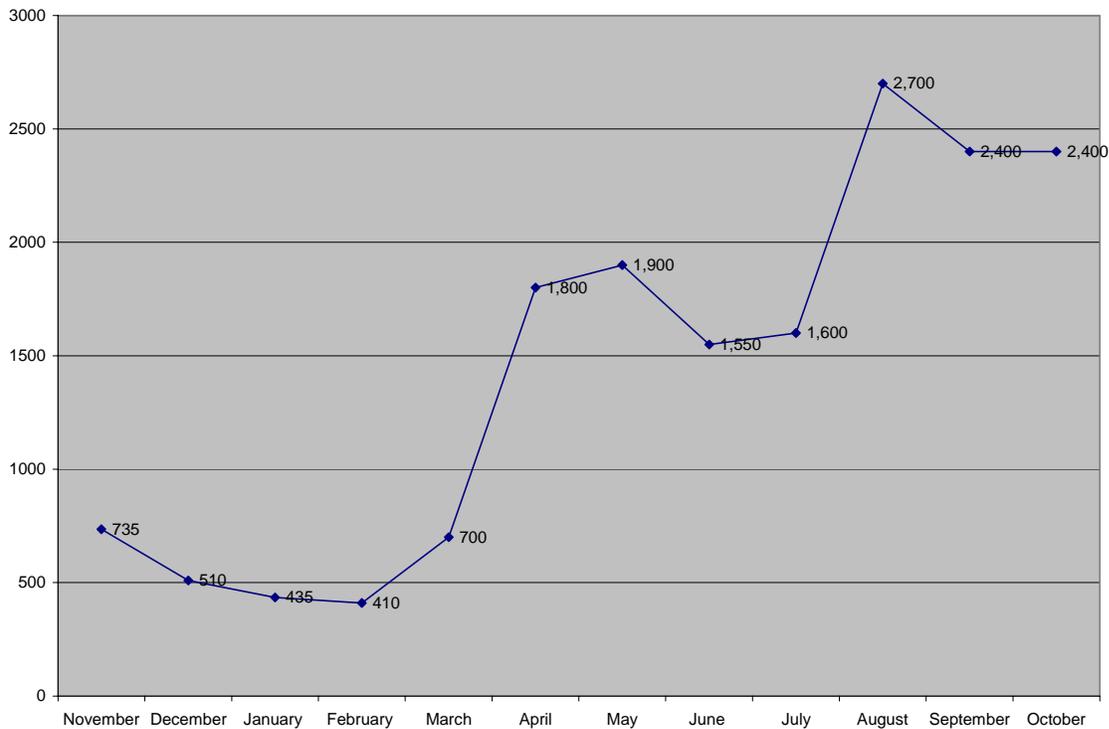
Coalition country	Military personnel in Iraq
United Kingdom	8,300 ⁹⁹
South Korea	2,800 ¹⁰⁰
Poland	2,350 ¹⁰¹
Italy	2,700 ¹⁰²
Ukraine	1,450 ¹⁰³
Netherlands	1,300 ¹⁰⁴
Australia	920 ¹⁰⁵
Romania	700 ¹⁰⁶
Japan	550 ¹⁰⁷
Bulgaria	480 ¹⁰⁸
Remaining 18 coalition countries	2,450 ¹⁰⁹

As of October, 2004.

“HIGH-VALUE” INTELLIGENCE REPORTS¹¹⁰

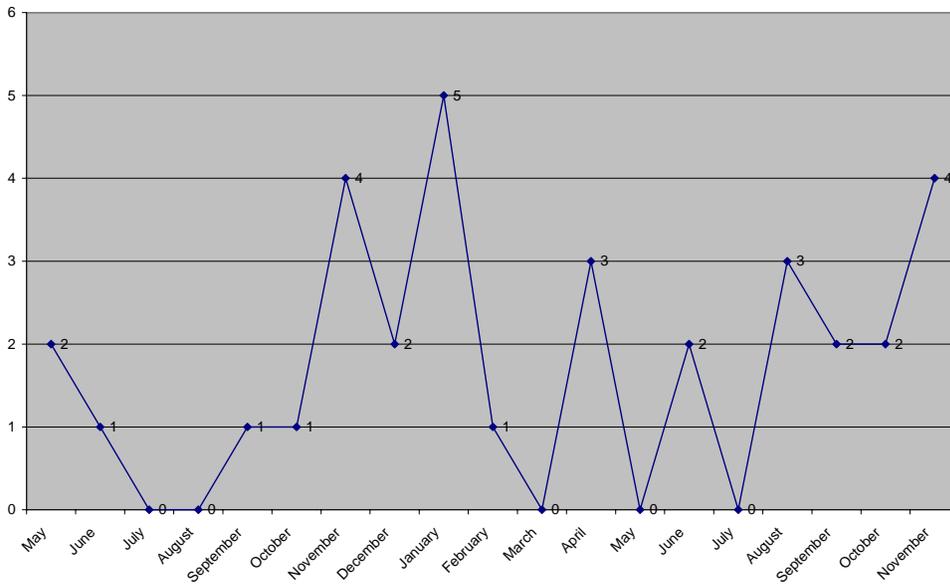
Increase in number of “high-value” intelligence reports drawn from interrogations	September 2004 compared to January 2004
	50%

INSURGENT ATTACKS ON COALITION FORCES¹¹¹



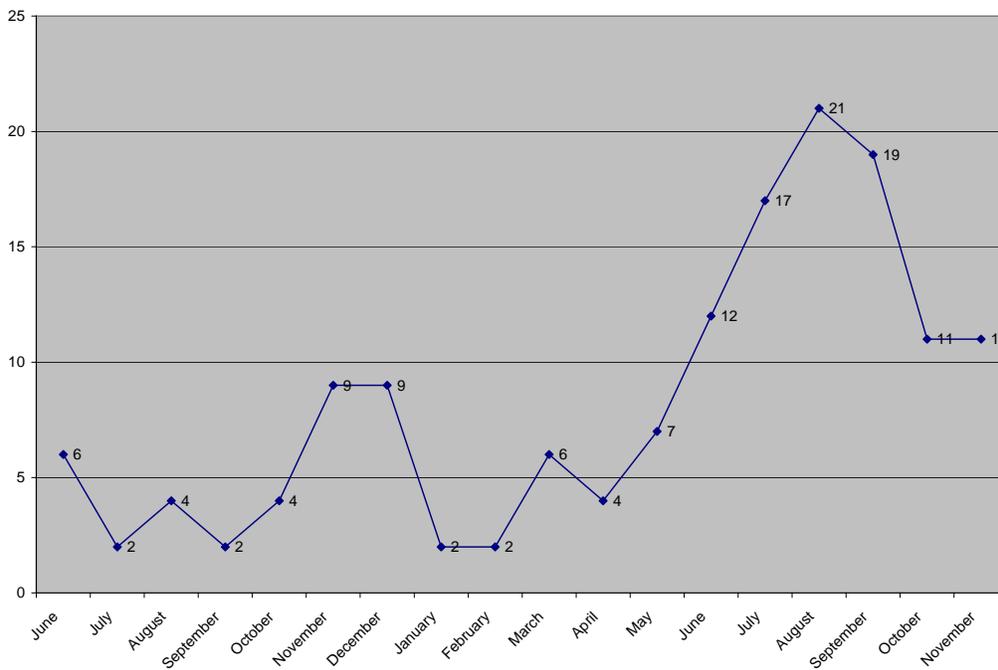
NOTE ON TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ TABLE: In addition to the United States, 28 countries have forces in Iraq as of October 27, 2004: Albania, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, El Salvador, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, South Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Thailand, Tonga, Ukraine, United Kingdom.

AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ¹¹²



Total through November 14: 32

ATTACKS ON IRAQI OIL AND GAS PIPELINES, INSTALLATIONS & PERSONNEL¹¹³



Total through November 13: 148

NOTE ON AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ TABLE: Of the 32 helicopters downed in Iraq since May 2003, at least 20 were downed by enemy fire.

BAATHIST LEADERS STILL AT LARGE SINCE APRIL

Month	Iraqi 55 most wanted: Individuals still at large ¹¹⁴
April	40
May	28
June	23
July	18
August	16
September	15
October	15
November	15
December	13 ¹¹⁵
January	12 ¹¹⁶
February	10 ¹¹⁷
March	9 ¹¹⁸
April	9
May	9
June	9
July	9
August	9
September	8 ¹¹⁹
October	8
November	8

NOTE ON BAATHIST LEADERS STILL AT LARGE SINCE APRIL TABLE: Reports on September 6, 2004 said that a man believed to be Izzat Ibrahim had been captured. DNA tests are currently being taken to confirm that this is the case. The table assumes that the apprehended man indeed is Ibrahim. We will update this information as soon as more information is available.

SIZE OF IRAQI SECURITY FORCES ON DUTY

Month	Iraqi security forces					
	General police capabilities	National Guard (Former Civil Defense Corps)	Iraqi armed Forces	Border patrol	Total Iraqi security forces with combat capacity	Facilities protection services
May	7,000-9,000 ¹²⁰	N/A	0	N/A	7,000-9,000	N/A
June	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	30,000 ¹²¹	N/A	0	N/A	30,000	11,000 ¹²²
August	34,000 ¹²³	670 ¹²⁴	0	2,500 ¹	37,170	N/A
September	37,000 ¹²⁵	2,500 ¹²⁶	0	4,700 ¹	44,200	>12,000 ¹²⁷
October	55,000 ¹²⁸	4,700 ¹²⁹	700 ¹³⁰	6,400 ¹	66,800	18,700 ¹³¹
November	68,800 ¹³²	12,700 ¹³³	900 ¹³⁴	12,400 ¹	94,800	52,700 ¹³⁵
December	71,600 ¹³⁶	15,200 ¹³⁷	400 ¹³⁸	12,900 ¹	99,600	65,200 ¹³⁹
January	66,900 ¹⁴⁰	19,800 ¹⁴¹	1,100 ¹⁴²	21,000 ¹	108,800	97,800 ¹⁴³
February	77,100 ¹⁴⁴	27,900 ¹⁴⁵	2,000 ¹⁴⁶	18,000 ¹	125,000	73,900 ¹⁴⁷
March	75,000 ¹⁴⁸ 22% partially or fully trained	33,560 ¹⁴⁹ 100% partially or fully trained	3,005 ¹⁵⁰ 100% partially or fully trained	23,426 ¹ 39% partially or fully trained	134,991 65% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁵¹ 100% partially or fully trained
April	80,016 ¹⁵² 22% partially or fully trained	23,123 ¹⁵³ partially or fully trained	2,367 ¹⁵⁴ partially or fully trained	18,747 ¹ 49% partially or fully trained	124,253 68% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁵⁵ partially or fully trained
May	90,803 ¹⁵⁶ 28% partially or fully trained	24,873 ¹⁵⁷ partially or fully trained	3,939 ¹⁵⁸ partially or fully trained	16,097 ¹ 57% partially or fully trained	135,712 71% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁵⁹ partially or fully trained
June	83,789 ¹⁶⁰ 32% partially or fully trained	36,229 ¹⁶¹ partially or fully trained	7,116 ¹⁶² partially or fully trained	18,183 ¹ partially or fully trained	145,317 83% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁶³ partially or fully trained
July	31,300 ¹⁶⁴ partially or fully trained	36,229 ¹⁶⁵ partially or fully trained	7,700 ¹⁶⁶ partially or fully trained	19,859 ¹ partially or fully trained	95,088 partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁶⁷ partially or fully trained
August	32,942 ¹⁶⁸ partially or fully trained	37,925 ¹⁶⁹ partially or fully trained	6,288 ¹⁷⁰ partially or fully trained	14,313 ¹⁷¹ partially or fully trained	91,468 partially or fully trained	73,992
September	40,152 ¹⁷² partially or fully trained	36,496 ¹⁷³ partially or fully trained	7,747 ¹⁷⁴ partially or fully trained	14,313 ¹⁷⁵ partially or fully trained	98,708 partially or fully trained	74,000 ¹⁷⁶
October	44,728 ¹⁷⁷ partially or fully trained	41,261 ¹⁷⁸ partially or fully trained	6,861 ¹⁷⁹ partially or fully trained	18,148 ¹⁸⁰ partially or fully trained	110,998 partially or fully trained	N/A
Stated goal	142,190 ¹⁸¹ (revised up from 89,369 in June 2004) ¹⁸²	61,904 ¹⁸³ (Revised up from 41,088 ¹⁸⁴ in June 2004)	36,462 ¹⁸⁵ (Revised up from 35,000 ¹⁸⁶ in June 2004)	32,000 ¹⁸⁷	272,566 ¹⁸⁸ (145,000 by January 2005 ¹⁸⁹)	73,992 ¹⁹⁰

N/A= Not available

NOTE: There are some obvious contradictions in the table, but we have simply reported the state of affairs as announced by officials each month, without trying to edit or stream line the information.

NOTE: Starting in August 2004, the Police, Civil Intervention Force, Emergency Response Unit, Highway Patrol and Bureau of Dignitary Protection are included in the "General Police Capabilities" category. The Army, Intervention Force, the Special Operations Force, Iraqi Air Force and Coastal Defense Force are included in the "Iraqi Armed Forces" category."

NOTE: Only 230 of 600 military personnel required at the Multinational Security Transition Command, the permanent headquarters of the military command in charge of training and equipping Iraqi Security forces, were in place as of September 19, 2004. Eric Schmitt, "Effort to Train New Iraqi Army is Facing Delays," *New York Times*, September 20, 2004.

NOTE: As of June 22, the Iraqi police had 70% of the weapons needed to fully equip the force. "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, June 22, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the Department of Defense.

NOTE: The decline in the Iraqi Army and Police on duty since early April is due to the fact that "some were sent to retraining, some were killed in the line of duty and others were removed for actions supporting the insurgency." Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, May 3, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the Department of Defense.

NOTE: 10% of Iraqi security forces fought against coalition forces during the upsurge in insurgent violence in April, according to the commander of the 1st Armored Division, Major General Martin Dempsey. Another 40% "walked off the job because they were intimidated," Major Dempsey said. Connie Cass, "10 Percent of Iraqi Forces Turned on U.S. During Attacks," *USA Today*, April 22, 2004.

NOTE: All numbers are end of month estimates, or latest data available for the current month.

NOTE: The army under Saddam was 400,000 troops strong. Dexter Filkins, "Bremer Pushes Iraq on Difficult Path to Self-Rule," *New York Times*, March 21, 2004.

IRAQI POLICE EQUIPMENT¹⁹¹

Iraqi police component	Status of equipment available as of September 13, 2004							
	Weapons		Vehicles		Communications		Body armor	
	On hand	Required	On hand	Required	On hand	Required	On hand	Required
Iraqi police service	93,093	213,185	5,923	22,395	13,245	67,565	42,941	135,000
Civil Intervention Force	0	11,490	0	1,002	0	10,240	0	4,800
Emergency Response Unit	500	1,020	0	58	300	352	270	270
Total as percentage of requirement	41%		25%		17%		31%	

BORDER PATROL EQUIPMENT¹⁹²

Department of Border Enforcement	Status of equipment available as of September 13, 2004							
	Weapons		Vehicles		Communications		Body armor	
	On hand	Required	On hand	Required	On hand	Required	On hand	Required
	16,442	42,601	1,798	8,271	1,627	8,271	4,000	28,626
Total as percentage of requirement	39%		22%		20%		14%	

NOTE: The discrepancy between equipment needed and equipment on hand might not be as severe as these numbers suggest, considering that equipment requirements are based on numbers of security personnel needed, and not the number of security personnel currently serving.

ECONOMIC & QUALITY OF LIFE INDICATORS

IRAQI NATIONAL DEBT: CREDITORS AS OF NOVEMBER 2003

Creditor country/ creditor by country of origin and interest	Outstanding amounts due by Iraq (millions of dollars)
<i>Australia</i>	499.3 ¹⁹³
<i>Austria</i>	813.1 ¹⁹⁴
<i>Belgium</i>	184.5 ¹⁹⁵
<i>Brazil</i>	192.9 ¹⁹⁶
<i>Canada</i>	564.2 ¹⁹⁷
<i>Denmark</i>	30.8 ¹⁹⁸
<i>Finland</i>	152.2 ¹⁹⁹
<i>France</i>	2,993.7 ²⁰⁰
<i>Germany</i>	2,403.9 ²⁰¹
<i>Italy</i>	1,726 ²⁰²
<i>Japan</i>	4,108.6 ²⁰³
<i>Netherlands</i>	96.7 ²⁰⁴
<i>Republic of Korea</i>	54.7 ²⁰⁵
<i>Russian Federation</i>	3,450 ²⁰⁶
<i>Spain</i>	321.2 ²⁰⁷
<i>Sweden</i>	185.8 ²⁰⁸
<i>Switzerland</i>	117.5 ²⁰⁹
<i>United Kingdom</i>	930.8 ²¹⁰
<i>United States</i>	2,192 ²¹¹
Egypt and others	N/A
Poland	500 ²¹²
Kuwait	17,000 ²¹³
Bulgaria	1,000 ²¹⁴
Hungary	16.5 ²¹⁵
Gulf States	30,000 ²¹⁶
Morocco	31.8 ²¹⁷
Jordan	295 ²¹⁸
Turkey	800 ²¹⁹
Interest (as of 2002)	47,000 ²²⁰
Total	~117,660

N/A= Not available.

NOTE: Debt towards Paris Club countries, Russia and the Republic of Korea (cursive) excludes interest rates and is defined as; “from the debtor side, the amounts due by the public sector. From the creditors’ point of view, the figures include credits and loans granted, or guaranteed by, the Governments or their appropriate institutions. Basically, private claims (debt owed to private creditors) as well as private debt (owed by private Iraqi Institutions without public guarantee) is excluded from this recollection...Russian claims: this figure represents the amounts due to Russia after a simulation of the adjustment on Soviet era claims consistent with Paris Club methodology.”

NOTE: “Estimates of Iraq’s foreign debt vary widely, from \$62-130 billion. The disparities in estimates are due in part to a disagreement between Iraq and its neighboring states over the nature of approximately \$30 billion in assistance given to Iraq by several Gulf States during the Iran-Iraq War. Iraq considers these payments to have been grants; the creditor states consider them to have been loans. Figures also vary depending on whether they include interests which some estimates put at \$47 billion and rising. The World Bank/Bank for International Settlements’ 2001 estimate for Iraqi debt totaled \$127.7 billion, including \$47 billion in accrued interest. The U.S Department of Energy’s 2001 estimate was 62.2 billion.”

NOTE: “There are known to be creditors in Egypt, although the exact amount of this debt is not known. There are also assumed to be other unknown or undisclosed creditors in these and other countries. “

PLEDGES MADE AT THE INTERNATIONAL DONOR'S CONFERENCE FOR IRAQ IN MADRID, OCTOBER 23-24, 2003²²¹.

Donor	2004 (millions)	2005-2007 (millions)	Unspecified by year (millions)	Total (millions)	Form of pledge ²²²
Australia	\$45.59	\$0	\$0	\$45.59	Grant
Austria	\$1.94	\$3.53	\$0	\$5.48	Grant
Belgium	\$5.89	\$0	\$0	\$5.89	Grant
Bulgaria	\$0.64	\$0	\$0	\$0.64	Grant
Canada	\$0	\$0	\$187.47	\$187.47	Grant
China	\$0	\$0	\$25	\$25	Grant
Cyprus	\$0	\$0	\$0.12	\$0.12	Grant
Czech Republic	\$7.33	\$7.33	\$0.00	\$14.66	Grant
Denmark	\$26.95	\$0	\$0	\$26.95	Grant
Estonia	\$0.08	\$0	\$0	\$0.08	Grant
Finland	\$5.89	\$0	\$0	\$5.89	Grant
Greece	\$0	\$0	\$3.53	\$3.53	Grant
Hungary	\$1.24	\$0	\$0	\$1.24	Grant
India	\$10	\$0	\$0	\$10	Grant
Iran	\$5	\$0	\$0	\$5	Grant
Ireland	\$3.53	\$0	\$0	\$3.53	Grant
Iceland	\$1.50	\$1	\$0	\$2.50	Grant
Italy	\$0	\$0	\$235.62	\$235.62	Grant
Japan	\$0	\$0	\$4,914.00	\$4,914	1,500 in grants 3,400 in loans ²²³
Korea	\$0	\$0	\$200	\$200	Grant
Kuwait	\$0	\$0	\$500	\$500	Grant
Luxembourg	\$1.18	\$1.18	\$0	\$2.36	Grant
Malta	\$0.00	\$0	\$0.27	\$0.27	Grant
Netherlands	\$9.42	\$0	\$0	\$9.42	Grant
New Zealand	\$3.35	\$0	\$0	\$3.35	Grant
Norway	\$4.29	\$8.58	\$0	\$12.87	Grant
Oman	\$0	\$0	\$3	\$3	Grant
Pakistan	\$0	\$0	\$2.50	\$2.50	Grant
Qatar	\$0	\$0	\$100	\$100	Grant
Saudi Arabia	\$120	\$380	\$0	\$500	Loan
Slovenia	\$0.27	\$0.15	\$0	\$0.42	Grant
Spain	\$80	\$140	\$0	\$220	Grant
Sweden	\$0	\$0	\$33	\$33	Grant
Turkey	\$0	\$0	\$50	\$50	Grant
United Arab Emirates	\$0	\$0	\$215	\$215	Grant
United Kingdom	\$235.48	\$216.85	\$0	\$452.33	Grant
United States	\$0	\$0	\$18,649	\$18,649	Grant
International Monetary Fund	\$850	\$1,700-3,400	\$0	\$2,550-4,250	Loan
World Bank	\$500	\$2,500-4,500	\$0	\$3,000-5,000	Loan
European Commission , European Union member states and acceding countries	\$614.83	\$394.04	\$272.54	\$1,256.41	Grant
European Community	\$235.62	\$0	\$0	\$235.62	Grant
Total	\$2,155.21	\$4,958.62 - 8,658.62	\$25,118.50	\$32,232.33 - 35,932.33 \$22,782- 23,232 in grants & \$9,450-12,700 in loans	Not applicable

NOTE: The World Bank defines a pledge as “an indication of intent to mobilize funds for which an approximate sum of contribution is specified. “ The amounts in this table excludes identified humanitarian assistance (\$115.17 million) and export credits and guarantees. Most donors were not able to specify the type of grant assistance at the time of the conference.

NOTE: It has been estimated that close to 25% of the \$18.billion of U.S. aid to Iraq will be needed to cover security costs. David Barstow et. al. “Security Companies: Shadow Soldiers in Iraq,” *New York Times*, April 19, 2004.

WORLD BANK ESTIMATE OF IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION NEEDS²²⁴

Category	Millions of dollars		
	2004	2005-2007	Total
Government Institutions, Civil Society, Rule of Law & Media	99	288	387
Health, Education, Employment Creation	1,880	5,310	7,190
Infrastructure	5,836	18,368	24,204
Agriculture and Water Resources	1,230	1,797	3,027
Private Sector Development	176	601	777
Mine Action	80	154	234
Total	9,301	26,518	35,819

CPA-ESTIMATED NEEDS IN SECTORS NOT COVERED BY THE UN/WORLD BANK ASSESSMENT²²⁵

Category	Millions of dollars		
	2004	2005-2007	Total
Security and Police	5,000	-	5,000
Oil	2,000	6,000	8,000
Culture	140	800	940
Environment	500	3,000	3,500
Human rights	200	600	800
Foreign Affairs	100	100	200
Religious Affairs	100	200	300
Science and Technology	100	300	400
Youth and Sport	100	200	300
Total of CPA estimates	8,240	11,200	19,440

TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE, OBLIGATED, AND DISBURSED FOR IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION²²⁶

	U.S. appropriations in 2003 and 2004 (billions)	Development fund for Iraq (billions) As of April 2004	Vested and seized assets (billions) As of April 2004	International (non-U.S.) pledges (billions)
Total Funding	\$24 as of April 2004	\$18	\$2.65	\$13.6 as of April 2004
Obligations	\$13.4 as of November 1, 2004 ²²⁷	\$13	\$2.5	\$2.7 as of November 1, 2004 ²²⁸
Disbursement	\$5.2 as of November 1, 2004 ²²⁹	\$8.3	\$2.4	\$1.2 as of September 2004 ²³⁰

N/A: Not available

NOTE ON TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE, OBLIGATED, AND DISBURSED FOR IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION, AS OF APRIL 2004 TABLE:
As of November 1, 2004, 1.6 billion of the \$18.4 billion appropriated in 2004 had been disbursed. Jonathan Weisman, "U.S. Spends Only Small Part of Funds to Help Rebuild Iraq," *Washington Post*, November 1, 2004.

NOTE ON TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE, OBLIGATED, AND DISBURSED FOR IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION, AS OF APRIL 2004 TABLE
NOTE ON An apportion is defined as a plan, approved by the Office of Management and Budget, to spend resources provided by law. *Quarterly Update to Congress: 2207 Report*, October 2004.

NOTE ON TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE, OBLIGATED, AND DISBURSED FOR IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION, AS OF APRIL 2004 TABLE:
U.S. appropriations include appropriations granted in both 2003 and 2004. In 2003, \$4.5 billion dollars was appropriated towards Iraqi reconstruction, and in 2004 \$18.4 billion was appropriated towards Iraqi reconstruction. An additional amount of roughly \$1 billion was appropriated towards CPA operating costs. \$3 billion of that total sum, \$24 billion, had been spent as of April 2004, most from 2003 funds. A disbursement is defined as an actual payment (check goes out the door) for goods /services received." *GAO-04-902 R: Rebuilding Iraq*, General Accounting Office, June 2004.

PROJECT ALLOCATIONS AND DISBURSEMENT BY CATEGORY AS OF MAY, 2004²³¹

Purpose	Allocations (millions)	Spending (millions)
Ministry operations and expenses	\$7,541	\$6,106
Program Review Board relief and reconstruction projects:		
Humanitarian and human services	\$2,202	\$1,292
Essential services	\$1,439	\$316
Security	\$895	\$21
Economic reconstruction	\$224	\$182
Governance	\$34	\$21
Public buildings and other reconstruction	\$27	\$8
Regional programs	\$618	\$333
Total	\$12,980	\$8,279

PROJECT ALLOCATIONS AND DISBURSEMENT BY CATEGORY, AS OF MAY 2004 TABLE:

In addition to U.S. appropriations, the amount dispersed includes funds from the Development Fund for Iraq and for vested and seized assets.

USAID CONTRACTS AS OF JANUARY 2004²³²

Date	Contract	Awardee	Funding disbursed as of January 2004
1/6/2004	Iraq infrastructure reconstruction -phase 11	Bechtel	\$1.8 billion (awarded contract)
10/21/2003	Agriculture reconstruction and Development for Iraq	Development Alternatives, Inc.	\$9 million
7/25/2003	Economic recovery, Reform, and Sustained growth	BearingPoint, Inc.	\$39 million
6/25/2003	Monitoring and Evaluation	Management System International	\$5.5 million
5/5/2003	Airport Administration	SkyLink Air and Logistics Support, Inc.	17.5million
4/30/2003	Public Health	Abt Associates, Inc.	\$21 million
4/17/2003	Capital Construction	Bechtel	\$1 billion
4/11/2003	Primary and Secondary education	Creative Associates International, Inc.	\$37.9 million
4/11/2003	Local Government	Research Triangle Institute	\$104.6 million
3/24/2003	Seaport Administration	Stevedoring Services of America	\$41.3million
2/17/2003	Theater Logistical Support	Air Force Contract Augmentation Program	\$91.5 million
2/7/2003	Personnel Support	International Resources Group	\$18.3 million
Total			\$1.387 billion disbursed \$1.8 billion pending

FUEL

Time	Fuel supplies available						Overall fuel supplies as percentage of goal (the goals have sometimes shifted)
	Millions of barrels/day		Millions of liters/day			Tons/day	
	Crude oil production	Crude export	Diesel (Prod. & Imp.)	Kerosene (Prod. & Imp.)	Gasoline/Benzene (Prod. & Imp)	Total LPG (Prod. & Imp.)	
Estimated pre-war level	2.8-3.0 ²³³	1.7-2.5 ²³⁴	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
May 2003	0.3 ²³⁵	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10 %
June	0.675 ²³⁶	0.2 ²³⁷	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	23%
July	0.925 ²³⁸	0.322 ²³⁹	6.5 ²⁴⁰	4.75 ²⁴¹	13.5 ²⁴²	1,880 ²⁴³	44%
August	1.445 ²⁴⁴	0.646 ²⁴⁵	10.25 ²⁴⁶	6.2 ²⁴⁷	14.0 ²⁴⁸	2,530 ²⁴⁹	57%
September	1.7225 ²⁵⁰	0.983 ²⁵¹	14.25 ²⁵²	6.9 ²⁵³	17.3 ²⁵⁴	3,030 ²⁵⁵	70%
October	2.055 ²⁵⁶	1.149 ²⁵⁷	14.75 ²⁵⁸	9.6 ²⁵⁹	16.35 ²⁶⁰	3,700 ²⁶¹	78%
November	2.1 ²⁶²	1.524 ²⁶³	13.14 ²⁶⁴	13.3 ²⁶⁵	11.792 ²⁶⁶	3,610 ²⁶⁷	76%
December	2.30 ²⁶⁸	1.541 ²⁶⁹	12.29 ²⁷⁰	9.4 ²⁷¹	12.9 ²⁷²	3,460 ²⁷³	72%
January 2004	2.440 ²⁷⁴	1.537 ²⁷⁵	13.91 ²⁷⁶	11.3 ²⁷⁷	13.32 ²⁷⁸	3,445 ²⁷⁹	78%
February	2.276 ²⁸⁰	1.382 ²⁸¹	15.21 ²⁸²	13.05 ²⁸³	16.65 ²⁸⁴	4,670 ²⁸⁵	88%
March	2.435 ²⁸⁶	1.825 ²⁸⁷	15.03 ²⁸⁸	17.28 ²⁸⁹	17.19 ²⁹⁰	5,010 ²⁹¹	92%
April	2.384 ²⁹²	1.804 ²⁹³	22.75 ²⁹⁴	4.46 ²⁹⁵	19.3 ²⁹⁶	3,607 ²⁹⁷	79%
May	1.887 ²⁹⁸	1.380 ²⁹⁹	22.92 ³⁰⁰	4.005 ³⁰¹	18.07 ³⁰²	3,264 ³⁰³	73%
June	2.295 ³⁰⁴	1.148 ³⁰⁵	16.47 ³⁰⁶	4.9 ³⁰⁷	22 ³⁰⁸	3,086 ³⁰⁹	75%
July	2.2 ³¹⁰	1.406 ³¹¹	17.95 ³¹²	5.75 ³¹³	22.3 ³¹⁴	3,820 ³¹⁵	80%
August	2.112 ³¹⁶	1.114 ³¹⁷	16 ³¹⁸	4.2 ³¹⁹	15.1 ³²⁰	3,417 ³²¹	84%
September	2.514 ³²²	1.703 ³²³	16.35 ³²⁴	6.35 ³²⁵	14.6 ³²⁶	2,707 ³²⁷	72%
October	2.46 ³²⁸	1.542 ³²⁹	16.15 ³³⁰	7.95 ³³¹	18.6 ³³²	3,044 ³³³	80%
Stated Goal:	2.8-3.0 ³³⁴ to be reached by December 2004	N/A	18 ³³⁵ revised down in June 2004 from 19.5	15 ³³⁶	18 revised down from 19.1 in September 2004	4,300 revised up from 4,000 in September	We assume that the maximum supplies as percentage of goal for each category can only reach 100%

OIL REVENUE³³⁷

Time	Oil revenue (billions)
June 2003	\$0.2
July	\$0.36
August	\$0.44
September	\$0.73
October	\$0.89
November	\$1.21
December	\$1.26
January 2004	\$1.26
February	\$1.10
March	\$1.61
April	\$1.50
May	\$1.36
June	\$1.28
July	\$1.45
August	\$1.30
September	\$1.83
October	\$1.94 ³³⁸
Total as of October 31	\$19.7

N/A= Not available

NOTE: The administration's post war estimate was for Iraq to accrue \$2-3 billion in oil revenues between June and December 2003. Revenue for 2003 was \$5,076.6 million. As of October 6, 2004, estimated crude oil export revenue was \$12,680.8 million. Iraq Weekly Status Report, *Department of State*, October 6, 2004.

NOTE: Estimated domestic consumption of crude oil is 450,000 barrels per day.

NOTE: Kerosene imports began 5 October, 2003. All previous months cover only production

NOTE: LPG= Liquefied Petroleum Gas

ELECTRICITY

Time	Average amount of electricity generated (Megawatts)		Average hours of electricity/day nationwide ³³⁹	Average of daily mega watt hours USAID ³⁴⁰ (MWH)
	Nation-wide	Baghdad		
Estimated pre-war level	4,400 ³⁴¹	2,500 ³⁴²	N/A	N/A
May	N/A	300 ³⁴³	N/A	N/A
June	3,193 ³⁴⁴	707 ³⁴⁵	N/A	N/A
July	3,236 ³⁴⁶	1,082 ³⁴⁷	N/A	N/A
Aug.	3,263 ³⁴⁸	1,283 ³⁴⁹	N/A	72,435
Sept.	3,543 ³⁵⁰	1,229 ³⁵¹	N/A	75,000
Oct.	3,948 ³⁵²	N/A	N/A	79,000
November	3,582 ³⁵³	N/A	N/A	70,000
December	3,427 ³⁵⁴	N/A	N/A	72,000
January	3,758 ³⁵⁵	N/A	N/A	79,000
February	4,125 ³⁵⁶	1,307 ³⁵⁷	13	90,000
March	4,040 ³⁵⁸	1,192 ³⁵⁹	16	86,000
April	3,823 ³⁶⁰	1,021 ³⁶¹	15	78,000
May	3,902 ³⁶²	1,053 ³⁶³	11	80,000
June	4,293 ³⁶⁴	1,198	10	93,500
July	4,584 ³⁶⁵	N/A	10	100,300
August	4,707 ³⁶⁶	1,440	13	109,900 ³⁶⁷
September	4,467 ³⁶⁸	1,485	13	107,200 ³⁶⁹
October	4,074 ³⁷⁰	1,280	13	99,306 ³⁷¹
Stated Goal:	6,000 to have been reached by July 1, 2004 ³⁷²	2,500 to have been reached by October 2003 ³⁷³	N/A	120,000 ³⁷⁴

N/A = Not available

VALUE OF THE IRAQI DINAR

Month	\$1 =ID
October 15	2,000 ³⁷⁵
November	1,948 ³⁷⁶
December	1,675 ³⁷⁷
January	1,360 ³⁷⁸
February	1,425 ³⁷⁹
March	1,415 ³⁸⁰
April	1,455 ³⁸¹
May	1,460 ³⁸²
June	1,455 ³⁸³
July	1,460 ³⁸⁴
August	1,460 ³⁸⁵
September	1,460 ³⁸⁶
October	1,460 ³⁸⁷

NOTE ON VALUE OF THE IRAQI DINAR TABLE: A nationwide currency exchange program was initiated on October 15, 2003 during which new Iraqi dinars were put in circulation and old currency was destroyed. The program was completed on January 20, 2004. The table above tracks the appreciation of the new currency since it was introduced.

COMMERCIAL AIRPORT DEPARTURES NATIONWIDE

Time	Commercial aircraft departures nationwide (per day) ³⁸⁸
Pre-war	2-3
January 2004	40
April	20
May	20 ³⁸⁹
June	45 ³⁹⁰
July	45 ³⁹¹
August	45 ³⁹²
September	45 ³⁹³
October	45 ³⁹⁴
Stated goal for July 2004	200-300

N/A= Not available

IRRIGATION

Month	Irrigation canals in need of clearing (km)
May	20,000 ³⁹⁵
September	5,000 ³⁹⁶
October	3,500 ³⁹⁷

TELEPHONE SUBSCRIBERS

Time	Telephone subscribers
Estimated pre-war level	833,000 ³⁹⁸
September	850,000 ³⁹⁹
December	600,000 ⁴⁰⁰
January 2004	600,000 ⁴⁰¹
February	900,000 ⁴⁰²
March	984,225 ⁴⁰³
April	1,095,000 ⁴⁰⁴
May	1,220,000 ⁴⁰⁵
June	1,200,000 ⁴⁰⁶
July	N/A
August	1,463,148 ⁴⁰⁷
September	1,579,457 ⁴⁰⁸
October	1,753,000
Previous goal (Jan. 2004)	1,100,000 ⁴⁰⁹

INTERNET SUBSCRIBERS

Time	Internet subscribers ⁴¹⁰
Estimated pre-war level	11,000
2003	15,000
January-April 2004	N/A
May	54,000
June	59,000
July	73,000
August	87,000
September	95,000
October	102,978

LOCAL GOVERNANCE COUNCILS

2/18/2004

Month	Number of local governance councils
November	255 ⁴¹¹
December	255
January	N/A
February	318 ⁴¹²
July	746 ⁴¹³
August	746 ⁴¹⁴
September	746 ⁴¹⁵

HOSPITALS RESTORED TO PRE-WAR LEVEL OF OPERATIONS

3/7/2004

Month	Hospitals restored to pre-war level of operations
March	90% ⁴¹⁶

NOTE ON LOCAL GOVERNANCE COUNCILS TABLE: The number of local governance councils includes city, district, sub-district and neighborhood councils.

HEPATITIS OUTBREAKS⁴¹⁷

Rate of incidents (all types of hepatitis)
2002=100
2003=170
2004=200

NOTE ON HEPATITIS OUTBREAK TABLE: The hepatitis level in 2002 is defined as 100.

NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE SINCE MAY 1

Month	Unemployment rate nationwide
May	N/A
June	50 - 60% ⁴¹⁸
July	N/A
August	50-60% ⁴¹⁹
September	N/A
October	40 - 50% ⁴²⁰
November	N/A
December	45-55% ⁴²¹
January	30 - 45% ⁴²²
February	30 - 45% ⁴²³
March	30- 45% ⁴²⁴
April	30 - 45% ⁴²⁵
May	30-45% ⁴²⁶
June	30-40% ⁴²⁷
July	30-40% ⁴²⁸
August	30-40% ⁴²⁹
September	30-40% ⁴³⁰

N/A= Not available

NOTE ON NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT TABLE: Estimates of Iraq's unemployment rate varies, but we estimate it to be between 30-40%. The CPA has referred to a 25% unemployment rate, the Iraqi Ministry of Planning mentioned a 30% unemployment rate, whereas the Iraqi Ministry of Social Affairs claims it to be 48%. "Reconstructing Iraq," International Crisis Group, Report, September 2, 2004, p. 16, footnote 157. As

NOTE ON NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT TABLE: The numbers referred to in the table is a very rough approximation of the employment situation in Iraq. As noted by Director of Employment, Fatin Al-Saeda, Iraqi Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs on October 22, 2003 "There are no employment statistics for Iraq." Department of Defense, "Assistant Secretary for Policy at the Department of Labor, Chris Spear briefs on Iraqi Minister Of Labor And Social Affairs," (<http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2003/tr20031022-0809.html>) (October 22, 2003). Transcript. Estimates made by economists, however, generally range between 50-70%. There is an inherent difficulty in measuring the Iraqi rate of unemployment over time. Because recent estimates are likely to be more accurate than older ones, but also higher, this means that despite an improvement in the economic situation nationwide, the numbers give the impression that it is getting worse. Considering the increase in entrepreneurial activity after the end of the war, we have for the purposes of this database assumed that there has been an improvement in unemployment levels, and hence weighted information supporting such a conclusion heavier than contradictory data reports. Another factor contributing to a somewhat improved employment situation in Iraq is that some 435,000 jobs have been directly created by the Coalition Provisional Authority as of May 25, 2004. "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004.

POLLING

SEPTEMBER 24-OCTOBER 4, 2004: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE⁴³¹

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF OVERALL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

Question	Findings		
Do you think that Iraq today is generally heading in the right or wrong direction?	<u>Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004:</u> Right Direction: 41.9% Wrong direction: 45.3% Don't Know: 11.2%	<u>July 24- August 2, 2004:</u> Right Direction: 51.32% Wrong direction: 31.4% Don't Know:16.05%	<u>May 27-June 11, 2004:</u> Right Direction: 50.73% Wrong direction: 39.32% Don't Know:9.22%
Why do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>right</i> direction?	Getting rid of past regime: 24.8% Formation of Iraqi-led government: 13.2% Establishing democracy:12.3% General improvement in overall conditions: 12.2% Increased freedoms: 9.4% Improving security situation: 8.6% General optimism: 4.2%		
Why do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>wrong</i> direction?	Poor security situation: 62.6% Presence of occupation forces: 16.7% General deterioration of overall conditions: 6.7% Unelected government: 4.6% Poor economic situation: 3.5% Other: 2% Lack of cooperation between government and people: 1.8%		
In the past year and a half, has your household been directly affected by violence in terms of death, handicap, or significant monetary loss?	Yes: 22% No: 77.5%		
Thinking about the difficult situation in Iraq currently, whether in terms of security, the economy or living conditions, who – in your view – is most to blame?	Multinational forces: 33.4% Foreign terrorists: 32.1% Armed supporters of the former regime: 8.1% Ourselves: 5.3% United States: 1.5% Combinations of all listed factors: 12.2%		
Thinking about the future, do you believe your life one year from today will be better, worse, or the same?	<u>Sept. 24- Oct. 4, 2004:</u> Better: 64.6% Worse: 15.7% Same: 11.6%	<u>July 24- August 2, 2004:</u> Better: 66.5% Worse: 13.3% Same:12.3%	<u>May 27-June 11, 2004:</u> Better: 64.84% Worse: 14.79% Same: 12.03%

IRAQ HEADING IN RIGHT OR WRONG DIRECTION: REGIONAL TRENDS

Region	Do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>right</i> direction?	Do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>wrong</i> direction?
Baghdad	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 32.6% July 24- August 2, 2004: 46.5% May 27-June 11, 2004: 36%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 51.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 27.9% May 27-June 11, 2004: 49.2%
Kurdish areas:	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 72.2% July 24- August 2, 2004: 71.5% May 27-June 11, 2004: 83.8%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 11.4% July 24- August 2, 2004: 17.5% May 27-June 11, 2004: 8.64%
Mosul & Kirkuk	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 18.3% July 24- August 2, 2004: 27.7% May 27-June 11, 2004: 43.36%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004:75.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 58.7% May 27-June 11, 2004:42.47%
Sunni areas:	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 14.6% July 24- August 2, 2004: 28.9% May 27-June 11, 2004: 33.43%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004:73.2% July 24- August 2, 2004: 53.4% May 27-June 11, 2004: 42.47%
Mid-Euphrates:	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 45.3% July 24- August 2, 2004: 66.7% May 27-June 11, 2004: 56.37%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 45.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 22.4% May 27-June 11, 2004: 39.87%
South:	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 51.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 61.4% May 27-June 11, 2004: 44.36%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 33.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 19.2% May 27-June 11, 2004: 45.2%

MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES TO IRAQIS

Five most important issues to Iraqis
Unemployment: 17.6% Crime: 14% Infrastructure: 9.5% National security: 9% Multinational forces: 6.8% Other: 56.9%

IRAQI OPINION ABOUT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Do you believe that the Interim Government of Iraq represents the interests of people like you?	Yes, very much: 8.8% Yes, somewhat: 28.10% No, not very much: 19.5% No, not at all: 35.7%	
To what degree do you feel that the Interim Government of Iraq has been effective or ineffective to date?	September: Very effective: 8.2% Somewhat effective: 35% Somewhat ineffective: 19.4% Very ineffective: 30.30%	July: Very effective: 19.82% Somewhat effective: 43.2% Somewhat ineffective: 14.3% Very ineffective: 12.31%
To what degree do you think Prime Minister Allawi has been effective since taking office?	September: Very effective: 13.6% Somewhat effective: 32% Somewhat ineffective: 14.9% Very ineffective: 28.3%	July: Very effective: 30.61% Somewhat effective: 35.61% Somewhat ineffective: 9.41% Very ineffective: 8.94%

INTERIM GOVERNMENT'S REGIONAL HANDLING OF SECURITY

How much do you agree or disagree with the government's handling in security, specifically in each of the following regions?	
Baghdad (Sadr City)	Strongly disagree: 44.9% Somewhat disagree:14.3% Somewhat agree:13.2% Strongly agree:14.7%
Baghdad (Haifa St./Downtown)	Strongly disagree: 43.5% Somewhat disagree:14% Somewhat agree:13.5% Strongly agree:13.6%
al-Anbar	Strongly disagree: 45.5% Somewhat disagree:14.9% Somewhat agree:12.2% Strongly agree:15.8%
Mosul/Tal Afar	Strongly disagree: 46% Somewhat disagree:15.2% Somewhat agree:11.8% Strongly agree:12.2%
Najaf/Kufa	Strongly disagree: 48.4% Somewhat disagree:14.6% Somewhat agree:12.2% Strongly agree:13.60%
Basra	Strongly disagree: 46.8% Somewhat disagree:14.20% Somewhat agree:12.10% Strongly agree:12.10%

IRAQI VIEW OF UPCOMING ELECTION

Do you believe Iraq will be ready to hold national elections by January 31, 2005?	Yes: 58.7% No: 35.40% Don't know: 5.6%		
If not, why?	Poor security situation: 59.4% Iraq is still under occupation: 31.4% Lack of democratic values: 5.1% Absence of an adequate census: 1.8%		
Do you intend to vote in the coming election?	September Yes: 85.5% No:11.8% Don't know: 2.3%	August: Yes: 87% No:7% Don't know:6%	July: Yes:88.4% No:9.53% Don't know:1.67%
If not why?	Security situation:46.8% Don't trust the electoral process:20.3% Lack information about candidates:17.3% Health prevents me:4.2% Do not trust candidates:1.3%		
Intention to vote by region	Mid-Euphrates: 93.9% Kurdish areas: 88.6% South: 87.3% Baghdad: 83.3% Mosul & Kirkuk: 77.3% Sunni areas: 72.8%		
Intention to vote by Muslim sect	Shia muslim: 89.2% Sunni muslim: 81.2% Only muslim:76.90%		

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION IN POLITICS

Please indicate how each of the following authorities' or figures' endorsement of a candidate or list of candidates would make you more or less inclined to support that list?	Cleric or religious organization More inclined: 40.1% Less inclined: 7.5%	Tribal leader More inclined: 14.9% Less inclined: 26.5%	Government More inclined: 17.5% Less inclined: 25.1%	Political party More inclined: 11.9% Less inclined: 22.9%
Do you believe that religion has a special role in the government today or that religion and the government should respect one another but remain separate?	Religion and government should respect one another by not impeding on the rights, roles, and responsibilities of the other: 52.30% Religion has a special role to play in the government: 37.9% Don't know: 8.9%			
Role of religion: Breakdown by sect	Shia: Special role for religion: 44.3% Respect and non-interference: 46% Don't know: 8.9%	Only muslim: Special role for religion: 37.1% Respect and non-interference: 58.5% Don't know: 2.6%	Sunni: Special role for religion: 44.3% Respect and non-interference: 46% Don't know: 8.9%	Other: Special role for religion: 5.3% Respect and non-interference: 78.9% Don't know: 15.8%
If you believe that religion has a special role to play in the government, how would you define that special role?				
Public leaders publicly and regularly seek guidance from religious leaders: Strongly disagree: 3.8% Somewhat disagree: 5.3% Somewhat agree: 17.5% Strongly agree: 65.5%	The state actively protects all religions without favoritism: Strongly disagree: 6.3% Somewhat disagree: 8.6% Somewhat agree: 14.6% Strongly agree: 64.1%	Major religions and sects are represented in the government by prominent religious figures: Strongly disagree: 4.1% Somewhat disagree: 9.3% Somewhat agree: 21.4% Strongly agree: 57.4%	The teachings of the faiths embraced by most Iraqis should be protected by law and the constitution: Strongly disagree: 1.7% Somewhat disagree: 1.8% Somewhat agree: 17.4% Strongly agree: 72.9%	Government officials should publicly embrace and employ religion in carrying out their duties: Strongly disagree: 2.9% Somewhat disagree: 4.6% Somewhat agree: 18.6% Strongly agree: 68.2%

PROSPECT OF CIVIL WAR

Question	Findings
Do you believe that the prospect of civil war, widespread ethnic, sectarian or other armed struggle - is now:	Unlikely to happen in Iraq: 68.8% Always possible, but unlikely: 14.8% Likely to occur in the near-term: 7.8% Don't know: 8.3%
If you believe there is some possibility of civil war in the near future, which of the following factors do you believe would be most responsible for instigating it?	Interference by neighboring states: 34% Unfair parliamentary elections: 19.2% Interference by non-neighboring states: 17.3% Irreconcilable demands made by one ethnic or sectarian group: 14.7% Corruption in the government: 8.3% Sudden withdrawal of Multinational Forces: 4.5%
If you said a neighboring state would be most likely to instigate a civil war, which one?	Iran: 50.9% Syria: 17% Turkey: 13.2% Kuwait: 11.3% Saudi Arabia: 3.8% Jordan: 0.0%
If you said a non-neighboring state would be responsible for instigating a civil war, which state?	United States: 66.7% Israel: 22.2% No answer: 7.4% al-Qaeda: 3.7%

AUGUST 10-20, 2004:
**INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE & INDEPENDENT INSTITUTE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE
AND CIVIL SOCIETY STUDIES POLL⁴³²**

Since the Fall of the Baath regime in April 2003, do you feel that your life has gotten better, worse or stayed the same?	Better: 46.5% Worse: 31.3% Same: 20.8% Don't know: 1.1%
Do you feel that there are enough opportunities for you or people like you to play a role in improving the quality of life in your community?	Yes: 40% No: 42% Don't know/No answer: 10%
To what degree do you feel that democracy in Iraq is likely or unlikely to succeed?	Very likely: 20.2% Somewhat likely: 37.8% Somewhat unlikely: 13.9% Very unlikely: 18.3% Don't know: 9.3%
Do you plan to vote in the upcoming election?	Yes: 88% No: 8% Don't know/No answer: 5%
How confident are you that when you cast your ballot, that your vote will be secret?	Very confident: 29% Somewhat confident: 33.2% Not very confident: 11.5% Not confident at all: 10.5%
To what extent do you feel that elections will reflect the will of the Iraqi people?	Very likely: 38.3% Somewhat likely: 37.3% Somewhat unlikely: 7.6% Very unlikely: 5.3%
To what extent do you feel that violence is likely leading up to, or during Iraq's elections scheduled to take place in January?	Very likely: 39% Somewhat likely: 37% Somewhat unlikely: 8% Very unlikely: 4%

REGIONAL VIEW OF QUALITY OF LIFE

Since the Fall of the Baath regime in April 2003, do you feel that your life has gotten better, worse or stayed the same?	Kurdish areas	South	Mid-Euphrates	Baghdad	Mosul & Kirkuk	Sunni areas
	Better: 85.6% Worse: 3.5%	Better: 52.8% Worse: 29.8%	Better: 52.7% Worse: 25.8%	Better: 36.4% Worse: 34.6%	Better: 26.5% Worse: 29.1%	Better: 11.9% Worse: 68.9%
Thinking about the future, do you think your life will be better, worse, or stay the same one year from now?	Better: 88.8% Worse: 1.6%	Better: 66.4% Worse: 14%	Better: 77% Worse: 11.7%	Better: 62.1% Worse: 9.3%	Better: 50% Worse: 14.3%	Better: 42.5% Worse: 29.2%

JULY 24 - AUGUST 2, 2004:
**INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE & INDEPENDENT INSTITUTE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE
AND CIVIL SOCIETY STUDIES POLL⁴³³**

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND PRIME MINISTER ALLAWI

To what degree do you feel that the Interim Government has been effective since the handover of authority on June 28?	Very effective: 19.8% Somewhat effective: 42.3% Somewhat ineffective: 14.3% Very ineffective: 12.3% Don't know: 10.4%	
To what degree do you feel that Prime Minister Ayed Allawi has been effective since the handover of authority on June 28?	Very effective: 30.6% Somewhat effective: 35.6% Somewhat ineffective: 9.4% Very ineffective: 8.9% Don't know: 13.8%	
On what issues do you feel that Prime Minister Allawi has beenmost effective? Improving security: 45.2% Don't know: 16.4% Improving outside relationships: 13.3% Improving economy: 2.8% Solving unemployment: 1.1% Solving housing crisis: 0.9%	...least effective? Don't know: 26.2% Rebuilding infrastructure: 15.5% Improving security: 9.5% Improving economy: 7.5% Solving unemployment: 6.73% Removal of coalition forces from Iraq: 2.5%

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF CURRENT SITUATION

Do you feel that Iraq is generally heading in the right or the wrong direction?	June Right direction: 50.7% Wrong direction: 39.3% Don't know: 9.2%	July Right direction: 51.3% Wrong direction: 31.4% Don't know: 16.05%
If you think Iraq is moving in the wrong direction, why is that?	Security situation: 62.45% Presence of occupation forces: 17.42% Unemployment: 5.1% Bias to certain groups of Iraqis: 3.66% Economic situation; 2.87% Neglect of infrastructure: 1.71%	
Thinking about the last two months, do you feel that the economy and security have gotten better, worse, or stayed the same?	Economy Better: 47.36% Worse: 13.99% Same: 36.08%	Security Better: 56.77% Worse: 19.96% Same: 21.63%

END OF JUNE, 2004: IRAQ CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND STRATEGIC STUDIES POLL⁴³⁴

Question	Findings
Do you strongly or somewhat" oppose the presence of coalition forces?	Yes: 67%
Should coalition forces leave either immediately or directly after the election?	Yes: 80%
Would you feel safer, less safe, or would it make no difference if coalition forces left now?	More safe: 41% Less safe: 34% No difference: 17%
Should coalition forces stay as long as is necessary for stability or leave immediately?	Stay as long as is necessary for stability: 13% Leave immediately: 30%
Do you feel very safe in your neighborhood?	End of June: 50% End of April: 25%
Have your family's economic situation improved from before the war?	Yes: 50%
Do you expect the economy to get better over the next six months?	End of June: ~60% End of April: 36%
Have conditions for creating peace worsened over the past three months?	Yes: 49%
Are the current difficulties a price worth paying for toppling Saddam?	Yes: 54% No: 37%

9-19 JUNE, 2004: COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY (CPA) POLL⁴³⁵

CONFIDENCE IN THE NEW INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Do you have confidence in the new leaders of the interim government?	Yes: 68%
Do you approve of Prime Minister Ayad Allawi?	Yes: 73%
Do you approve of President Ghazi Yawar?	Yes: 84%
Do you support the new Cabinet?	Yes: 67%
What effect do you believe the new government will have on the situation in Iraq after the handover on June 30 th ?	Make things better: 80% Things will remain the same: 10% Things will get worse: 7%
Have you heard or read a significant amount about the new leaders of the interim government?	Yes: 70%
Do you believe that the first democratic elections for a new national assembly will be free and fair?	Yes: 67%

CONFIDENCE IN IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

Do you support the new Iraqi Army?	Yes: 70%
Do you support the new Iraqi police?	Yes: 72%

CONFIDENCE IN SELECTED INSTITUTIONS

Month	Iraqi Police	Iraqi Army	Iraqi ministries	Governing Council	CPA	Coalition forces
November	84%	71%	63%	63%	47%	N/A
January	80%	63%	54%	51%	32%	28%
March	79%	61%	42%	41%	14%	13%
April	67%	62%	31%	23%	9%	7%
May	76%	62%	39%	28%	11%	10%

PERCEIVED IMPACT OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Question	Findings
How do you think having an interim government on June 30 will make things for Iraq?	Better: 63% Worse: 15% Same: 14% Don't know/No answer: 8%

HOW LONG SHOULD COALITION FORCES STAY IN IRAQ?

Question	Findings
How long should Coalition Forces stay in Iraq?	Leave after a permanent government is elected: 45% Leave immediately: 41% As long as Coalition Forces think it is necessary for stability: 6% Two years: 4% Don't know/No answer: 4%

IMPACT OF COALITION FORCES LEAVING IMMEDIATELY

Question
If coalition forces left Iraq immediately would you feel more safe?
November: 11%
January: 28%
April: 55%
May: 55%

PRISONERS ABUSE AT ABU GHRAIB

Question	Findings
Were you surprised when you saw the abuse of prisoner's at Abu Ghraib?	Yes: 71% No: 22% Don't know/No answer: 7%
Do you believe that the abuse of prisoners at Abu Ghraib represents fewer than 100 people or that all Americans behave this way?	All Americans are like this: 54% Fewer than 100 people: 38% Don't know/No answer: 8%
Do you believe anyone will be punished for what happened at Abu Ghraib?	No: 61% Yes: 29% Don't know/No answer: 10%

ABILITY OF IRAQI POLICE AND ARMY TO MAINTAIN SECURITY IN IRAQ

Question	Findings
Do you think it is likely that the Iraqi police and Army will maintain security without the presence of Coalition Forces?	Very likely: 62% Somewhat likely: 25% Not very likely: 6% Don't know/No answer: 4% Not at all likely: 3%

MOST DANGEROUS KIND OF VIOLENCE TO IRAQ

What kind of violence do you think is most dangerous to Iraq?	
Street crime	January: 8.9% May: 8.3%
Large vehicle bombs	January: 16.5% May: 16.1%
Armed encounters between Coalition Forces and others	January: 3.3% May: 11.4%
Violence by Militias	January: 1.8 % May: 2.2 %
Killings of Baathists	January: 0.9 % May: 1.3 %
Private Revenge Killings	January: 1.8 % May: 2.9 %
Coalition soldiers killed for revenge	January: 0.7 % May: 0.5 %
Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) along roads	January: 10.6 % May: 18.9 %
Kidnappings	January: 2.0 % May: 3.4 %
War between sects	January: 29.2% May: 15.6 %
Ethnic war	January: 8.2 % May: 9.1 %
Military actions by Coalition Forces	January: 6.3 % May: 9.1%
Threats from outside Iraq	January: 1.8 % May: 3.6 %
Don't know/No answer	January: 2.2 % May: 6.5 %

MOST DANGEROUS KIND OF VIOLENCE TO IRAQI FAMILIES

What kind of violence do you think is most dangerous to your family?	
Street crime	January: 45.9% May: 40.4 %
Large vehicle bombs	January: 8.4 % May: 15.2 %
Armed encounters between Coalition Forces and others	January: 3.4 % May: 10.8 %
Violence by Militias	January: 0.9 % May: 1.6 %
Killings of Baathists	January: 0.7% May: 0.3 %
Private Revenge Killings	January: 2.1% May: 1.0 %
Coalition soldiers killed for revenge	January: 0.7 % May: 0.1 %
Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) along roads	January: 19.1 % May: 16.7 %
Kidnappings	January: 1.3 % May: 1.7 %
War between sects	January: 4.3 % May: 1.6 %
Ethnic war	January: 0.7 % May: 0.3 %
Military actions by Coalition Forces	January: 10.6 % May: 8.5 %
Threats from outside Iraq	January: 0.2 % May: 0.1 %
Don't know/No answer	January: 1.7 % May: 1.1 %

MOST URGENT ISSUES FACING IRAQ MID-MAY

Issue	Baghdad	Basrah	Mosul	Hillah	Diwaniyah	Baqubah	All
Security	58%	39%	60%	84%	72%	55%	59%
Economy	16%	16%	17%	8%	15%	20%	16%
Infrastructure	13%	38%	15%	7%	6%	2%	15%
All Others	13%	7%	8%	1%	7%	23%	10%

IRAQI OPINION OF MOQTADA AL-SADR IN LATE APRIL

Question	Findings
Compared to 3 months ago my opinion of Moqtada al-Sadr is...	Much better: 40% Better: 41% Somewhat worse: 14% Much worse: 5%

IMPACT OF EVENTS ON UNIFYING OR DIVIDING IRAQ

Question	Findings
Have recent events, the fighting in Falluja and the acts of Moqtada al-Sadr made Iraq more unified or more divided?	More unified: 64% More divided: 14% Don't know/No answer: 22%

OPINION ON VIOLENT ATTACKS IN THE COUNTRY

How much do you agree with each of the following statements? The violent attacks around the country....	
...are an effort of outside groups to create instability in our country	Somewhat agree: 25% Totally agree: 36% Somewhat disagree: 10% Totally disagree: 15%
...show Iraq is not ready to live in peace with the world	Somewhat agree: 20% Totally agree: 26% Somewhat disagree: 8% Totally disagree: 31%
...emphasize the need for the continued presence of coalition forces	Somewhat agree: 20% Totally agree: 22% Somewhat disagree: 11% Totally disagree: 33%
...are an effort to liberate Iraq from the United States and Coalition Forces	Somewhat agree: 18% Totally agree: 29% Somewhat disagree: 9% Totally disagree: 33%
...are an effort to reinstate the old regime	Somewhat agree: 16% Totally agree: 9% Somewhat disagree: 14% Totally disagree: 45%
...have increased because people have lost faith in Coalition Forces	Somewhat agree: 12% Totally agree: 67% Somewhat disagree: 3% Totally disagree: 6%

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF INSURGENTS

Please indicate if and how the following statements apply to those who attack the Coalition Forces and those who work with them	
They believe that the Coalition is trying to steal Iraq's wealth	Totally true: 66% Partially true: 12% Not true: 7%
They believe all foreign forces must leave at once	Totally true: 59% Partially true: 15% Not true: 11%
They believe national dignity requires the attacks	Totally true: 53% Partially true: 15% Not true: 13%
They want democracy, but do not believe the Coalition will help democracy	Totally true: 41% Partially true: 22% Not true: 15%
They want to establish an Islamic state with no outside influence	Totally true: 31% Partially true: 28% Not true: 21%
They are trying go undermine the transfer of responsibility to Iraqi forces	Totally true: 27% Partially true: 18% Not true: 36%
They are trying to help us create a better future	Totally true: 23% Partially true: 23% Not true: 32%
They do not want democracy in Iraq	Totally true: 17% Partially true: 21% Not true: 45%
They are angry because they lost the privileges they had under Saddam	Totally true: 15% Partially true: 17% Not true: 48%
They want to return to Saddam and the Baath party	Totally true: 9% Partially true: 11% Not true: 61%

SUPPORT OF OR OPPOSITION TO THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS IN LATE APRIL

Individual	Somewhat support	Strongly support	Somewhat oppose	Strongly oppose
Massoud Barzani	14%	5%	25%	49%
Ayad Allawi	18%	5%	21%	40%
Mowaffek al-Rubaie	21%	8%	20%	41%
Adnan Pachachi	31%	10%	30%	20%
Jalal Talabani	10%	11%	24%	50%
Abdul Kareem al-Muhamadawi	20%	11%	16%	29%
Muhssin Abdul Hamed	33%	12%	17%	18%
Sayyid Muhammed Bahr ul-Uloom	26%	18%	18%	31%
Hare'eth al-Dhari	25%	20%	14%	13%
Ahamad al-Qubaisi	31%	24%	16%	13%
Abdul Azziz al-Hakim	26%	25%	16%	28%
Moqtada al-Sadr	35%	32%	19%	10%
Ibrahim Jaferi	19%	39%	12%	26%
Ali Sistani	19%	51%	14%	6%

VOTING FOR AN IRAQI PRESIDENT

If you could vote for any living Iraqi for president, who would it be? Absolute number of respondents per candidate from 1093 respondents
Sadoun Hammadi: 2
Mushin A. Hameed: 3
Ahmed al-Kubaisi: 3
Mowaffek al-Rubaie: 4
Ghazi Ajeel: 4
Ahmad Chalabi: 6
Mehdi al-Hafudh: 6
Ali Sistani: 20
Moqtada al-Sadr: 22
Shareef Ali: 27
Saddam Hussein: 37
A. Azziz al-Hakeem: 38
Any fair and efficient person: 42
Adnan Pachachi: 45
Other: 57
Ibrahim Jaafari: 184
None: 218
Don't know/No answer: 375

APPROPRIATE POWER OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

What powers should the unelected, interim government have for its 7 months in office?	
Make laws or agreements that a future elected government could not change	May: 12% April: 11%
Make long-term agreements with other countries	May: 26% April: 27%
Replace current governors?	May: 61% April: 62%
Disarm and control the political party and religious militias	May: 64% April: 63%
Replace current ministries	May: 60% April: 63%
Increase or reduce taxes	May: 47% April: 68%
Order Coalition Forces to leave Iraq	May: 70% April: 77%
Take responsibility for prisoners held by Coalition Forces	May: N/A April: 83%
Adjusting prices, such as increasing the prices of subsidized petroleum products and other commodities	May: 49% April: N/A
Make economic changes, such as giving people money in place of their food rations	May: 19% April: N/A
Make economic changes, like adjusting prices	May: N/A April: 84%

IRAQIS INFORMED ABOUT U.N. RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Question	Findings
How much have you heard or read about the recent United Nations recommendations about the June 30 interim government?	Don't know/No answer: 4% A great deal: 8% Not very much: 16% A fair amount: 20% Nothing: 52%

IRAQIS INFORMED ABOUT FORMATION OF COMMISSION SUPERVISING ELECTIONS

Question	Findings
How much have you heard or read about the formation of an independent commission supervising the elections to be held in January 2005?	A great deal: 4% Not much: 14% A fair amount: 17% Nothing: 65%

WHO SHOULD HAVE A SAY IN SELECTING THE ELECTION COMMISSION?

How much influence should the following institutions have in selecting the members of the independent election commission?	
Religious communities	Great deal: 59% A fair amount: 20% Not much: 4% None: 11%
International experts	Great deal: 42% A fair amount: 23% Not much: 6% None: 21%
Community tribal leaders	Great deal: 38% A fair amount: 26% Not much: 9% None: 19%
United Nations	Great deal: 36% A fair amount: 20% Not much: 10% None: 27%
Community Political Leaders	Great deal: 31% A fair amount: 23% Not much: 13% None: 23%
Governing Council	Great deal: 11% A fair amount: 15% Not much: 11% None: 55%
Coalition Provisional Authority	Great deal: 8% A fair amount: 7% Not much: 8% None: 69%

WHAT CONTRIBUTES TO YOUR SENSE OF SECURITY

Which of the following contributes to your sense of security?
Coalition Forces: 1%
Joint Coalition forces and Iraqi patrols: 1%
Mosque patrols: 2%
None/Other/Don't know/No answer: 3%
Local neighborhood patrols: 4%
Local police: 18%
Family: 26%
Neighbors and friends: 45%

INTEREST IN JOINING THE IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

Question	Findings
Are you and any member of your family more or less interested in joining the Iraqi security forces than you were 3 months ago?	More interested: 51% Less interested: 39% Don't know/No answer: 10%

IRAQI OPINION OF COALITION FORCES

Should Coalition Forces leave or stay in Iraq? (Results expressed as absolute numbers for each opinion for 1068 respondents)	
Leave: 866	Stay: 71
Why should Coalition Forces leave?	Why should Coalition Forces stay?
They are occupiers and must leave immediately: 418	They are the only power that can effectively administer Iraq: 33
They brought only death and destruction: 142	If they leave there will be a political vacuum: 2
Iraqis can administer Iraq better: 102	Other/Don't know/No answer: 11
They want Iraqi oil and resources: 76	Their presence brings Iraq future benefit: 5
They are facilitating Zionist domination of Iraq: 51	
They do not respect our religions and cultures: 38	
They abuse Iraqis: 23	
Other/Don't know/No answer: 16	

NOTE ON IRAQI OPINION OF COALITION FORCES: Although not represented by the original polling information, we assume that the 131 of the 1068 people whose opinions were not accounted for in the "leave" or "stay" categories either did not know or choose not to answer the question.

MARCH 22-APRIL 9: CNN/USA TODAY/ GALLUP POLL⁴³⁷

Question	Findings
Has the coalition invasion in Iraq done more harm than good or more good than harm?	More harm than good: 46% More good than harm: 33% The same: 16% Don't know: 4%
Is Iraq much better off, somewhat better off, somewhat worse off, or much worse off than before the U.S. and British invasion?	Much better off: 11% Somewhat better off: 31% About the same: 17% Somewhat worse off: 24% Much worse off: 15% Don't know: 2%
Are you and your family much better off, somewhat better off, somewhat worse off, or much worse off than you were before the U.S. and British invasion?	Much better off: 14% Somewhat better off: 37% About the same: 25% Somewhat worse off: 15% Much worse off: 10% Don't know: 1%
Would you prefer for the U.S. and British forces to leave immediately (in the next few months), or do you think they should stay in Iraq for a longer period of time?	Leave immediately (in the next few months): 57% Stay in Iraq for a longer period of time: 36% Don't know: 7%
Do you think of the Coalition forces mostly as occupiers, or mostly as liberators?	Mostly as occupiers: 71% Mostly as liberators: 19% Both equally: 8% Don't know: 2%
At the time of the invasion last spring, did you think of the Coalition forces mostly as occupiers, or mostly as liberators?	Mostly as occupiers: 43% Mostly as liberators: 43% Both equally: 9% Don't know: 4%
Over the past three months, have conditions for creating peace and stability in Iraq improved or worsened?	Improved: 25% Worsened: 54% Stayed the same: 19% Don't know: 2%
If the Coalition left Iraq today, would you feel more safe or less safe?	More safe: 28% Less safe: 53% No difference: 12% Don't know: 8%

IRAQI STANDARD OF LIVING

Since the invasion, which of the following happened to you personally or to members of your household?	At all since the invasion	Within the past four weeks	Before the past four weeks/since the invasion	Since the invasion	Happened in the year before the invasion
Gone without electricity for long periods of time?	78%	3%	20%	44%	68%
Been without clean drinking water for long periods of time?	49%	4%	11%	28%	36%
Had to stand in line for long periods of time to buy gasoline?	74%	2%	29%	33%	7%
Been unable to obtain food because of shortages?	25%	1%	6%	14%	11%
Been afraid to go outside your home for safety reasons?	57%	2%	14%	32%	7%
Had home burglarized?	3%	N/A	1%	1%	3%
Been unable to obtain medical assistance or medicine?	25%	1%	4%	16%	15%
Had a car or property stolen?	3%	N/A	1%	1%	1%
Been physically attacked?	2%	N/A	N/A	1%	3%
Feel freer to express any political views in public?	76%	1%	3%	60%	2%
Felt afraid of practicing religious beliefs?	8%	1%	1%	4%	54%
Been afraid to go outside your home at night for safety reasons?	74%	1%	6%	39%	10%
Lost my job?	7%	0%	N/A	5%	4%
Gone without public sewage system?	40%	N/A	1%	31%	37%

PERCEPTIONS OF U.S. FORCES' EFFORTS TO IMPROVE IRAQI LIVING CONDITIONS

How hard do you think U.S. forces are trying to accomplish each of the following – a lot, only a little, or not at all?	Try a lot	Try only a little	Does not try at all
Restoring basic services like electricity/clean drinking water to Iraqis?	11%	41%	44%
Trying to keep ordinary Iraqis from being killed/wounded during exchanges of gunfire?	11%	18%	67%
Working to repair Iraqi schools and classrooms?	17%	50%	26%
Working with local councils to try to improve neighborhood conditions/services?	7%	34%	49%
Maintaining roads and bridges?	8%	23%	60%
Improving local health centers?	13%	40%	40%

24 MARCH -2 APRIL: COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY POLL

IRAQI ATTITUDE TOWARDS INSTITUTIONS⁴³⁸

Do you have a positive or negative attitude towards the following institutions?	Attitude	
	Positive	Negative
Iraqi police	79%	19%
New Iraqi Army	61%	26%
Local council	45%	36%
Iraqi ministries	43%	41%
Governing council	41%	52%
Coalition Provisional Authority	14%	80%
Coalition forces	13%	83%

IMPORTANCE OF SECURITY TO RESIDENTS OF BAGHDAD⁴³⁹

Month	Baghdad residents naming security as the most urgent issue
January	50%
February	60%
March	65%
April	70%

9 – 28 FEBRUARY: OXFORD RESEARCH INTERNATIONAL/BBC/ABC NEWS STUDY

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF OVERALL SITUATION

Month	How are things compared with a year ago? ⁴⁴⁰
February	Better: 56.5% Worse: 18.6%

GREATEST THREAT TO IRAQI CITIZEN

Type of threat	What is the greatest threat to yourself and your family? ⁴⁴²					
	Baghdad	Basrah	Mosul	Fallujah	Samarra	Karbala
Street crime	47%	63%	45%	42%	38%	22%
Street bombs	26%	20%	13%	11%	11%	19%
Large bombs such as those against Iraqi police stations and international organizations	9%	4%	6%	5%	3%	29%
Armed encounters between Iraqis and Coalition Forces and others	7%	4%	26%	26%	38%	9%
Armed encounters with religious or tribal militia	1%	1%	--	--	2%	2%
Revenge killings/Baath killings	3%	4%	3%	5%	1%	--
Financial extortion	1%	1%	2%	2%	--	4%
Sectarian war	6%	3%	1%	7%	4%	4%
Ethnic war	1%	--	1%	1%	1%	--

GREATEST THREAT TO IRAQ

Type of threat	What is the greatest threat to Iraq? ⁴⁴³					
	Baghdad	Basrah	Mosul	Fallujah	Samarra	Karbala
Street crime	8 %	11%	5%	13%	6%	15%
Street bombs	12%	16%	6%	7%	7%	10%
Large bombs such as those against Iraqi police stations and international organizations	25%	18%	6%	9%	2%	25%
Armed encounters between Iraqis and Coalition Forces and others	8%	9%	10%	17%	10%	15%
Armed encounters with religious or tribal militia	2%	2%	2%	--	3%	2%
Revenge killings/Baath killings	2%	3%	3%	1%	5%	1%
Financial extortion	1%	1%	2%	2%	--	4%
Sectarian war	31%	26%	36%	26%	45%	6%
Ethnic war	6%	2%	19%	11%	12%	2%
Outside threats	5%	13%	7%	11%	8%	6%

IRAQIS ON COALITION FORCES LEAVING

	If coalition forces left immediately, Iraqis would feel... ⁴⁴⁴		
	More safe	Less safe	No difference
Baghdad	November: 12% January: 19%	November: 71% January: 65%	November: 13% January: 15%
Basrah	November: 6% January: 17%	November: 85% January: 67%	November: 8% January: 12%
Mosul	January: 28%	January: 59%	January: 10%
Fallujah	January: 56%	January: 29%	January: 12%
Samarra	January: 54%	January: 41%	January: 2%
Karbala	January: 24%	January: 50%	January: 13%
Kirkuk	November: 15%	November: 62%	November: 14%
Hilla	November: 7%	November: 83%	November: 5%
Diwaniya	November: 13%	November: 83%	November: 1%

PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROTECTING IRAQIS

	In the next six months, primary responsibility for protecting Iraqis from major security threats should be.... ⁴⁴⁵		
	Iraqi Armed Forces	Coalition forces	Joint Iraq-Coalition efforts
Baghdad	50%	7%	42%
Basrah	38%	8%	51%
Mosul	58%	12%	27%
Fallujah	71%	4%	19%
Samarra	64%	9%	23%
Karbala	50%	14%	26%

PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER

	In the next six months, primary responsibility for maintaining law and order on Iraqi streets should be.... ⁴⁴⁶		
	Iraqi Armed Forces	Coalition forces	Joint Iraq-Coalition efforts
Baghdad	56%	6%	38%
Basrah	53%	9%	35%
Mosul	53%	10%	26%
Fallujah	67%	4%	22%
Samarra	71%	5%	20%
Karbala	44%	2%	16%

CONDITIONS FOR PEACE

	Over the last three months conditions for peace have... ⁴⁴⁷		
	Improved	Worsened	No difference
Baghdad	August: 22% January: 51%	August: 53% January: 25%	August: 24% January: 24%
Basrah	August: 24% January: 59%	August: 58% January: 17%	August: 18% January: 24%
Mosul	January: 38%	January: 39%	January: 22%
Fallujah	August: 25% January: 33%	August: 63% January: 44%	August: 10% January: 23%
Samarra	January: 34%	January: 43%	January: 22%
Karbala	January: 27%	January: 61%	January: 10%
Ramadi	August: 16%	August: 66%	August: 17%
Najaf	August: 15%	August: 71%	August: 10%
Suleymania	August: 56%	August: 18%	August: 25%
Erbil	August: 58%	August: 9%	August: 23%

SAFETY IN IRAQI NEIGHBORHOODS

	How safe do you feel in your neighborhood? ⁴⁴⁸		
	Very safe	Not very safe	Not safe
Baghdad	August: 24% November: 31% January: 46%	August: 50% November: 56% January: 42%	August: 26% November: 12% January: 11%
Basrah	August: 24% November: 18% January: 31%	August: 58% November: 68% January: 57%	August: 17% November: 12% January: 11%
Fallujah	August: 37% January: 61%	August: 57% January: 27%	August: 4% January: 11%
Mosul	January: 63%	January: 28%	January: 9%
Samarra	January: 63%	January: 27%	January: 10%
Karbala	January: 51%	January: 29%	January: 15%
Kirkuk	November: 42%	November: 40%	November: 12%
Hilla	November: 65%	November: 30%	November: 4%
Diwaniya	November: 71%	November: 22%	November: 7%
Najaf	August: 35%	August: 52%	August: 12%
Ramadi	August: 41%	August: 44%	August: 14%
Suleymania	August: 61%	August: 33%	August: 1%
Erbil	August: 60%	August: 36%	August: 3%

IRAQI CONFIDENCE IN INSTITUTIONS

	Do you feel very or somewhat confident in the following institution? ⁴⁴⁹					
	Iraq police	New Iraqi Army	Iraqi ministries	Governing Council	CPA	Coalition Forces
Baghdad	82%	72%	60%	62%	42%	38%
Basrah	89%	79%	64%	67%	41%	32%
Mosul	80%	54%	43%	33%	31%	27%
Fallujah	74%	52%	54%	27%	10%	10%
Samarra	72%	35%	36%	30%	14%	18%
Karbala	71%	55%	51%	57%	27%	20%

EFFECIENCY OF COALITION FORCES

	Do you feel Coalition Forces are very effective in the following activities? ⁴⁵⁰				
	Keeping law and order in the streets	Tracking down criminals	Protecting Iraqis from major threats	Working cooperatively with Iraqi security forces	Protecting their forces and compounds
Baghdad	21%	15%	32%	43%	63%
Basrah	17%	11%	22%	27%	68%
Mosul	21%	14%	33%	34%	60%
Fallujah	5%	5%	13%	12%	31%
Samarra	15%	12%	21%	27%	47%
Karbala	16%	11%	18%	27%	55%

**LATER POLLING:
STATE DEPARTMENT STUDY AND GALLUP POLLS**

IRAQI PUBLIC OPINION NATIONWIDE AND BAGHDAD: NOVEMBER 19-28

	Nationwide	Baghdad
Do you agree that in general, the local Iraqi police force is trusted by most members of the community? ⁴⁵¹	Agree/somewhat agree: 77%	Agree/somewhat agree: 80%
Do you feel that the attacks emphasize the need for continued presence of Coalition Forces in Iraq? ⁴⁵²	Agree: 66%	Agree: 61%
If coalition forces left immediately, would you feel more safe, less safe, or no difference? ⁴⁵³	More safe: 11% Less safe: 71% No difference: 10%	More safe: 12% Less safe: 75% No difference: 13%

BAGHDAD PUBLIC OPINION: AUGUST 8 – SEPTEMBER 4

Question	Findings
Will Iraq be in a better condition five years from now than it was before the U.S.-led invasion? ⁴⁵⁴	Better off: 67% Worse off: 8%
Is Iraq better off now than it was before the invasion? ⁴⁵⁵	Better off: 33% Worse off: 47%
Was ousting Saddam worth the hardships endured since the invasion? ⁴⁵⁶	Yes: 62% No: N/A
Would you like to see U.S. troops stay longer than a few more months? ⁴⁵⁷	Stay longer: 71% Not stay longer: 26%
Are there circumstances in which attacks against U.S. troops can be justified? ⁴⁵⁸	No: 64% Sometimes justified: 36%
Have you been afraid at times to go outside your home during the day within the past four weeks? ⁴⁵⁹	Yes: 86% No: N/A
Is Baghdad a more dangerous place now than before the invasion? ⁴⁶⁰	Yes: 94% No: N/A

N/A= Not available

¹ Monthly fatality figures from May 1, 2003- March 31, 2004 at “Operation Iraqi Freedom Casualty Summary by Month”, *Directorate for Information Operations and Reports*, (web1.whs.osd.mil/mmid/casualty/castop.htm [April 12, 2004]). Fatality numbers from April 1 and onwards are reported as documented daily from “Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status,” *Department of Defense*.

² Calculations based on data made available at (icasualties.org/oif/).

³ Calculations based on data made available at (icasualties.org/oif/).

⁴ Monthly wounded figures from May 1, 2003 - December 31, 2003 at “Operation Iraqi Freedom Casualty Summary by Month”, *Directorate for Information Operations and Reports*, (web1.whs.osd.mil/mmid/casualty/castop.htm [April 12, 2004]). Remaining months are documented daily from “Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status,” *Department of Defense*, (www.defenselink.mil/news/).

⁵ “Details of British Casualties,” *British Ministry of Defense*, (www.operations.mod.uk/telic/casualties.htm).

⁶ Calculations based on data made available at (icasualties.org/oif/).

⁷ Calculations based on data made available at (icasualties.org/oif/).

⁸ Walter Pincus, “U.S. Says More Police are Needed as Attacks Continue,” *Washington Post*, September 28, 2004. According to a senior official in Iraq.

⁹ Donald D. Rumsfeldt testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee September 23, 2004.

¹⁰ Yochi j. Dreazen, “‘Lack of Security’ is Plaguing Iraq,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 26, 2004.

¹¹ Sabrina Tavernise, “Iraqis Working for Americans are in Insurgent’s Cross Hairs,” *New York Times*, September 18, 2004.

¹² Iraq Body Count, (Iraqbodycount.net [September 17, 2004]).

¹³ Mike Dornig, “We are Losing Our People,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 14, 2004.

¹⁴ Bassem Mroue, “AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone,” *Associated Press*,

¹⁵ Bassem Mroue, “AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone,” *Associated Press*,

¹⁶ Bassem Mroue, “AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone,” *Associated Press*,

¹⁷ The monthly breakdown of casualties to Iraqi civilians since May 2003 and up until March 2004 is based on reports of individual incidents as reported by Iraq Bodycount, (www.iraqbodycount.org). The numbers used for the table is the upper bound estimate only, since we assume that due to the fact that a lot of cases are not reported, our estimate is probably lower than the actual number. Three types of entries in the Iraq Bodycount data base were excluded from our monthly tallies. They are single reports of civilians killed over several months, reports of the number of corpses in Iraqi morgues, and fatalities as a result of mass casualty car-bombings/suicide bombings. We exclude the former two types of cases in order to avoid any potential double counting, and the latter since we are tracking those numbers ourselves and prefer to rely on those figures. We thus added our monthly estimates of fatalities due to mass casualty car-bombings/suicide bombings to the monthly estimates arrived at by relying on the data given by Iraq bodycount.org. The lower bound number for April were not arrived at using the reports in Iraq Body Count. This is since the number of civilians killed according to this data base were too low considering the heavy fighting in Najaf. The number for this month is therefore author’s estimate based on several news reports during the month. The upper bound numbers starting in April 2004 are author’s estimate based on data from the Iraqi Ministry of Health and quoted in two articles. James Drummond, “The Grim Task Facing Iraq’s Civilians: Counting the Lost,” *London Financial Times*, September 16, 2004. 3,186 Iraqi civilians killed between April 5 and September 12, 2004. Julian E. Barnes et al. “Victims of Circumstance,” *U.S. News and World Report*, September 27, 2004. 1,811 civilians killed between June 10, 2004 to September 10, 2004.

¹⁸ Rajiv Chandrasekaran, “Car Bomb Kills 11 in Baghdad,” *Washington Post*, August 8, 2003. One attack in front of the Jordanian Embassy on August 7. Theola Labbe, “Some Fear Blast at University Heralds New Face of Violence,” *Washington Post*, September 6, 2003. An attack on UN headquarters on August 19. Neil McFarquhar, “Thousands at Burial for Slain Cleric,” *New York Times*, September 3.

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¹⁹ The ranges are author's estimate or based on numbers provided in the following articles; Neil MacFarquhar, "Open War Over, Iraqis Focus on Crime and a Hunt for Jobs," *New York Times*, September 16, 2003, Lara Marlowe "Unspeakable Savagery on the Streets of Baghdad," *Irish Times*, October 10, 2003, and Jeffrey Fleishman, "Back Into Baghdad's Streets," *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 2004.

The MacFarquhar article is the source for the May, June, July, and August, 2003 estimate. The Marlowe article is the source for the September, 2003 number as well as the June and July, 2003 bounds estimate. "Almost all" of the 2,173 deaths by firearms in Baghdad in 2003 occurred between May and the end of September, 2003. Having no data for October, we constructed an estimate for this month range by taking the average of the September and November numbers. Data for January - September 2004 are author's estimate as based on reports of number of gunshot wounds in the Baghdad morgue as quoted in "Alex Berenson. "Killings Surge, and Doctors See a Procession of Misery," *New York Times*, September 26, 2004. Nearly all of these gunshot wounds were a result of homicide. Because the murder rate rose during the summer, we have estimated that the numbers for August and September are higher than the previous months. We intend to update these entries as soon as more information becomes available. Washington DC rate from "Detroit murders drop to lowest number in 36 years," *Associated Press State and Local Wire*, January 3, 2004.

²⁰ Estimated number of Iraqi civilian casualties as represented in "Iraqi Civilians killed as a Result of War since May 2003," Iraq Index, www.brookings.edu/Iraqindex, table. The estimated number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of violence from crime was calculated based on an average annualized murder rate in Baghdad of 77/100,000 citizens. Based on a population of 5.6 million people in Baghdad we estimate that roughly 5,744 people are killed annually in the capital. The lower bound for the estimate of crime related deaths in the rest of Iraq was arrived at by taking the Baghdad annual rate times 0.8. The upper bound for the estimate of crime related deaths in the rest of Iraq was arrived at by taking the Baghdad annual rate time 3. In order to estimate the nationwide rate we then added the number of deaths caused by criminal violence to the lower and upper bound respectively. To arrive at the final estimate of number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of violence from war and violence from crime we then added the number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of violence from war up until August 30, 2004. We added the lower bound of estimated civilians killed to the lower bound, and the higher bound of civilians killed to the higher bound. For more on how we estimated civilian casualties please see the civilian casualties table.

²¹ Numbers for all months based on a partial list of contractors killed in Iraq according to ICasualties.org (www.icasualties.org). In addition to the deaths listed on the Icasualties website, the following deaths have also been reported. Neil McFarquhar, "Thousands at Burial for Slain Cleric," *New York Times*, September 3. One British and American killed on October 26. The nationalities stated are according to a CBS camera man. Theola Labbe and Vernon Loeb, "Wolfowitz Unhurt in Rocket Attack", *Washington Post*, October 26, 2003. 2 Italians were killed by a truck bomb at the Italian Military on November 12. Alan Sipress, "U.S. Forces Kill Dozens after Iraq Ambushes," *Washington Post*, December 1, 2003. Two Japanese diplomats. Edward Wong, "Iraqis Are Hoping for Early and Peaceful End to Shiite Insurrection," *New York Times*, April 16, 2004. One Iranian diplomat was killed the week of April 12. One Polish and One Algerian journalist were killed on May 6, 2004. Gary Klien, "Former Marine Man Killed in Iraq," *Marine Independent Journal*, May 4, 2004. One American contractor killed on May 3. Monte Morin and Patrick J. McDonnell, "Iraqi Leaders In Najaf Reach Deal In Effort To Resolve Crisis," *Los Angeles Times*, May 12, 2004. One Filipino worker killed on May 11, 2004. "Japan Says Iraq Reports Two Japanese Killed in Attack," *Bloomberg News*, May 28, 2004. Two Japanese journalist killed on May 27. Mariam Fam, "U.S. Troops Battle Shiite Militants in Kufa, Baghdad," *Associated Press*, June 2, 2004. One Italian security contractor was killed on June 2. "Security Guard Shot Dead in Iraq," *BBC News*, June 29, 2004. One American killed on June 27, 2004. "List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq," *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. Two Pakistanis killed, one

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²² Ibid.

²³ Iraqi Police Say Lebanese Hostage was Freed after a Raid on Insurgent Hideouts," *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. 11 Turks. "A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq," *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. One Lebanese and one Somali. Rawya Rageh, "Tape Shows Beheading of Two More," *Philadelphia Inquirer*," October 12, 2004. One Turk beheaded.

²⁴ Barry Hatton, "Portuguese Journalists Attacked in Iraq, One Wounded, Another Kidnapped," *Associated Press*, November 14, 2003.

²⁵ Thomas E. Ricks and Sewell Chan, "General May Bolster Force in Iraq," *Washington Post*, April 9, 2004. 7 South Koreans, 3 Japanese, 2 Arab Israelis. Sewell Chan and Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "U.S. Calls for Cease-Fire in Fallujah," *Washington Post*, April 11, 2004. A Briton, a Canadian, an American. "A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq," *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. One American. Peter Baker, "After Abduction, Russia Urges Citizens to Leave Iraq," *Washington Post*, April 14, 2004. Three Russians and five Ukrainians. Sewell Chan and Pamela Constable, "Attacks test Truce in Falluja," *Washington Post*, April 15, 2004. A French, three Czech and two Japanese. Sewell Chan and Pamela Constable, "Captured U.S. Soldier in Shown on Arab TV," *Washington Post*, April 17, 2004. One Dane, one United Arab Emirates national. Sewell Chan and Pamela Constable, "Iraqi Insurgents Down U.S. Copter, Killing 2 in Crew," *Washington Post*, April 12, 2004. 7 Chinese. Jackie Spinner, "Hundreds Freed at Abu Ghraib," *Washington Post*, May 22, 2004. 4 Italians.

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²⁷ Jackie Spinner, "European Hostages Rescued in Iraq," *Washington Post*, June 9, 2004. One Polish.

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³⁰ Erik Eckholm, "Suicide Blast Kills 17 in Worst of Several Attacks in Iraq," *New York Times*, September 5, 2004. One Turk. Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Attacks in Baghdad Raise Two-Day Death Toll to 14," *Washington Post*, September 8, 2004. Two Italians. "Al-Jazeera Broadcast Videotape of Jordanian Truck Driver Taken Hostage in Iraq," *Associated press*, September 14, 2004. "Three Foreigners Seized in Iraq," *BBC News*, September 16, 2004. Two Americans and one Brit. Edward Wong, "Bombs Kill 19 in Kirkuk, and 2 Soldiers in Baghdad," *New York Times*, September 19, 2004. 10 employees of an American-Turkish company. Sabrina Tavernise, "U.S. Attacks Rebel Base in Falluja; 20 are Killed," *New York Times*, September 14, 2004. Two Australians and two East Asians. "Baghdad Kidnapping Crisis Deepens," *BBC News online*, September 24, 2004. Two Egyptians. Edward Wong, "Rocket Aimed at U.S. Convoy Kills 4 Iraqis; 8 workers of Egyptian Company are Kidnapped," *New York Times*, September 25, 2004. Four Egyptians kidnapped on September 22, 2004. Alexandra Zavis, "Baghdad Bombing Kill 35 Children," *Associated Press*, September 30, 2004. Two Lebanese and two Indonesian women.

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⁴⁴ Ibid.

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⁶⁹ Robert T. Worth, "National Guard at War at Home to Prepare for Real Thing in Iraq," *New York Times*, December 27, 2003. Numbers appreciated as 70% of the American troop strength in Iraq, based on the article stating that 30% of American troops are reservists and in the National Guard.

⁷⁰ Ibid. Include reservists and National Guard.

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⁷⁶ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 23 February 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

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