



# THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

1775 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036-2188

Tel: 202-797-6000 Fax: 202-797-6004

[www.brookings.edu](http://www.brookings.edu)

## ***Iraq Index***

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

[www.brookings.edu/iraqindex](http://www.brookings.edu/iraqindex)

Updated February 13, 2004

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## Security Indicators

Page

U.S. Troop Fatalities since May 1 .....	3
U.S. Troops Wounded in Action since May 1.....	3
British Troop Fatalities since May 1.....	4
Non-U.S. & U.K. Coalition Fatalities since May 1.....	4
Casualties to Iraqi Security Forces.....	4
Coalition Troop Strength in Iraq since May.....	5
U.S. Troops Engaged in Operation Iraqi Freedom Stationed in the Vicinities of Iraq and at Sea.....	5
Top Ten Non-U.S. Coalition Contributors of Military Personnel in Iraq.....	6
Daily Insurgent Attacks on U.S. Troops & Reward for Attacking U.S. Troops since May.....	6
Daily Insurgent Attacks on Iraqi Security Forces since December.....	7
Daily Insurgent Attacks on Iraqi Civilians since December.....	7
U.S. Forces Ability to Discover Hidden Explosive Devices Before.....	7
Detonation since Late Spring/Early Summer	
Accuracy of Intelligence Leads Provided to U.S. Forces since Late Spring/Early Summer.....	7
American Military Helicopters Downed by Enemy Fire since October.....	7
Non-Iraqi Civilians Killed by Insurgents Nationwide since May.....	8
Suicide Bombings Nationwide since May.....	8
Attacks on Iraqi Pipelines, Oil Installations, & Oil Personnel since June.....	7
Baathist Leaders Still at Large Since April.....	9
Estimated Strength of Iraqi Resistance Nationwide Since November.....	10
Suspected Insurgents Detained or Killed since May.....	10
Iraqi Security Forces on Duty since May.....	11
Crime-Related Deaths in Baghdad since May.....	12

## Economic & Quality of Life Indicators

Iraqi National Debt: Creditors.....	13
Pledges Made to the Coalition & Reconstruction Development Fund Facility.....	14
Electricity and Fuel.....	15
Value of the New Iraqi Dinar.....	16
Port Cargo Capacity and Commercial Aircraft Departments.....	16
Water Supply and Sewage Capacity since May.....	16
Irrigation.....	16
Telecommunications.....	17
Local Governance Councils.....	17
Nationwide Unemployment Rate.....	17

## Polling

Iraqi Public Opinion: November.....	18
Baghdad Public Opinion: Early Fall.....	19
American Public Opinion: April-January.....	20

# **SECURITY INDICATORS**

## **U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1**

2/13/2004

<b>Month</b>	<b>U.S. troop losses since May 1, 2003<sup>1</sup></b>		
	<b>Fatalities (all kinds)</b>	<b>Fatalities in hostile incidents</b>	<b>Fatalities in non-hostile incidents</b>
<b>May</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>June</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>July</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>August</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>September</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>October</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>November</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>December</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>January</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>February</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Total as of February 13</b>	<b>399<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>258<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>141<sup>4</sup></b>

## **U.S TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY 1**

2/13/2004

<b>Period</b>	<b>Wounded in action</b>
<b>May 1 – August 30</b>	<b>574<sup>5</sup></b>
<b>September 1- December 31</b>	<b>1,256<sup>6</sup></b>
<b>January</b>	<b>191<sup>7</sup></b>
<b>February</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>Total as of February 13</b>	<b>2,071</b>

**NOTE:** From the start of the war on March 19 until the end of major combat operations on April 30, Operation Iraqi Freedom caused 138 American troop fatalities. Of those, 114 were the result of hostile action, and 24 the result of non-hostile action. 65 U.S. troops were killed in March. There were a total of 73 American fatalities in April, 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.

**NOTE:** 550 American troops were wounded in action between March 19 and April 30. The total number of American troops wounded in action does not include troops wounded in non-hostile incidents.

**BRITISH TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1**

2/13/2004

Month	U.K. troop fatalities since May 1, 2003 <sup>8</sup>
May	4
June	6
July	1
August	5
September	2
October	1
November	1
December	0
January	5
February	1
Total as of February 13	26 <sup>9</sup>

**NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1**

2/13/2004

Month	Fatalities
May	0
June	0
July	0
August	2
September	1
October	2
November	24
December	9
January	0
February	0
Total as of February 13	38

**CASUALTIES TO IRAQI SECURITY FORCES**

1/30/2004

Total number of Iraqi security forces killed since May as of February 1	Total number of Iraqi security forces wounded in action as of November 4
300 <sup>10</sup>	182 <sup>11</sup>

**NOTE:** 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:** 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.

**NOTE:** The following is a detailed account of the non-U.S. & non-U.K. fatalities;

- One Danish military fatality, August 19; one Spanish military fatality, August 20.
- Ukrainian military fatality, September 30.
- Two Spanish military fatalities, October 9, and October 26. The former fatality was a Spanish military attaché.
- One Polish military fatality, November 6; 16 Italian military fatalities, November 12; 7 Spanish military fatalities, Nov 29. Since the Spanish fatalities were intelligence officers, they are being counted as military rather than civilian fatalities.
- One Polish military fatality, December 22; 6 Bulgarian military fatalities, December 27; 2 Thai military fatalities, December 27.

**NOTE:** The estimate of casualties to Iraqi security forces is a very rough one. The total number of Iraqi security forces killed as of February 1 is assumed to be a minimum as it only reflects Iraqi police killed since the fall of Baghdad as reported by the Washington Post. At least 37 police officers in Mosul have been killed by resistance fighters since this spring according to the same article. The total number of fatalities to Iraqi security forces since the end of the war was estimated as 107 by Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld on December 7.

**COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY**

1/28/2004

Month	U.S. troops in Iraq			Other coalition troops in Iraq (excluding U.S & Iraqi forces)	Total international troop strength in Iraq
	Active	Reserve	Total		
May	~142,000 <sup>12</sup>	~8,000 <sup>13</sup>	150,000 <sup>14</sup>	23,000 <sup>15</sup>	173,000
June	~126,000 <sup>16</sup>	~24,000 <sup>17</sup>	150,000 <sup>18</sup>	21,000 <sup>19</sup>	171,000
July	~124,000 <sup>20</sup>	~25,000 <sup>21</sup>	149,000 <sup>22</sup>	21,000 <sup>23</sup>	170,000
August	~114,000 <sup>24</sup>	~25,000 <sup>25</sup>	139,000 <sup>26</sup>	22,000 <sup>27</sup>	161,000
September	~103,000 <sup>28</sup>	~29,000 <sup>29</sup>	132,000 <sup>30</sup>	24,000 <sup>31</sup>	156,000
October	~102,000 <sup>32</sup>	~29,000 <sup>33</sup>	131,000 <sup>34</sup>	25,000 <sup>35</sup>	156,000
November	N/A	N/A	123,000 <sup>36</sup>	23,900 <sup>37</sup>	146,900
December	~85,400 <sup>38</sup>	~36,600 <sup>39</sup>	122,000 <sup>40</sup>	24,500 <sup>41</sup>	146,500
January	N/A	N/A	122,000 <sup>42</sup>	25,600 <sup>43</sup>	147,600

N/A= Not available

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

1/28/2004

Month	Number of U.S. troops
September	51,000 <sup>44</sup>

**NOTE:** Of the 51,000 troops involved in Operation Iraqi Freedom that were stationed outside of Iraq in September, 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. This table will be updated as soon as more recent data becomes available.

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

**TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ** 2/9/2004

Coalition country	Number of military personnel in Iraq
United Kingdom	11,000 <sup>45</sup>
Italy	2,900 <sup>46</sup>
Poland	2,400 <sup>47</sup>
Ukraine	1,600 <sup>48</sup>
Spain	1,300 <sup>49</sup>
Netherlands	1,120 <sup>50</sup>
Australia	870 <sup>51</sup>
Romania	770 <sup>52</sup>
Denmark	500 <sup>53</sup>
Bulgaria	470 <sup>54</sup>
Remaining 24 coalition countries	2,670 <sup>55</sup>
Total	25,600 <sup>56</sup>

**DAILY INSURGENT ATTACKS ON U.S. TROOPS & REWARD OFFERED BY INSURGENTS FOR ATTACKING U.S. TROOPS SINCE MAY** 2/6/2004

Month	Typical number of daily attacks on U.S. troops nationwide	Reward for carrying out attacks on U.S. troops (\$) (attack/successful attack)
May	N/A	100/500 <sup>57</sup>
June	6 <sup>58</sup>	N/A
July	N/A	N/A
August	15 <sup>59</sup>	N/A
September	50 <sup>60</sup>	N/A
October	30-35 <sup>61</sup>	1,000-2,000/ 3,000-5,000 <sup>62</sup>
November	22 <sup>63</sup>	N/A
December	15 <sup>64</sup>	500/3,000 <sup>65</sup>
January	18 <sup>66</sup>	N/A
February	23 <sup>67</sup>	N/A

N/A= Not available

**NOTE:** The functions of each coalition country’s military personnel vary, and range from security forces to medics and engineers.

**NOTE:** The majority of the 34 country coalition forces are organized into two multi-national divisions (MND). The MND South East is under British command and includes forces from the United Kingdom, Italy, Denmark, Czech Republic, Portugal, South Korea, Netherlands, Romania, Norway, New Zealand, and Lithuania. The MND Central South is under Polish command and includes forces from Poland, Spain, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Romania, Latvia, Slovakia, Hungary, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Honduras, Mongolia, Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Thailand and the Philippines. In addition, Albania, Australia, Azerbaijan, El Salvador, Estonia, Georgia, Japan, Macedonia, and Moldova contribute military personnel in some capacity.

**NOTE:** Whereas the number of daily attacks on Iraqi police and civil defense has increased, the total number of attacks on Iraqi civilians, Iraqi security forces, and coalition forces has decreased according to a statement made by Maj. Gen. Raymond T. Odierno on January 22. The total number of daily attacks on these forces is believed to be more than 20 but less than 30.

**NOTE:** The number of daily attacks against American soldiers in Tikrit has dropped to 6 compared to 22 in November according to a statement made by Maj. Gen. Raymond T. Odierno on December 11.

**DAILY INSURGENT ATTACKS ON IRAQI SECURITY FORCES SINCE DECEMBER**

2/6/2004

Month	Typical number of daily attack on Iraqi security forces
December	2 <sup>68</sup>
January	4 <sup>69</sup>
February	4 <sup>70</sup>

**DAILY INSURGENT ATTACKS ON IRAQI CIVILIANS SINCE DECEMBER**

2/6/2004

Month	Typical number of daily attack on Iraqi civilians
December	2 <sup>71</sup>
January	1 <sup>72</sup>
February	2 <sup>73</sup>

**U.S FORCES ABILITY TO DISCOVER HIDDEN EXPLOSIVE DEVICES BEFORE DETONATION SINCE LATE SPRING/EARLY SUMMER**

12/9/2003

Time	Explosive devices that are discovered by U.S. troops before detonation
Late spring/early summer	10-15 % <sup>74</sup>
December	75% <sup>75</sup>

**ACCURACY OF INTELLIGENCE LEADS PROVIDED TO U.S. FORCES SINCE LATE SPRING/EARLY SUMMER**

12/9/2003

Month	Accuracy of intelligence leads
Late spring/early summer	50% <sup>76</sup>
December	90% <sup>77</sup>

**AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED BY ENEMY FIRE SINCE OCTOBER**

2/13/2004

Month	Number of helicopters <sup>78</sup>
October	1
November	3
December	2
January	5
February	0
Total as of February 13	11

**NOTE:** The helicopters referred to above are believed to have crashed as a result of hostile fire, although three of the helicopter crashes included in the table (December 10, January 13 and January 23) are still under investigation.

**NOTE:** An attempt to assassinate an Iraqi distribution manager for the Oil Distribution Company on November 10 left the manager wounded and his son killed. An Iraqi police colonel in charge of oil installation security was shot and killed November 20. Both incidents took place in the city of Mosul.

**NON-IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED BY INSURGENTS NATIONWIDE SINCE MAY**

2/11/2003

Month	Non-Iraqi civilians killed by insurgents
May	0
June	0
July	0
August	25
September	0
October	3
November	7
December	0
January	5
February	0
<b>Total as of February 11</b>	<b>40</b>

**SUICIDE BOMBINGS NATIONWIDE SINCE MAY**

2/11/2004

Month	Number of suicide bombings
May	0
June	0
July	0
August	1 <sup>79</sup>
September	2 <sup>80</sup>
October	9 <sup>81</sup>
November	4 <sup>82</sup>
December	12 <sup>83</sup>
January	6 <sup>84</sup>
February	5 <sup>85</sup>
<b>Total as of February 13</b>	<b>39</b>

**ATTACKS ON IRAQI PIPELINES, OIL INSTALLATIONS & OIL PERSONNEL SINCE JUNE** 2/11/2004

Month	Number of attacks <sup>86</sup>
June	6
July	2
August	3
September	2
October	4
November	9
December	9
January	2
February	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>

**NOTE:** One American civilian defense contractor was killed by a car bomb on August 6. 22 United Nations employees, one American scholar, and one Canadian aid worker died in the bombing on the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad on August 19. One British and one American civilian were killed in an attack on October 25. One International Committee of the Red Cross employee died in the October 27 bombing. 2 Italian civilians were killed by a truck bomb at the Italian military police headquarters on November 12. During the same month, 2 Japanese diplomats, 1 Columbian civilian defense contractor and two South Korean electrical workers were killed. 3 American journalists were killed by a car bomb on January 1. Two French civilians were killed on January 6. A South African was killed on January 28.

**NOTE:** Due to the lack of detailed and comprehensive data on Iraqi civilians killed in attacks by insurgents we are unable to create a similar table for this category at present.



**BAATHIST LEADERS STILL AT LARGE SINCE APRIL**

2/6/2004

<b>Month</b>	<b>Iraqi 55 most wanted: Individuals still at large<sup>87</sup></b>
<b>April</b>	40
<b>May</b>	28
<b>June</b>	23
<b>July</b>	18
<b>August</b>	16
<b>September</b>	15
<b>October</b>	15
<b>November</b>	15
<b>December</b>	13 <sup>88</sup>
<b>January</b>	12 <sup>89</sup>
<b>February</b>	11

**NOTE:** There are slightly different estimates as to how many people in the deck of cards are still at large, and we will continue to update this table as more information becomes available. Statements by Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld suggest only 10 individuals remaining, whereas remarks by George W. Bush in his State of the Union speech suggest 15 people remaining. The latest figures stated in table are in our judgment the most accurate. They are based on reports by CPA on January 4 and news of the capture of No.54 in the decks of cards on January 14. No. 48 in the deck of cards was captured February 9.

**NOTE:** Saddam Hussein was captured on December 13.

**ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE SINCE NOVEMBER**

2/2/2003

Month	Estimated strength of Iraqi resistance nationwide
November	5,000 <sup>90</sup>
December	5,000 <sup>91</sup>
January	3, 000-5,000 <sup>92</sup>

**SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED SINCE MAY**

1/5/2003

Time	Estimated numbers of suspected insurgents detained or killed
May	1,000 <sup>93</sup>
June	1,000 <sup>94</sup>
July	1,000 <sup>95</sup>
August	1,000 <sup>96</sup>
September	750 <sup>97</sup>
October	750 <sup>98</sup>
November	750 <sup>99</sup>
December	1,000 <sup>100</sup>
January	2,000 <sup>101</sup>

**NOTE:** “Over 90 percent” of the enemy combatants are Bath Party loyalists, according to John E. McLaughlin, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, as cited in an interview in the Washington Post on January 9.

**NOTE:** As of January 5, 14 cells, each consisting of 20-100 enemy combatants are believed to be actively operating in Baghdad. Data on success in the counterinsurgency campaign is somewhat encouraging, but no one can tell how quickly cells that are being depleted or destroyed are either regenerating or being replaced by the formation of new cells.

**NOTE:** The estimate of suspected insurgents killed or detained since May is a very rough one. The numbers for suspected insurgents killed or detained in January is not a monthly total, but the projected total given the current daily pace.

**NOTE:** About 9,000 people are in coalition custody as of 7 January, 506 of which will be released within the next couple of weeks.

**NOTE:** Of the enemy combatants detained by U.S. forces, only 200-300 are foreign nationals according to a statement made by Brig. Gen. Mark Kimmit in December.

**IRAQI SECURITY FORCES ON DUTY SINCE MAY**

1/28/2003

Month	Iraqi security forces on duty					
	Police	Civil Defense Corps	Army	Border patrol	Facilities protection services	Total Iraqi security forces
May	7,000-9,000 <sup>102</sup>	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
June	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	30,000 <sup>103</sup>	N/A	0	N/A	11,000 <sup>104</sup>	N/A
August	34,000 <sup>105</sup>	670 <sup>106</sup>	0	2,500 <sup>107</sup>	N/A	N/A
September	37,000 <sup>108</sup>	2,500 <sup>109</sup>	0	4,700 <sup>110</sup>	>12,000 <sup>111</sup>	56,200
October	55,000 <sup>112</sup>	4,700 <sup>113</sup>	700 <sup>114</sup>	6,400 <sup>115</sup>	18,700 <sup>116</sup>	85,500
November	68,800 <sup>117</sup>	12,700 <sup>118</sup>	900 <sup>119</sup>	12,400 <sup>120</sup>	52,700 <sup>121</sup>	147,500
December	71,600 <sup>122</sup>	15,200 <sup>123</sup>	400 <sup>124</sup>	12,900 <sup>125</sup>	65,200 <sup>126</sup>	165,300
January	66,900 <sup>127</sup>	19,800 <sup>128</sup>	1,100 <sup>129</sup>	21,000 <sup>130</sup>	97,800 <sup>131</sup>	206,600
Stated goal	71,000 <sup>132</sup>	40,000 <sup>133</sup>	40,000 <sup>134</sup>	25,700 <sup>135</sup>	50,000 <sup>136</sup>	226,700

N/A= Not available

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

**NOTE:** There are 8,000 police on duty in Baghdad as of February 1 according to an article by Thom Shanker in the New York Times. Analysts estimate that 19,000 police are needed in the capital according to the article.

**NOTE:** Reports on 13 December said that approximately 480 of the 900 soldiers in the first army battalion trained since May 1 were resigning, largely due to allegations of insufficient pay.

**NOTE:** The army under Saddam was 400,000 troops strong.

**CRIME-RELATED DEATHS IN BAGHDAD SINCE MAY**

2/6/2004

Month	Estimated annualized murder rate per 100,000 citizens <sup>137</sup> (For comparison Washington DC rate: 43 <sup>138</sup> )
May	70-100
June	95-130
July	95-160
August	110-190
September	80-140
October	70-120
November	55-95
December	70-120
January	70-120

**NOTE:** Lower estimates for each month are typically based on the number of bodies brought to the Baghdad morgue with mortal gunshot wounds. Higher estimates reflect the fact that many victims are buried quickly and privately and never recorded in official tallies. To estimate these, when possible we use the total number of bodies of victims brought into the morgue in a given month as a very rough proxy for total murder victims in Baghdad (recognizing that many bodies at the morgue are not those of murder victims, but at the same time that many murder victims never are taken to the morgue. The homicide rate is calculated based on an estimated population of 5.6 million people in Baghdad.

**NOTE:** Despite a generally poor security situation in Baghdad, there are indicators suggesting that the situation is improving somewhat. According to a report made by Brig. Gen. Mark Hurling, assistant commander, 1<sup>st</sup> Armored Division, Baghdad, "we continue to see a decrease in crime (especially as we put more Iraqi Police and ICDC [Iraqi Civil Defense Corps] on the streets.)<sup>139</sup>" Nevertheless, according to one senior Iraqi police chief on January 22, although "murders [in Baghdad] are decreasing," the level of other crimes such as robberies and carjackings has not. "The police are weak", he continues. "We don't have enough supplies. The public is still afraid to cooperate with us. They fear tribalism and retribution."<sup>140</sup> The Pentagon has yet to make any statistics on Iraqi crime or murder rates available as of January 30. This table will be updated as soon as more information becomes available.

**NOTE:** Because Baghdad comprises roughly 1/5 of the entire Iraqi population, Iraq's national murder would according to our statistics be roughly 10-30 per 100,000 citizens per year—even if there were no murders outside of the capital at all...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.

# **ECONOMIC & QUALITY OF LIFE INDICATORS**

## **IRAQI NATIONAL DEBT: CREDITORS**

11/6/2003

Creditor country/ creditor by country of origin and interest	Outstanding amounts due by Iraq (millions of dollars)
<i>Australia</i>	499.3 <sup>141</sup>
<i>Austria</i>	813.1 <sup>142</sup>
<i>Belgium</i>	184.5 <sup>143</sup>
<i>Brazil</i>	192.9 <sup>144</sup>
<i>Canada</i>	564.2 <sup>145</sup>
<i>Denmark</i>	30.8 <sup>146</sup>
<i>Finland</i>	152.2 <sup>147</sup>
<i>France</i>	2,993.7 <sup>148</sup>
<i>Germany</i>	2,403.9 <sup>149</sup>
<i>Italy</i>	1,726 <sup>150</sup>
<i>Japan</i>	4,108.6 <sup>151</sup>
<i>Netherlands</i>	96.7 <sup>152</sup>
<i>Republic of Korea</i>	54.7 <sup>153</sup>
<i>Russian Federation</i>	3,450 <sup>154</sup>
<i>Spain</i>	321.2 <sup>155</sup>
<i>Sweden</i>	185.8 <sup>156</sup>
<i>Switzerland</i>	117.5 <sup>157</sup>
<i>United Kingdom</i>	930.8 <sup>158</sup>
<i>United States</i>	2,192 <sup>159</sup>
<b>Egypt and others</b>	N/A
<i>Poland</i>	500 <sup>160</sup>
<i>Kuwait</i>	17,000 <sup>161</sup>
<i>Bulgaria</i>	1,000 <sup>162</sup>
<i>Hungary</i>	16.5 <sup>163</sup>
<i>Gulf States</i>	30 <sup>164</sup>
<i>Morocco</i>	31.8 <sup>165</sup>
<i>Jordan</i>	295 <sup>166</sup>
<i>Turkey</i>	800 <sup>167</sup>
<b>Interest (as of 2002)</b>	47,000 <sup>168</sup>
<b>Total</b>	~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 TO THE COALITION & RECONSTRUCTION DEVELOPMENT FUND FACILITY**

11/26/2003

Country or Institution	Amount pledged (grants and/or loans) (millions of \$)	Form and division of pledge Grants/Loans (millions of \$)
Australia	85.8 <sup>169</sup>	Grants
Belgium	5-6 <sup>170</sup>	Grants
Canada	244.1 <sup>171</sup>	Grants
China	24 <sup>172</sup>	Grants
Czech Republic	19 <sup>173</sup>	Grants
Denmark	43 <sup>174</sup>	Grants
European Union	233 <sup>175</sup>	Grants
Finland	5.9 <sup>176</sup>	Grants
Germany	27.4 <sup>177</sup>	Grants
International Monetary Fund	2,500-4,250 <sup>178</sup>	Loans
Italy	200 <sup>179</sup>	Grants
Japan	5,000 <sup>180</sup>	1,500 grants & 3,500 loans <sup>181</sup>
Kuwait	500 <sup>182</sup>	Grants
Lithuania	.560 <sup>183</sup>	Grants
Netherlands	21 <sup>184</sup>	Grants
New Zealand	5 <sup>185</sup>	Grants
Norway	30 <sup>186</sup>	Grants
Oman	3 <sup>187</sup>	Grants
Pakistan	3.3 <sup>188</sup>	Grants
Philippines	1 <sup>189</sup>	Grants
Russia	8 <sup>190</sup>	Grants
Saudi Arabia	500 <sup>191</sup>	Loans
Singapore	1.7 <sup>192</sup>	Grants
Slovakia	0.29 <sup>193</sup>	Grants
South Korea	260 <sup>194</sup>	Grants
Spain	300 <sup>195</sup>	Grants
Sweden	30 <sup>196</sup>	Grants
Switzerland	15 <sup>197</sup>	Grants
Taiwan	4.3 <sup>198</sup>	Grants
Thailand	.283 <sup>199</sup>	Grants
Turkey	5 <sup>200</sup>	Grants
United Arab Emirates	215 <sup>201</sup>	Grants
United Kingdom	847 <sup>202</sup>	Grants
United States	18,600 <sup>203</sup>	Grants
World Bank	3,000-5,000 <sup>204</sup>	Loans
Total	~32,740 - 36,490	Grants & Loans
	~23,240 in grants & 9,500-13,250 in loans	
Amount needed for the next 5 years according to the World Bank and the United Nations <sup>205</sup>	56,000 <sup>206</sup>	Not applicable

**NOTE:** The table includes countries that made a pledge to Iraqi reconstruction in the form of a grant or a loan. In addition, Iran offered cross-border electricity material, access to their terminals, and \$300 million in credit, Sri Lanka offered to contribute 100 tons of tea, Vietnam offered \$500,000 worth of rice, and Saudi Arabia \$500 million in export credits.

**NOTE:** The Bush Administration's supplementary spending bill received congressional approval on Nov 4, 2003. Although the amount devoted to Iraqi reconstruction that the House and Senate approved was \$1.4 billion less than requested, the entire amount will be given as a grant instead of as earlier discussed, a loan.

**NOTE:** Since not all pledges referred to are immediately available as funds, it is hard to assess how much money is presently available for Iraqi reconstruction purposes. Another reason for the delay in making money available is that loans to a non-sovereign government are not legal according to international law.

**ELECTRICITY AND FUEL**

1/28/2004

Time	Electricity (Mega Watts)		Fuel supplies available to the Iraqi population					
	Nation-wide	Baghdad	(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	4,400 <sup>207</sup>	2,500 <sup>208</sup>	2.8-3.0 <sup>209</sup>	1.7-2.5 <sup>210</sup>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
May	N/A	300 <sup>211</sup>	0.3 <sup>212</sup>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
June	3,193 <sup>213</sup>	707 <sup>214</sup>	0.675 <sup>215</sup>	0.2 <sup>216</sup>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	3,236 <sup>217</sup>	1,082 <sup>218</sup>	0.925 <sup>219</sup>	0.322 <sup>220</sup>	6.5 <sup>221</sup>	4.75 <sup>222</sup>	13.5 <sup>223</sup>	1,880 <sup>224</sup>
Aug.	3,263 <sup>225</sup>	1,283 <sup>226</sup>	1.445 <sup>227</sup>	0.646 <sup>228</sup>	10.25 <sup>229</sup>	6.2 <sup>230</sup>	14.0 <sup>231</sup>	2,530 <sup>232</sup>
Sept.	3,543 <sup>233</sup>	1,229 <sup>234</sup>	1.7225 <sup>235</sup>	0.983 <sup>236</sup>	14.25 <sup>237</sup>	6.9 <sup>238</sup>	17.3 <sup>239</sup>	3,030 <sup>240</sup>
Oct.	3,948 <sup>241</sup>	N/A	2.055 <sup>242</sup>	1.149 <sup>243</sup>	14.75 <sup>244</sup>	9.6 <sup>245</sup>	16.35 <sup>246</sup>	3,700 <sup>247</sup>
November	3,582 <sup>248</sup>	N/A	2.1 <sup>249</sup>	1.524 <sup>250</sup>	13.14 <sup>251</sup>	13.3 <sup>252</sup>	11.792 <sup>253</sup>	3,610 <sup>254</sup>
December	3,408 <sup>255</sup>	N/A	2.30 <sup>256</sup>	1.541 <sup>257</sup>	12.29 <sup>258</sup>	9.4 <sup>259</sup>	12.9 <sup>260</sup>	3,460 <sup>261</sup>
January	3,630 <sup>262</sup>	N/A	2.440 <sup>263</sup>	1.6 <sup>264</sup>	13.91 <sup>265</sup>	11.3 <sup>266</sup>	13.32 <sup>267</sup>	3,445 <sup>268</sup>
Stated Goal:	6,000 by Summer 2004 <sup>269</sup>	2,500 by October 2003	2.8-3.0 by December 2004 <sup>270</sup>	N/A	18 <sup>271</sup>	18 <sup>272</sup>	18 <sup>273</sup>	6,500 <sup>274</sup>

N/A= Not available

**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

**NOTE:** The administration's post war estimate was that Iraq would accrue \$2-3 billion in oil revenues between June and December 2003. As of January 10, total crude oil export revenues since June measures a total of \$5.3 billion according to the CPA.

**VALUE OF THE IRAQI DINAR (ID)**

2/4/2004

Month	\$1 =ID
October 15	2,000 <sup>275</sup>
November	1,948 <sup>276</sup>
December	1,675 <sup>277</sup>
January	1,300 <sup>278</sup>

**PORT CARGO CAPACITY AND COMMERCIAL AIRPORT DEPARTURES NATIONWIDE** 1/23/2004

Time	Port cargo capacity (raw tonnage in millions)	Commercial aircraft departures nationwide (per day)
Pre-war	7	2-3
As of January 20	6.3	40
Stated goal for July 2004	7-8	200-300

**WATER SUPPLY AND SEWAGE CAPACITY SINCE MAY**

12/01/2003

Time	Potable water availability (millions of liters)	Sewage capacity (millions of liters)
Estimated pre-war level	12.9 <sup>279</sup>	6.2 <sup>280</sup>
May	4.0 <sup>281</sup>	N/A
June	13.4 <sup>282</sup>	5.3 <sup>283</sup>
November	21.3 <sup>284</sup>	N/A

N/A= Not available

**IRRIGATION**

12/01/2003

Month	Irrigation canals in need of clearing (km)
May	20,000 <sup>285</sup>
September	5,000 <sup>286</sup>
October	3,500

**NOTE:** 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.

**NOTE:** As of December 30 it is estimated that 60% of the Iraqi population has access to limited supplies of potable water. CPA/DoD aims to provide 75% of Iraqis with potable water by April 2005, and 11% of Iraqis with sewage services by March 2005.

**NOTE:** The irrigation canal program was concluded with more than 16,500 km cleared.



**TELECOMMUNICATIONS**

12/01/2003

Time	Number of phones	Number of Internet connections
Estimated pre-war level	1,100,000 <sup>287</sup>	4,500 <sup>288</sup>
September	850,000 <sup>289</sup>	4,900 <sup>290</sup>
Goal for Jan 2004	1,100,000 <sup>291</sup>	50,000 <sup>292</sup>

**LOCAL GOVERNANCE COUNCILS**

12/01/2003

Month	Number of local governance councils
November	255 <sup>293</sup>
December	255

**NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE SINCE MAY**

12/01/2003

Month	Unemployment rate nationwide
May	N/A
June	60% <sup>294</sup>
July	N/A
August	>50% <sup>295</sup>
September	N/A
October	50% <sup>296</sup>
November	N/A
December	N/A
January	45% <sup>297</sup>

N/A= Not available

**NOTE:** The numbers referred to in the table is a very rough approximation of the employment situation in Iraq. As noted by Director of Employment, Fatim Al-Saeda, Iraqi Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs on October 23, 2003 “There are no employment statistics for Iraq.” 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 roughly 400,000 jobs have been directly created by the Coalition Provisional Authority.

**NOTE:** The unemployment rate in Tikrit, Saddam Hussein’s hometown and a bastion of anti-American resistance, is estimated to be 50%.

# **POLLING**

**IRAQI PUBLIC OPINION: NOVEMBER**

**1/12/2003**

<b>Question</b>	<b>Findings<sup>298</sup></b>	
	<b>Nationwide (Baghdad)</b>	
<b>How safe do you feel in your neighborhood?</b>	<b>Very safe: 39%</b>	<b>(Baghdad 31%)</b>
	<b>Not very safe: 49%</b>	<b>(56%)</b>
	<b>Not safe at all: 11%</b>	<b>(12%)</b>
	<b>Don't know/ NA: 2%</b>	<b>(1%)</b>
<b>Do you agree that in general, the local Iraqi police force is trusted by most members of the community?</b>	<b>Agree or somewhat agree: 77% (80%)</b>	
<b>Do you feel that the attacks emphasize the need for continued presence of Coalition Forces in Iraq?</b>	<b>Agree: 66% (61%)</b>	
<b>If coalition forces left immediately, would you feel more safe, less safe, or no difference?</b>	<b>More safe: 11%</b>	<b>(12%)</b>
	<b>Less safe: 71%</b>	<b>(75%)</b>
	<b>No difference: 10%</b>	<b>(13%)</b>

N/A= No answer

**NOTE:** The State Department survey cited is based on interviews with 1,167 adults in Baghdad, Basrah, Kirkuk, Hilla, and Diwania, November 19-28. It has a margin of error of +/-6 %.

**BAGHDAD PUBLIC OPINION: EARLY FALL**

12/08/2003

<b>Question</b>	<b>Findings</b>
<b>Will Iraq be in a better condition five years from now than it was before the U.S.-led invasion?</b> <sup>299</sup>	<b>Better off: 67%</b> <b>Worse off: 8%</b>
<b>Is Iraq better off now than it was before the invasion?</b> <sup>300</sup>	<b>Better off: 33%</b> <b>Worse off: 47%</b>
<b>Was ousting Saddam worth the hardships endured since the invasion?</b> <sup>301</sup>	<b>Yes: 62%</b> <b>No: N/A</b>
<b>Would you like to see U.S. troops stay longer than a few more months?</b> <sup>302</sup>	<b>Stay longer: 71%</b> <b>Not stay longer: 26%</b>
<b>Are there circumstances in which attacks against U.S. troops can be justified?</b> <sup>303</sup>	<b>No: 64%</b> <b>Sometimes justified: 36%</b>
<b>Have you been afraid at times to go outside your home during the day within the past four weeks?</b> <sup>304</sup>	<b>Yes: 86%</b> <b>No: N/A</b>
<b>Is Baghdad a more dangerous place now than before the invasion?</b> <sup>305</sup>	<b>Yes: 94%</b> <b>No: N/A</b>

N/A= Not available

**NOTE:** The Gallup poll cited is based on interviews with 1,178 adults and was conducted between August 8 and September 4. It has a margin of error of +/-3 %.

**NOTE:** According to Gallup's director of international polling, only 8% of Baghdadis expressed a fear of going out side for safety reasons two months prior to the war.

**AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION: APRIL-JANUARY**

1/9/2004

<b>Time period</b>	<b>Do you approve or disapprove of the way the George W. Bush is handling the situation with Iraq?<sup>306</sup></b>
April 14-16	Approve: 76% Disapprove: 21% No opinion: 3%
June 12-15	Approve: 63% Disapprove: 34% No opinion: 3
July 7-9	Approve: 58% Disapprove: 39% No opinion: 3%
July 18-20	Approve: 57% Disapprove: 39% No opinion: 4%
July 25-27	Approve: 60 % Disapprove: 38% No opinion: 2%
August 25-26	Approve: 57% Disapprove: 41% No opinion: 2%
September 8-10	Approve: 51% Disapprove: 47% No opinion: 2%
October 6-8	Approve: 47% Disapprove: 50% No opinion: 3%
November 3-5	Approve: 45% Disapprove: 54% No opinion: 1%
December 5-7	Approve: 50% Disapprove: 47% No opinion: 3%
January 2-5	Approve: 61% Disapprove: 36% No opinion: 3%

**NOTE:** The sampling error of this USA Today/CNN/Gallup poll is +/-3 %.

---

<sup>1</sup>“Forces: U.S. & Coalition/Casualties” *CNN Special Report: Iraq*, (<http://edition.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2003/iraq/forces/casualties/>). Monthly estimates from May to October based on a totally tally of fatalities listed on website. Remaining months are documented daily from “Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status,” *Department of Defense*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Vernon Loeb, “In Iraq, Pace of U.S. Casualties Has Accelerated,” *Washington Post*, December 28, 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Numbers derived at by author based on data found in Vernon Loeb, “In Iraq, Pace of U.S. Casualties Has Accelerated,” *Washington Post*, December 28, 2003, and “Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status,” *Department of Defense*.

<sup>7</sup> Derived by data provided in “Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status,” *Department of Defense*.

<sup>8</sup> “Details of British Casualties,” *Ministry of Defense*, (<http://www.operations.mod.uk/telic/casualties.htm>).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Daniel Williams, “Explosions Across Iraq Kill 3 GIs, at Least 15 Others,” *Washington Post*, February 1, 2004.

<sup>11</sup> “Security Forces in Iraq,” *DoD Briefing Slides: 6 November 2003*, Ratio of reserves to active forces derived from graph.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>28</sup> “Security Forces in Iraq,” *DoD Briefing Slides: 6 November 2003*. Ratio of reserves to active forces derived from graph.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> “Security Forces in Iraq,” *DoD Briefing Slides: 6 November 2003*. Ratio of reserves to active forces derived from graph.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 15 December 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> 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.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* Include reservists and National Guard.

<sup>40</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 30 December 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 26 January 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Deduced by numbers on total troop strength stated in “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD, and total number of troops engaged in Operation Iraqi Freedom in “Department of Defense, Active Duty Military Personnel Strengths by Regional Area and by Country (309A), September 30, 2003.

<sup>45</sup> Lizette Alvarez, “Blair, In Surprise Return to Basra, Praise Efforts by Troops,” *New York Times*, January 5, 2004.

<sup>46</sup> Italian Ministry of Defense. (<http://www.difesa.it/>). Accessed February 4, 2004.

<sup>47</sup> Jennifer Loven, “Polish Leader Appeals to Bush to Lift Visa Requirement,” *Associated Press*, January 27, 2004.

<sup>48</sup> “Ukraine Begins Rotating Iraq Troops,” *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, February 2, 2004.

<sup>49</sup> Spanish ministry of Defense. (<http://www.mde.es/mde/>) Accessed January 22, 2004.

<sup>50</sup> Deutsch Ministry of Defense. (<http://www.mindef.nl/>) Accessed January 22, 2004.

<sup>51</sup> Australian Ministry of Defense. (<http://www.defence.gov.au/opcatalyst/>) Accessed February 3, 2004.

<sup>52</sup> “Romanian Foreign Minister Tells U.S. it Needs Help,” *Associated Press*, February 3, 2004

<sup>53</sup> “Danish PM in Secret Visit to Iraq,” *Agence France Presse*, February 1, 2004.

<sup>54</sup> Bulgarian Ministry of Defense. (<http://www.md.government.bg/>) Accessed January 22, 2004.

<sup>55</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 26 January 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD. This number was deduced by subtracting the personnel contributions from the top ten coalition contributors from the total number of non-U.S. coalition forces.

<sup>56</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 26 January 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>57</sup> Raymond Bonner and Joel Brinkley. “The Struggle for Iraq: The Attackers; Latest Attacks Underscore Differing Intelligence Estimates of Strength of Foreign Guerrillas,” *New York Times*, October 28, 2003.

<sup>58</sup> John F. Burns, “General Vows to Intensify U.S Response to Attackers,” *New York Times*, November 12, 2003. Estimate as cited by Lt. General Ricardo Sanchez.

- <sup>59</sup> John F. Burns, "General Vows to Intensify U.S Response to Attackers," *New York Times*, November 12, 2003. Estimate as cited by Lt. General Ricardo Sanchez.
- <sup>60</sup> Sameer N. Yacoub, "Coordinated Rebel Attacks in Iraq Kill 13, Injure At Least 172," *Associated Press*, December 27, 2003.
- <sup>61</sup> John F. Burns, "General Vows to Intensify U.S Response to Attackers," *New York Times*, November 12, 2003. Estimate as cited by Lt. General Ricardo Sanchez.
- <sup>62</sup> Raymond Bonner and Joel Brinkley, "The Struggle for Iraq: The Attackers; Latest Attacks Underscore Differing Intelligence Estimates of Strength of Foreign Guerillas," *New York Times*, October 28, 2003.
- <sup>63</sup> Dexter Filkins, "7 Spanish Agents and 2 Japanese are Slain in Iraq," *New York Times*, November 30, 2003.
- <sup>64</sup> Sameer N. Yacoub, "Coordinated Rebel Attacks in Iraq Kill 13, Injure At Least 172," *Associated Press*, December 27, 2003.
- <sup>65</sup> Eric Schmitt, "A Region Inflamed: The Military; General Says Cash and Arms are Cut Off in Iraqi Hotbed," *New York Times*, December 13, 2003. As stated by Maj. General Raymond Odierno.
- <sup>66</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*. January 2, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Since the majority of attacks are on American troops according to Senior Pentagon officials, the estimated daily attacks on coalition troops that Gen. Kimmit refers to can be interpreted as equal to attacks on American troops. January number is the average of 7 weekly data points.
- <sup>67</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*. February 5, and February 9, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Based on two weekly data points.
- <sup>68</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*. December 3, December 8, December 18, December 24, 2003. December number is an average of 4 weekly data points.
- <sup>69</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense* January 2, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. January number is the average of 7 weekly data points.
- <sup>70</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, February 5, and February 9, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Based on two weekly data points.
- <sup>71</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*. December 3, December 8, December 18, December 24, 2003. December number is an average of 4 weekly data points.
- <sup>72</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense* January 2, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30, 2004. January number is the average of 7 weekly data points.
- <sup>73</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, February 5, and February 9, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Based on two weekly datapoints.
- <sup>74</sup> Bradley Graham, "Touring Iraq, Rumsfeld Gets Upbeat Assessment: Commanders Outline Progress on Security," *Washington Post*, December 7, 2003. Estimate by Maj. Gen. Raymond Odierno.
- <sup>75</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>76</sup> Bradley Graham, "Touring Iraq, Rumsfeld Gets Upbeat Assessment: Commanders Outline Progress on Security," *Washington Post*, December 7, 2003. Estimate by Maj. Gen. Raymond Odierno.
- <sup>77</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>78</sup> Entries up until January 18 based on Eric Schmitt, "Iraq Rebels Seen Using More Skill to Down Copters," *New York Times*, January 18, 2004. An Army OH-59 Kiowa Warrior helicopter crashed on January 23, and one OH-58D Kiowa Warrior helicopter crashed on January 25. In lieu of pending investigations we are assuming they were brought down by hostile fire.
- <sup>79</sup> Theola Labbe, "Some Fear Blast at University Heralds New Face of Violence," *Washington Post*, September 6, 2003. Attack on UN headquarters on August 19.
- <sup>80</sup> Theola Labbe, "Some Fear Blast at University Heralds New Face of Violence," *Washington Post*, September 6, 2003. Attack on September 3.
- <sup>81</sup> Ian Fisher, "Suicide Attacker Who Struck at U.N. Carried two Bombs," *New York Times*, September 23, 2003. Attack on September 22.
- <sup>81</sup> Ian Fisher, "Iraq Math: Visible Gains Minus Losses," *New York Times*, October 10, 2003. Attack on October 9. Ian Fisher, "Attacks North of Baghdad Kill 3 G.I.'s and Barely Miss Governor of an Iraqi Province," *New York Times*, October 14, 2003. Attack on October 10. Theola Labbe, "Car Bomb Explodes Outside Turkish Embassy in Baghdad," *Washington Post*, October 15, 2003. Attack on October 14. Dexter Filkins and Alex Berenson, "Suicide Bombers in Baghdad Kill at Least 34," *New York Times*, October 28, 2003. Five attacks on October 27, including the attack on the headquarters of the International Committee of the Red Cross. "Baghdad Official Killed," *New York Times*, October 29, 2003. Attack on October 28.
- <sup>82</sup> Anthony Shadid, "Blast at Italian Police Post in Iraq Kills 29," *Washington Post*, November 13, 2003. Attack on November 12. Daniel Williams, "Suicide Bomber Kills 5 in Kurdish Area of Iraq," *Washington Post*, November 21, 2003. Attack on November 20. Ian Fisher and Dexter Filkins, "Bombers Kill 14 in Iraq," *New York Times*, November 23, 2003. Two attacks on November 22.
- <sup>83</sup> Ian Fisher, "Suicide Bombers Strike at 2 U.S. Bases, Wounding Dozens of G.I.'s," *New York Times*, December 10, 2003. Two attacks on December 9. Alan Sipress, "Bombing in Iraq Kills U.S. Soldier," *Washington Post*, December 12, 2003. Attack on December 11. Alan Sipress, "Suicide Bomber Kills 17 Iraqis, Wounds 33," *Washington Post*, December 15, 2003. Attack on December 14. Ian Fisher, "Fuel Tanker Explodes Unnerving a Tense City," *New York Times*, December 18, 2003. Two attacks on December 15. Edward Wong, "4 G.I.'s and 6 Iraqi Civilians are Killed in Bomb Attacks," *New York Times*, December 25, 2003. Attack on December 25. Edward Wong, "Up to 13 are Dead in Attacks in Iraq," December 28, 2003. Four attacks on December 27. Alan Sipress and Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Baghdad Bombing Kills Five," *Washington Post*, January 1, 2004. Attack on December 31.
- <sup>84</sup> Neela Banerjee, "Suicide Bomber Outside Shiite Mosque in Iraq Kills Four Worshipers," *New York Times*, January 10, 2004. Attack on January 9. Daniel Williams, "Suicide Blast Kills 2 at Iraqi Police Post," *Washington Post*, January 15, 2004. Attack on January 14. Daniel Williams, "Suicide Attack Outside U.S. Headquarters Wounds Over 60," *Washington Post*, January 19, 2004. Attack on January 18. Pamela Constable, "Bombings Kill 5 U.S. Troops and 4 Iraqis," *Washington Post*, January 25, 2004. Attack on January 24. Jeffrey Gettleman, "A Suicide Bomber Kills 3 in Baghdad," *New York Times*, January 29, 2004. Attack on January 28. Dexter Filkins, "3 G.I.'s Among 12 Killed in Bombings in Iraq," *New York Times*, February 1, 2004. Attack on January 31.
- <sup>85</sup> Daniel Williams, "Blasts Target Iraq's Kurdish Parties," *Washington Post*, February 2, 2004. Two attacks on February 1. Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*. February 10, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Attack on February 9. Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Two Car Bombs Kill at Least 75 in Central Iraq," *Washington Post*, February 11, 2004.
- <sup>86</sup> "Iraq Pipeline Watch," Institute for the Analysis of Global Security, December 29, 2003. (<http://www.iags.org/iraqpipelinewatch.htm>).

<sup>87</sup> Data up until September 19 based on "Iraqi 55 Most Wanted List," *United States Central Command*,

([http://www.centcom.mil/Operations/Iraqi\\_Freedom/55mostwanted.htm](http://www.centcom.mil/Operations/Iraqi_Freedom/55mostwanted.htm)).

<sup>88</sup> The source of individuals remaining as of December is based on reports from the Associated Press, "\$1 Million Rewards Offered for Last of Iraqi Fugitives," *Chicago Tribune*, December 28, 2003.

<sup>89</sup> "Top Baathist Fugitive Held in Iraq," CNN.com, January 14, 2004.

<sup>90</sup> Eric Schmitt and David E. Sanger. "Guerillas Posing More Danger, Says U.S. Commander for Iraq," *New York Times*, November 14, 2003. According to General John P. Abizaid.

<sup>91</sup> Bradley Graham, "Hussein Arrest Yields Details on Resistance," *Washington Post*, December 18, 2003.

<sup>92</sup> "4th Infantry Division Commanding General's Briefing from Iraq," *Coalition Provisional Authority*, January 22, 2004. Statement by Army Maj. Gen. Raymond T. Odierno,

<sup>93</sup> Estimates by author based on Pentagon briefings.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Estimates by author based on Pentagon briefings. During the last week of November U.S. military detained 180 suspected insurgents. (Source: Dexter Filkins, "7 Spanish Agents and 2 Japanese are Slain in Iraq," *New York Times*, November 30, 2003.) U.S forces also killed 46 suspected insurgents on Sunday, November 30. (Source: Alan Sipress, "U.S. Forces Kill Dozens After Iraq Ambushes," *Washington Post*, December 1, 2003).

<sup>100</sup> Estimates by author based on Pentagon briefings and in lieu of Saddam's capture and the aftermaths.

<sup>101</sup> Patrick J. MacDonnel, "Information Is Flowing After Hussein's Arrest," *Los Angeles Times*, January 5, 2004. Monthly numbers based on a daily average of 83, as stated by Brig. Gen. Mark Kimmit.

<sup>102</sup> Scott Wilson, "Bremer Shifts Focus to New Iraqi Economy; U.S. Occupation Chief Cites Progress on Restoring Order," *Washington Post*, May 27, 2003.

<sup>103</sup> "CPA Daily; Key Facts Security 17 July 2003," *Coalition Provisional Authority*, ([www.cpa-iraq.org](http://www.cpa-iraq.org)).

<sup>104</sup> "Results in Iraq: 100 days Toward Security and Freedom," Highlights of the Renewal of Iraq and the End of Saddam's Regime," *Coalition Provisional Security*, August 8, 2003.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Lt. General Ricardo Sanchez, Commander, Coalition Ground Forces, Baghdad, Iraq. Briefing, September 4, 2003. *Coalition Provisional Authority* ([www.cpa-iraq.org](http://www.cpa-iraq.org).)

<sup>107</sup> Paul L Bremer III, U.S. Presidential Special Envoy to Iraq. Briefing. Baghdad, Iraq. *Coalition Provisional Authority*, August 23, 2003.

<sup>108</sup> Alex Berenson, "The Struggle for Iraq: Security Force; Iraqis' New Army Gets Slow Start," *New York Times*, September 21, 2003.

<sup>109</sup> Lt. General Ricardo Sanchez, Commander, Coalition Ground Forces, Baghdad, Iraq. Briefing, September 4, 2003, *Coalition Provisional Authority*, ([www.cpa-iraq.org](http://www.cpa-iraq.org).)

<sup>110</sup> John Banusiewicz, "Bush Cites 'Steady Progress' in Iraq," *American Forces Information Services*, October 5, 2003.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> 21 Oct 2003 Update: Iraq: Fact Sheet: Security," *Joint Staff & Coalition Provisional Authority*, provided to the author through contacts at the DoD. Unclassified.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> "21 Oct 2003 Update: Iraq: Fact Sheet: Security," *Joint Staff & Coalition Provisional Authority*, provided to the author through contacts at the DoD. Unclassified.

<sup>117</sup> "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 24 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>118</sup> "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 24 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, December 30 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, December 30 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>127</sup> "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 26 January 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, December 30 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.. Does not state when goal should be reached.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid. Does not state when goal should be reached.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid. Does not state when goal should be reached.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid. Does not state when goal should be reached.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid. Does not state when goal should be reached.

<sup>137</sup> 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 range, as well as the higher bounds for June, July, and August. The Marlowe article is the source for the numbers used in the September range and the lower June and July bounds. The lowerbound for June and July is derived from reports that "almost all" of the 2,173 deaths by firearms in Baghdad in 2003 occurred between May and the end of September. Assuming that

---

2,100 deaths occurred between May and September, we derived the average lower bound for June and July by subtracting the respective numbers cited for May, August and September. The lower bound in November and December is based on statistics provided in the Fleishman article. Based on our notion that the August range was of the highest quality data, we used those numbers to derive a lower to upper bound ratio, which we then applied to estimate a higher bound for November and December. Having no data for October, we constructed an estimate for this month range by taking the average of the lower and upper bounds for September and November respectively. Having no recent data in January, we assume that murder rate is the same as the previous month. We intend to update this entry as soon as more information becomes available.

<sup>138</sup> “Detroit murders drop to lowest number in 36 years,” Associated Press State and Local Wire, January 3, 2004.

<sup>139</sup> Mark Hurling, et al. “On the Ground, Straight From the Top,” Washington Post, December 7, 2003.

<sup>140</sup> Jeffrey Fleishman, “Back Into Baghdad’s Streets,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 2004.

<sup>141</sup> “News: Iraq,” *Club de Paris/Paris Club*, July 10, 2003.

([http://www.clubdeparis.org/en/news/page\\_detail\\_news.php?FICHIER=com10578674390](http://www.clubdeparis.org/en/news/page_detail_news.php?FICHIER=com10578674390)).

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Jeremy M. Sharp, “Post-War Iraq: Table and Chronology of Foreign Contributions,” *Congressional Research Service*. Report for Congress, updated October 24, 2003.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Paolo Prada and Stephen J. Glain, “Foreign Donors Set \$13B for Iraq Contributions Seen Exceeding U.S. Hopes,” *Boston Globe*, October 25, 2003.

<sup>173</sup> Jeremy M. Sharp, “Post-War Iraq: Table and Chronology of Foreign Contributions,” *Congressional Research Service*. Report for Congress, updated October 24, 2003.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Paul Richter, “\$13 Billion for Iraq Exceeds Expectations but Falls Short,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 25, 2003.

<sup>188</sup> Jeremy M. Sharp, “Post-War Iraq: Table and Chronology of Foreign Contributions,” *Congressional Research Service*. Report for Congress, updated October 24, 2003.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Paul Richter, “\$13 Billion for Iraq Exceeds Expectations but Falls Short,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 25, 2003.

<sup>194</sup> Jeremy M. Sharp, “Post-War Iraq: Table and Chronology of Foreign Contributions,” *Congressional Research Service*. Report for Congress, updated October 24, 2003.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid.



<sup>197</sup> Paul Richter, “\$13 Billion for Iraq Exceeds Expectations but Falls Short,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 25, 2003.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> Helen Dewar, “Senate Approves \$87 Billion For Iraq; Bush Gets Package Largely as Requested,” *Washington Post*, November 4, 2003.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> Keith B. Richburg and Glenn Kessler, “Nations Pledge Billions for Iraq; Reconstruction Falls Far Short of Projected Need,” *Washington Post*, October 25, 2003.

<sup>206</sup> Keith B. Richburg and Glenn Kessler, “Nations Pledge Billions For Iraq; Reconstruction Falls Far Short of Projected Need,” *Washington Post*, October 25, 2003.

<sup>207</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 30 December, 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>208</sup> “Iraq Status Update: 18 September 03: Progress on Priorities: National Power Update; Power/Baghdad,” *U.S. Department of Defense*. Briefing material made available by CPA/DoD to author during visit to Iraq September 22-25 2003.

<sup>209</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 5 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

<sup>210</sup> Jeff Gerth, “The Struggle for Iraq; Reconstruction; Report Offered Bleak Outlook About Oil,” *New York Times*, October 5, 2003. Annual pre-war revenue estimate by the Bush Administration. Broken down in monthly averages by researcher.

<sup>211</sup> “Talking Points – Iraq Six Month Progress Report – Oct 9, 2003. *U.S. Department of Defense*.

<sup>212</sup> “21 October 2003 Update: Iraq Fact Sheet: Power” *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

<sup>213</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>214</sup> “Iraq Status Update: 18 September 03: Progress on Priorities: National Power Update; Power/Baghdad,” *U.S. Department of Defense*. Briefing material made available by CPA/DoD to author during visit to Iraq September 22-25 2003.

<sup>215</sup> “21 October 2003 Update: Iraq Fact Sheet: Power” *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

<sup>216</sup> “21 October 2003 Update: Iraq Fact Sheet: Power” *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Divided into daily averages from monthly data by author.

<sup>217</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>218</sup> “Iraq Status Update: 18 September 03: Progress on Priorities: National Power Update; Power/Baghdad,” *U.S. Department of Defense*. Briefing material made available by CPA/DoD to author during visit to Iraq September 22-25 2003.

<sup>219</sup> “21 October 2003 Update: Iraq Fact Sheet: Power” *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

<sup>220</sup> Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil,” *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by CPA/DoD. As of Dec 11, 2003.

<sup>221</sup> “Iraq Status Update: 18 September 03: Progress on Priorities: National Power Update; Power/Baghdad,” *U.S. Department of Defense*. Briefing material made available by CPA/DoD to author during visit to Iraq September 22-25 2003. Based on two-week estimate

<sup>222</sup> Ibid. Based on two-week estimate

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>227</sup> “21 October 2003 Update: Iraq Fact Sheet: Power,” *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

<sup>228</sup> “Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil,” *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by CPA/DoD. As of Dec 11, 2003.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

<sup>231</sup> “Iraq Status Update: 18 September 03: Progress on Priorities: National Power Update; Power/Baghdad,” *U.S. Department of Defense*. Briefing material made available by CPA/DoD to author during visit to Iraq September 22-25 2003.

<sup>232</sup> “Iraq Status Update: 18 September 03: Progress on Priorities: National Power Update; Power/Baghdad,” *U.S. Department of Defense*. Briefing material made available by CPA/DoD to author during visit to Iraq September 22-25 2003

<sup>233</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid. Based on a two-week estimate.

<sup>235</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

<sup>236</sup> “Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil,” *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by CPA/DoD. As of Dec 11, 2003.

<sup>237</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

<sup>241</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

<sup>243</sup> “Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil,” *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by CPA/DoD. As of Dec 11, 2003.

<sup>244</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

<sup>248</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 30 December, 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> “Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil,” *Joint Chiefs and CPA*, January 13, 2004. “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 20 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Based on two week estimate.

<sup>251</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 30 December, 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 13 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Monthly estimate.

<sup>255</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 5 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Monthly average.

<sup>256</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 13 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Monthly estimate.

<sup>257</sup> “Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil,” *Joint Chiefs and CPA*, January 13, 2004.

<sup>258</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 5 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Monthly estimate.

<sup>259</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 13 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Monthly estimate.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>262</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 26 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Based on three weekly data points.

<sup>263</sup> “Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil,” *Joint Chiefs and CPA*, January 26, 2004. Based on three weekly data points.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>265</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 26 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Based on three weekly data points.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.* Based on three weekly data points.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.* Based on three weekly data points.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.* Based on three weekly data points.

<sup>269</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 30 December, 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>271</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 30 December, 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>275</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, January 26, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

<sup>276</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 30 December, 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>278</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, January 26, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

<sup>279</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 15 December 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD. Does not state when goal should be reached.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.* Stated as 85% of prewar capacity (6.2 million liters).

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>285</sup> “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 15 December 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>294</sup> L. Paul Bremer testifying before the House Armed Services Committee, *Federal News Service*, June 12, 2003.

<sup>295</sup> Ann Scott Tyson, “Iraqis Sample Free Enterprise,” *Christian Science Monitor*, August 19, 2003.

<sup>296</sup> “Progress Competes with Chaos in Iraq,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 2003

<sup>297</sup> Author’s estimate.

<sup>298</sup> “Opinion Analysis,” Office of Research, Department of State, Washington DC, January 6, 2004. Preliminary findings.

<sup>299</sup> Will Lester, “Poll Finds Baghdad Residents Glad to Be Rid of Saddam,” *Associated Press*, September 24, 2003.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>303</sup> Walter Pincus, “Skepticism About U.S. Deep, Iraq Polls Shows; Motive for Invasion is Focus of Doubts,” *Washington Post*, November 12, 2003.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>306</sup> “CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll: January 2-5, 2004 – FINAL TOPLINE,” *Gallup*. Provided to author by contacts at the Gallup Organization.