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

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SECURITY INDICATORS

U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1

3/17/2004

Month	U.S. troop losses since May 1, 2003¹		
	Fatalities (all kinds)	Fatalities in hostile incidents	Fatalities in non-hostile incidents
May	40	9	31
June	29	15	14
July	47	35	12
August	36	14	22
September	26	13	13
October	43	33	10
November	80	68	12
December	39	25	14
January	44	37	7
February	25	14	11
March	17	7	10
Total as of March 17	426²	270³	156⁴

U.S TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY 1

3/17/2004

Period	Wounded in action
May 1 – August 30	574⁵
September 1- December 31	1,256⁶
January	191⁷
February	151⁸
March	103
Total as of March 17	2,275

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

3/17/2004

Month	U.K. troop fatalities since May 1, 2003 ⁹
May	4
June	6
July	1
August	5
September	2
October	1
November	1
December	0
January	5
February	1
March	0
Total as of March 17	26

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

3/17/2004

Month	Fatalities
May	0
June	0
July	0
August	2
September	1
October	2
November	24
December	9
January	0
February	1
March	0
Total as of March 17	39

CASUALTIES TO IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

3/15/2004

Total number of Iraqi security forces killed since May as of March 13	Total number of Iraqi security forces wounded in action as of November 4
325 ¹⁰	182 ¹¹

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, November 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; One Estonian military fatality, February 29.

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 according to Daniel Williams, "Explosions Across Iraq Kill 3 GIs, at Least 15 Others," *Washington Post*, February 1, 2004.. At least 37 police officers in Mosul have been killed by resistance fighters since this spring according to the same article.

NON-IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED BY INSURGENTS NATIONWIDE SINCE MAY

3/17/2003

Month	Non-Iraqi civilians killed by insurgents
May	0
June	0
July	0
August	25
September	2
October	3
November	9
December	0
January	6
February	1
March	8
Total as of March 17	54

MASS CASUALTY BOMBINGS IN IRAQ SINCE MAY

3/17/2004

Month	Mass casualty car bombings/ Suicide bombings	Killed	Wounded
May	0	0	0
June	0	0	0
July	0	0	0
August	3 ¹²	128	292
September	2 ¹³	1	21
October	12 ¹⁴	73	246
November	4 ¹⁵	48	150
December	12 ¹⁶	64	223
January	7 ¹⁷	51	237
February	16 ¹⁸	149	240
March	4 ¹⁹	181	400
Total as of March 17	60	695	1809

NOTE: Of the 54 non-Iraqi civilians killed as of March 17, at least 16 were Americans. The various nationalities of the United Nations employees killed on August 19 are not available at present.

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 American contractor and one British civilian were killed on September 3 and 4, respectively. 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 American contractors, 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. An American contractor was killed on February 15. Two American civilians were killed on March 9, 2004. Four American missionaries were fatally shot on March 15, 2004. One German and one Dutch engineer were killed on March 16.

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

NOTE: 55 of the 60 bombings as of March 17 were suicide bombings. Casualties do not include suicide bombers. The tallies for the number of killed and wounded are approximate.

COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY

3/15/2004

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 ²⁰	~8,000 ²¹	150,000 ²²	23,000 ²³	173,000
June	~126,000 ²⁴	~24,000 ²⁵	150,000 ²⁶	21,000 ²⁷	171,000
July	~124,000 ²⁸	~25,000 ²⁹	149,000 ³⁰	21,000 ³¹	170,000
August	~114,000 ³²	~25,000 ³³	139,000 ³⁴	22,000 ³⁵	161,000
September	~103,000 ³⁶	~29,000 ³⁷	132,000 ³⁸	24,000 ³⁹	156,000
October	~102,000 ⁴⁰	~29,000 ⁴¹	131,000 ⁴²	25,000 ⁴³	156,000
November	N/A	N/A	123,000 ⁴⁴	23,900 ⁴⁵	146,900
December	~85,400 ⁴⁶	~36,600 ⁴⁷	122,000 ⁴⁸	24,500 ⁴⁹	146,500
January	N/A	N/A	122,000 ⁵⁰	25,600 ⁵¹	147,600
February	N/A	N/A	115,000 ⁵²	24,000 ⁵³	139,000
March	N/A	N/A	114,000 ⁵⁴	24,000 ⁵⁵	138,000

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 ⁵⁶

NOTE: 26,000 U.S. and Coalition personnel are 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: 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 3/15/2004

Coalition country	Military personnel in Iraq
United Kingdom	8,220 ⁵⁷
Italy	3,000 ⁵⁸
Poland	2,500 ⁵⁹
Ukraine	1,650 ⁶⁰
Spain	1,300 ⁶¹
Netherlands	1,307 ⁶²
Australia	850 ⁶³
Romania	500 ⁶⁴
Denmark	500 ⁶⁵
Thailand	451 ⁶⁶
Remaining 25 coalition countries	3,722
Total	24,000 ⁶⁷

DAILY INSURGENT ATTACKS ON U.S. TROOPS & REWARD OFFERED BY INSURGENTS FOR ATTACKING U.S. TROOPS SINCE MAY 3/12/2004

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 ⁶⁸
June	6 ⁶⁹	N/A
July	N/A	N/A
August	15 ⁷⁰	N/A
September	50 ⁷¹	N/A
October	30-35 ⁷²	1,000-2,000/ 3,000-5,000 ⁷³
November	22 ⁷⁴	N/A
December	15 ⁷⁵	500/3,000 ⁷⁶
January	18 ⁷⁷	N/A
February	20 ⁷⁸	N/A
March	19 ⁷⁹	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 35 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, Moldova and Singapore 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 Army Maj. Gen. Raymond T. Odierno, "4th Infantry Division Commanding General's Briefing from Iraq," (<http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2004/tr200401221185.html>). [January 22, 2004]. Transcript. The total number of daily attacks on these forces is believed to be more than 20 but less than 30.

DAILY INSURGENT ATTACKS ON IRAQI SECURITY FORCES SINCE DECEMBER

3/9/2004

Month	Typical number of daily attack on Iraqi security forces
December	2 ⁸⁰
January	4 ⁸¹
February	4 ⁸²
March	4 ⁸³

DAILY INSURGENT ATTACKS ON IRAQI CIVILIANS SINCE DECEMBER

3/9/2004

Month	Typical number of daily attack on Iraqi civilians
December	2 ⁸⁴
January	1 ⁸⁵
February	3 ⁸⁶
March	3 ⁸⁷

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 % ⁸⁸
December	75% ⁸⁹

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% ⁹⁰
December	90% ⁹¹

AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED BY ENEMY FIRE SINCE OCTOBER

3/17/2004

Month	Number of helicopters ⁹²
October	1
November	3
December	2
January	5
February	0
March	0
Total as of March 17	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

ATTACKS ON IRAQI PIPELINES, OIL INSTALLATIONS & OIL PERSONNEL SINCE JUNE 3/17/2004

Month	Number of attacks ⁹³
June	6
July	2
August	3
September	2
October	4
November	9
December	9
January	2
February	2
March	0
Total as of March 17	39

BAATHIST LEADERS STILL AT LARGE SINCE APRIL

3/17/2004

Month	Iraqi 55 most wanted: Individuals still at large ⁹⁴
April	40
May	28
June	23
July	18
August	16
September	15
October	15
November	15
December	13 ⁹⁵
January	12 ⁹⁶
February	10 ⁹⁷
March	10

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 ⁹⁸
December	5,000 ⁹⁹
January	3, 000-5,000 ¹⁰⁰

SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED SINCE MAY

1/5/2003

Time	Estimated numbers of suspected insurgents detained or killed
May	1,000 ¹⁰¹
June	1,000 ¹⁰²
July	1,000 ¹⁰³
August	1,000 ¹⁰⁴
September	750 ¹⁰⁵
October	750 ¹⁰⁶
November	750 ¹⁰⁷
December	1,000 ¹⁰⁸
January	2,000 ¹⁰⁹

NOTE: "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.

NOTE: As of January 5, 14 cells, each consisting of 20-100 enemy combatants are believed to be actively operating in Baghdad. Patrick J. McDonnell, "Information Is Flowing After Hussein's Arrest," *Los Angeles Times*, January 5, 2004. 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: As many as 70-80% of those detained may be innocent and military judges have recommended they be released. Jeffrey Gettleman, "U.S. Detains Iraqis, and Families Please for News," *New York Times*, March 7, 2004.

NOTE: About 9,000 people are in coalition custody as of 6 January, 506 of which are said to be released within the next couple of weeks. Edward Wong, "U.S. Officials Plan to Release Iraqis Who Pose Just 'Some Risk'," *New York Times*, January 6, 2004.

NOTE: Of the enemy combatants detained by U.S. forces as of December 19, 2003, only 200-300 are foreign nationals as of December according to Brig. Gen. Mark Kimmit. Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) Briefing, (<http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2003/tr20031219-1041.html> [December 19, 2003]).

IRAQI SECURITY FORCES ON DUTY SINCE MAY

3/15/2003

Month	Iraqi security forces on duty					
	Police	Civil Defense Corps	Army	Border patrol	Facilities protection services	Total Iraqi security forces
May	7,000-9,000 ¹¹⁰	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
June	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	30,000 ¹¹¹	N/A	0	N/A	11,000 ¹¹²	N/A
August	34,000 ¹¹³	670 ¹¹⁴	0	2,500 ¹¹⁵	N/A	N/A
September	37,000 ¹¹⁶	2,500 ¹¹⁷	0	4,700 ¹¹⁸	>12,000 ¹¹⁹	56,200
October	55,000 ¹²⁰	4,700 ¹²¹	700 ¹²²	6,400 ¹²³	18,700 ¹²⁴	85,500
November	68,800 ¹²⁵	12,700 ¹²⁶	900 ¹²⁷	12,400 ¹²⁸	52,700 ¹²⁹	147,500
December	71,600 ¹³⁰	15,200 ¹³¹	400 ¹³²	12,900 ¹³³	65,200 ¹³⁴	165,300
January	66,900 ¹³⁵	19,800 ¹³⁶	1,100 ¹³⁷	21,000 ¹³⁸	97,800 ¹³⁹	206,600
February	77,100 ¹⁴⁰	27,900 ¹⁴¹	2,000 ¹⁴²	18,000 ¹⁴³	73,900 ¹⁴⁴	198,900
March	78,200 ¹⁴⁵	32,400 ¹⁴⁶	3,000 ¹⁴⁷	18,200 ¹⁴⁸	73,900 ¹⁴⁹	205,700
Stated goal	75,000 ¹⁵⁰	40,000 ¹⁵¹	40,000 ¹⁵²	25,700 ¹⁵³	50,000 ¹⁵⁴	226,700

N/A= Not available

NOTE: 2,324 of the Iraqi police on duty have been fully trained. 3, 840 are receiving in-training. 12,422 of the Iraqi police on duty have been partially trained, and approximately 59,600 of the Iraqi police are on the payroll but have not received any training. "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, March 15, 2004.

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. Thom Shanker, "G.I.'s to Pull Back in Baghdad, Leaving Its Policing to Iraqis," *New York Times*, February 2. Analysts estimate that 19,000 police are needed in the capital.

NOTE: Approximately 480 of the 900 soldiers in the first army battalion trained since May 1 were resigning, largely due to allegations of insufficient pay. Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Iraqi Army Recruits Quit Over Low Pay," *Washington Post*, December 14, 2003.

NOTE: The army under Saddam was 400,000 troops strong according to the CPA.

CRIME-RELATED DEATHS IN BADGHAD SINCE MAY

3/3/2004

Month	Estimated annualized murder rate per 100,000 citizens ¹⁵⁵ (For comparison Washington DC rate: 43 ¹⁵⁶)
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
February	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 upper bounds also include victims of suicide and car bombings. 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, 1st 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.)¹⁵⁷” 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.¹⁵⁸” The Pentagon has yet to make any statistics on Iraqi crime or murder rates available as of March 12. 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>	499.3 ¹⁵⁹
<i>Austria</i>	813.1 ¹⁶⁰
<i>Belgium</i>	184.5 ¹⁶¹
<i>Brazil</i>	192.9 ¹⁶²
<i>Canada</i>	564.2 ¹⁶³
<i>Denmark</i>	30.8 ¹⁶⁴
<i>Finland</i>	152.2 ¹⁶⁵
<i>France</i>	2,993.7 ¹⁶⁶
<i>Germany</i>	2,403.9 ¹⁶⁷
<i>Italy</i>	1,726 ¹⁶⁸
<i>Japan</i>	4,108.6 ¹⁶⁹
<i>Netherlands</i>	96.7 ¹⁷⁰
<i>Republic of Korea</i>	54.7 ¹⁷¹
<i>Russian Federation</i>	3,450 ¹⁷²
<i>Spain</i>	321.2 ¹⁷³
<i>Sweden</i>	185.8 ¹⁷⁴
<i>Switzerland</i>	117.5 ¹⁷⁵
<i>United Kingdom</i>	930.8 ¹⁷⁶
<i>United States</i>	2,192 ¹⁷⁷
Egypt and others	N/A
Poland	500 ¹⁷⁸
Kuwait	17,000 ¹⁷⁹
Bulgaria	1,000 ¹⁸⁰
Hungary	16.5 ¹⁸¹
Gulf States	30 ¹⁸²
Morocco	31.8 ¹⁸³
Jordan	295 ¹⁸⁴
Turkey	800 ¹⁸⁵
Interest (as of 2002)	47,000 ¹⁸⁶
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 TO THE COALITION & RECONSTRUCTION DEVELOPMENT FUND FACILITY

11/26/2003

Country or Institution	Amount pledged in grants and/or loans (millions of \$)	Form of pledge (millions of \$)
Australia	85.8 ¹⁸⁷	Grants
Belgium	5-6 ¹⁸⁸	Grants
Canada	244.1 ¹⁸⁹	Grants
China	24 ¹⁹⁰	Grants
Czech Republic	19 ¹⁹¹	Grants
Denmark	43 ¹⁹²	Grants
European Union	233 ¹⁹³	Grants
Finland	5.9 ¹⁹⁴	Grants
Germany	27.4 ¹⁹⁵	Grants
International Monetary Fund	2,500-4,250 ¹⁹⁶	Loans
Italy	200 ¹⁹⁷	Grants
Japan	5,000 ¹⁹⁸	1,500 grants & 3,500 loans ¹⁹⁹
Kuwait	500 ²⁰⁰	Grants
Lithuania	.560 ²⁰¹	Grants
Netherlands	21 ²⁰²	Grants
New Zealand	5 ²⁰³	Grants
Norway	30 ²⁰⁴	Grants
Oman	3 ²⁰⁵	Grants
Pakistan	3.3 ²⁰⁶	Grants
Philippines	1 ²⁰⁷	Grants
Russia	8 ²⁰⁸	Grants
Saudi Arabia	500 ²⁰⁹	Loans
Singapore	1.7 ²¹⁰	Grants
Slovakia	0.29 ²¹¹	Grants
South Korea	260 ²¹²	Grants
Spain	300 ²¹³	Grants
Sweden	30 ²¹⁴	Grants
Switzerland	15 ²¹⁵	Grants
Taiwan	4.3 ²¹⁶	Grants
Thailand	.283 ²¹⁷	Grants
Turkey	5 ²¹⁸	Grants
United Arab Emirates	215 ²¹⁹	Grants
United Kingdom	847 ²²⁰	Grants
United States	18,600 ²²¹	Grants
World Bank	3,000-5,000 ²²²	Loans
Total	~32,740 - 36,490	~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 Nations²²³	56,000²²⁴	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.

FUEL

3/15/2004

Time	Fuel supplies available					
	(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	2.8-3.0 ²²⁵	1.7-2.5 ²²⁶	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
May	0.3 ²²⁷	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
June	0.675 ²²⁸	0.2 ²²⁹	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	0.925 ²³⁰	0.322 ²³¹	6.5 ²³²	4.75 ²³³	13.5 ²³⁴	1,880 ²³⁵
Aug.	1.445 ²³⁶	0.646 ²³⁷	10.25 ²³⁸	6.2 ²³⁹	14.0 ²⁴⁰	2,530 ²⁴¹
Sept.	1.7225 ²⁴²	0.983 ²⁴³	14.25 ²⁴⁴	6.9 ²⁴⁵	17.3 ²⁴⁶	3,030 ²⁴⁷
Oct.	2.055 ²⁴⁸	1.149 ²⁴⁹	14.75 ²⁵⁰	9.6 ²⁵¹	16.35 ²⁵²	3,700 ²⁵³
November	2.1 ²⁵⁴	1.524 ²⁵⁵	13.14 ²⁵⁶	13.3 ²⁵⁷	11.792 ²⁵⁸	3,610 ²⁵⁹
December	2.30 ²⁶⁰	1.541 ²⁶¹	12.29 ²⁶²	9.4 ²⁶³	12.9 ²⁶⁴	3,460 ²⁶⁵
January	2.440 ²⁶⁶	1.537 ²⁶⁷	13.91 ²⁶⁸	11.3 ²⁶⁹	13.32 ²⁷⁰	3,445 ²⁷¹
February	2.276 ²⁷²	1.382 ²⁷³	15.21 ²⁷⁴	13.05 ²⁷⁵	16.65 ²⁷⁶	4,670 ²⁷⁷
March	2.4815 ²⁷⁸	1.521 ²⁷⁹	14.22 ²⁸⁰	16.02 ²⁸¹	16.02 ²⁸²	5,340 ²⁸³
Stated Goal:	2.8-3.0 by December 2004 ²⁸⁴	N/A	18 ²⁸⁵	18 ²⁸⁶	18 ²⁸⁷	6,000 ²⁸⁸

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 February 23 total crude oil export revenues since June measures a total of \$1.6 billion according to reports by the CPA.

ELECTRICITY

3/15/2004

Time	Electricity (Mega Watts)	
	Nation-wide	Baghdad
Estimated pre-war level	4,400 ²⁸⁹	2,500 ²⁹⁰
May	N/A	300 ²⁹¹
June	3,193 ²⁹²	707 ²⁹³
July	3,236 ²⁹⁴	1,082 ²⁹⁵
Aug.	3,263 ²⁹⁶	1,283 ²⁹⁷
Sept.	3,543 ²⁹⁸	1,229 ²⁹⁹
Oct.	3,948 ³⁰⁰	N/A
November	3,582 ³⁰¹	N/A
December	3,408 ³⁰²	N/A
January	3,725 ³⁰³	N/A
February	4,125 ³⁰⁴	N/A
March	3,953 ³⁰⁵	N/A
Stated Goal:	6,000 by June 2004 ³⁰⁶	2,500 by October 2003

VALUE OF THE IRAQI DINAR (ID)

2/24/2004

Month	\$1 =ID
October 15	2,000 ³⁰⁷
November	1,948 ³⁰⁸
December	1,675 ³⁰⁹
January	1,360 ³¹⁰
February	1,425 ³¹¹

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

Time	Port cargo capacity (raw tonnage in millions) ³¹²	Commercial aircraft departures nationwide (per day) ³¹³
Pre-war	7	2-3
As of January 20	6.3	40
Stated goal for July 2004	7-8	200-300

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.

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	12.9 ³¹⁴	6.2 ³¹⁵
May	4.0 ³¹⁶	N/A
June	13.4 ³¹⁷	5.3 ³¹⁸
November	21.3 ³¹⁹	N/A

N/A= Not available

IRRIGATION

12/01/2003

Month	Irrigation canals in need of clearing (km)
May	20,000 ³²⁰
September	5,000 ³²¹
October	3,500 ³²²

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

12/01/2003

Time	Number of phones	Number of Internet connections
Estimated pre-war level	1,100,000 ³²³	4,500 ³²⁴
September	850,000 ³²⁵	4,900 ³²⁶
March	949,580 ³²⁷	N/A
Goal for Jan 2004	1,100,000 ³²⁸	50,000 ³²⁹

LOCAL GOVERNANCE COUNCILS

2/18/2004

Month	Number of local governance councils
November	255 ³³⁰
December	255
January	N/A
February	318 ³³¹

HOSPITALS RESTORED TO PRE-WAR LEVEL OF OPERATIONS

3/7/2004

Month	Hospitals restored to pre-war level of operations
March	90% ³³²

NOTE: "Probably 75% of the sewage in [Iraq] is going to the rivers," according to John Kluesener, manager for water, wastewater and irrigations systems for Iraq reconstruction. Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Iraqi Experts Tossed With The Water," *Washington Post*, February 27, 2004.

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.

NOTE: Number of local governance councils includes city, district, sub-district and neighborhood councils.

NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE SINCE MAY

3/3/2003

Month	Unemployment rate nationwide
May	N/A
June	60% ³³³
July	N/A
August	>50% ³³⁴
September	N/A
October	50% ³³⁵
November	N/A
December	N/A
January	45% ³³⁶
February	45% ³³⁷

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, 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 378,300 jobs have been directly created by the Coalition Provisional Authority as of March 11, 2004. “Iraq Fact Sheet: Economics,” *Joint Staff and CPA*, March 15, 2004. Provided to the author by contacts at the Defense Department.

POLLING

JANUARY: STATE DEPARTMENT STUDY OF IRAQ

GREATEST THREAT TO IRAQI CITIZENS

	What is the greatest threat to yourself and your family? ³³⁸					
	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

	What is the greatest threat to Iraq? ³³⁹					
	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... ³⁴⁰		
	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.... ³⁴¹		
	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.... ³⁴²		
	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... ³⁴³		
	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? ³⁴⁴		
	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? ³⁴⁵					
	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? ³⁴⁶				
	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**

IRAQ PUBLIC OPINION NATIONWIDE AND BAGHDAD

1/12/2003

	Nationwide	Baghdad
Do you agree that in general, the local Iraqi police force is trusted by most members of the community? ³⁴⁷	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? ³⁴⁸	Agree: 66%	Agree: 61%
If coalition forces left immediately, would you feel more safe, less safe, or no difference? ³⁴⁹	More safe: 11% Less safe: 71% No difference: 10%	More safe: 12% Less safe: 75% No difference: 13%

BAGHDAD PUBLIC OPINION: EARLY FALL

12/08/2003

Question	Findings
Will Iraq be in a better condition five years from now than it was before the U.S.-led invasion? ³⁵⁰	Better off: 67% Worse off: 8%
Is Iraq better off now than it was before the invasion? ³⁵¹	Better off: 33% Worse off: 47%
Was ousting Saddam worth the hardships endured since the invasion? ³⁵²	Yes: 62% No: N/A
Would you like to see U.S. troops stay longer than a few more months? ³⁵³	Stay longer: 71% Not stay longer: 26%
Are there circumstances in which attacks against U.S. troops can be justified? ³⁵⁴	No: 64% Sometimes justified: 36%
Have you been afraid at times to go outside your home during the day within the past four weeks? ³⁵⁵	Yes: 86% No: N/A
Is Baghdad a more dangerous place now than before the invasion? ³⁵⁶	Yes: 94% No: N/A

N/A= Not available

AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

1/9/2004

Time period	Do you approve or disapprove of the way the George W. Bush is handling the situation with Iraq?³⁵⁷
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%

¹“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*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

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

⁶ 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*.

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

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ “Details of British Casualties,” *Ministry of Defense*, (<http://www.operations.mod.uk/telic/casualties.htm>).

¹⁰ John F Burns, “Iraqi Policemen Tied to Killings of 2 Americans,” *New York Times*, March 13, 2004.

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

¹² Rajiv Chandrasekaran, “Car Bomb Kills 11 in Baghdad,” *Washington Post*, August 8, 2003. Attack in front of the Jordanian Embassy August 7. Theola Labbe, “Some Fear Blast at University Heralds New Face of Violence,” *Washington Post*, September 6, 2003. Attack on UN headquarters on August 19. Neil McFarquhar, “Thousands at Burial for Slain Cleric,” *New York Times*, September 3.

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¹⁴ Karl Vick and Rajiv Chandrasekaran, “Iraq Has Deadliest Day in a Month,” *Washington Post*, October 10, 2003. 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. Rajiv Chandrasekaran, “Suicide Bomber Kills 7 in Baghdad,” *Washington Post*, October 13, 2003. Attack on October 12. 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. Rajiv Chandrasekaran and Anthony Shadid, “Truck Bomb Near Fallujah Police Station Kills Four,” *Washington Post*, October 29, 2003. Attack on August 28. “Baghdad Official Killed,” *New York Times*, October 29, 2003. Attack on October 28.

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¹⁶ 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.

¹⁷ 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.

¹⁸ 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. “Iraq Suicide Bombs Kills 11; UN to Rule on Handover,” *Reuters*, February 18, 2004. Two attacks on February 18. Christine Hauser, “At Least 8 Killed in Bombing Outside Iraqi Police Station,” *Washington Post*, February 23, 2004. Attack on February 23.

¹⁹ Rajiv Shandrasekaran and Anthony Shadid, “Shiites Massacred in Iraq Blast,” *Washington Post*, March 3, 2004. Attacks on two sites by 4 suicide bombers on March 2. Casualty figures in Ariana Eunjung Cha, “Bombing Suspects Seized by Iraqi Police,” *Washington Post*, March 5, 2004.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

³⁶ “Security Forces in Iraq,” *DoD Briefing Slides: 6 November 2003*. Ratio of reserves to active forces derived from graph.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

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- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ “Security Forces in Iraq,” *DoD Briefing Slides: 6 November 2003*. Ratio of reserves to active forces derived from graph.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 15 December 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ 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.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid. Include reservists and National Guard.
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³⁰⁶ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 30 December, 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

³⁰⁷ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, January 26, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

³⁰⁸ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 30 December, 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ “Iraq Fact Sheet: Economics.” *Joint Staffs and CPA*, February 17, 2004.

³¹¹ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 23 February 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

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³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ “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.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Ibid. Stated as 85% of prewar capacity (6.2 million liters).

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 15 December 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 15 March, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 17 February, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

³³² Statement by Health Minister Khudair Fadhil Abbas in Ariana Eunjung Cha, “Iraqi Hospitals on Life Support; Babies dying Because of Shortages of Medicine and Supplies,” *Washington Post*, March 5, 2004.

³³³ L. Paul Bremer testifying before the House Armed Services Committee, *Federal News Service*, June 12, 2003.

³³⁴ Ann Scott Tyson, “Iraqis Sample Free Enterprise,” *Christian Science Monitor*, August 19, 2003.

³³⁵ “Progress Competes with Chaos in Iraq,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 2003

³³⁶ Author’s estimate.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ “Opinion Analysis, *Office of Research, Department of State*, Washington DC, January 29, 2004. “The Office of Research survey was carried out between December 31, 2003 and January 7, 2004. The margin of error for the entire sample is approximately +/- 4 percent, but varies among cities.”

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

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³⁵⁰ Will Lester, “Poll Finds Baghdad Residents Glad to Be Rid of Saddam,” *Associated Press*, September 24, 2003. The Gallup poll cited was carried out between August 8 and September 4. It has a margin of error of +/-3%.

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³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Walter Pincus, “Skepticism About U.S. Deep, Iraq Polls Shows; Motive for Invasion is Focus of Doubts,” *Washington Post*, November 12, 2003.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ “CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll: January 2-5, 2004 – FINAL TOPLINE,” *Gallup*. Provided to author by contacts at the Gallup Organization.