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

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Updated June 21, 2004

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SECURITY INDICATORS

U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1

6/21/2004

Month	U.S. troop losses since May 1, 2003 ¹		
	Fatalities (all kinds)	Fatalities in hostile incidents	Fatalities in non-hostile incidents
May	37	8	29
June	30	18	12
July	46	27	19
August	36	14	22
September	30	18	12
October	44	33	11
November	82	70	12
December	40	25	15
January 2004	46	41	5
February	21	12	9
March	51	33	18
April	131	122	9
May	74	59	15
June	32	28	4
Total as of June 21	699	508	191

U.S TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY 1

6/16/2004

Month	Wounded in action ²
May	54
June	147
July	226
August	181
September	247
October	413
November	337
December	261
January	191
February	151
March	291
April	824
May	1,014
June	256
Total as of June 16	4,593

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

NOTE ON U.S TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY 1 TABLE: The number of troops wounded in action is updated in the Iraqi Index every Wednesday. 541 American troops were wounded in action between March 19 and April 30, 2003.

BRITISH TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1

6/21/2004

Month	U.K. troop fatalities since May 1, 2003 ³
May	4
June	6
July	1
August	5
September	2
October	1
November	1
December	0
January 2004	5
February	1
March	0
April	0
May	0
June	0
Total as of June 21	26

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

6/21/2004

Month	Fatalities
May	0
June	0
July	0
August	2
September	1
October	2
November	24
December	9
January 2004	0
February	1
March	0
April	5
May	4
June	6
Total as of June 21	54

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

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

NOTE ON NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1 TABLE: 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; One Salvadorian soldier April 4; One Ukrainian soldier April 6; One Bulgarian military fatality April 23; Two Ukrainian military fatalities April 28; Two Polish military fatalities May 7; One Dutch military fatality May 9, One Italian military fatality May 18, Two Polish, three Slovak, and one Latvian military fatalities on June 8, 2004.

CASUALTIES TO IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

3/15/2004

Total number of Iraqi security forces killed since May as of March 28	Total number of Iraqi security forces wounded in action as of November 4
350⁴	182⁵

IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR

6/18/2004

Month	Iraqi civilians killed ⁶
June	75
July	31
August	37
September	61
October	111
November	92
December	114
January	93
February	296
March	301
April	400⁷
May	160
Total as of May 30	1,771

NOTE ON CASUALTIES TO IRAQI SECURITY FORCES TABLE: According to Lieutenant Qassem of the Iraqi Facilities Protection Services, the rate of Iraqi police killed by insurgents dropped by almost 50% in April, to roughly a dozen fatalities. Scott Peterson, "More Iraqis Accept Their U.S.-Trained Forces," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 12, 2004.

NOTE ON CASUALTIES TO IRAQI SECURITY FORCES TABLE: The estimate of casualties to Iraqi security forces is a very rough one. The total number of Iraqi security forces killed as of March 28 is assumed to be a minimum as it only reflects Iraqi police killed since the fall of Baghdad.

NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: This is our best estimate of how many Iraqi civilians have been killed as a result of acts of war, both by insurgents and U.S. military. The estimate is intended not to include crime victims. Since many incidents probably go unreported or unnoticed, this estimate is probably lower than the actual number. The table includes Iraqis killed as a result of mass casualty bombings but also suspected Iraqi insurgents killed deliberately by U.S. forces. The latter category is included due to the inherent difficulty in differentiating between which Iraqis killed were insurgents, and hence targeted intentionally by U.S. military forces, and which were Iraqi civilians killed unintentionally. There may be some double counting of the people that are reported as dead by the Iraqi morgue due to violent incidents and reports of individual incidents, although measures to minimize any such double counting have been taken by focusing on separate incidents only.

NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES

6/21/2004

Month	Non-Iraqi civilians killed
May	0
June	0
July	0
August	25 ⁸
September	0
October	2 ⁹
November	7 ¹⁰
December	0
January	10 ¹¹
February	0
March	15 ¹²
April	13 ¹³
May	23 ¹⁴
June	13 ¹⁵
Total as of June 21	108

NOTE ON NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES TABLE: As of April 13, roughly 40 non-Iraqi civilians from 12 countries are believed to be kept hostage by Iraqi insurgents. Hamza Hendawi, "FBI Probes About 40 Abductions in Iraq," *Associated Press*, April 13, 2004.

NOTE ON NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES TABLE: At least 34 Halliburton employees have been killed in Iraq since the start of the war and up until April 28. Joshua Chaffin, "Fighting Blurs Role of Civilian Contractors," *Financial Times*, April 28, 2004. There are approximately 15,000 security contractors working in Iraq as of April 15, 2004, according to Peter Singer, National Security Fellow at the Brookings Institution.

SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED AND KILLED

6/4/2004

Time	Estimated number of suspected insurgents detained and killed
May	1,000 ¹⁶
June	1,000 ¹⁷
July	1,000 ¹⁸
August	1,000 ¹⁹
September	750 ²⁰
October	750 ²¹
November	3,000 ²²
December	1,000 ²³
January	2,500 ²⁴
February	1,950 ²⁵
March	1,750 ²⁶
April	1,960 ²⁷
May	1,960 ²⁸

NOTE ON SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED TABLE: There are 7,000-8,000 people detained in Iraq as of May 8, 2004. "All in all, there have been -some 43,000 people were captured or detained in Iraq, of whom 31,850 have already been released," Rumsfeld told the Senate Armed Services Committee in a testimony on May 7, 2004. Thom Shanker and Eric Schmitt, "Rumsfeld Accepts Blame and Offers Apology in Abuse," *New York Times*, May 8, 2004.

NOTE ON SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED TABLE: Less than 2% of the 8,500 anti-coalition suspects detained as of March 27 are foreign nationals. Dexter Filkins, "16 Die in Gun Battles in Sunni Areas of Iraq," *New York Times*, March 27, 2004.

NOTE ON SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED TABLE: 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. 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. Since 8,500 suspected anti-coalition fighters are detained as of March 27, it appears as if the majority of suspects detained are released after a couple of weeks, or months.

NOTE ON SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED TABLE: The estimate of suspected insurgents killed or detained since May is a very rough one. The substantial increase in number of people detained or killed in November and onwards may not imply a huge increase in people detained or killed but rather that the data improved starting that month. The numbers for suspected insurgents killed or detained from November to March is not a monthly total, but the projected total given the daily pace of detained anti-coalition suspects. Since the monthly totals do not include anti-coalition suspects killed, except for in April, the real number of anti-coalition suspects detained and killed is likely to be higher.

CRIME-RELATED DEATHS IN BAGHDAD SINCE MAY

6/4/2004

Month	Estimated annualized murder rate per 100,000 citizens ²⁹ (For comparison Washington DC rate: 43 ³⁰)
May	70
June	95
July	95
August	110
September	80
October	70
November	55
December	70
January	70
February	70
March	70
April	70
May	70

NOTE: We used to have an upper and lower bound of the estimated murder rate, but have dropped this methodology since we want to ensure that this table reflect the level of crime-related killings as accurately as possible. Estimates for each month are typically based on the number of bodies brought to the Baghdad morgue with mortal gunshot wounds. We recognize that our estimates could be too high as a result of some of the gunshot victims could be insurgents killed intentionally by U.S. military, but also that they could be too low since many murder victims are never taken to the morgue, but buried quickly and privately and never recorded in official tallies. The homicide rate is calculated based on an estimated population of 5.6 million people in Baghdad.

NOTE: 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.)³¹” 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.³²” 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.

MASS CASUALTY BOMBINGS IN IRAQ SINCE MAY

6/21/2004

Month	Mass casualty car bombings/ Suicide bombings	Killed	Wounded
May	0	0	0
June	0	0	0
July	0	0	0
August	3 ³³	128	292
September	2 ³⁴	1	21
October	12 ³⁵	73	246
November	4 ³⁶	48	150
December	12 ³⁷	64	223
January	7 ³⁸	51	237
February	16 ³⁹	149	240
March	7 ⁴⁰	193	435
April	7 ⁴¹	90	160
May	7 ⁴²	26	60
June	11 ⁴³	89	303
Total as of June 21	88	912	2,367

NOTE: 66 of the 88 bombings were suicide bombings. Casualties do not include the suicide bombers. The tallies for the number of killed and wounded are approximate. Attacks that kill more than 2 people are considered as mass-casualty bombings.

COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY

6/21/2004

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 ⁴⁴	~8,000 ⁴⁵	150,000 ⁴⁶	23,000 ⁴⁷	173,000
June	~126,000 ⁴⁸	~24,000 ⁴⁹	150,000 ⁵⁰	21,000 ⁵¹	171,000
July	~124,000 ⁵²	~25,000 ⁵³	149,000 ⁵⁴	21,000 ⁵⁵	170,000
August	~114,000 ⁵⁶	~25,000 ⁵⁷	139,000 ⁵⁸	22,000 ⁵⁹	161,000
September	~103,000 ⁶⁰	~29,000 ⁶¹	132,000 ⁶²	24,000 ⁶³	156,000
October	~102,000 ⁶⁴	~29,000 ⁶⁵	131,000 ⁶⁶	25,000 ⁶⁷	156,000
November	N/A	N/A	123,000 ⁶⁸	23,900 ⁶⁹	146,900
December	~85,400 ⁷⁰	~36,600 ⁷¹	122,000 ⁷²	24,500 ⁷³	146,500
January	N/A	N/A	122,000 ⁷⁴	25,600 ⁷⁵	147,600
February	N/A	N/A	115,000 ⁷⁶	24,000 ⁷⁷	139,000
March	N/A	N/A	130,000 ⁷⁸	24,000 ⁷⁹	154,000
April	N/A	N/A	137,000 ⁸⁰	25,000 ⁸¹	162,000
May	N/A	N/A	138,000 ⁸²	24,000 ⁸³	162,000
June	N/A	N/A	138,000 ⁸⁴	23,000 ⁸⁵	161,000

N/A= Not available

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

6/18/2004

Month	Number of U.S. troops
September	51,000 ⁸⁶
December	45,000 ⁸⁷

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

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

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

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

6/7/2004

Coalition country	Military personnel in Iraq
United Kingdom	8,530 ⁸⁸
Italy	3,000 ⁸⁹
Poland	2,400 ⁹⁰
Ukraine	1,576 ⁹¹
Netherlands	1,300 ⁹²
Australia	850 ⁹³
Romania	700 ⁹⁴
South Korea	600 ⁹⁵
Japan	500 ⁹⁶
Denmark	500 ⁹⁷
Remaining 24 coalition countries	4,044
Total	24,000⁹⁸

COALITION FORCES ACTIVITY

6/21/2004

Month	Average number of patrols/day ⁹⁹	Average number of raids/day ¹⁰⁰
November	1,660	25
December	1,690	20
January	1,570	18
February	1,470	14
March	1,430	11
April	1,566	18
May	1,897	N/A
June	1,856	N/A

N/A=Not available

NOTE ON TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ TABLE:

Spain withdrew the last of its 1,300 troops from Iraq on May 21.

NOTE ON TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ TABLE: 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, 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.

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

6/14/2004

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	100/500 ¹⁰¹
June	6 ¹⁰²	N/A
July	N/A	N/A
August	15 ¹⁰³	N/A
September	50 ¹⁰⁴	N/A
October	30-35 ¹⁰⁵	1,000-2,000/ 3,000-5,000 ¹⁰⁶
November	22 ¹⁰⁷	N/A
December	15 ¹⁰⁸	500/3,000 ¹⁰⁹
January	18 ¹¹⁰	N/A
February	20 ¹¹¹	N/A
March	25 ¹¹²	N/A
April	40 ¹¹³	N/A
June	35-40 ¹¹⁴	N/A

N/A= Not available

INSURGENT ATTACKS ON IRAQI SECURITY FORCES AND IRAQI CIVILIANS

4/2/2004

Month	Typical number of daily attacks on Iraqi security forces	Typical number of daily attacks on Iraqi civilians
December	2 ¹¹⁵	2 ¹¹⁶
January	4 ¹¹⁷	1 ¹¹⁸
February	4 ¹¹⁹	3 ¹²⁰
March	4 ¹²¹	4 ¹²²
April	N/A	N/A
May	N/A	N/A

U.S. FORCES ABILITY TO DISCOVER HIDDEN EXPLOSIVE DEVICES BEFORE DETONATION

12/9/2003

Time	Explosive devices discovered by U.S. troops before detonation
Late spring/ early summer	10-15 % ¹²³
December	75% ¹²⁴

ACCURACY OF INTELLIGENCE LEADS PROVIDED TO U.S. FORCES

12/9/2003

Month	Accuracy of intelligence leads
Late spring/ early summer	50% ¹²⁵
December	90% ¹²⁶

N/A= Not available

NOTE ON DAILY INSURGENT ATTACKS ON U.S. TROOPS & REWARD OFFERED BY INSURGENTS FOR ATTACKING U.S. TROOPS SINCE MAY TABLE: Osama bin Laden offered a \$12,500 reward for killing a U.S. or British soldier in Iraq, and \$6,250 for killing other coalition military or civilian personnel in Iraq. Walter Pincus, "Bin Laden Offers Reward for Killings," *Washington Post*, May 8, 2004. A Moqtada Sadr aid in Basra offered a \$350 reward for capturing a British soldier and a \$150 reward for anyone who kills a British soldier. Saad Sarhan and Daniel William, "Anger Echoes Through Mosques," *Washington Post*, May 8, 2004.

AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ

6/21/2004

Month	Number of helicopters ¹²⁷
May	2
June	1
July	0
August	0
September	1
October	1
November	4
December	2
January	5
February	1
March	0
April	3
May	0
June	1
Total as of June 21	21

ATTACKS ON IRAQI PIPELINES, OIL INSTALLATIONS & OIL PERSONNEL

6/21/2004

Month	Number of attacks ¹²⁸
June	6
July	2
August	3
September	2
October	4
November	9
December	9
January	2
February	2
March	6
April	4
May	7
June	9
Total	65

BAATHIST LEADERS STILL AT LARGE SINCE APRIL

6/21/2004

Month	Iraqi 55 most wanted: Individuals still at large ¹²⁹
April	40
May	28
June	23
July	18
August	16
September	15
October	15
November	15
December	13 ¹³⁰
January	12 ¹³¹
February	10 ¹³²
March	9 ¹³³
April	9
May	9
June	9

NOTE ON AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ TABLE: Of the 21 helicopters that have downed in Iraq since May 2003, at least 12 were downed by hostile fire.

ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE

4/14/2004

Month	Estimated strength of Iraqi resistance nationwide
November	5,000 ¹³⁴
December	5,000 ¹³⁵
January	3,000-5,000 ¹³⁶
February	N/A
March	N/A
April	5,000 ¹³⁷

SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED

4/16/2004

Time	Estimated numbers of suspected insurgents detained and killed
May	1,000 ¹³⁸
June	1,000 ¹³⁹
July	1,000 ¹⁴⁰
August	1,000 ¹⁴¹
September	750 ¹⁴²
October	750 ¹⁴³
November	3,000 ¹⁴⁴
December	1,000 ¹⁴⁵
January	2,500 ¹⁴⁶
February	2,000 ¹⁴⁷
March	1,750 ¹⁴⁸
April	2,000 ¹⁴⁹
May	2,000 ¹⁵⁰

NOTE ON ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE TABLE: "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. Brig. Gen. Martin E. Dempsey, commander of the U.S. Army's 1st Armored Division, estimates that as of March 18, there was "only about 100 "foreign terrorists" in Baghdad, organized into about six cells." "Maj. Gen. Charles H. Swannack Jr. of the 82nd Airborne Division said he believed there were a total of 50 to 80 foreign fighters in eight to 10 cells" in Anbar province as of March 18. "Rajiv Chandrasekaran, Iraq Attacks Blamed On Islamic Extremists; U.S. Says Hussein Loyalists No Longer Dominate," *Washington Post*, March 19, 2004.

NOTE ON SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED TABLE: 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 ON SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED TABLE: The estimate of suspected insurgents killed or detained since May is a very rough one. The substantial increase in number of people detained or killed in November and onwards may not imply a huge increase in people detained or killed but rather that the data improved starting that month. The numbers for suspected insurgents killed or detained from November to March is not a monthly total, but the projected total given the daily pace of detained anti-coalition suspects. Since the monthly totals do not include anti-coalition suspects killed, except for in April, the real number of anti-coalition suspects detained and killed is likely to be higher.

NOTE ON SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED TABLE: 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. 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. Since 8,500 suspected anti-coalition fighters are detained as of March 27, it appears as if the majority of suspects detained are released after a couple of weeks, or months.

NOTE ON SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED TABLE: Less than 2% of the 8,500 anti-coalition suspects detained as of March 27 are foreign nationals. Dexter Filkins, "16 Die in Gun Battles in Sunni Areas of Iraq," *New York Times*, March 27, 2004.

SIZE OF IRAQI SECURITY FORCES ON DUTY SINCE MAY

5/25/2004

Month	Iraqi security forces					
	Police	Civil Defense Corps	Army	Border patrol	Facilities protection services	Total Iraqi security forces
May	7,000-9,000 ¹⁵¹	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
June	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	30,000 ¹⁵²	N/A	0	N/A	11,000 ¹⁵³	N/A
August	34,000 ¹⁵⁴	670 ¹⁵⁵	0	2,500 ¹⁵⁶	N/A	N/A
September	37,000 ¹⁵⁷	2,500 ¹⁵⁸	0	4,700 ¹⁵⁹	>12,000 ¹⁶⁰	56,200
October	55,000 ¹⁶¹	4,700 ¹⁶²	700 ¹⁶³	6,400 ¹⁶⁴	18,700 ¹⁶⁵	85,500
November	68,800 ¹⁶⁶	12,700 ¹⁶⁷	900 ¹⁶⁸	12,400 ¹⁶⁹	52,700 ¹⁷⁰	147,500
December	71,600 ¹⁷¹	15,200 ¹⁷²	400 ¹⁷³	12,900 ¹⁷⁴	65,200 ¹⁷⁵	165,300
January	66,900 ¹⁷⁶	19,800 ¹⁷⁷	1,100 ¹⁷⁸	21,000 ¹⁷⁹	97,800 ¹⁸⁰	206,600
February	77,100 ¹⁸¹	27,900 ¹⁸²	2,000 ¹⁸³	18,000 ¹⁸⁴	73,900 ¹⁸⁵	198,900
March	75,000 ¹⁸⁶	33,560 ¹⁸⁷	3,005 ¹⁸⁸	23,426 ¹⁸⁹	73,992 ¹⁹⁰	213,085
	22% partially or fully trained	100% partially or fully trained	100% partially or fully trained	39% partially or fully trained	100% partially or fully trained	64% partially or fully trained
April	80,016 ¹⁹¹	23,123 ¹⁹²	2,367 ¹⁹³	18,747 ¹⁹⁴	73,992 ¹⁹⁵	198,245
	22% partially or fully trained	100% partially or fully trained	100% partially or fully trained	49% partially or fully trained	100% partially or fully trained	64% partially or fully trained
May	90,803 ¹⁹⁶	24,873 ¹⁹⁷	3,939 ¹⁹⁸	16,097 ¹⁹⁹	73,992 ²⁰⁰	209,704 ²⁰¹
	28% partially or fully trained	100% partially or fully trained	100% partially or fully trained	57% partially or fully trained	100% partially or fully trained	66% partially or fully trained
Stated goal	89,369 ²⁰²	41,560 ²⁰³	35,000 ²⁰⁴	20,420 ²⁰⁵	73,992 ²⁰⁶	259,337

N/A= Not available

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

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

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

NOTE: There are 10,000 police on duty in Baghdad as of March 18. The goal set by the CPA is to have 19,000 police on duty. Major General Martin Dempsey, Commander, 1st Armored Division, *Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing*, (www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2004/tr20040318-0549.html) [March 19, 2004].

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

MAJOR PROPERTY CRIMES REPORTED TO BAGHDAD POLICE DEPARTMENT

5/5/2004

Month	Major property crimes reported to Baghdad police department ²⁰⁷
May	260
June	410
July	400
August	350
September	290
October	225
November	240
December	250
January	280
February	230

NOTE: The contents of this table should be treated cautiously since many major property crimes are not reported to Baghdad police.

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>	499.3 ²⁰⁸
<i>Austria</i>	813.1 ²⁰⁹
<i>Belgium</i>	184.5 ²¹⁰
<i>Brazil</i>	192.9 ²¹¹
<i>Canada</i>	564.2 ²¹²
<i>Denmark</i>	30.8 ²¹³
<i>Finland</i>	152.2 ²¹⁴
<i>France</i>	2,993.7 ²¹⁵
<i>Germany</i>	2,403.9 ²¹⁶
<i>Italy</i>	1,726 ²¹⁷
<i>Japan</i>	4,108.6 ²¹⁸
<i>Netherlands</i>	96.7 ²¹⁹
<i>Republic of Korea</i>	54.7 ²²⁰
<i>Russian Federation</i>	3,450 ²²¹
<i>Spain</i>	321.2 ²²²
<i>Sweden</i>	185.8 ²²³
<i>Switzerland</i>	117.5 ²²⁴
<i>United Kingdom</i>	930.8 ²²⁵
<i>United States</i>	2,192 ²²⁶
Egypt and others	N/A
Poland	500 ²²⁷
Kuwait	17,000 ²²⁸
Bulgaria	1,000 ²²⁹
Hungary	16.5 ²³⁰
Gulf States	30 ²³¹
Morocco	31.8 ²³²
Jordan	295 ²³³
Turkey	800 ²³⁴
Interest (as of 2002)	47,000 ²³⁵
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	85.8 ²³⁶	Grants
Belgium	5.6 ²³⁷	Grants
Canada	244.1 ²³⁸	Grants
China	24 ²³⁹	Grants
Czech Republic	19 ²⁴⁰	Grants
Denmark	43 ²⁴¹	Grants
European Union	233 ²⁴²	Grants
Finland	5.9 ²⁴³	Grants
Germany	27.4 ²⁴⁴	Grants
International Monetary Fund	2,500-4,250 ²⁴⁵	Loans
Italy	200 ²⁴⁶	Grants
Japan	5,000 ²⁴⁷	1,500 grants & 3,500 loans ²⁴⁸
Kuwait	500 ²⁴⁹	Grants
Lithuania	.560 ²⁵⁰	Grants
Netherlands	21 ²⁵¹	Grants
New Zealand	5 ²⁵²	Grants
Norway	30 ²⁵³	Grants
Oman	3 ²⁵⁴	Grants
Pakistan	3.3 ²⁵⁵	Grants
Philippines	1 ²⁵⁶	Grants
Russia	8 ²⁵⁷	Grants
Saudi Arabia	500 ²⁵⁸	Loans
Singapore	1.7 ²⁵⁹	Grants
Slovakia	0.29 ²⁶⁰	Grants
South Korea	260 ²⁶¹	Grants
Spain	300 ²⁶²	Grants
Sweden	30 ²⁶³	Grants
Switzerland	15 ²⁶⁴	Grants
Taiwan	4.3 ²⁶⁵	Grants
Thailand	.283 ²⁶⁶	Grants
Turkey	5 ²⁶⁷	Grants
United Arab Emirates	215 ²⁶⁸	Grants
United Kingdom	847 ²⁶⁹	Grants
United States	18,600 ²⁷⁰	Grants
World Bank	3,000-5,000 ²⁷¹	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 Nations²⁷²	56,000²⁷³	Not applicable

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

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.

WORLD BANK ESTIMATE OF IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION NEEDS²⁷⁴

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

CPA-ESTIMATED NEEDS IN SECTORS NOT COVERED BY THE UN/WORLD BANK ASSESSMENT²⁷⁵

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

USAID CONTRACTS²⁷⁶

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

NOTE: Of the \$18.4 billion that Congress approved towards reconstruction in Iraq in October 2003, only \$1 billion had been spent as of April 30, 2004. In January the CPA estimated that they would spend roughly \$8 billion during the first 6 months of the 2004 fiscal year. Jonathan Weisman and Ariana Eunjung Cha, “Rebuilding Aid Unspent, Tapped to Pay Expenses,” *Washington Post*, April 30, 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	2.8-3.0 ²⁷⁷	1.7-2.5 ²⁷⁸	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
May	0.3 ²⁷⁹	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
June	0.675 ²⁸⁰	0.2 ²⁸¹	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	0.925 ²⁸²	0.322 ²⁸³	6.5 ²⁸⁴	4.75 ²⁸⁵	13.5 ²⁸⁶	1,880 ²⁸⁷
Aug.	1.445 ²⁸⁸	0.646 ²⁸⁹	10.25 ²⁹⁰	6.2 ²⁹¹	14.0 ²⁹²	2,530 ²⁹³
Sept.	1.7225 ²⁹⁴	0.983 ²⁹⁵	14.25 ²⁹⁶	6.9 ²⁹⁷	17.3 ²⁹⁸	3,030 ²⁹⁹
Oct.	2.055 ³⁰⁰	1.149 ³⁰¹	14.75 ³⁰²	9.6 ³⁰³	16.35 ³⁰⁴	3,700 ³⁰⁵
November	2.1 ³⁰⁶	1.524 ³⁰⁷	13.14 ³⁰⁸	13.3 ³⁰⁹	11.792 ³¹⁰	3,610 ³¹¹
December	2.30 ³¹²	1.541 ³¹³	12.29 ³¹⁴	9.4 ³¹⁵	12.9 ³¹⁶	3,460 ³¹⁷
January	2.440 ³¹⁸	1.537 ³¹⁹	13.91 ³²⁰	11.3 ³²¹	13.32 ³²²	3,445 ³²³
February	2.276 ³²⁴	1.382 ³²⁵	15.21 ³²⁶	13.05 ³²⁷	16.65 ³²⁸	4,670 ³²⁹
March	2.435 ³³⁰	1.825 ³³¹	15.03 ³³²	17.28 ³³³	17.19 ³³⁴	5,010 ³³⁵
April	2.384 ³³⁶	1.804 ³³⁷	22.75 ³³⁸	4.46 ³³⁹	19.3 ³⁴⁰	3,607 ³⁴¹
May	1.887 ³⁴²	1.194 ³⁴³	22.92 ³⁴⁴	4.005 ³⁴⁵	18.07 ³⁴⁶	3,264 ³⁴⁷
Stated Goal:	2.8-3.0 ³⁴⁸ to be reached December 2004	N/A	19.5 ³⁴⁹ revised up in April from 18	4.5 ³⁵⁰ revised down in May from 18 prior to April	19 ³⁵¹ revised up in May from 18 prior to April	4,800 ³⁵² revised down in April from 6,000

N/A= Not available

NOTE: The administration's post war estimate was that Iraq would accrue \$2-3 billion in oil revenues between June and December 2003. Revenue for 2003 was \$5,076.6 million. As of May 25, 2004, estimated crude oil export revenue was \$5.9 billion for 2004. "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004.

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

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

NOTE: LPG= Liquefied Petroleum Gas

ELECTRICITY

5/25/2004

Time	Electricity (Megawatts)	
	Nation-wide	Baghdad
Estimated pre-war level	4,400 ³⁵³	2,500 ³⁵⁴
May	N/A	300 ³⁵⁵
June	3,193 ³⁵⁶	707 ³⁵⁷
July	3,236 ³⁵⁸	1,082 ³⁵⁹
Aug.	3,263 ³⁶⁰	1,283 ³⁶¹
Sept.	3,543 ³⁶²	1,229 ³⁶³
Oct.	3,948 ³⁶⁴	N/A
November	3,582 ³⁶⁵	N/A
December	3,427 ³⁶⁶	N/A
January	3,758 ³⁶⁷	N/A
February	4,125 ³⁶⁸	N/A
March	4,040 ³⁶⁹	N/A
April	3,823 ³⁷⁰	N/A
May	3,902 ³⁷¹	N/A
Stated Goal:	6,000 by July 1, 2004 ³⁷²	2,500 by October 2003

VALUE OF THE IRAQI DINAR

5/25/2004

Month	\$1 =ID
October 15	2,000 ³⁷³
November	1,948 ³⁷⁴
December	1,675 ³⁷⁵
January	1,360 ³⁷⁶
February	1,425 ³⁷⁷
March	1,415 ³⁷⁸
April	1,455 ³⁷⁹
May	1,460 ³⁸⁰

PORT CARGO CAPACITY AND COMMERCIAL AIRPORT DEPARTURES NATIONWIDE 5/25/2004

Time	Port cargo capacity (raw tonnage in millions) ³⁸¹	Commercial aircraft departures nationwide (per day) ³⁸²
Pre-war	7	2-3
January	6.3	40
April	N/A	20
May	N/A	29
Stated goal for July 2004	7-8	200-300

N/A= Not available

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

WATER SUPPLY AND SEWAGE CAPACITY

12/01/2003

Time	Potable water availability (millions of liters)	Sewage capacity (millions of liters)
Estimated pre-war level	12.9 ³⁸³	6.2 ³⁸⁴
May	4.0 ³⁸⁵	N/A
June	13.4 ³⁸⁶	5.3 ³⁸⁷
November	21.3 ³⁸⁸	N/A

N/A= Not available

IRRIGATION

12/01/2003

Month	Irrigation canals in need of clearing (km)
May	20,000 ³⁸⁹
September	5,000 ³⁹⁰
October	3,500 ³⁹¹

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

5/5/2004

Time	Number of phones	Number of Internet connections
Estimated pre-war level	833,000 ³⁹²	4,500 ³⁹³
September	850,000 ³⁹⁴	4,900 ³⁹⁵
December	600,000 ³⁹⁶	N/A
January 2004	600,000 ³⁹⁷	N/A
February	900,000 ³⁹⁸	N/A
March	984,225 ³⁹⁹	N/A
April	1,095,000 ⁴⁰⁰	N/A
May	1,220,000 ⁴⁰¹	N/A
Previous goal (Jan. 2004)	1,100,000 ⁴⁰²	50,000 ⁴⁰³

LOCAL GOVERNANCE COUNCILS

2/18/2004

Month	Number of local governance councils
November	255 ⁴⁰⁴
December	255
January	N/A
February	318 ⁴⁰⁵

HOSPITALS RESTORED TO PRE-WAR LEVEL OF OPERATIONS

3/7/2004

Month	Hospitals restored to pre-war level of operations
March	90% ⁴⁰⁶

N/A=Not available

NOTE ON WATER SUPPLY AND SEWAGE CAPACITY TABLE: "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 ON WATER SUPPLY AND SEWAGE CAPACITY TABLE: 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. The irrigation canal program was concluded with more than 16,500 km cleared.

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

NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE SINCE MAY 1

6/4/2004

Month	Unemployment rate nationwide
May	N/A
June	50 - 60% ⁴⁰⁷
July	N/A
August	>50% ⁴⁰⁸
September	N/A
October	40 - 50% ⁴⁰⁹
November	N/A
December	N/A
January	30 - 45% ⁴¹⁰
February	30 - 45% ⁴¹¹
March	28 - 45% ⁴¹²
April	28 - 45% ⁴¹³
May	28-45% ⁴¹⁴

N/A= Not available

NOTE: According to the Ministry of Planning, the unemployment rate for January was 28%, and the underemployment rate was 21.6%. “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

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

POLLING

MARCH 22-APRIL 9: CNN/USA TODAY/ GALLUP POLL⁴¹⁵

Question	Findings
Has the coalition invasion in Iraq done more harm than good or more good than harm?	More harm than good: 46% More good than harm: 33% The same: 16% Don't know: 4%
Is Iraq much better off, somewhat better off, somewhat worse off, or much worse off than before the U.S. and British invasion?	Much better off: 11% Somewhat better off: 31% About the same: 17% Somewhat worse off: 24% Much worse off: 15% Don't know: 2%
Are you and your family much better off, somewhat better off, somewhat worse off, or much worse off than you were before the U.S. and British invasion?	Much better off: 14% Somewhat better off: 37% About the same: 25% Somewhat worse off: 15% Much worse off: 10% Don't know: 1%
Would you prefer for the U.S. and British forces to leave immediately (in the next few months), or do you think they should stay in Iraq for a longer period of time?	Leave immediately (in the next few months): 57% Stay in Iraq for a longer period of time: 36% Don't know: 7%
Do you think of the Coalition forces mostly as occupiers, or mostly as liberators?	Mostly as occupiers: 71% Mostly as liberators: 19% Both equally: 8% Don't know: 2%
At the time of the invasion last spring, did you think of the Coalition forces mostly as occupiers, or mostly as liberators?	Mostly as occupiers: 43% Mostly as liberators: 43% Both equally: 9% Don't know: 4%
Over the past three months, have conditions for creating peace and stability in Iraq improved or worsened?	Improved: 25% Worsened: 54% Stayed the same: 19% Don't know: 2%
If the Coalition left Iraq today, would you feel more safe or less safe?	More safe: 28% Less safe: 53% No difference: 12% Don't know: 8%
Do you think your life or your family's life would be in danger if you were seen to be cooperating with the CPA?	Yes, would be in danger: 69% No, will not be in danger: 22% Don't know: 8%

IRAQI STANDARD OF LIVING

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

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

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

MARCH 24-APRIL 2: COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY POLL

IRAQI ATTITUDE TOWARDS INSTITUTIONS⁴¹⁶

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

IMPORTANCE OF SECURITY TO RESIDENTS OF BAGHDAD⁴¹⁷

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

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF OVERALL SITUATION

Month	How are things compared with a year ago? ⁴¹⁸
February	Better: 56.5% Worse: 18.6%

DECEMBER 31- JANUARY 7: STATE DEPARTMENT STUDY OF IRAQ PUBLIC OPINION⁴¹⁹

GREATEST THREAT TO IRAQI CITIZENS

Type of threat	What is the greatest threat to yourself and your family? ⁴²⁰					
	Baghdad	Basrah	Mosul	Fallujah	Samarra	Karbala
Street crime	47%	63%	45%	42%	38%	22%
Street bombs	26%	20%	13%	11%	11%	19%
Large bombs such as those against Iraqi police stations and international organizations	9%	4%	6%	5%	3%	29%
Armed encounters between Iraqis and Coalition Forces and others	7%	4%	26%	26%	38%	9%
Armed encounters with religious or tribal militia	1%	1%	--	--	2%	2%
Revenge killings/Baath killings	3%	4%	3%	5%	1%	--
Financial extortion	1%	1%	2%	2%	--	4%
Sectarian war	6%	3%	1%	7%	4%	4%
Ethnic war	1%	--	1%	1%	1%	--

GREATEST THREAT TO IRAQ

Type of threat	What is the greatest threat to Iraq? ⁴²¹					
	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... ⁴²²		
	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.... ⁴²³		
	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.... ⁴²⁴		
	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... ⁴²⁵		
	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? ⁴²⁶		
	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? ⁴²⁷					
	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? ⁴²⁸				
	Keeping law and order in the streets	Tracking down criminals	Protecting Iraqis from major threats	Working cooperatively with Iraqi security forces	Protecting their forces and compounds
Baghdad	21%	15%	32%	43%	63%
Basrah	17%	11%	22%	27%	68%
Mosul	21%	14%	33%	34%	60%
Fallujah	5%	5%	13%	12%	31%
Samarra	15%	12%	21%	27%	47%
Karbala	16%	11%	18%	27%	55%

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

IRAQI PUBLIC OPINION NATIONWIDE AND BAGDHAD: NOVEMBER 19-28

1/12/2004

	Nationwide	Baghdad
Do you agree that in general, the local Iraqi police force is trusted by most members of the community? ⁴²⁹	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? ⁴³⁰	Agree: 66%	Agree: 61%
If coalition forces left immediately, would you feel more safe, less safe, or no difference? ⁴³¹	More safe: 11% Less safe: 71% No difference: 10%	More safe: 12% Less safe: 75% No difference: 13%

Question	Findings
Will Iraq be in a better condition five years from now than it was before the U.S.-led invasion? ⁴³²	Better off: 67% Worse off: 8%
Is Iraq better off now than it was before the invasion? ⁴³³	Better off: 33% Worse off: 47%
Was ousting Saddam worth the hardships endured since the invasion? ⁴³⁴	Yes: 62% No: N/A
Would you like to see U.S. troops stay longer than a few more months? ⁴³⁵	Stay longer: 71% Not stay longer: 26%
Are there circumstances in which attacks against U.S. troops can be justified? ⁴³⁶	No: 64% Sometimes justified: 36%
Have you been afraid at times to go outside your home during the day within the past four weeks? ⁴³⁷	Yes: 86% No: N/A
Is Baghdad a more dangerous place now than before the invasion? ⁴³⁸	Yes: 94% No: N/A

N/A= Not available

Time period	Do you approve or disapprove of the way the George W. Bush is handling the situation with Iraq? ⁴³⁹
April 14-16, 2003	Approve: 76% Disapprove: 21% No opinion: 3%
June 12-15, 2003	Approve: 63% Disapprove: 34% No opinion: 3%
July 7-9, 2003	Approve: 58% Disapprove: 39% No opinion: 3%
July 18-20, 2003	Approve: 57% Disapprove: 39% No opinion: 4%
July 25-27, 2003	Approve: 60 % Disapprove: 38% No opinion: 2%
August 25-26, 2003	Approve: 57% Disapprove: 41% No opinion: 2%
September 8-10, 2003	Approve: 51% Disapprove: 47% No opinion: 2%
October 6-8, 2003	Approve: 47% Disapprove: 50% No opinion: 3%
November 3-5, 2003	Approve: 45% Disapprove: 54% No opinion: 1%
December 5-7, 2003	Approve: 50% Disapprove: 47% No opinion: 3%
January 2-5, 2004	Approve: 61% Disapprove: 36% No opinion: 3%
January 29-Feb 1, 2004	Approve: 46% Disapprove: 53% No opinion: 3%
March 26-28, 2004	Approve: 51% Disapprove: 47% No opinion: 2%
April 16-18, 2004	Approve: 48% Disapprove: 49% No opinion: 3%
May 2-4, 2004	Approve: 42% Disapprove: 55% No opinion: 3%

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

² May 1- December 31, "Operation Iraqi Freedom Casualty Summary by Month", *Directorate for Information Operations and Reports*, (web1.whs.osd.mil/mmid/casualty/castop.htm [April 12, 2004]). Remaining months are documented daily from "Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status," *Department of Defense*, (www.defenselink.mil/news/).

³ "Details of British Casualties," *Ministry of Defense*, (www.operations.mod.uk/telic/casualties.htm).

⁴ Kevin Johnson, "Attacks on Iraqi Police Increase," *USA Today*, March 28, 2004.

⁵ "Security Forces in Iraq," *DoD Briefing Slides: 6 November 2003*, Ratio of reserves to active forces derived from graph.

⁶ The monthly breakdown of casualties to Iraqi civilians is partly based on estimates made by Iraqbodycount, (www.iraqbodycount.org), and partly on assessment made by the author.

⁷ Estimate made by author based on recent developments and news reports.

⁸ One American contractor was killed of August 5. Theola Labbe and Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Contractor Dies in Iraq Bomb Blast; Incident Is First Fatal Attack Reported Against a Private Employee," *Washington Post*, August 6, 2003. 22 United Nations employees, one American scholar and one Canadian aid worker killed on August 19. Neil McFarquhar, "Thousands at Burial for Slain Cleric," *New York Times*, September 3.

⁹ One British and American killed on October 26. The nationalities stated are according to a CBS camera man. Theola Labbe and Vernon Loeb, "Wolfowitz Unhurt in Rocket Attack", *Washington Post*, October 26, 2003.

¹⁰ 2 Italians were killed by a truck bomb at the Italian Military on November 12, John F. Burns, "At Least 26 Killed in a Bombing Of an Italian Compound in Iraq", *New York Times*, November 13, 2003. Two Japanese diplomats, two South Korean contractors and one Colombia contractor were killed during the same month. Alan Sipress, "U.S. Forces Kill Dozens after Iraq Ambushes," *Washington Post*, December 1, 2003. Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Peril Follows Contractors in Iraq," *Washington Post*, November 14, 2003.

¹¹ Three American journalists. Williams, "At Least 20 Dead in Baghdad Blast," *Washington Post*, Jan 19, 2004. Two French contractors were killed. Craig S. Smith, 2 French Citizens Are Killed by Gunmen on Iraqi Road, *New York Times*, January 7, 2004. One South African contractor was killed. Jeffrey Gettleman, "A Suicide Bomber Kills 3 in Baghdad," *New York Times*, January 29, 2004. Four South African contractors killed in an attack in January. David Barstow, "Security Companies: Shadow Soldiers in Iraq," *New York Times*, April 19, 2004.

¹² 4 American missionaries, one German and one Deutch contractor were killed. Jeffrey Gettleman, "2 Engineers Killed in Iraq in Latest Attack on Foreigners," *New York Times*, March 17, 2004. Two American civilians working for the Department of Defense reported killed on March 11, "Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status, April 1, 2004. Four American contractors killed on March 31. Sewell Chan, "U.S. Civilians Mutilated in Iraq Attack," *Washington Post*, April 1, 2004. Two Finnish business men killed on March 23. Sewell Chan and Anthony Shadid, "Two Finnish Businessmen Shot Dead in Iraqi Capital," *Washington Post*, March 23, 2004.

¹³ Anthony Shadid "U.S. Forces Take Heavy Losses as Violence Spreads Across Iraq," *Washington Post*, April 7, 2004. One Bulgarian civilian was killed on April 6. Jo Prins, "SA Man Decapitated," *News24.com*, (www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/News/0,,2-7-1442_1511018,00.html). One South African man was killed the week of April 5. Graeme Hosken, "Another SA citizen dies in Iraq," www.iol.co.za (www.iol.co.za/index.php?sf=2813&click_id=2813&art_id=vn20040414041016797C33966). One Italian security guard was killed the week of April 12. Edward Wong, "Iraqis Are Hoping for Early and Peaceful End to Shiite Insurrection," *New York Times*, April 16, 2004. One Iranian diplomat was killed the week of April 12. Edward Wong, "Iraqis Are Hoping for Early and Peaceful End to Shiite Insurrection," *New York Times*, April 16, 2004. Halliburton confirmed that three bodies found in early April were those of three missing American subcontractors. Thomas E. Ricks and Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Shelling Kills 22 Prisoners in Iraq," *Washington Post*, April 21, 2004. One South African security guard was killed on April 21. Ghaith Abdul-Ahad, "South African Security Guard Shot Dead in Baghdad," *Reuters*, April 21, 2004. "A Roadside Explosion Killed Oregon Contractor," *Associated Press*, April 28, 2004. One American security guard killed on April 27, 2004. Tracy Vedder, "Explosion in Iraq Kills Washington, Oregon Security Guards, April 28, 2004. Two security guards killed on April 28. . "Manila Says Four Filipinos Killed in Iraq Attack," *Reuters*, May 12, 2004. One Filipino worker killed in late April.

¹⁴ Scheherezade Faramarzi, Al-Sadr Denounces U.S. Abuse of Iraqi Prisoners as his Militiamen Clash with American Soldiers," *Associated Press*, May 7, 2004. One Polish and One Algerian journalist were killed on May 6, 2004. Gary Klien, "Former Marine Man Killed in Iraq," *Marin Independent Journal*, May 4, 2004. One American contractor killed on May 3, 2004. "Gunmen Kill South African in Kirkuk," May 10, 2004. One South American contractor killed on May 10, 2004. Sewell Chan, and Ariana Eunjung Cha, "American Beheaded on Web Video," *Washington Post*, May 12, 2004. One American was killed on May 11, 2004. "Manila Says Four Filipinos Killed in Iraq Attack," *Reuters*, May 12, 2004. Four Filipino workers killed on May 11, 2004. Monte Morin and Patrick J. McDonnell, "Iraqi Leaders In Najaf Reach Deal In Effort To Resolve Crisis," *Los Angeles Times*, May 12, 2004. One Russian engineer killed on May 11. Peter Fimrite, "Tears Flow in Santa Rosa for Civilian Slain in Iraq," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 5, 2004. One American contractor was killed on May 1. "Collier Deputy Killed in Iraq," *ABC7 News*, May 13, 2004. One American contractor was killed on May 13, 2004. *MSNBC*, (www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/269824.asp?cp1=1 [May 17, 2004]) Two Turkish contractors were killed on May 12. *Journal Now*, (www.journalnow.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=WSJ%2FMSGArticle%2FWSJ_BasicArticle&c=MGArticle&cid=1031775485094&path=!loc&news&s=1037645509099 [May 17, 2004]). One American contractor was reported killed on May 17, 2004. "British contractor killed in Iraq," *The Australian*, May 18, 2004. One British contractor reported killed on May 18. Tania Branigan, "British Guard Shot Dead in Ambush," *The Guardian*, May 20, 2004. One British security contractor killed on May 18, 2004. "Grenade Attack Kills at Least Two Britons in Iraq," *Reuters*, May 24, 2004. Two British security contractors were killed on May 24, 2004. Sameer N. Yacoub, "Two Russians Killed in Ambush on Workers on Power Plant," *Associated Press*, May 26, 2004. "Japan Says Iraq Reports Two Japanese Killed in Attack," *Bloomberg News*, May 28, 2004. Two Japanese journalist killed on May 27.

¹⁵ Mariam Fam, "U.S. Troops Battle Shiite Militants in Kufa, Baghdad," *Associated Press*, June 2, 2004. One Italian security contractor was killed on June 2. Mammoun Youssef, "Al-Qaida-affiliated Group Claims Responsibility for Deadly Baghdad Attacks," *Associated Press*, June 7, 2004. Two American and two polish security contractors were killed on June 5. "Tribute to James Wingate," Halliburton and KBR Press Statement, June 7, 2004. One American Halliburton employee was killed on June 5. "Three GE workers, two subcontractors killed in Baghdad car bombing," *Associated Press*, June 14, 2004. The dead include two Britons, one Frenchman, one American, and a foreigner of undetermined nationality. Mariam Fam, "Iraqi Kidnappers Kill Lebanese Hostage, One Other Released, Third Still Held," *Associated Press*, June 12, 2004.

¹⁶ Estimates by author based on Pentagon briefings. "U.S. Defends Deadly Iraq Air Raid," *BBC News*, June 19, 2004. A Portuguese security contractor was killed on June 19, 2004.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, November 17, November 19, 2003. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate.

²³ Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, December 3, December 5, December 8, December 18, December 19, December 24, December 30, 2003. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate.

²⁴ Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, January 2, January 3, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate.

²⁵ Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, 3 February, 4 February, 9 February, 10 February, 17 February, 21 February, 24 February, 25 February, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate.

²⁶ Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, March, 10 March, 17 March, 22 March, 30 March, March 31, April 1, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate.

²⁷ Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, April 5, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate. An estimated 700 insurgents had been killed up until April 14. These have been added to the estimated numbers of people detained in April. Edward Wong, "Iraqis Are Hoping for Early and Peaceful End to Shiite Insurrection," *New York Times*, April 16, 2004.

²⁸ Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, May 10, May 14, May 17, May 18, May 20, May 21, May 22, May 24, May 25, May 26, May 28, May 30, May 31 and author's estimate of insurgents killed in May.

²⁹ 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 lower bound 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, February, March, and April we assume that the murder rate is the same as in December. We intend to update these entries as soon as more information becomes available.

³⁰ "Detroit murders drop to lowest number in 36 years," Associated Press State and Local Wire, January 3, 2004.

³¹ Mark Hurling, et al. "On the Ground, Straight From the Top," *Washington Post*, December 7, 2003.

³² Jeffrey Fleishman, "Back Into Baghdad's Streets," *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 2004.

³³ Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Car Bomb Kills 11 in Baghdad," *Washington Post*, August 8, 2003. One attack in front of the Jordanian Embassy on August 7. Theola Labbe, "Some Fear Blast at University Heralds New Face of Violence," *Washington Post*, September 6, 2003. An attack on UN headquarters on August 19. Neil MacFarquhar, "Thousands at Burial for Slain Cleric," *New York Times*, September 3.

³⁴ Theola Labbe, "Some Fear Blast at University Heralds New Face of Violence," *Washington Post*, September 6, 2003. Attack on September 3. Ian Fisher, "Suicide Attacker Who Struck at U.N. Carried Two Bombs," *New York Times*, September 23, 2003. Attack on September 22.

³⁵ 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.

³⁶ 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.

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