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Tel: 202-797-6000 Fax: 202-797-6004
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Iraq Index *Tracking Variables of* *Reconstruction & Security in Post-Saddam Iraq*

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Michael E. O'Hanlon
Adriana Lins de Albuquerque

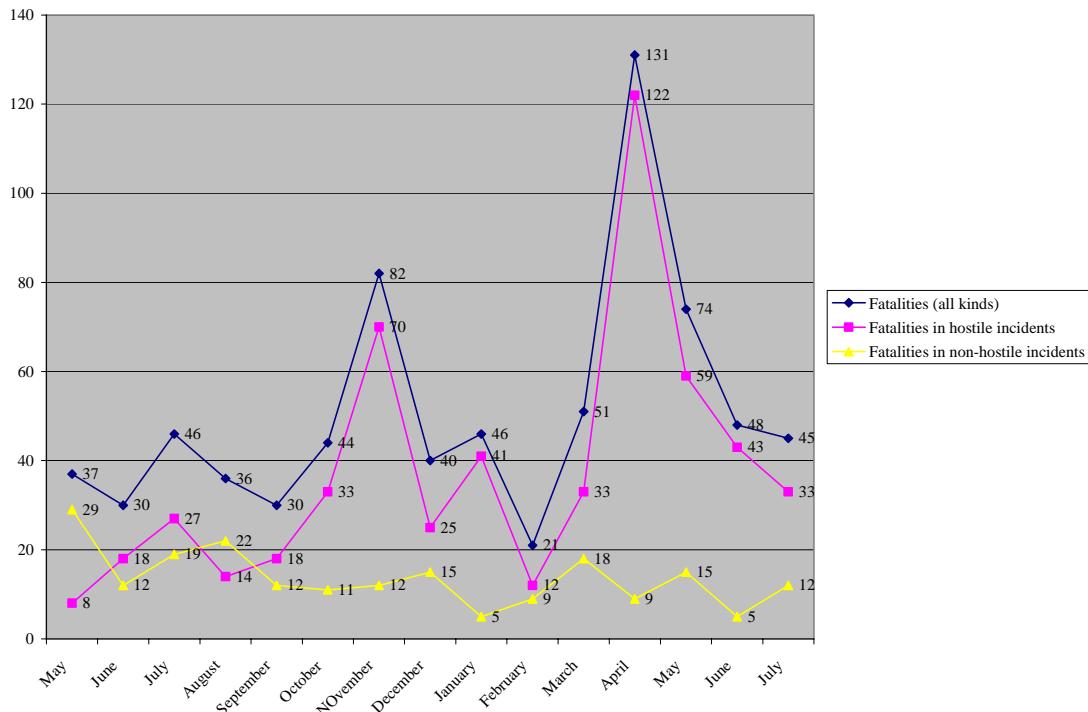
For more information please contact Adriana Lins de Albuquerque at aalbuquerque@brookings.edu

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| <u>Security Indicators</u> | <u>Page</u> |
|--|-------------|
| U.S. Troop Fatalities since May 2003 | 3 |
| U.S. Troops Wounded in Action since May 2003..... | 3 |
| British Troop Fatalities since May 2003..... | 4 |
| Non-U.S. & U.K. Coalition Fatalities since May 2003..... | 4 |
| Casualties to Iraqi Security Forces..... | 5 |
| Iraqi Civilian Killed as a Result of Acts of War since May 2003..... | 5 |
| Non-Iraqi Civilian Casualties since May 2003..... | 6 |
| Suspected Insurgents Detained and Killed | 7 |
| Estimated Strength of Iraqi Resistance Nationwide..... | 8 |
| Crime-Related Deaths in Baghdad | 9 |
| Mass Casualty Bombings in Iraq..... | 10 |
| Coalition Troop Strength in Iraq | 11 |
| U.S. Troops Engaged in Operation Iraqi Freedom Stationed in the Vicinities of Iraq and at Sea..... | 11 |
| Top Ten Non-U.S. Coalition Contributors of Military Personnel in Iraq..... | 12 |
| Coalition Forces Activity..... | 12 |
| Insurgent Attacks on Coalition Forces..... | 13 |
| Reward Offered by Insurgents for Attacking U.S. Troops | 13 |
| Insurgent Attacks on Iraqi Security Forces and Iraqi Civilians..... | 13 |
| American Military Helicopters Downed by Enemy Fire | 14 |
| Attacks on Iraqi Pipelines, Oil Installations, & Oil Personnel | 14 |
| Baathist Leaders Still at Large | 15 |
| Size of Iraqi Security Forces on Duty | 16 |
| Major Property Crimes Reported to Baghdad Police Department | 17 |
| | |
| <u>Economic & Quality of Life Indicators</u> | |
| Iraqi National Debt: Creditors..... | 18 |
| Pledges Made to the Coalition & Reconstruction Development Fund Facility..... | 19 |
| World Bank estimate of Iraq Reconstruction Needs..... | 20 |
| CPA-Estimated Needs for Iraq Reconstruction in Sectors not Covered by the UN/World Bank Assessment.. | 20 |
| Total Funds Available, Obligated, and Disbursed for Iraq Reconstruction, as of April, 2004..... | 20 |
| Project Allocations and Disbursement by Category, as of May, 2004..... | 21 |
| USAID Contracts..... | 21 |
| Fuel..... | 22 |
| Electricity..... | 23 |
| Electrical Power Distribution per Governorate..... | 23 |
| Value of the New Iraqi Dinar..... | 24 |
| Port Cargo Capacity and Commercial Aircraft Departments..... | 24 |
| Irrigation..... | 24 |
| Telecommunications..... | 25 |
| Local Governance Councils..... | 25 |
| Hospitals Restored to Pre-War Level of Operations..... | 25 |
| Nationwide Unemployment Rate..... | 26 |
| | |
| <u>Polling</u> | |
| End of June: Iraq Center for Research and Strategic Studies Poll..... | 27 |
| 9-19 June: Coalition Provisional Authority Poll..... | 27 |
| 14-23 May: Coalition Provisional Authority Poll..... | 28 |
| 22 March-9 April: CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll, Nationwide Poll of Iraq..... | 36 |
| 24 March – 2 April: Coalition Provisional Authority Poll..... | 37 |
| 9-28 February: Oxford Research International Study of Iraqi Public Opinion..... | 38 |
| 31 December –7 January: State Department Study of Iraqi Public Opinion..... | 37 |
| Later Polling: State Department Study & Gallup Poll..... | 40 |

SECURITY INDICATORS

U.S. TROOPS FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 2003¹



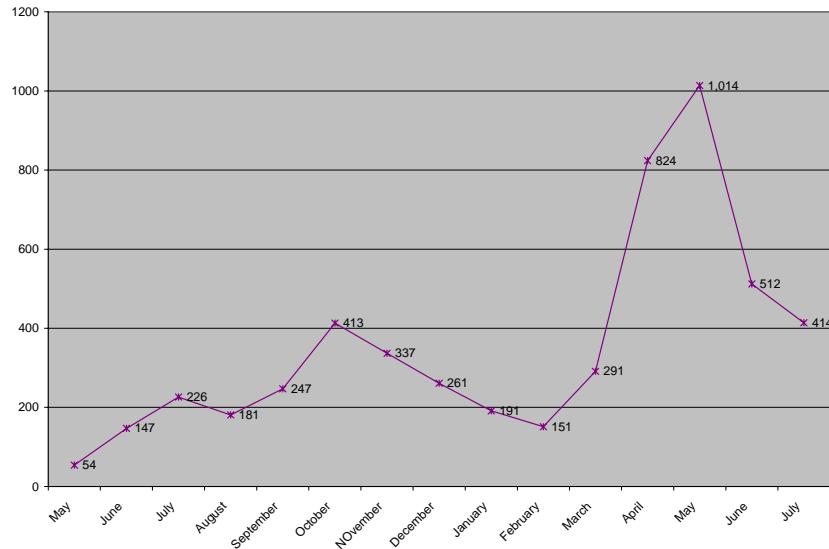
Totals as of July 23:

Fatalities (all kinds): **761**

Fatalities in hostile incidents: **556**

Fatalities in non-hostile incidents: **205**

U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY 2003²

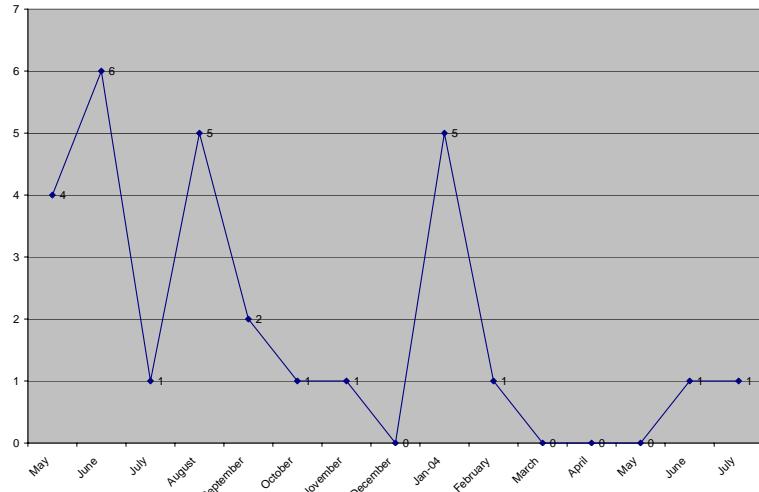


Totals as of July 21: 5,263

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.

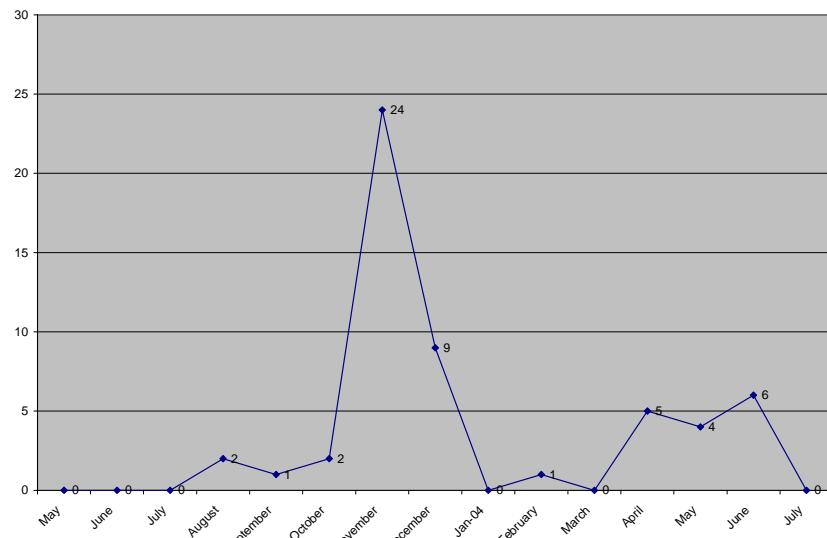
NOTE ON U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY 1 TABLE: The number of troops wounded in action is updated in the Iraqi Index every Wednesday. 541 American troops were wounded in action between March 19 and April 30, 2003.

BRITISH TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 2003³



Total as of July 23: 28

NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 2003



Total as of July 23: 54

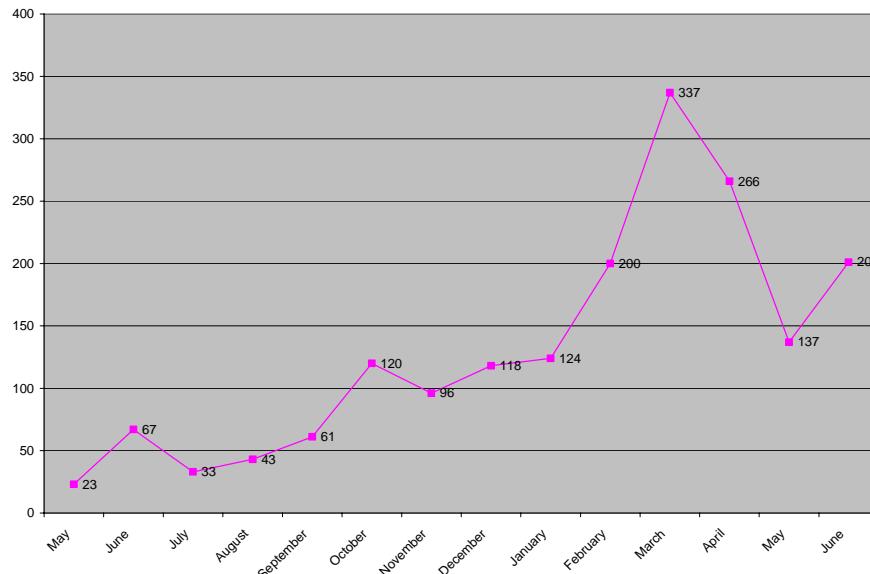
NOTE ON BRITISH TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1 TABLE: Up until May 1, 2003, Operation Iraqi Freedom caused 33 British troop fatalities. Of those 33 fatalities, 6 occurred during the month of April. Of the 6 fatalities that occurred in April, 2 occurred after April 9.

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.

| 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 |
|---|--|
| 350 ⁴ | 182 ⁵ |

IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR SINCE MAY 2003⁶

Total as of June 26: 1,826

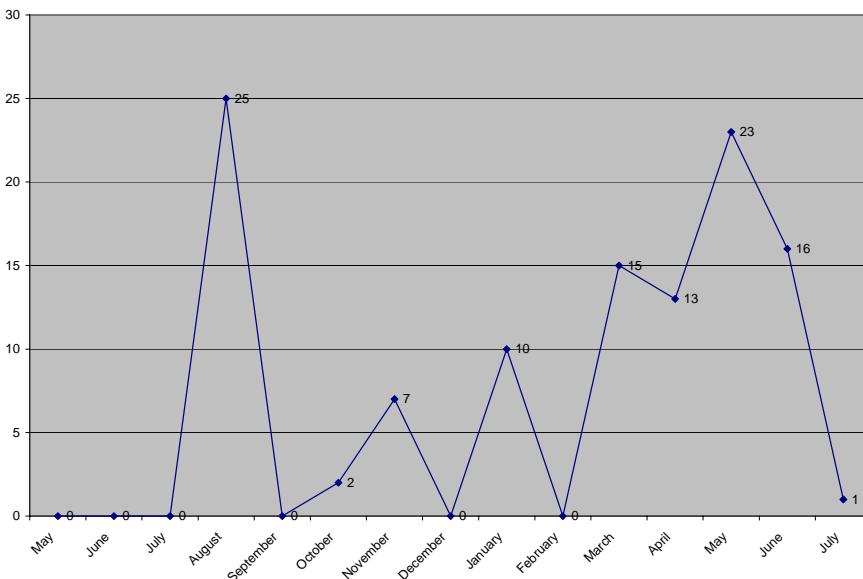
NOTE ON CASUALTIES TO IRAQI SECURITY FORCES TABLE: According to Lieutenant Qassem of the Iraqi Facilities Protection Services, the rate of Iraqi police killed by insurgents dropped by almost 50% in April, to roughly a dozen fatalities. Scott Peterson, "More Iraqis Accept Their U.S.-Trained Forces," *Christian 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 a monthly breakdown of how many Iraqi civilians have been killed as a result of acts of war, both by insurgents and U.S. military. We recognize that our estimate is most definitely lower than the actual number as a result of the fact that many separate incidents go unreported or unnoticed. 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 crime, although measures to minimize any such double counting have been taken by focusing on reports of separate incidents only. The Associated Press reported that there had been 5,558 violent deaths in Iraq since May 1, 2003 and up until April 30. They point out that "there is no precise count for Iraq as a whole on how many people have been killed, nor is there a breakdown of deaths caused by the different sorts of attacks. The U.S. military, the occupation authority and Iraqi government agencies say that they don't have the ability to track civilian deaths." The Associated Press estimate that 3,240 Iraqi civilians died between March 20 to April 20, 2003, but conclude that "the real number of civilian deaths was sure to be much higher." Daniel Cooney, Omar Sinan, "AP Enterprise: More Than 5,000 Iraqi Civilians killed Since Occupation Began According to Morgue Records," *Associated Press*, May 18, 2004.

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

NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES SINCE MAY, 2003⁷

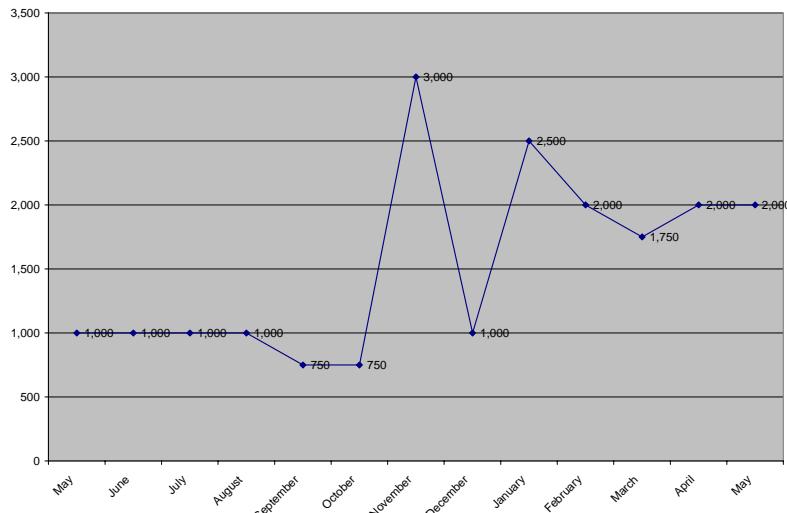


Total as of July 23: 112

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 KILLED⁸



NOTE ON SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED AND 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 from October to March do not include anti-coalition suspects killed, the real number of anti-coalition suspects detained and killed is likely to be higher for those months.

NOTE ON SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED AND KILLED TABLE: There are 5,700 suspected insurgents detained in Iraq as of July 6, 2004. Of those, 90 detainees are foreign nationals, of which Syrians constitute 50%.. Peter Eisler and Tom Squitieri, USA Today, "Foreign Detainees are Few in Iraq," July 6, 2004. According to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, 31,850 suspected insurgents have been released as of May 8, 2004. Thom Shanker and Eric Schmitt, "Rumsfeld Accepts Blame and Offers Apology in Abuse," New York Times, May 8, 2004.

ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE

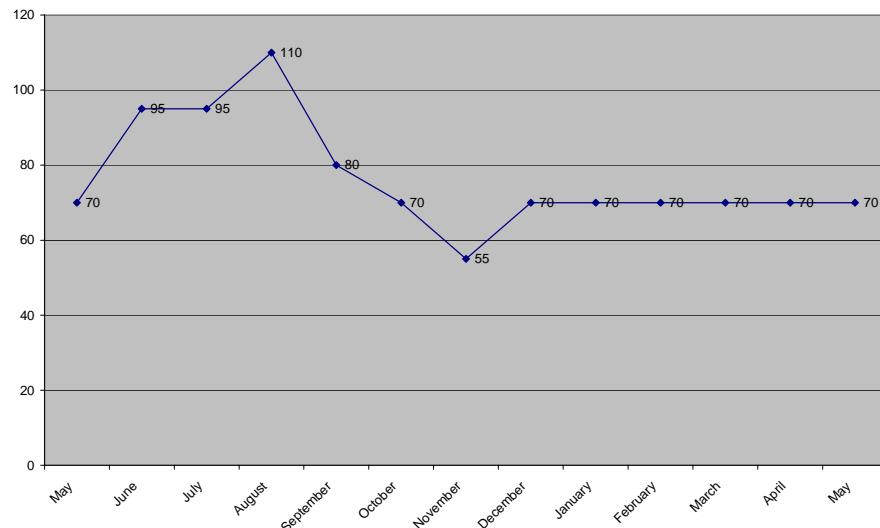
| Month | Estimated strength of Iraqi resistance nationwide |
|--------------|---|
| November | 5,000 ⁹ |
| December | 5,000 ¹⁰ |
| January 2004 | 3,000-5,000 ¹¹ |
| February | N/A |
| March | N/A |
| April | 5,000 ¹² |
| May | N/A |
| June | N/A |
| July | 5,000 ¹³ |

NOTE ON ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE TABLE: U.S. military officials say that “dozens of regional cells can call upon part-time fighters to boost forces as high as 20,000 – an estimate reflected in the insurgency’s continued strength...” Jim Krane, “U.S. Officials: Iraq Insurgency Bigger,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 9, 2004.

NOTE ON ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE TABLE: 200 insurgents are estimated to be loyal to Abu Musab Zarqawi as of July 7, 2004.. U.S. officials estimate that foreign fighters in Iraq are in the low hundreds as of July 7, 2004. Robin Wright, “In Iraq, Daunting Tasks Await, *Washington Post*, July 7, 2004.

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.

Annualized Murder Rate per 100,000 citizens (For comparison Washington DC rate 43)

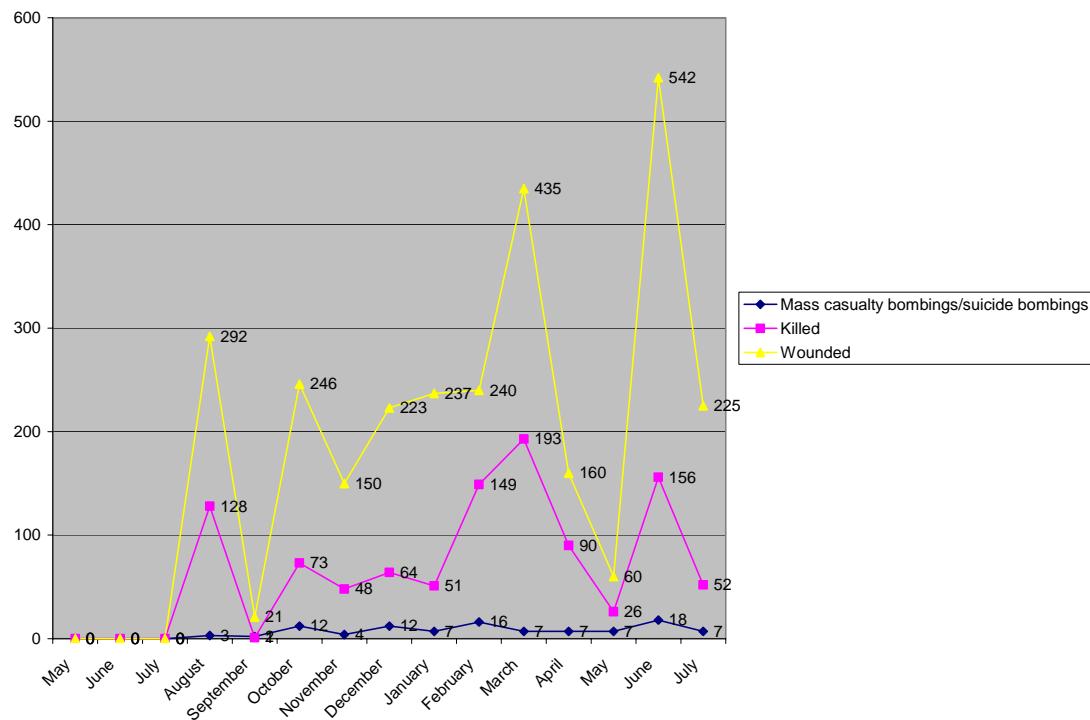


NOTE: We used to have an upper and lower bound of the estimated murder rate, but have dropped this methodology since we want to ensure that this table reflect the level of crime-related killings as accurately as possible. Estimates for each month are typically based on the number of bodies brought to 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 Hurtling, 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)."¹⁵ 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."¹⁶ 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, 2003¹⁷



Totals as of July 23:

Mass casualty bombings: **102**

Killed: **1,031**

Wounded: **2,831**

NOTE: At least 69 of the 102 bombings reported so far were suicide bombings. The casualties listed above do not include the suicide bombers. The tallies for the number of killed and wounded are approximate. Attacks that kill or injure more than 2 people are considered mass-casualty bombings. Roadside bombs are not included in the tally of mass casualty bombing.

| 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 ¹⁸ | ~8,000 ¹⁹ | 150,000 ²⁰ | 23,000 ²¹ | 173,000 |
| June | ~126,000 ²² | ~24,000 ²³ | 150,000 ²⁴ | 21,000 ²⁵ | 171,000 |
| July | ~124,000 ²⁶ | ~25,000 ²⁷ | 149,000 ²⁸ | 21,000 ²⁹ | 170,000 |
| August | ~114,000 ³⁰ | ~25,000 ³¹ | 139,000 ³² | 22,000 ³³ | 161,000 |
| September | ~103,000 ³⁴ | ~29,000 ³⁵ | 132,000 ³⁶ | 24,000 ³⁷ | 156,000 |
| October | ~102,000 ³⁸ | ~29,000 ³⁹ | 131,000 ⁴⁰ | 25,000 ⁴¹ | 156,000 |
| November | N/A | N/A | 123,000 ⁴² | 23,900 ⁴³ | 146,900 |
| December | ~85,400 ⁴⁴ | ~36,600 ⁴⁵ | 122,000 ⁴⁶ | 24,500 ⁴⁷ | 146,500 |
| January | N/A | N/A | 122,000 ⁴⁸ | 25,600 ⁴⁹ | 147,600 |
| February | N/A | N/A | 115,000 ⁵⁰ | 24,000 ⁵¹ | 139,000 |
| March | N/A | N/A | 130,000 ⁵² | 24,000 ⁵³ | 154,000 |
| April | N/A | N/A | 137,000 ⁵⁴ | 25,000 ⁵⁵ | 162,000 |
| May | N/A | N/A | 138,000 ⁵⁶ | 24,000 ⁵⁷ | 162,000 |
| June | 89,700 | 48,300 ⁵⁸ | 138,000 ⁵⁹ | 23,000 ⁶⁰ | 161,000 |
| July | N/A | N/A | 140,000 ⁶¹ | 22,000 ⁶² | 160,000 |

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 ⁶³ |
| December | 45,000 ⁶⁴ |

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

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

NOTE ON U.S. TROOPS ENGAGED IN OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM STATIONED IN THE 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.

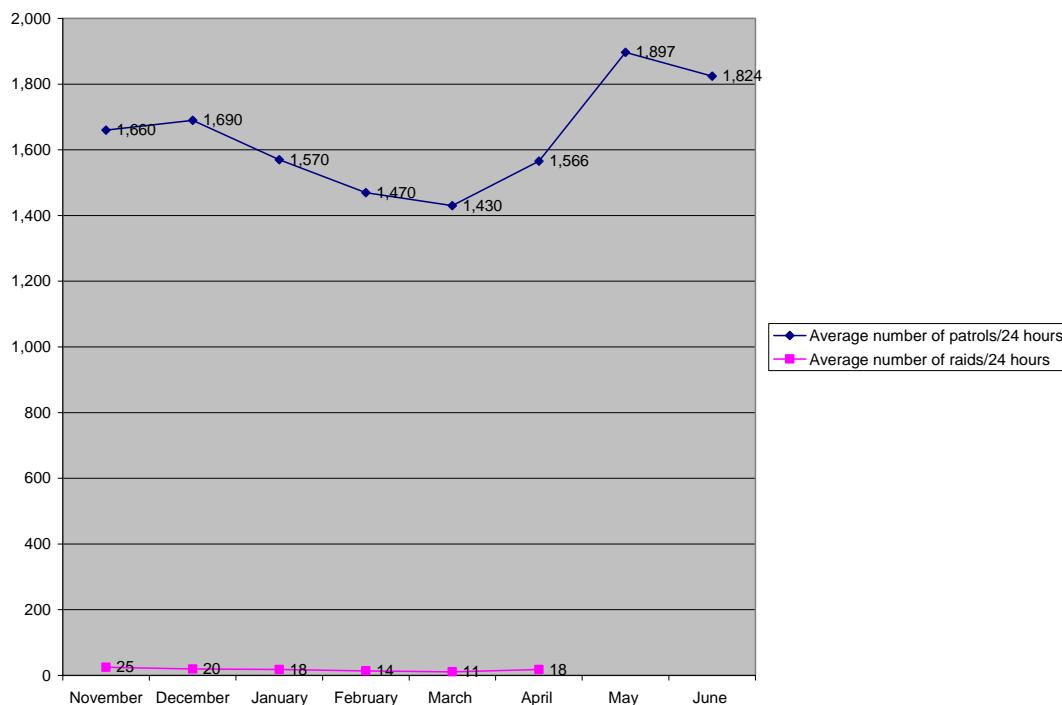
TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ

7/16/2004

| Coalition country | Military personnel in Iraq ⁶⁵ |
|----------------------------------|--|
| United Kingdom | 7,500 |
| Italy | 3,120 |
| Poland | 2,400 |
| Ukraine | 1,650 |
| Netherlands | 1,400 |
| Romania | 800 |
| South Korea | 600 |
| Japan | 600 |
| Denmark | 520 |
| Bulgaria | 485 |
| Remaining 24 coalition countries | 2,925 |
| Total | 22,000 ⁶⁶ |

COALITION FORCES ACTIVITY⁶⁷

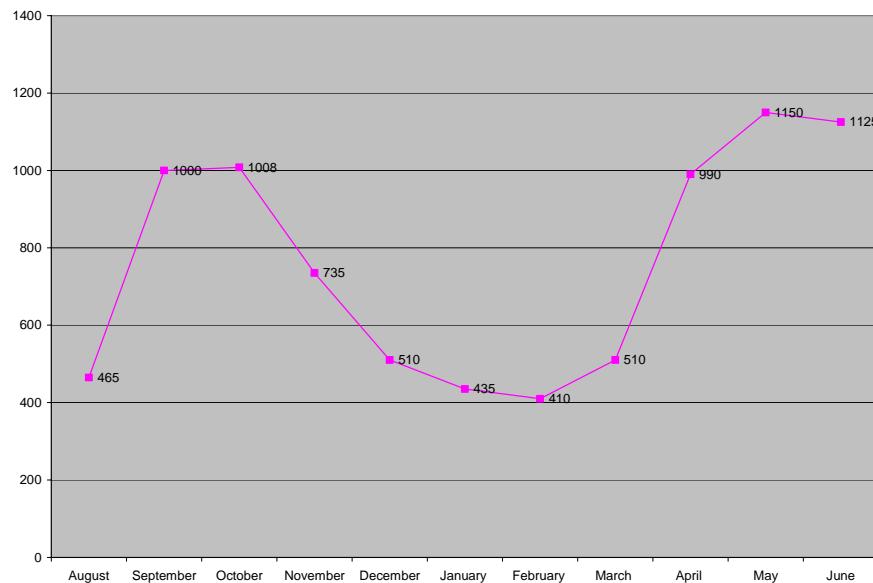
6/21/2004



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 following countries have forces in Iraq; Albania, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, El Salvador, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Singapore, Slovakia, Thailand, United Arab Emirates, Ukraine and the United Kingdom.

INSURGENT ATTACKS ON COALITION FORCES⁶⁸



REWARD OFFERED BY INSURGENTS FOR ATTACKING U.S. TROOPS

6/14/2004

| Month | Reward for carrying out attacks on U.S. troops (\$) (attack/successful attack) |
|-----------|---|
| May | 100/500 ⁶⁹ |
| June | N/A |
| July | N/A |
| August | N/A |
| September | N/A |
| October | 1,000-2,000/ 3,000-5,000 ⁷⁰ |
| November | N/A |
| December | 500/3,000 ⁷¹ |

N/A= Not available

INSURGENT ATTACKS ON IRAQI SECURITY FORCES AND IRAQI CIVILIANS

4/2/2004

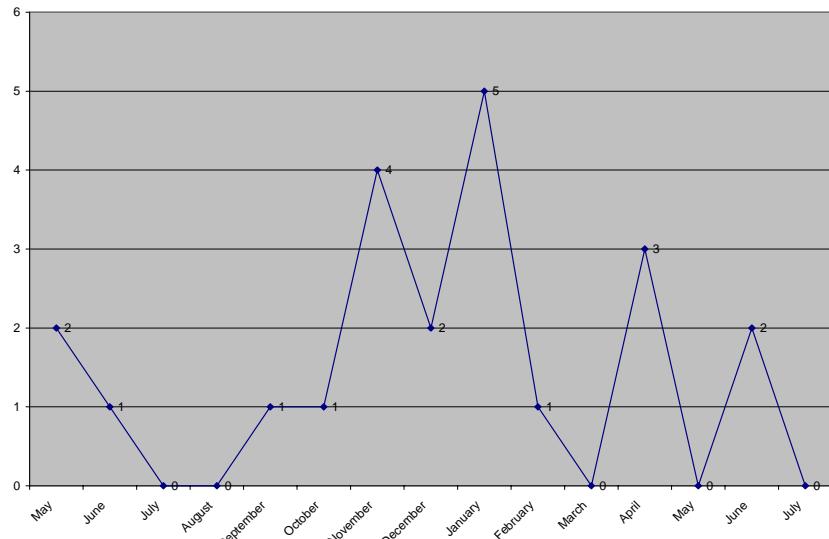
| Month | Typical number of daily attacks on Iraqi security forces | Typical number of daily attacks on Iraqi civilians |
|----------|---|---|
| December | 2 ⁷² | 2 ⁷³ |
| January | 4 ⁷⁴ | 1 ⁷⁵ |
| February | 4 ⁷⁶ | 3 ⁷⁷ |
| March | 4 ⁷⁸ | 4 ⁷⁹ |
| April | N/A | N/A |
| May | N/A | N/A |

N/A= Not available

NOTE ON 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.

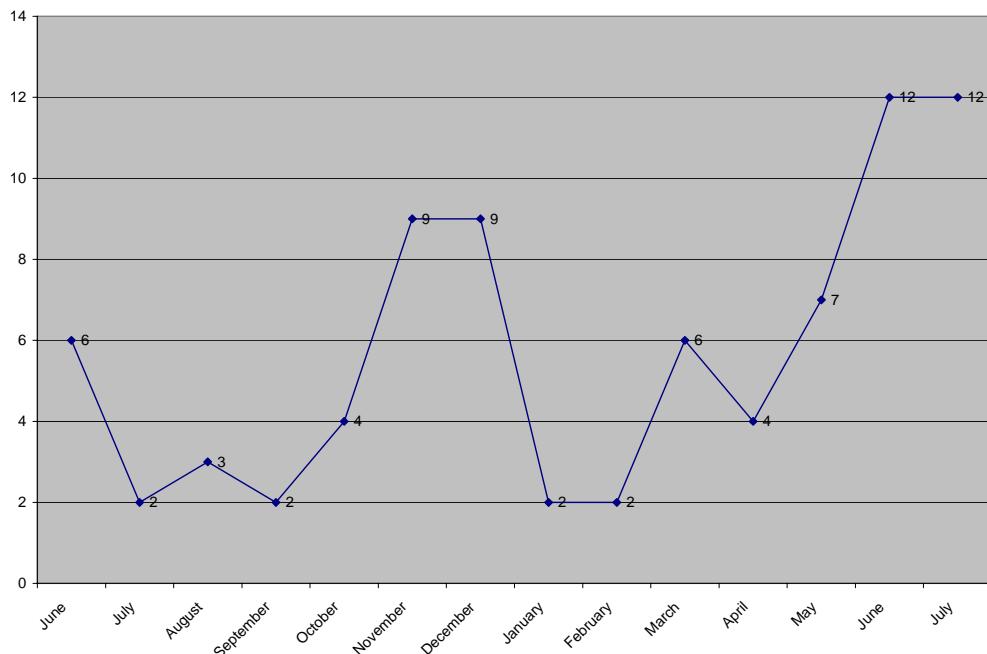
NOTE ON INSURGENT ATTACKS AGAINST COALITION FORCES TABLE: The monthly averages of insurgent attacks against coalition forces are approximate. Attacks included are predominantly those using improvised explosive devices, mortars, rocket-propelled grenades, and improvised rockets. Small-arms fire, hand grenade attacks, assassinations, kidnappings and hijackings are excluded from this tally to the best of our knowledge.

AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ⁸⁰



Total as of July 23: 22

ATTACKS ON IRAQI PIPELINES, OIL INSTALLATIONS & OIL PERSONNEL⁸¹



Total as of July 23: 80

NOTE ON AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ TABLE: Of the 22 helicopters downed in Iraq since May 2003, at least 13 were downed by enemy fire.

BAATHIST LEADERS STILL AT LARGE SINCE APRIL

6/30/2004

| Month | Iraqi 55 most wanted: Individuals still at large ⁸² |
|-----------|--|
| April | 40 |
| May | 28 |
| June | 23 |
| July | 18 |
| August | 16 |
| September | 15 |
| October | 15 |
| November | 15 |
| December | 13 ⁸³ |
| January | 12 ⁸⁴ |
| February | 10 ⁸⁵ |
| March | 9 ⁸⁶ |
| April | 9 |
| May | 9 |
| June | 9 |
| July | 9 |

| Month | Iraqi security forces | | | | | |
|-------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | Police | Civil Defense Corps | Army | Border patrol | Facilities protection services | Total Iraqi security forces |
| May | 7,000-9,000 ⁸⁷ | N/A | 0 | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| June | N/A | N/A | 0 | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| July | 30,000 ⁸⁸ | N/A | 0 | N/A | 11,000 ⁸⁹ | N/A |
| August | 34,000 ⁹⁰ | 670 ⁹¹ | 0 | 2,500 ⁹² | N/A | N/A |
| September | 37,000 ⁹³ | 2,500 ⁹⁴ | 0 | 4,700 ⁹⁵ | >12,000 ⁹⁶ | 56,200 |
| October | 55,000 ⁹⁷ | 4,700 ⁹⁸ | 700 ⁹⁹ | 6,400 ¹⁰⁰ | 18,700 ¹⁰¹ | 85,500 |
| November | 68,800 ¹⁰² | 12,700 ¹⁰³ | 900 ¹⁰⁴ | 12,400 ¹⁰⁵ | 52,700 ¹⁰⁶ | 147,500 |
| December | 71,600 ¹⁰⁷ | 15,200 ¹⁰⁸ | 400 ¹⁰⁹ | 12,900 ¹¹⁰ | 65,200 ¹¹¹ | 165,300 |
| January | 66,900 ¹¹² | 19,800 ¹¹³ | 1,100 ¹¹⁴ | 21,000 ¹¹⁵ | 97,800 ¹¹⁶ | 206,600 |
| February | 77,100 ¹¹⁷ | 27,900 ¹¹⁸ | 2,000 ¹¹⁹ | 18,000 ¹²⁰ | 73,900 ¹²¹ | 198,900 |
| March | 75,000 ¹²² | 33,560 ¹²³ | 3,005 ¹²⁴ | 23,426 ¹²⁵ | 73,992 ¹²⁶ | 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 | 80,016 ¹²⁷ | 23,123 ¹²⁸ | 2,367 ¹²⁹ | 18,747 ¹³⁰ | 73,992 ¹³¹ | 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 | 90,803 ¹³² | 24,873 ¹³³ | 3,939 ¹³⁴ | 16,097 ¹³⁵ | 73,992 ¹³⁶ | 209,704 ¹³⁷ |
| | 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 |
| June | 83,789 ¹³⁸ | 36,229 ¹³⁹ | 7,116 ¹⁴⁰ | 18,183 ¹⁴¹ | 73,992 ¹⁴² | 219,309 |
| | 32% partially or fully trained | 100% partially or fully trained | 74% partially or fully trained |
| Stated goal | 89,369 ¹⁴³ | 41,088 ¹⁴⁴ | 35,000 ¹⁴⁵ | 20,420 ¹⁴⁶ | 73,992 ¹⁴⁷ | 259,869 |

N/A= Not available

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

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.

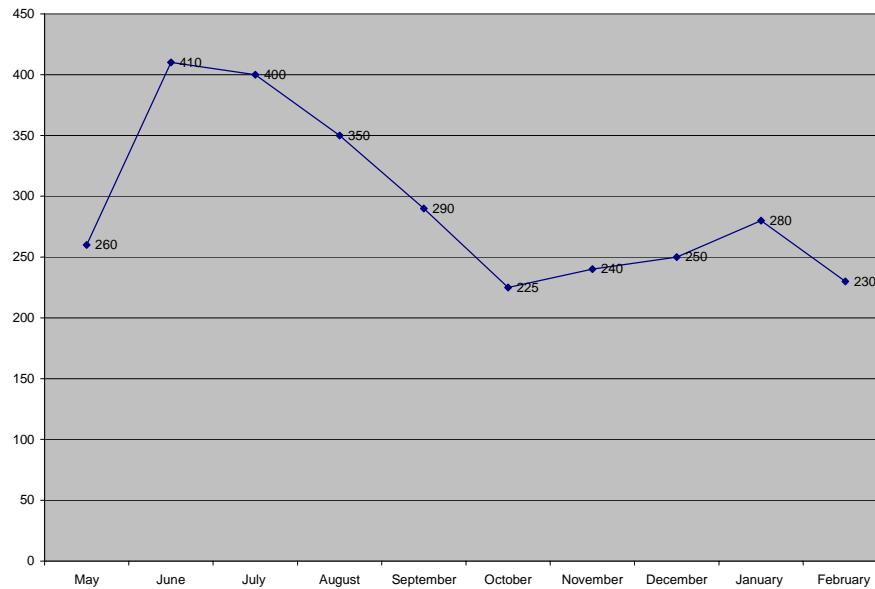
NOTE: 10% of Iraqi security forces fought against coalition forces during the upsurge in insurgent violence in April, according to the commander of the 1st Armored Division, Major General Martin Dempsey. Another 40% "walked off the job because they were intimidated," Major Dempsey said. Connie Cass, "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 DEPARTMENT¹⁴⁸



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> | 499.3¹⁴⁹ |
| <i>Austria</i> | 813.1¹⁵⁰ |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 184.5¹⁵¹ |
| <i>Brazil</i> | 192.9¹⁵² |
| <i>Canada</i> | 564.2¹⁵³ |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 30.8¹⁵⁴ |
| <i>Finland</i> | 152.2¹⁵⁵ |
| <i>France</i> | 2,993.7¹⁵⁶ |
| <i>Germany</i> | 2,403.9¹⁵⁷ |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1,726¹⁵⁸ |
| <i>Japan</i> | 4,108.6¹⁵⁹ |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 96.7¹⁶⁰ |
| <i>Republic of Korea</i> | 54.7¹⁶¹ |
| <i>Russian Federation</i> | 3,450¹⁶² |
| <i>Spain</i> | 321.2¹⁶³ |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 185.8¹⁶⁴ |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 117.5¹⁶⁵ |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 930.8¹⁶⁶ |
| <i>United States</i> | 2,192¹⁶⁷ |
| <i>Egypt and others</i> | N/A |
| <i>Poland</i> | 500¹⁶⁸ |
| <i>Kuwait</i> | 17,000¹⁶⁹ |
| <i>Bulgaria</i> | 1,000¹⁷⁰ |
| <i>Hungary</i> | 16.5¹⁷¹ |
| <i>Gulf States</i> | 30,000¹⁷² |
| <i>Morocco</i> | 31.8¹⁷³ |
| <i>Jordan</i> | 295¹⁷⁴ |
| <i>Turkey</i> | 800¹⁷⁵ |
| Interest (as of 2002) | 47,000¹⁷⁶ |
| 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 | 85.8 ¹⁷⁷ | Grants |
| Belgium | 5.6 ¹⁷⁸ | Grants |
| Canada | 244.1 ¹⁷⁹ | Grants |
| China | 24 ¹⁸⁰ | Grants |
| Czech Republic | 19 ¹⁸¹ | Grants |
| Denmark | 43 ¹⁸² | Grants |
| European Union | 233 ¹⁸³ | Grants |
| Finland | 5.9 ¹⁸⁴ | Grants |
| Germany | 27.4 ¹⁸⁵ | Grants |
| International Monetary Fund | 2,500-4,250 ¹⁸⁶ | Loans |
| Italy | 200 ¹⁸⁷ | Grants |
| Japan | 5,000 ¹⁸⁸ | 1,500 grants & 3,500 loans ¹⁸⁹ |
| Kuwait | 500 ¹⁹⁰ | Grants |
| Lithuania | .560 ¹⁹¹ | Grants |
| Netherlands | 21 ¹⁹² | Grants |
| New Zealand | 5 ¹⁹³ | Grants |
| Norway | 30 ¹⁹⁴ | Grants |
| Oman | 3 ¹⁹⁵ | Grants |
| Pakistan | 3.3 ¹⁹⁶ | Grants |
| Philippines | 1 ¹⁹⁷ | Grants |
| Russia | 8 ¹⁹⁸ | Grants |
| Saudi Arabia | 500 ¹⁹⁹ | Loans |
| Singapore | 1.7 ²⁰⁰ | Grants |
| Slovakia | 0.29 ²⁰¹ | Grants |
| South Korea | 260 ²⁰² | Grants |
| Spain | 300 ²⁰³ | Grants |
| Sweden | 30 ²⁰⁴ | Grants |
| Switzerland | 15 ²⁰⁵ | Grants |
| Taiwan | 4.3 ²⁰⁶ | Grants |
| Thailand | .283 ²⁰⁷ | Grants |
| Turkey | 5 ²⁰⁸ | Grants |
| United Arab Emirates | 215 ²⁰⁹ | Grants |
| United Kingdom | 847 ²¹⁰ | Grants |
| United States | 18,600 ²¹¹ | Grants |
| World Bank | 3,000-5,000 ²¹² | 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 Nations²¹³ | 56,000²¹⁴ | 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 NEEDS²¹⁵

| 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 ASSESSMENT²¹⁶

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

TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE, OBLIGATED, AND DISBURSED FOR IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION, AS OF APRIL, 2004²¹⁷

| | U.S. appropriations in 2003 and 2004 (billions) | Development fund for Iraq (billions) | Vested and seized assets (billions) | International (non-U.S.) pledges (billions) |
|----------------------|---|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Total Funding | \$24 | \$18 | \$2.65 | \$13.6 |
| Obligations | \$8.2 | \$13 | \$2.5 | N/A |
| Disbursement | \$3 | \$8.3 | \$2.4 | N/A |

N/A: Not available

NOTE ON TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE, OBLIGATED, AND DISBURSED FOR IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION, AS OF APRIL 2004

TABLE: U.S. appropriations include appropriations granted in both 2003 and 2004. In 2003, \$4.5 billion dollars was appropriated towards Iraqi reconstruction, and in 2004 \$18.4 billion was appropriated towards Iraqi reconstruction. An additional amount of roughly \$1 billion was appropriated towards CPA operating costs. \$3 billion of that total sum, \$24 billion, had been spent as of April 2004, most from 2003 funds. As of 22 June, 2003, only \$366 million of the funds appropriated in 2004 had been disbursed. 11 billion of the 2004 appropriations had been apportioned as of June 30, 2004. "An apportion is defined as a plan, approved by the Office of Management and Budget, to spend resources provided by law. A disbursement is defined as an actual payment (check goes out the door) for goods /services received." GAO-04-902 R: *Rebuilding Iraq*, General Accounting Office, June 2004; *Quarterly Update to Congress: 2207 Report*, July 2004.

PROJECT ALLOCATIONS AND DISBURSEMENT BY CATEGORY, AS OF MAY, 2004²¹⁸

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

USAID CONTRACTS²¹⁹

| 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 disbursed \$1.8 billion pending |

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

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

| | Fuel supplies available | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|------------------------|---|--|--|---|
| | (Millions of barrels/day) | | (Millions of liters/day) | | | (Tons/day) |
| Time | Crude oil production | Crude export | Diesel (Prod. & Imp.) | Kerosene (Prod. & Imp.) | Gasoline/Benzene (Prod. & Imp) | Total LPG (Prod. & Imp.) |
| Estimated pre-war level | 2.8-3.0 ²²⁰ | 1.7-2.5 ²²¹ | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| May | 0.3 ²²² | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| June | 0.675 ²²³ | 0.2 ²²⁴ | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| July | 0.925 ²²⁵ | 0.322 ²²⁶ | 6.5 ²²⁷ | 4.75 ²²⁸ | 13.5 ²²⁹ | 1,880 ²³⁰ |
| Aug. | 1.445 ²³¹ | 0.646 ²³² | 10.25 ²³³ | 6.2 ²³⁴ | 14.0 ²³⁵ | 2,530 ²³⁶ |
| Sept. | 1.7225 ²³⁷ | 0.983 ²³⁸ | 14.25 ²³⁹ | 6.9 ²⁴⁰ | 17.3 ²⁴¹ | 3,030 ²⁴² |
| Oct. | 2.055 ²⁴³ | 1.149 ²⁴⁴ | 14.75 ²⁴⁵ | 9.6 ²⁴⁶ | 16.35 ²⁴⁷ | 3,700 ²⁴⁸ |
| November | 2.1 ²⁴⁹ | 1.524 ²⁵⁰ | 13.14 ²⁵¹ | 13.3 ²⁵² | 11.792 ²⁵³ | 3,610 ²⁵⁴ |
| December | 2.30 ²⁵⁵ | 1.541 ²⁵⁶ | 12.29 ²⁵⁷ | 9.4 ²⁵⁸ | 12.9 ²⁵⁹ | 3,460 ²⁶⁰ |
| January | 2.440 ²⁶¹ | 1.537 ²⁶² | 13.91 ²⁶³ | 11.3 ²⁶⁴ | 13.32 ²⁶⁵ | 3,445 ²⁶⁶ |
| February | 2.276 ²⁶⁷ | 1.382 ²⁶⁸ | 15.21 ²⁶⁹ | 13.05 ²⁷⁰ | 16.65 ²⁷¹ | 4,670 ²⁷² |
| March | 2.435 ²⁷³ | 1.825 ²⁷⁴ | 15.03 ²⁷⁵ | 17.28 ²⁷⁶ | 17.19 ²⁷⁷ | 5,010 ²⁷⁸ |
| April | 2.384 ²⁷⁹ | 1.804 ²⁸⁰ | 22.75 ²⁸¹ | 4.46 ²⁸² | 19.3 ²⁸³ | 3,607 ²⁸⁴ |
| May | 1.887 ²⁸⁵ | 1.380 ²⁸⁶ | 22.92 ²⁸⁷ | 4.005 ²⁸⁸ | 18.07 ²⁸⁹ | 3,264 ²⁹⁰ |
| June | 2.295 ²⁹¹ | 2.023 ²⁹² | 16.47 ²⁹³ | 4.9 ²⁹⁴ | 22 ²⁹⁵ | 3,086 ²⁹⁶ |
| Stated Goal: | 2.8-3.0 ²⁹⁷ to be reached December 2004 | N/A | 18 ²⁹⁸ revised down in June from 19.5 | 5.0 ²⁹⁹ revised down in June from 4.5 in May | 22 ³⁰⁰ revised up in June from 19 in May | 4,000 ³⁰¹ revised down in June from 4,800 |

N/A= Not available

NOTE: The June estimate of crude oil exports is from before the June 15 pipeline sabotage. The final June average of crude oil exports is therefore likely to be lower.

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.

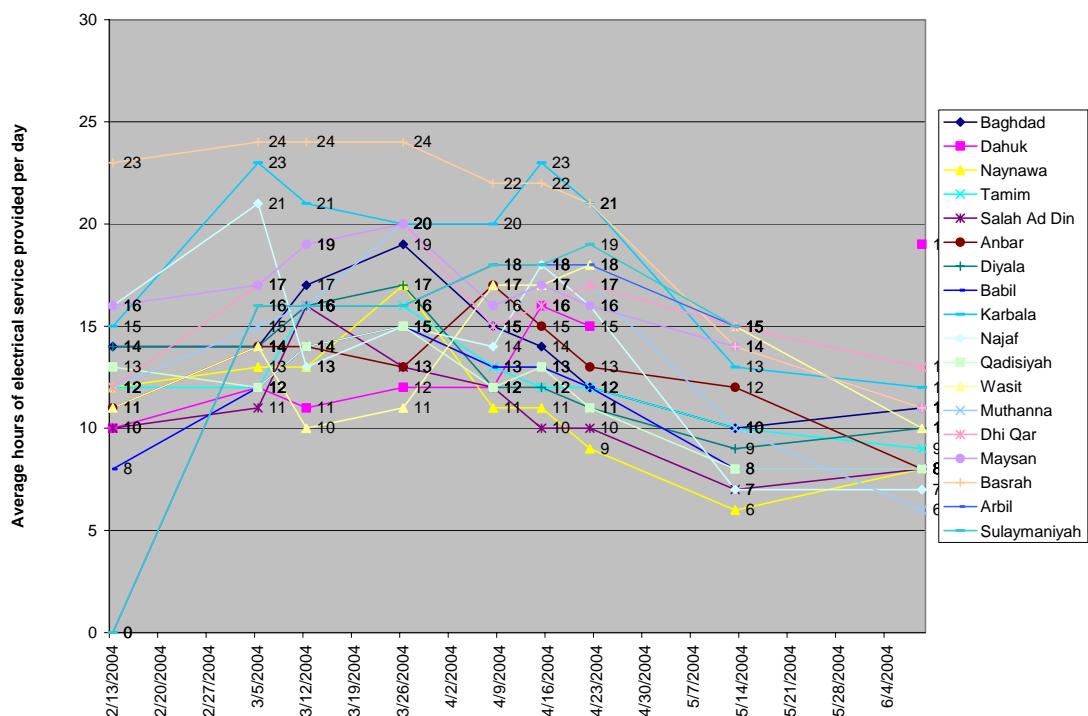
NOTE: Kerosene imports began 5 October, 2003. All previous months cover only production

NOTE: LPG= Liquified Petroleum Gas

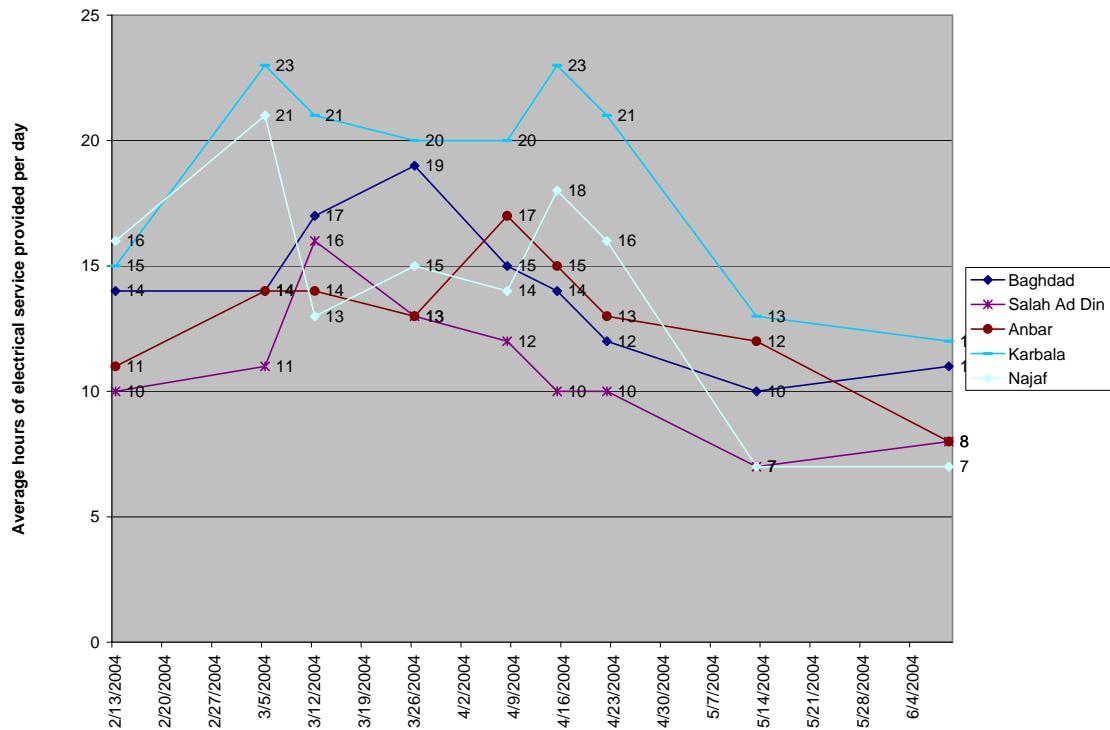
| Time | Average amount of electricity generated (Megawatts) | |
|-------------------------|--|---|
| | Nation-wide | Baghdad |
| Estimated pre-war level | 4,400 ³⁰² | 2,500 ³⁰³ |
| May | N/A | 300 ³⁰⁴ |
| June | 3,193 ³⁰⁵ | 707 ³⁰⁶ |
| July | 3,236 ³⁰⁷ | 1,082 ³⁰⁸ |
| Aug. | 3,263 ³⁰⁹ | 1,283 ³¹⁰ |
| Sept. | 3,543 ³¹¹ | 1,229 ³¹² |
| Oct. | 3,948 ³¹³ | N/A |
| November | 3,582 ³¹⁴ | N/A |
| December | 3,427 ³¹⁵ | N/A |
| January | 3,758 ³¹⁶ | N/A |
| February | 4,125 ³¹⁷ | 1,307 ³¹⁸ |
| March | 4,040 ³¹⁹ | 1,192 ³²⁰ |
| April | 3,823 ³²¹ | 1,021 ³²² |
| May | 3,902 ³²³ | 1,053 ³²⁴ |
| June | 4,293 ³²⁵ | 1,198 |
| Stated Goal: | 6,000 by July 1, 2004 ³²⁶ | 2,500 to have been reached by October 2003 ³²⁷ |

ELECTRICAL POWER DISTRIBUTION PER GOVERNORATE PER DAY³²⁸

MAJORITY OF GOVERNORATES



SELECTED GOVERNORATES



VALUE OF THE IRAQI DINAR

6/23/2004

| Month | \$1 = ID |
|------------|----------------------|
| October 15 | 2,000 ³²⁹ |
| November | 1,948 ³³⁰ |
| December | 1,675 ³³¹ |
| January | 1,360 ³³² |
| February | 1,425 ³³³ |
| March | 1,415 ³³⁴ |
| April | 1,455 ³³⁵ |
| May | 1,460 ³³⁶ |
| June | 1,455 ³³⁷ |

PORT CARGO CAPACITY AND COMMERCIAL AIRPORT DEPARTURES NATIONWIDE

5/25/2004

| Time | Port cargo capacity (raw tonnage in millions) ³³⁸ | Commercial aircraft departures nationwide (per day) ³³⁹ |
|---------------------------|---|---|
| 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

IRRIGATION

12/01/2003

| Month | Irrigation canals in need of clearing (km) |
|-----------|--|
| May | 20,000 ³⁴⁰ |
| September | 5,000 ³⁴¹ |
| October | 3,500 ³⁴² |

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.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

5/5/2004

| Time | Number of phones | Number of Internet connections |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Estimated pre-war level | 833,000³⁴³ | 4,500³⁴⁴ |
| September | 850,000³⁴⁵ | 4,900³⁴⁶ |
| December | 600,000³⁴⁷ | N/A |
| January 2004 | 600,000³⁴⁸ | N/A |
| February | 900,000³⁴⁹ | N/A |
| March | 984,225³⁵⁰ | N/A |
| April | 1,095,000³⁵¹ | N/A |
| May | 1,220,000³⁵² | N/A |
| June | 1,200,000³⁵³ | N/A |
| Previous goal (Jan. 2004) | 1,100,000³⁵⁴ | 50,000³⁵⁵ |

LOCAL GOVERNANCE COUNCILS

2/18/2004

| Month | Number of local governance councils |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| November | 255³⁵⁶ |
| December | 255 |
| January | N/A |
| February | 318³⁵⁷ |

HOSPITALS RESTORED TO PRE-WAR LEVEL OF OPERATIONS

3/7/2004

| Month | Hospitals restored to pre-war level of operations |
|--------------|---|
| March | 90%³⁵⁸ |

N/A=Not available

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

| Month | Unemployment rate nationwide |
|-----------|------------------------------|
| May | N/A |
| June | 50 - 60% ³⁵⁹ |
| July | N/A |
| August | >50% ³⁶⁰ |
| September | N/A |
| October | 40 - 50% ³⁶¹ |
| November | N/A |
| December | N/A |
| January | 30 - 45% ³⁶² |
| February | 30 - 45% ³⁶³ |
| March | 28 - 45% ³⁶⁴ |
| April | 28 - 45% ³⁶⁵ |
| May | 28-45% ³⁶⁶ |

N/A= Not available

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

POLLING

END OF JUNE: IRAQ CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND STRATEGIC STUDIES POLL³⁶⁷

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

9-19 JUNE: COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY (CPA) POLL³⁶⁸

CONFIDENCE IN THE NEW INTERIM GOVERNMENT

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

CONFIDENCE IN IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

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

CONFIDENCE IN SELECTED INSTITUTIONS

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

PERCEIVED IMPACT OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT

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

HOW LONG SHOULD COALITION FORCES STAY IN IRAQ?

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

IMPACT OF COALITION FORCES LEAVING IMMEDIATELY

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

PRISONERS ABUSE AT ABU GHRAIB

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

ABILITY OF IRAQI POLICE AND ARMY TO MAINTAIN SECURITY IN IRAQ

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

MOST DANGEROUS KIND OF VIOLENCE TO IRAQ

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

MOST DANGEROUS KIND OF VIOLENCE TO IRAQI FAMILIES

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

MOST URGENT ISSUES FACING IRAQ MID-MAY

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

IRAQI OPINION OF MOQTADA AL-SADR IN LATE APRIL

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

IMPACT OF EVENTS ON UNIFYING OR DIVIDING IRAQ

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

OPINION ON VIOLENT ATTACKS IN THE COUNTRY

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

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF INSURGENTS

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

SUPPORT OF OR OPPOSITION TO THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS IN LATE APRIL

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

VOTING FOR AN IRAQI PRESIDENT

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

APPROPRIATE POWER OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

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

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

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

IRAQIS INFORMED ABOUT FORMATION OF COMMISSION SUPERVISING ELECTIONS

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

WHO SHOULD HAVE A SAY IN SELECTING THE ELECTION COMMISSION?

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

WHAT CONTRIBUTES TO YOUR SENSE OF SECURITY

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

INTEREST IN JOINING THE IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

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

IRAQI OPINION OF COALITION FORCES

| Should Coalition Forces leave or stay in Iraq? (Results expressed as absolute numbers for each opinion for 1068 respondents) | |
|---|--|
| Leave: 866 | Stay: 71 |
| Why should Coalition Forces leave? | Why should Coalition Forces stay? |
| They are occupiers and must leave immediately: 418 | They are the only power that can effectively administer Iraq: 33 |
| They brought only death and destruction: 142 | If they leave there will be a political vacuum: 22 |
| Iraqis can administer Iraq better: 102 | Other/Don't know/No answer: 11 |
| They want Iraqi oil and resources: 76 | Their presence brings Iraq future benefit: 5 |
| They are facilitating Zionist domination of Iraq: 51 | |
| They do not respect our religions and cultures: 38 | |
| They abuse Iraqis: 23 | |
| Other/Don't know/No answer: 16 | |

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

MARCH 22-APRIL 9: CNN/USA TODAY/ GALLUP POLL³⁷⁰

| 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% |
| Feel freer to express any political views in public? | 76% | 1% | 3% | 60% | 2% |
| Felt afraid of practicing religious beliefs? | 8% | 1% | 1% | 4% | 54% |
| Been afraid to go outside your home at night for safety reasons? | 74% | 1% | 6% | 39% | 10% |
| Lost my job? | 7% | 0% | N/A | 5% | 4% |
| Gone without public sewage system? | 40% | N/A | 1% | 31% | 37% |

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

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

24 MARCH -2 APRIL: COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY POLL

IRAQI ATTITUDE TOWARDS INSTITUTIONS³⁷¹

| 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 BAGHDAD³⁷²

| 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? ³⁷³ |
|----------|---|
| February | Better: 56.5% Worse: 18.6% |

31 DECEMBER – 7 JANUARY: STATE DEPARTMENT STUDY OF IRAQ PUBLIC OPINION³⁷⁴GREATEST THREAT TO IRAQI CITIZENS

| Type of threat | What is the greatest threat to yourself and your family? ³⁷⁵ | | | | | |
|---|---|--------|-------|----------|---------|---------|
| | 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? ³⁷⁶ | | | | | |
|---|---|--------|-------|----------|---------|---------|
| | 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... | | |
|----------|--|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | 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.... ³⁷⁸ | | |
|----------|---|------------------|------------------------------|
| | 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.... ³⁷⁹ | | |
|----------|--|------------------|------------------------------|
| | 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... ³⁸⁰ | | |
|------------|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | 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? ³⁸¹ | | |
|------------|---|--|--|
| | 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? ³⁸² | | | | | |
|----------|---|----------------|------------------|-------------------|-----|------------------|
| | 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? ³⁸³ | | | | |
|----------|---|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| | 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? ³⁸⁴ | 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? ³⁸⁵ | Agree: 66% | Agree: 61% |
| If coalition forces left immediately, would you feel more safe, less safe, or no difference? ³⁸⁶ | 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? ³⁸⁷ | Better off: 67% Worse off: 8% |
| Is Iraq better off now than it was before the invasion? ³⁸⁸ | Better off: 33% Worse off: 47% |
| Was ousting Saddam worth the hardships endured since the invasion? ³⁸⁹ | Yes: 62% No: N/A |
| Would you like to see U.S. troops stay longer than a few more months? ³⁹⁰ | Stay longer: 71% Not stay longer: 26% |
| Are there circumstances in which attacks against U.S. troops can be justified? ³⁹¹ | No: 64% Sometimes justified: 36% |
| Have you been afraid at times to go outside your home during the day within the past four weeks? ³⁹² | Yes: 86% No: N/A |
| Is Baghdad a more dangerous place now than before the invasion? ³⁹³ | 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? ³⁹⁴ |
|------------------------|--|
| 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 Monthly wounded figures from May 1, 2003 - December 31, 2003 at “Operation Iraqi Freedom Casualty Summary by Month”, *Directorate for Information Operations and Reports*, (web1.whs.osd.mil/mmid/casualty/castop.htm [April 12, 2004]). Remaining months are documented daily from “Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status,” *Department of Defense*, (www.defenselink.mil/news/).

³ “Details of British Casualties,” *British 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 since May 2003 is based on reports of individual incidents as reported by Iraq Bodycount, (www.iraqbodycount.org). The numbers used for the table is the upper bound estimate only, since we assume that due to the fact that a lot of cases are not reported, our estimate is probably lower than the actual number. Three types of entries in the Iraq Bodycount data base were excluded from our monthly tallies. They are single reports of civilians killed over several months, reports of the number of corpses in Iraqi morgues, and reports that we were unable to find the source for. We exclude the former two types of cases in order to avoid any potential double counting. The cases excluded account for 477 deaths.

⁷ 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. One British and American killed on October 26. The nationalities stated are according to a CBS camera man. Theola Labbe and Vernon Loeb, “Wolfowitz Unhurt in Rocket Attack”, *Washington Post*, October 26, 2003. 2 Italians were killed by a truck bomb at the Italian Military on November 12, 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. 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. 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. 2004Four 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. 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.”

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([www.journalnow.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=WSJ%2FMGArticle%2FWSJ_BasicArticle&c=MGArticle&cid=1031775485094&path=!loc_alnews&s=1037645509099](http://www.journalnow.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=WSJ%2FMGArticle%2FWSJ_BasicArticle&c=MGArticle&cid=1031775485094&path=!loc_alnews&s=1037645509099 [May 17, 2004]) [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. 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. “American Killed in Attack on Australia Plane in Iraq,” *Reuters*, June 28, 2004. One American killed on June 27, 2004. “Security Guard Shot Dead in Iraq,” *BBC News*, June 29, 2004. Scott Wilson, “Powerful Car Bomb Rocks Baghdad,” *Washington Post*, July 15, 2004.

⁸ Estimates for May 2003 to October 2003 are author’s estimates based on Pentagon briefings and include suspected insurgents both detained and killed. 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. Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. Detainees only.

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. Detainees only.

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. Detainees only.

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⁹ Eric Schmitt and David E. Sanger. "Guerillas Posing More Danger, Says U.S. Commander for Iraq," *New York Times*, November 14, 2003. According to General John P. Abizaid.

¹⁰ Bradley Graham, "Hussein Arrest Yields Details on Resistance," *Washington Post*, December 18, 2003.

¹¹ "4th Infantry Division Commanding General's, Briefing from Iraq," *Coalition Provisional Authority*, January 22, 2004. Statement by Army Maj. Gen. Raymond T. Odierno,

¹² Bradley Graham, "Iraqi Security Forces Fall Short, Generals Say," *Washington Post*, April 13, 2004. According to General John P. Abizaid

¹³ Robin Wright, "In Iraq, Daunting Task Await," *Washington Post*, July 7, 2004.

¹⁴ 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.

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¹⁵ Mark Hurtling, et al. "On the Ground, Straight From the Top," *Washington Post*, December 7, 2003.

¹⁶ Jeffrey Fleishman, "Back Into Baghdad's Streets," *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 2004.

¹⁷ 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.

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¹⁹ Ibid.

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 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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⁴⁵ Ibid. Include reservists and National Guard.

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⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 26 January 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

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⁵⁴ Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing," News transcript. *Department of Defense*. April 15, 2004. According to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.

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⁵⁹ Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "As Handover Nears, U.S. Mistakes Loom Large," *Washington Post*, June 20, 2004.

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