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

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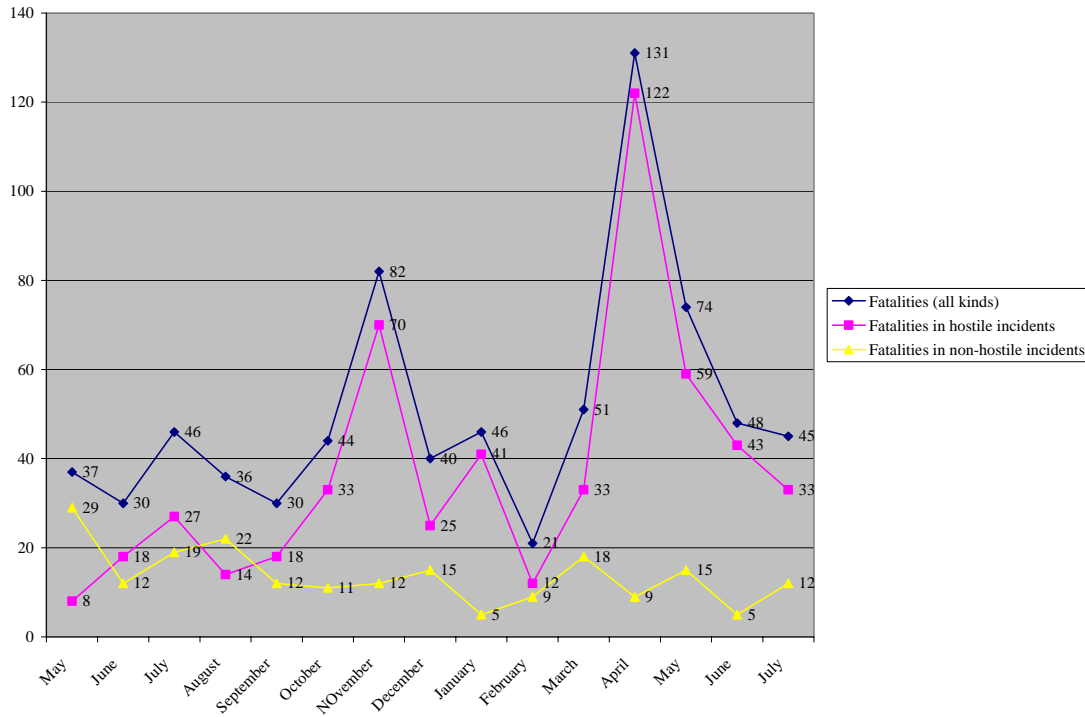
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SECURITY INDICATORS

U.S. TROOPS FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 2003¹



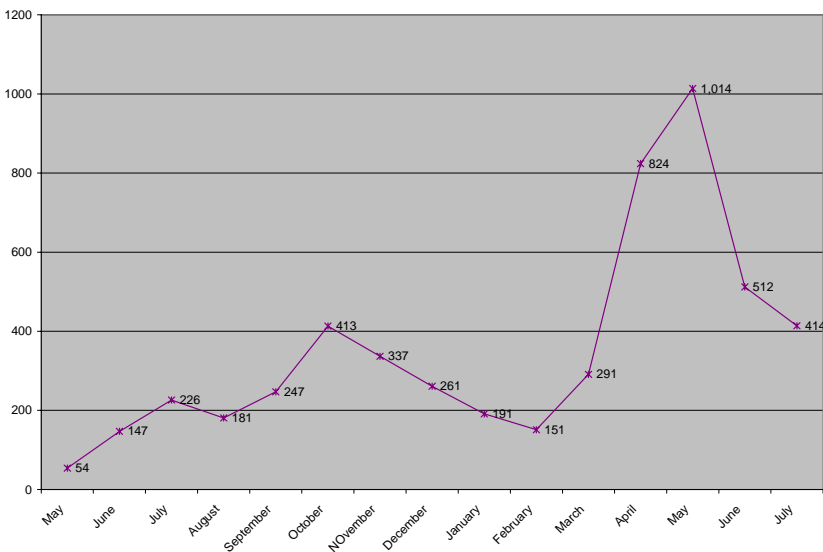
Totals as of July 23:

Fatalities (all kinds): **761**

Fatalities in hostile incidents: **556**

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

U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY, 2003²

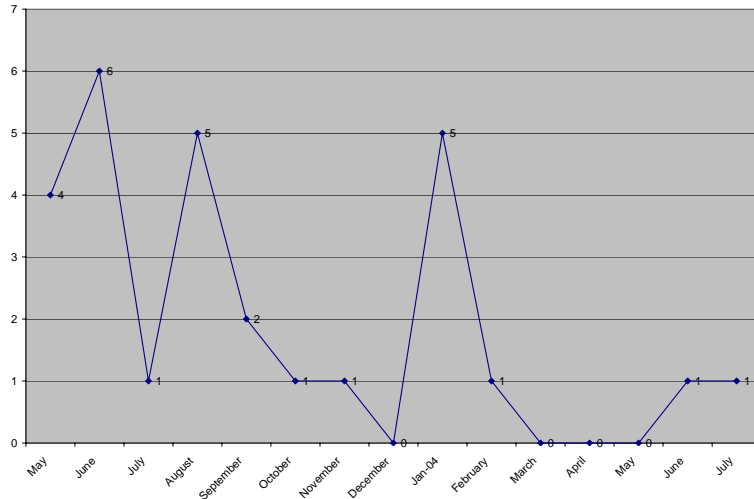


Totals as of July 21: 5,263

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.

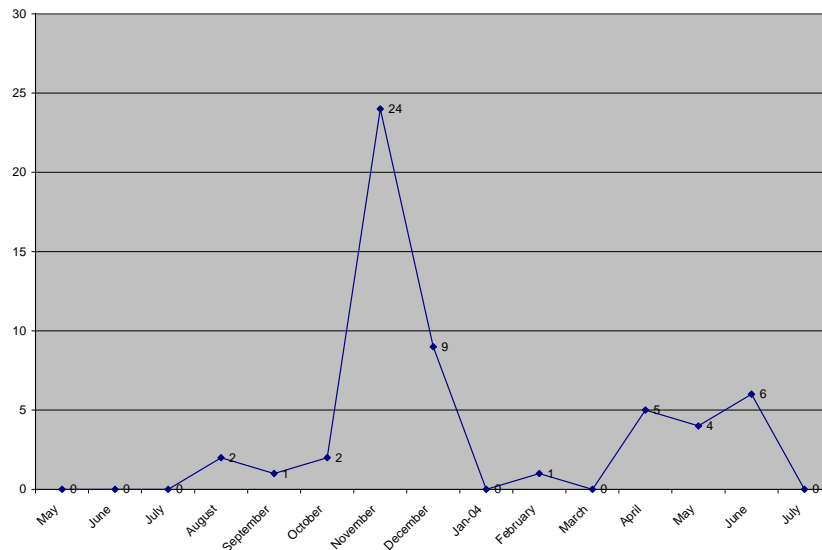
NOTE ON U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY 1 TABLE: The number of troops wounded in action is updated in the Iraqi Index every Wednesday. 541 American troops were wounded in action between March 19 and April 30, 2003.

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.

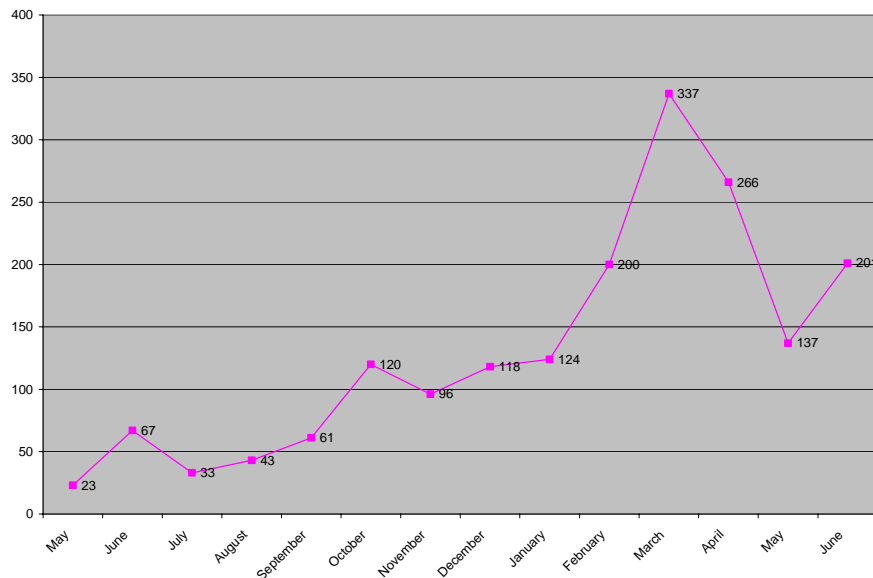
NOTE ON NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1 TABLE: Excluding American and British troop fatalities, there were no coalition fatalities from the start of the war up until May 1. All such fatalities occurred after that date.

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
350⁴	182⁵

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



Total as of June 26: 1,826

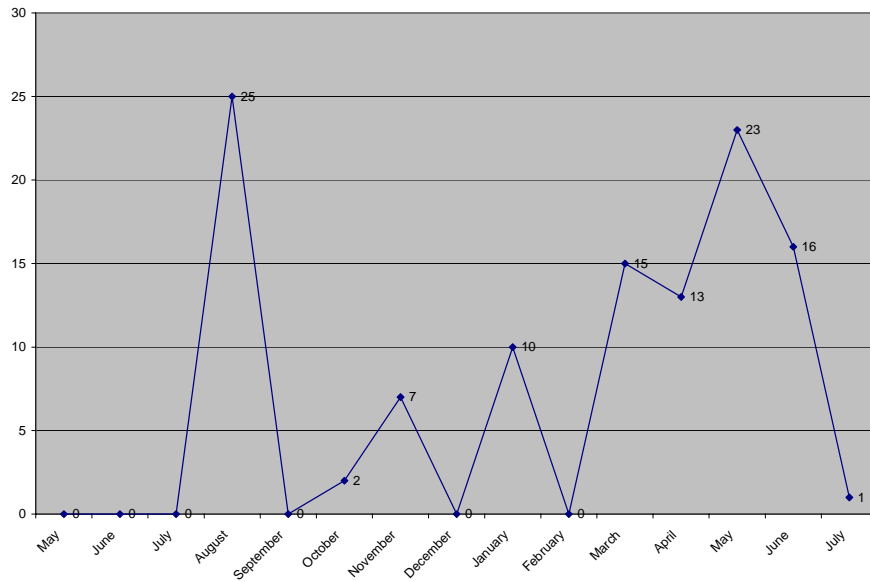
NOTE ON CASUALTIES TO IRAQI SECURITY FORCES TABLE: According to Lieutenant Qassem of the Iraqi Facilities Protection Services, the rate of Iraqi police killed by insurgents dropped by almost 50% in April, to roughly a dozen fatalities. Scott Peterson, "More Iraqis Accept Their U.S.-Trained Forces," *Christian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

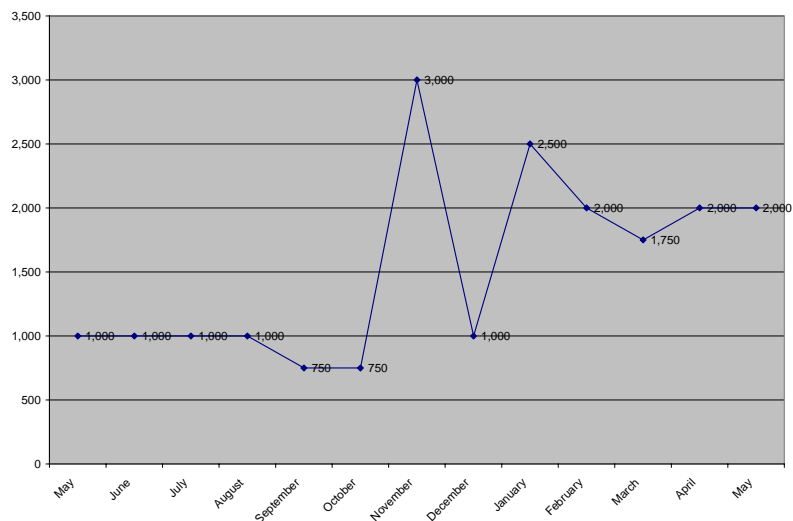


Total as of July 23: 112

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.

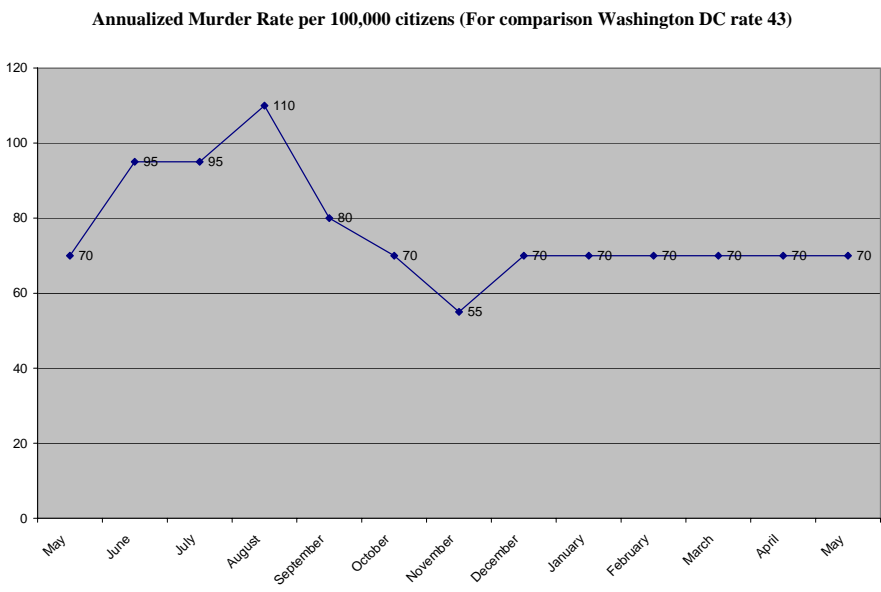
ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE

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.

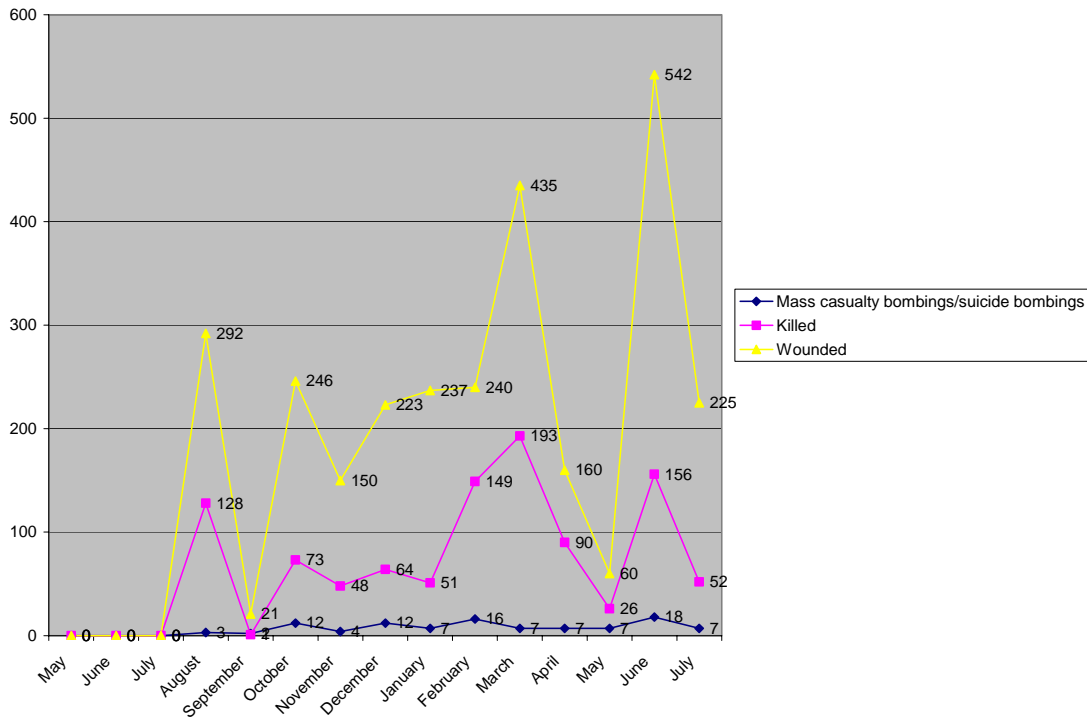


NOTE: We used to have an upper and lower bound of the estimated murder rate, but have dropped this methodology since we want to ensure that this table reflect the level of crime-related killings as accurately as possible. Estimates for each month are typically based on the number of bodies brought to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

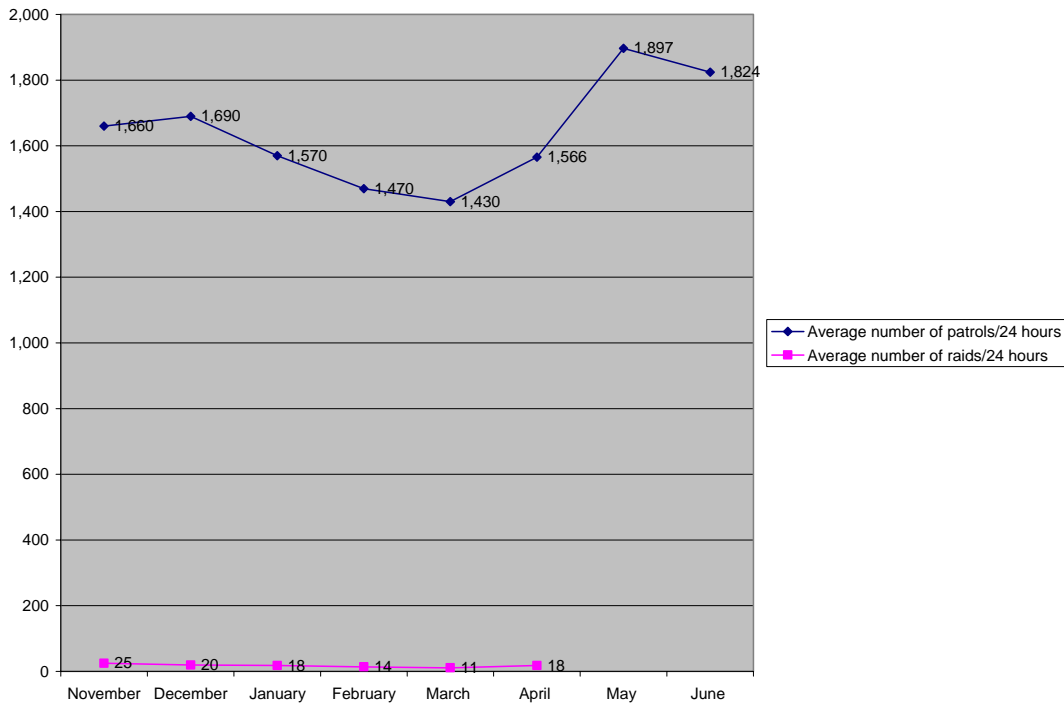
TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ

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

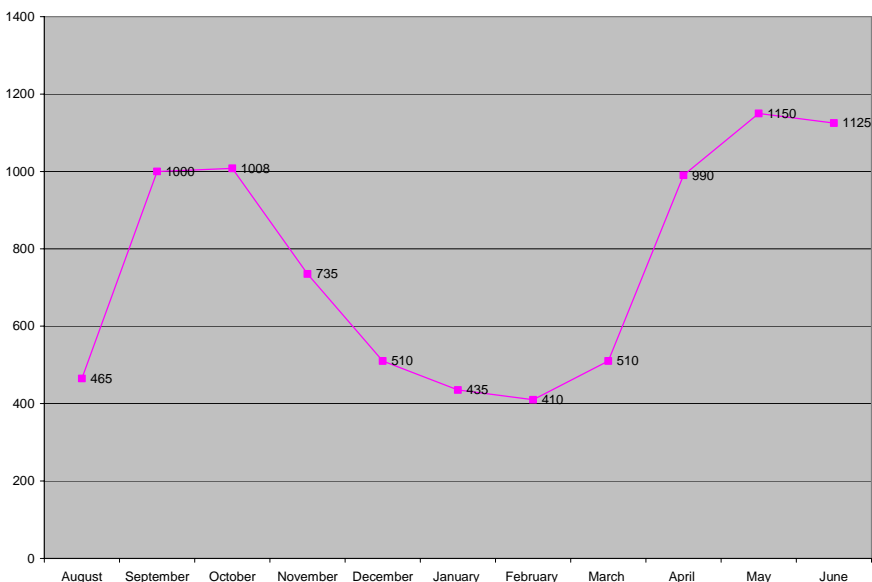


NOTE ON TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ TABLE:

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

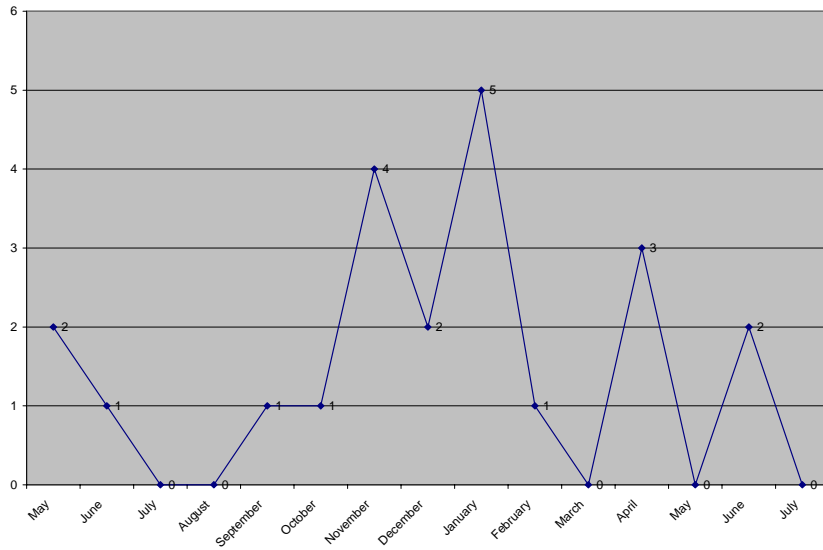
Month	Typical number of daily attacks on Iraqi security forces	Typical number of daily attacks on Iraqi civilians
December	2 ⁷²	2 ⁷³
January	4 ⁷⁴	1 ⁷⁵
February	4 ⁷⁶	3 ⁷⁷
March	4 ⁷⁸	4 ⁷⁹
April	N/A	N/A
May	N/A	N/A

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.

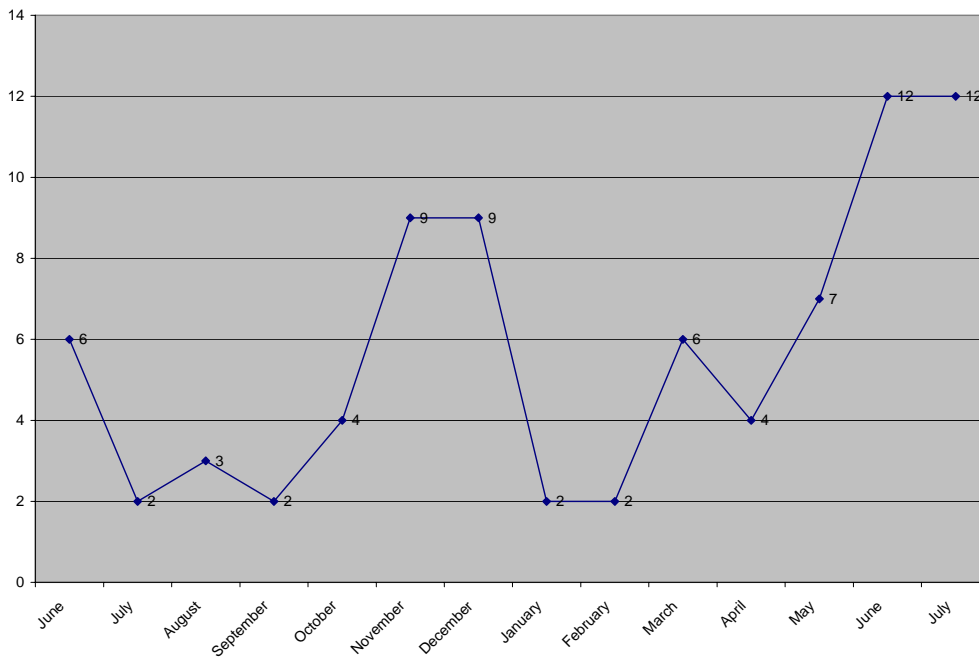
NOTE ON INSURGENT ATTACKS AGAINST COALITION FORCES TABLE: The monthly averages of insurgent attacks against coalition forces are approximate. Attacks included are predominantly those using improvised explosive devices, mortars, rocket-propelled grenades, and improvised rockets. Small-arms fire, hand 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 large⁸²
April	40
May	28
June	23
July	18
August	16
September	15
October	15
November	15
December	13⁸³
January	12⁸⁴
February	10⁸⁵
March	9⁸⁶
April	9
May	9
June	9
July	9

SIZE OF IRAQI SECURITY FORCES ON DUTY

6/23/2004

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	100% partially or fully trained	100% 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.

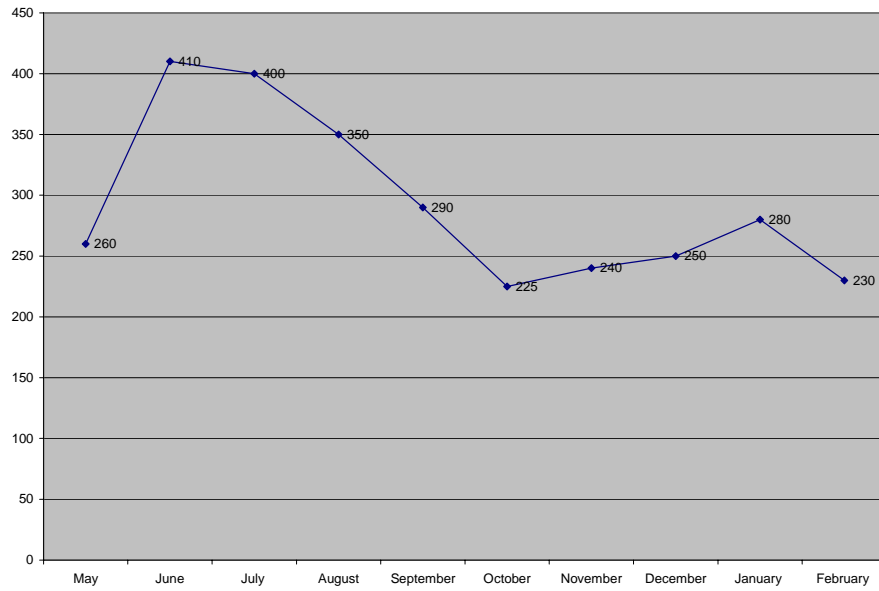
NOTE: 10% of Iraqi security forces fought against coalition forces during the upsurge in insurgent violence in April, according to the commander of the 1st Armored Division, Major General Martin Dempsey. Another 40% "walked off the job because they were intimidated," Major Dempsey said. Connie Cass, "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>	499.3 ¹⁴⁹
<i>Austria</i>	813.1 ¹⁵⁰
<i>Belgium</i>	184.5 ¹⁵¹
<i>Brazil</i>	192.9 ¹⁵²
<i>Canada</i>	564.2 ¹⁵³
<i>Denmark</i>	30.8 ¹⁵⁴
<i>Finland</i>	152.2 ¹⁵⁵
<i>France</i>	2,993.7 ¹⁵⁶
<i>Germany</i>	2,403.9 ¹⁵⁷
<i>Italy</i>	1,726 ¹⁵⁸
<i>Japan</i>	4,108.6 ¹⁵⁹
<i>Netherlands</i>	96.7 ¹⁶⁰
<i>Republic of Korea</i>	54.7 ¹⁶¹
<i>Russian Federation</i>	3,450 ¹⁶²
<i>Spain</i>	321.2 ¹⁶³
<i>Sweden</i>	185.8 ¹⁶⁴
<i>Switzerland</i>	117.5 ¹⁶⁵
<i>United Kingdom</i>	930.8 ¹⁶⁶
<i>United States</i>	2,192 ¹⁶⁷
Egypt and others	N/A
Poland	500 ¹⁶⁸
Kuwait	17,000 ¹⁶⁹
Bulgaria	1,000 ¹⁷⁰
Hungary	16.5 ¹⁷¹
Gulf States	30,000 ¹⁷²
Morocco	31.8 ¹⁷³
Jordan	295 ¹⁷⁴
Turkey	800 ¹⁷⁵
Interest (as of 2002)	47,000 ¹⁷⁶
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.

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	2.8-3.0 ²²⁰	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.

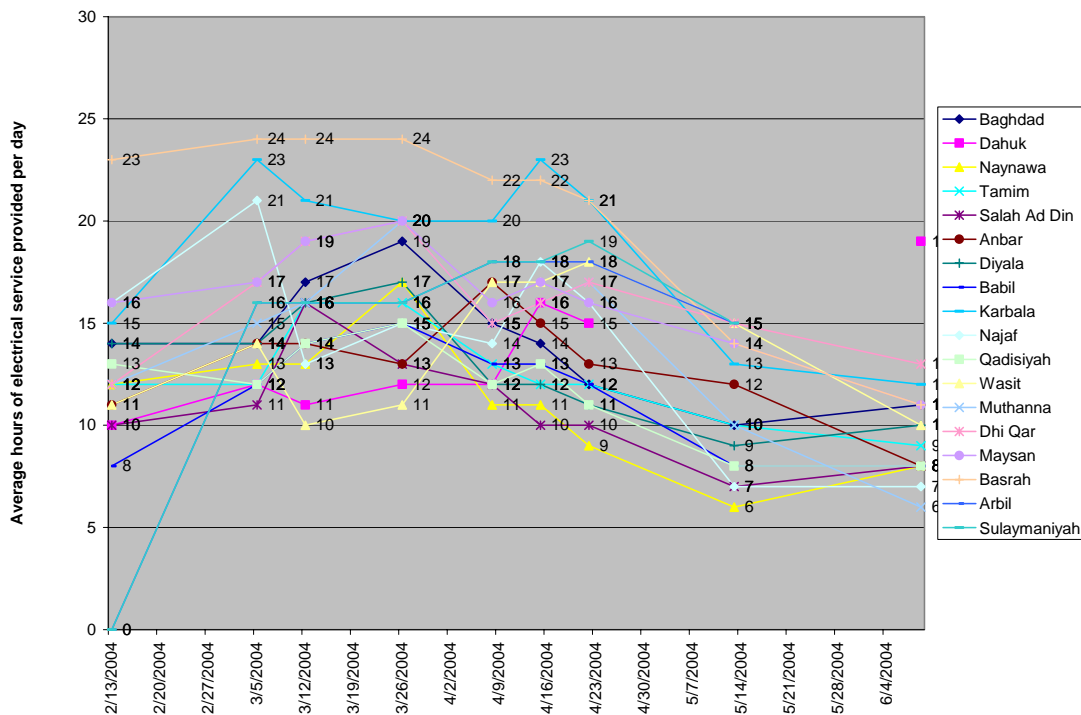
NOTE: Kerosene imports began 5 October, 2003. All previous months cover only production

NOTE: LPG= Liquefied Petroleum Gas

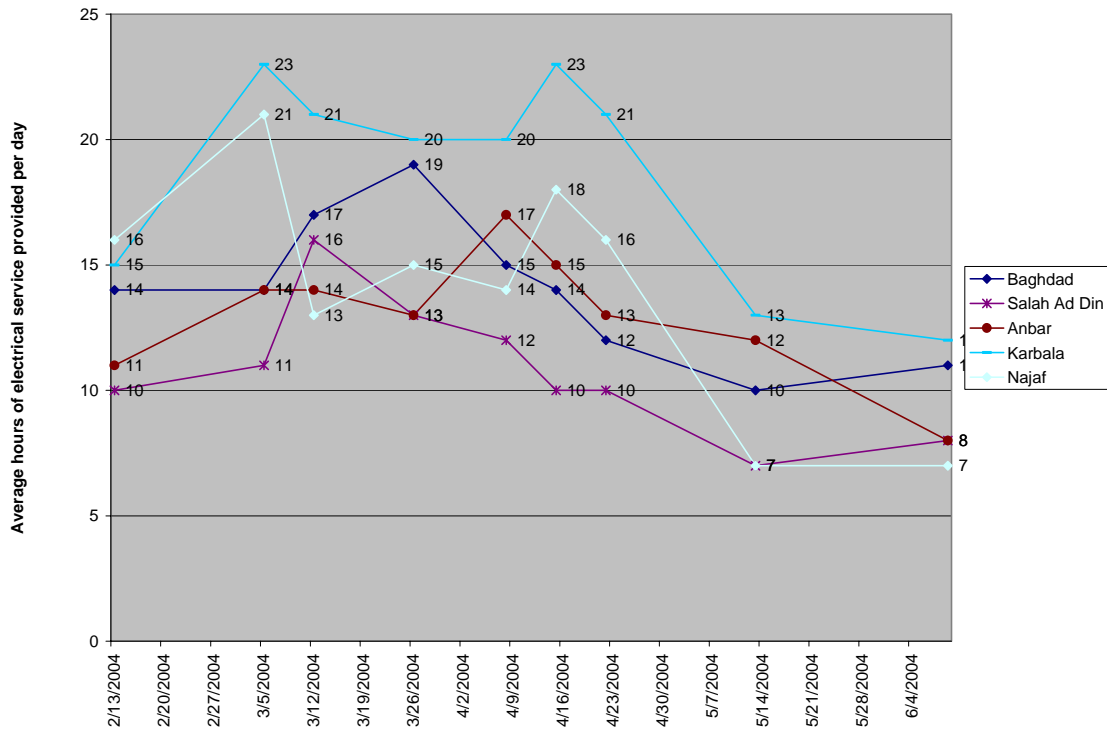
Time	Average amount of electricity generated (Megawatts)	
	Nation-wide	Baghdad
Estimated pre-war level	4,400 ³⁰²	2,500 ³⁰³
May	N/A	300 ³⁰⁴
June	3,193 ³⁰⁵	707 ³⁰⁶
July	3,236 ³⁰⁷	1,082 ³⁰⁸
Aug.	3,263 ³⁰⁹	1,283 ³¹⁰
Sept.	3,543 ³¹¹	1,229 ³¹²
Oct.	3,948 ³¹³	N/A
November	3,582 ³¹⁴	N/A
December	3,427 ³¹⁵	N/A
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	833,000 ³⁴³	4,500 ³⁴⁴
September	850,000 ³⁴⁵	4,900 ³⁴⁶
December	600,000 ³⁴⁷	N/A
January 2004	600,000 ³⁴⁸	N/A
February	900,000 ³⁴⁹	N/A
March	984,225 ³⁵⁰	N/A
April	1,095,000 ³⁵¹	N/A
May	1,220,000 ³⁵²	N/A
June	1,200,000 ³⁵³	N/A
Previous goal (Jan. 2004)	1,100,000 ³⁵⁴	50,000 ³⁵⁵

LOCAL GOVERNANCE COUNCILS

2/18/2004

Month	Number of local governance councils
November	255 ³⁵⁶
December	255
January	N/A
February	318 ³⁵⁷

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-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

*END OF JUNE: IRAQ CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND STRATEGIC STUDIES POLL*³⁶⁷

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) POLL*³⁶⁸

CONFIDENCE IN THE NEW INTERIM GOVERNMENT

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

CONFIDENCE IN IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

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

CONFIDENCE IN SELECTED INSTITUTIONS

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

PERCEIVED IMPACT OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT

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

HOW LONG SHOULD COALITION FORCES STAY IN IRAQ?

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

IMPACT OF COALITION FORCES LEAVING IMMEDIATELY

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

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

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF INSURGENTS

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

SUPPORT OF OR OPPOSITION TO THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS IN LATE APRIL

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

VOTING FOR AN IRAQI PRESIDENT

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

APPROPRIATE POWER OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

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

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

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

IRAQIS INFORMED ABOUT FORMATION OF COMMISSION SUPERVISING ELECTIONS

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

WHO SHOULD HAVE A SAY IN SELECTING THE ELECTION COMMISSION?

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

WHAT CONTRIBUTES TO YOUR SENSE OF SECURITY

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

INTEREST IN JOINING THE IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

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

IRAQI OPINION OF COALITION FORCES

Should Coalition Forces leave or stay in Iraq? (Results expressed as absolute numbers for each opinion for 1068 respondents)	
Leave: 866	Stay: 71
Why should Coalition Forces leave?	Why should Coalition Forces stay?
They are occupiers and must leave immediately: 418	They are the only power that can effectively administer Iraq: 33
They brought only death and destruction: 142	If they leave there will be a political vacuum: 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 OPINION³⁷⁴

GREATEST 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... ³⁷⁷		
	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 BAGHDAD: 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 where 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, 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. Antyhony 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,"

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. 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

alnews&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. 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.

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. 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.

¹⁰Bradley 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.

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. Washington DC rate from "Detroit murders drop to lowest number in 36 years," *Associated Press State and Local Wire*, January 3, 2004.

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

¹⁶Jeffrey 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 McFarquhar, "Thousands at Burial for Slain Cleric," *New York Times*, September 3.

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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.

Ian Fisher, "Suicide Bombers Strike at 2 U.S. Bases, Wounding Dozens of G.I.'s," *New York Times*, December 10, 2003. Two attacks on December 9. Alan Sipress, "Bombing in Iraq Kills U.S. Soldier," *Washington Post*, December 12, 2003. Attack on December 11. Alan Sipress, "Suicide Bomber Kills 17 Iraqis, Wounds 33," *Washington Post*, December 15, 2003. Attack on December 14. Ian Fisher, "Fuel Tanker Explodes Unnerving a Tense City," *New York Times*, December 18, 2003. Two attacks on December 15. Edward Wong, "4 G.I.'s and 6 Iraqi Civilians are Killed in Bomb Attacks," *New York Times*, December 25, 2003. Attack on December 25. Edward Wong, "Up to 13 are Dead in Attacks in Iraq," *Washington Post*, December 28, 2003. Four attacks on December 27. Alan Sipress and Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Baghdad Bombing Kills Five," *Washington Post*, January 1, 2004. Attack on December 31.

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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.

³⁴ "Security Forces in Iraq," *DoD Briefing Slides*: 6 November 2003. Ratio of reserves to active forces derived from graph.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ "Security Forces in Iraq," *DoD Briefing Slides*: 6 November 2003. Ratio of reserves to active forces derived from graph.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 15 December 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Robert T. Worth, "National Guard at War at Home to Prepare for Real Thing in Iraq," *New York Times*, December 27, 2003. Numbers appreciated as 70% of the American troop strength in Iraq, based on the article stating that 30% of American troops are reservists and in the National Guard.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Include reservists and National Guard.

⁴⁶ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 30 December 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

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

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 17 February 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

⁵¹ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 23 February 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

⁵² "The Tyrant is Gone, But the Trauma Remains," *Los Angeles Times*, March 20, 2004.

⁵³ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, March 18, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

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

⁵⁵ Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, April 20, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

⁵⁶ Defense Department Operational Update Briefing, Department of Defense. May 4, 2004. According to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.

⁵⁷ Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

⁵⁸ Robert Burns, "Iraq War Casualties Mounting for U.S. Citizen Soldiers, With no Letup in Sight," *Associated Press*, June 26, 2004.

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

⁶⁰ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, June 22, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD

⁶¹ Robin Wright and Bradley Graham, "U.S. Works to Sustain Iraq Coalition," *Washington Post*, July 15, 2004.

⁶² Ibid. Robin Wright and Bradley Graham, "U.S. Works to Sustain Iraq Coalition," *Washington Post*, July 15, 2004.

⁶³ Deduced by numbers on total troop strength stated in "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD, and total number of troops engaged in Operation Iraqi Freedom in "Department of Defense, Active Duty Military Personnel Strengths by Regional Area and by Country (309A), September 30, 2003.

⁶⁴ Deduced by numbers on total troop strength stated in "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003.

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⁶⁵ Robin Wright and Bradley Graham, "U.S. Works to Sustain Iraq Coalition," *Washington Post*, July 15, 2004.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ For average number of patrols per 24 hours see; Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, November 17, November 19, December 3, December 5, December 8, December 18, December 19, December 24, December 30, 2003; January 2, January 3, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30, 3 February, 4 February, 9 February, 10 February, 17 February, 21 February, 24 February, 25 February, 9 March, 10 March, 17 March, 22 March, 30 March, March 31, April 1, April 5, 2004, May 31, May 30, May 28, May 26, May 25, May 24, May 22, May 21, May 20, May 18, May 17, May 14, May 10, June 15, June 12, June 1, June 21, June 26 2004. Simple average of monthly data points. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit.

For average number of raids per 24 hours see; Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, November 17, November 19, December 3, December 5, December 8, December 18, December 19, December 24, December 30, 2003; January 2, January 3, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30, 3 February, 4 February, 9 February, 10 February, 17 February, 21 February, 24 February, 25 February, 9 March, 10 March, 17 March, 22 March, 30 March, March 31, April 1, April 5, 2004. Simple average of monthly data points According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit.

⁶⁸ Monthly average for August based on daily average as stated in John F. Burns, "General Vows to Intensify U.S Response to Attackers," *New York Times*, November 12, 2003. Estimate as cited by Lt. General Ricardo Sanchez. Since we don't have data for the whole month of September we are conservatively extrapolating between Aug and Oct. The data we do have suggests the number of attacks was closer to October levels than to August levels. September levels based partly on daily average as stated in Sameer N. Yacoub, "Coordinated Rebel Attacks in Iraq Kill 13, Injure At Least 172," *Associated Press*, December 27, 2003. Monthly average for October based on daily average as stated in John F. Burns, "General Vows to Intensify U.S Response to Attackers," *New York Times*, November 12, 2003. Estimate as cited by Lt. General Ricardo Sanchez. Monthly averages from November to May from "GAO-04-902R:Rebuilding Iraq: Resource, Security, Governance, Essential Services, and Oversight Issues," General Accounting Office, June 2004, p.46. The figures are approximate as a result of the numbers being interpreted from a graph. Monthly average for June based on daily average as stated in.

⁶⁹ Raymond Bonner and Joel Brinkley. "The Struggle for Iraq: The Attackers; Latest Attacks Underscore Differing Intelligence Estimates of Strength of Foreign Guerillas," *New York Times*, October 28, 2003.

⁷⁰ Raymond Bonner and Joel Brinkley, "The Struggle for Iraq: The Attackers; Latest Attacks Underscore Differing Intelligence Estimates of Strength of Foreign Guerillas," *New York Times*, October 28, 2003.

⁷¹ Eric Schmitt, "A Region Inflamed: The Military; General Says Cash and Arms are Cut Off in Iraqi Hotbed," *New York Times*, December 13, 2003. As stated by Maj. General Raymond Odierno.

⁷² Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*. December 3, December 8, December 18, December 24, 2003. Simple average of monthly data points

⁷³ Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*. December 3, December 8, December 18, December 24, 2003. Simple average of monthly data points

⁷⁴ Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense* January 2, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Simple average of monthly data points

⁷⁵ Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense* January 2, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30, 2004. Simple average of monthly data points

⁷⁶ Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, February 5, February 9, February 17, February 25, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Simple average of monthly data points

⁷⁷ Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, February 5, February 9, February 17, February 25, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Simple average of monthly data points

⁷⁸ Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*., March 9, March 17, March 22, March 31, April 1, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Simple average of monthly data points

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³⁷⁰ “CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll Nationwide poll of Iraq.” Face to face interviews with 3,444 adults in Iraq were conducted in Arabic and Kurdish by Iraqi interviewers hired and supervised by the Pan Arab Research Center of Dubai. All interviews were conducted in the residences of the respondents. The poll results are based on interviews conducted in all parts of Iraq, both urban and rural, representing about 93% of the total Iraqi population. Nearly all the interviews were conducted between March 22 –April 9, 2004.” (i.a.cnn.net/cnn/2004/WORLD/meast/04/28/iraq.poll/iraq.poll.4.28.pdf [May 13, 2004]).

³⁷¹ Thomas E. Ricks, “80% in Iraq Distrust Occupation Authority,” *Washington Post*, May 13, 2004. Results cited are from a Coalition Provisional Authority poll.

³⁷² Thomas E. Ricks, “80% in Iraq Distrust Occupation Authority,” *Washington Post*, May 13, 2004. Results cited are from a poll conducted for the Coalition Provisional Authority.

³⁷³ Oxford Research International/BBC/ABC News.ARD/NHK, as quoted in “Special Report: Iraq, One Year On,” *Economist*, March 20, 2004. Poll conducted between February 9th and February 28th.

³⁷⁴ “Opinion Analysis, *Office of Research, Department of State*, Washington DC, January 29, 2004. “The Office of Research survey was carried out between December 31, 2003 and January 7, 2004. The margin of error for the entire sample is approximately +/- 4 percent, but varies among cities.”

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ “Opinion Analysis,” *Office of Research, Department of State*, Washington DC, January 6, 2004. Preliminary findings. The Office of Research survey was carried out between November 19-28. It has a margin of error of +/-6%.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Will Lester, “Poll Finds Baghdad Residents Glad to Be Rid of Saddam,” *Associated Press*, September 24, 2003. The Gallup poll cited was carried out between August 8 and September 4. It has a margin of error of +/-3%.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Walter Pincus, “Skepticism About U.S. Deep, Iraq Polls Shows; Motive for Invasion is Focus of Doubts,” *Washington Post*, November 12, 2003.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Polling information from April 2003 to January 2004 from “CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll: January 2-5, 2004 – FINAL TOPLINE,” *Gallup*. Provided to author by contacts at the Gallup Organization. Polling information from February 2004 to May 2004 from “CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll: May 7-9 – FINAL TOPLINE,” *Gallup*. Provided to author by contacts at the Gallup Organization.