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

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Updated September 20, 2004

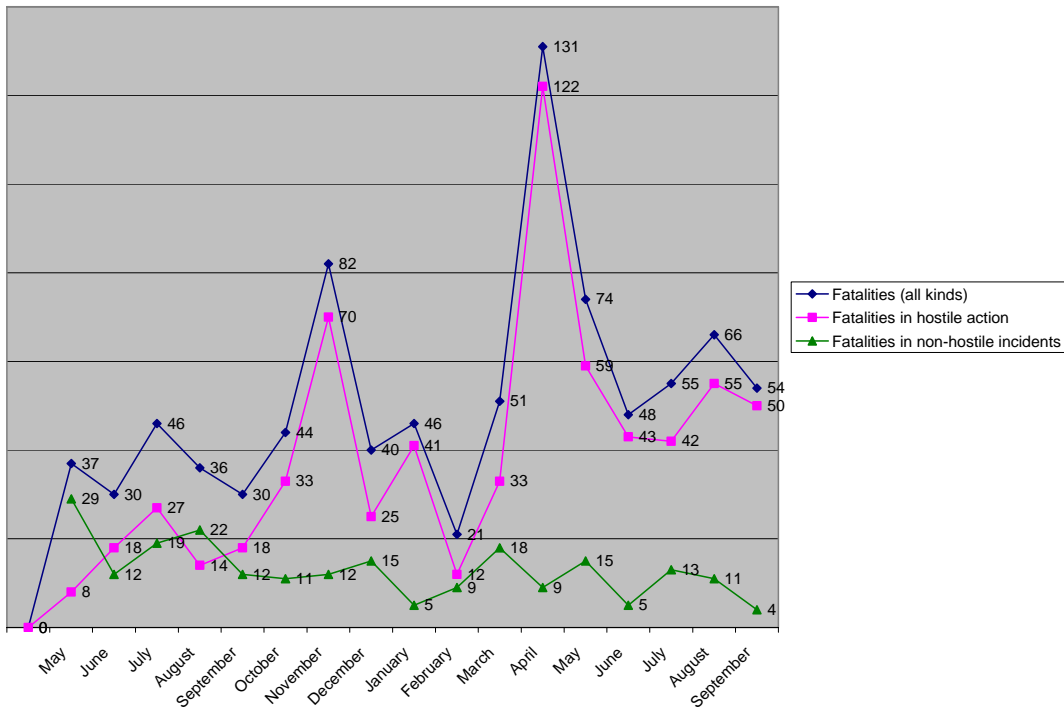
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SECURITY INDICATORS

U.S. TROOPS FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 2003¹



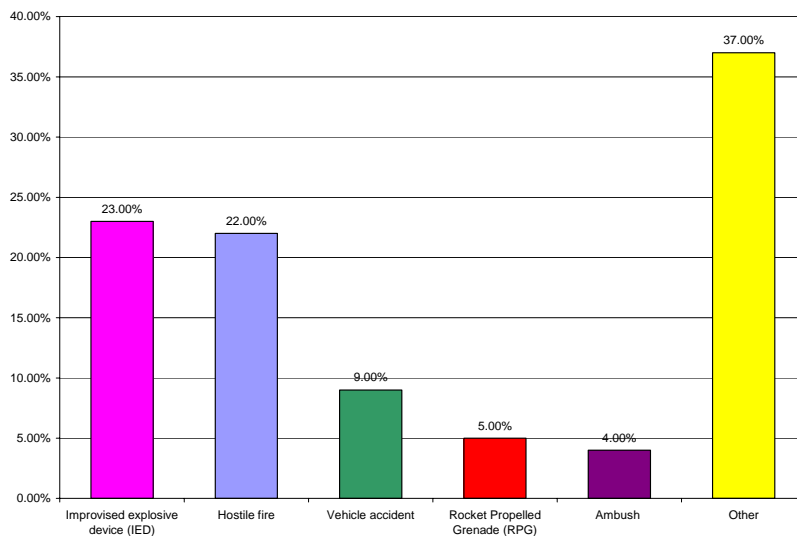
Totals as of September 20, 2004:

Fatalities (all kinds): **891**

Fatalities in hostile incidents: **670**

Fatalities in non-hostile incidents: **221**

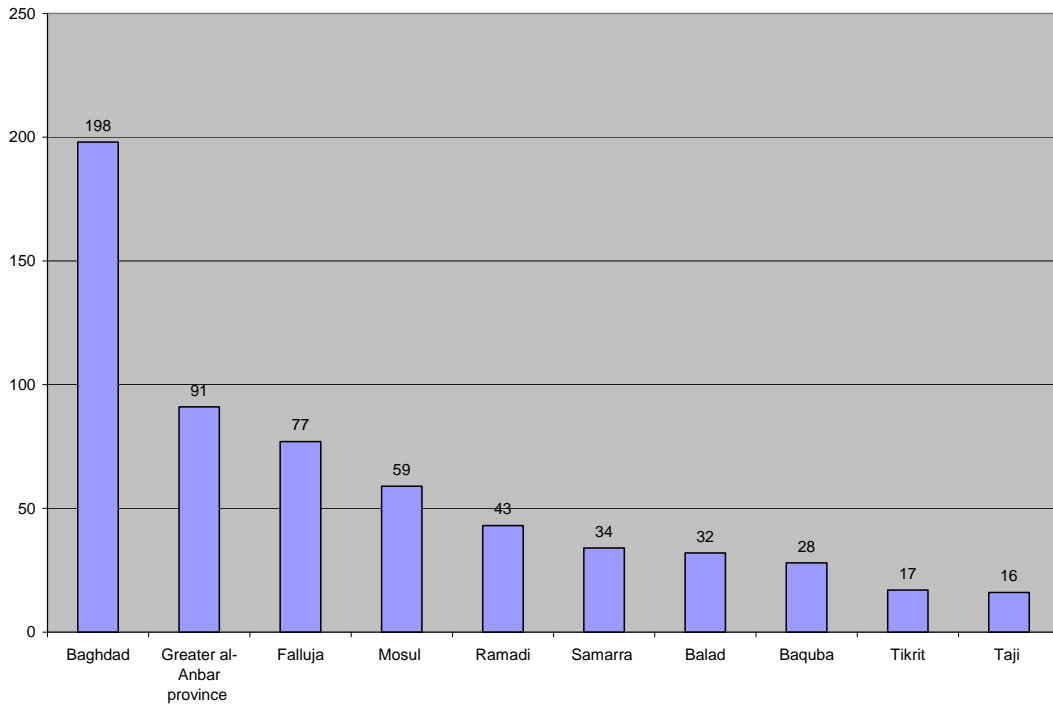
TOP FIVE CAUSES OF U.S. MILITARY FATALITIES IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 1, 2003²



As of September 16, 2004

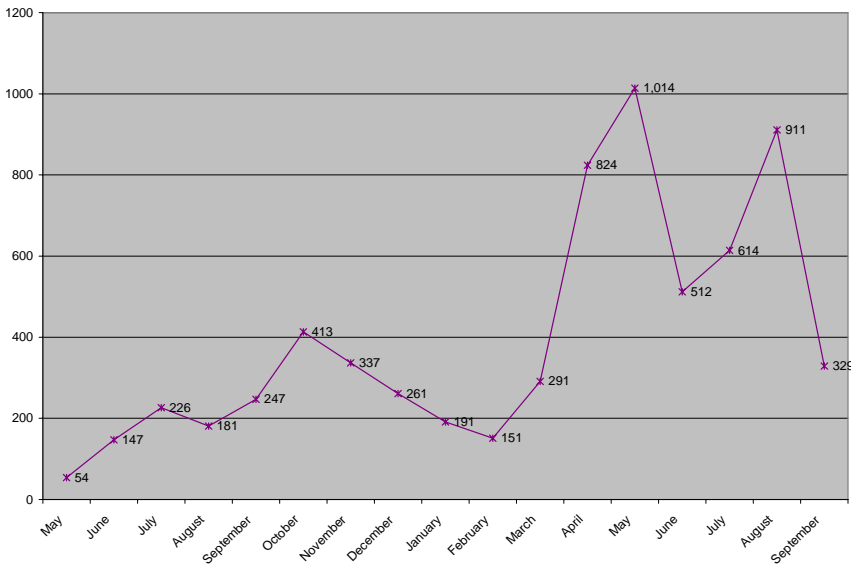
NOTE ON U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY TABLE: From the start of the war on March 19 until the end of major combat operations on April 30, 2003, Operation Iraqi Freedom caused 138 American troop fatalities. Of those, 109 were the result of hostile action, and 29 the result of non-hostile action. 65 U.S. 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.

LOCATIONS OF FREQUENT U.S. MILITARY FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1, 2003³



As of September 17, 2004

U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY, 2003⁴

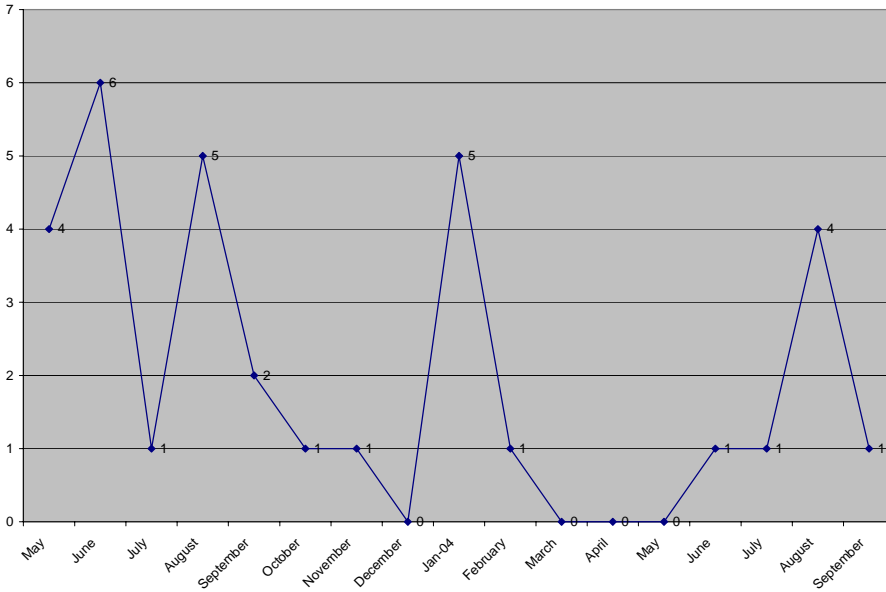


Totals as of September 15, 2004: 6,703

NOTE ON LOCATIONS OF FREQUENT U.S. MILITARY FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1, 2003 TABLE: These ten locations, where the greatest number of American fatalities have occurred, account for at least 595 of the 886 American military fatalities suffered in Iraq since May 1, 2003 and up until September 17, 2003.

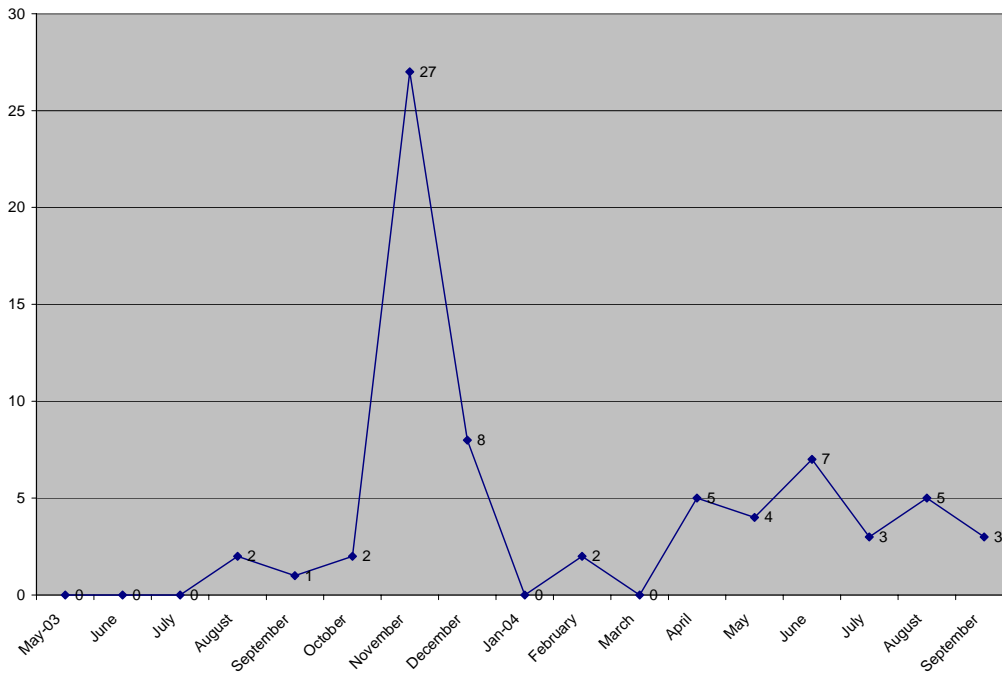
NOTE ON U.S TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY 1, 2003 TABLE: The number of troops wounded in action is updated in the Iraqi Index every Wednesday. 541 American troops were wounded in action between March 19 and April 30, 2003.

BRITISH TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 2003⁵



Total as of September 20: 33

NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 2003⁶

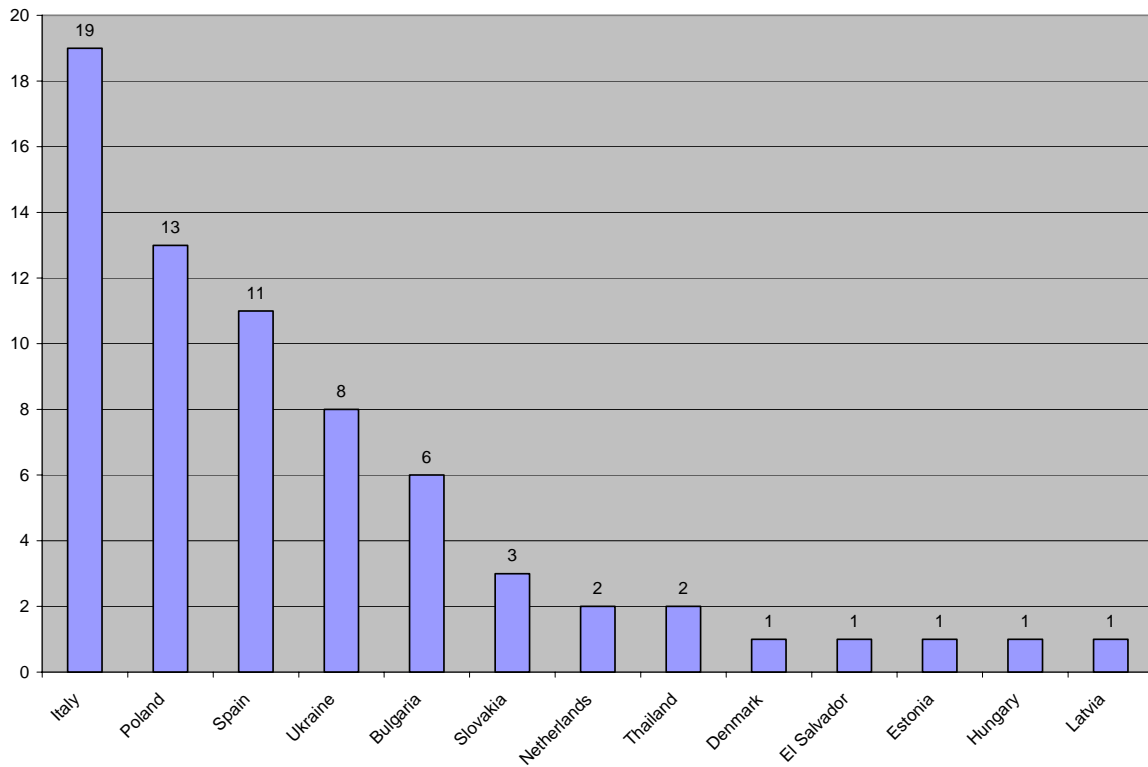


Total as of September 20, 2004: 69

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 TROOP 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.

NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION TROOP FATALITIES BY COUNTRY SINCE MAY, 2003⁷



As of September 20, 2004

IRAQI POLICE KILLED

<p>Total number of Iraqi police killed since May, 2003 as of August 4, 2004</p>
<p>710⁸</p>

IRAQI INTERPRETERS WORKING FOR COALITION FORCES KILLED

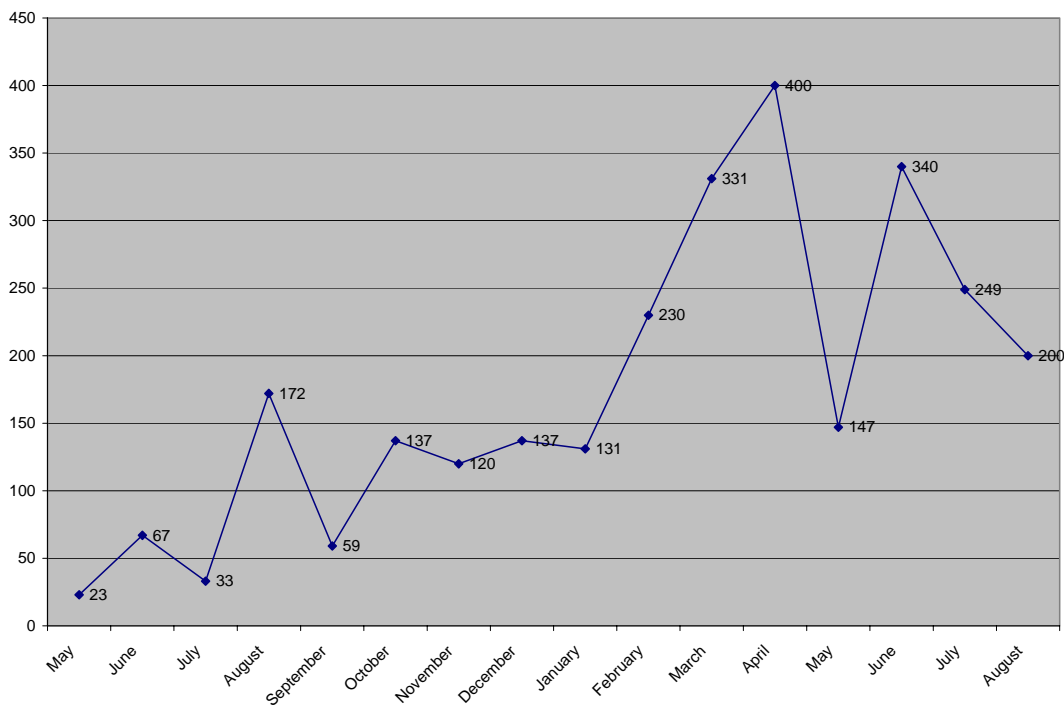
<p>Total number of Iraqi police killed since January, 2004 as of September 18, 2004</p>
<p>52⁹</p>

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

ESTIMATES OF IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE THE START OF THE WAR

Iraq Body Count	13,000-15,000 as of September 10, 2004¹⁰
British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw	>10,000 as of February 2004¹¹
Shaik Omar Clinic, Baghdad	10,363 as of September 8, 2004¹² (in Baghdad and surrounding towns alone)
Amnesty International (London)	>10,000 as of September 8, 2004¹³
Human Rights Organization, Iraq	>30,000¹⁴

IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR SINCE MAY 2003¹⁵



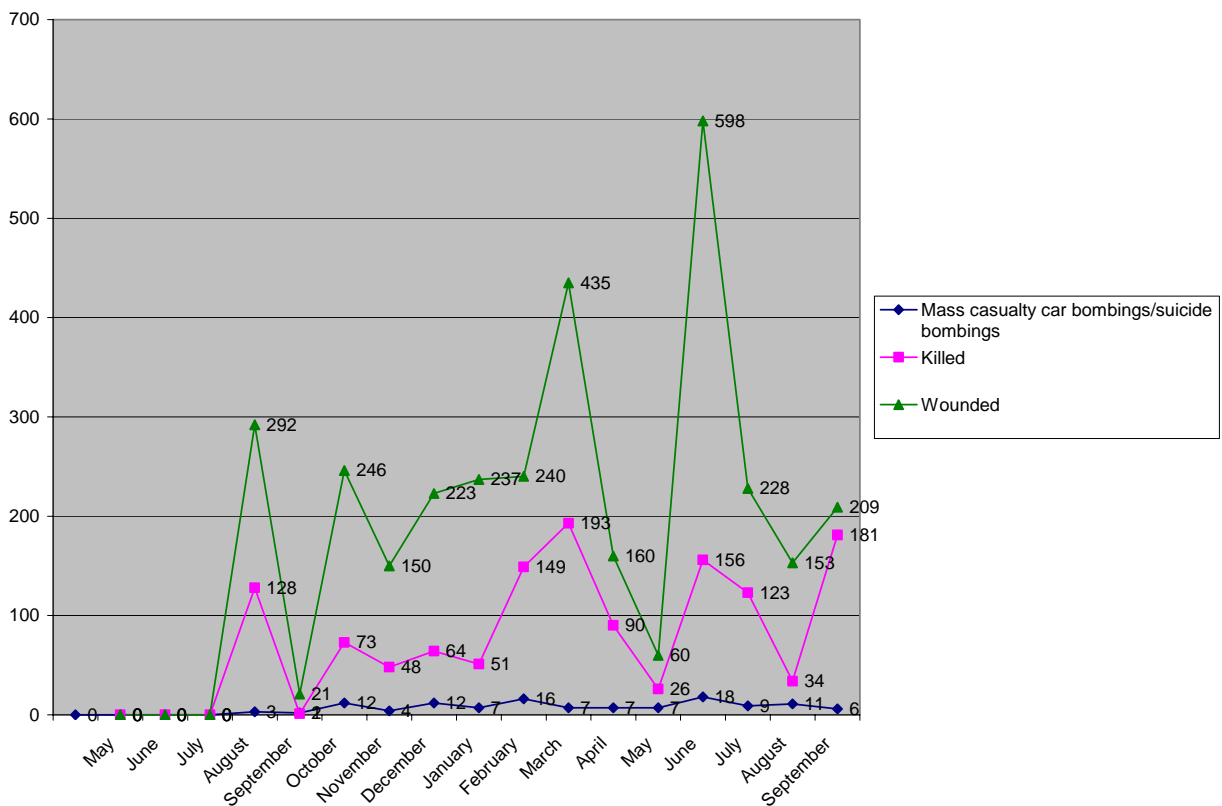
Total as of August 30: 2,776

NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: Iraq Body Count estimate that 7,350 Iraqi civilians were killed during major combat operations until May 1, 2003. ([www.iraqbodycount.net/September 14, 2004](http://www.iraqbodycount.net/September%2014,%202004)).

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.

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. We are doing our utmost not to include suspected Iraqi insurgents killed deliberately by U.S. forces. In our tally.. 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.

MASS CASUALTY BOMBINGS IN IRAQ SINCE MAY, 2003¹⁶



Totals as of September 20:

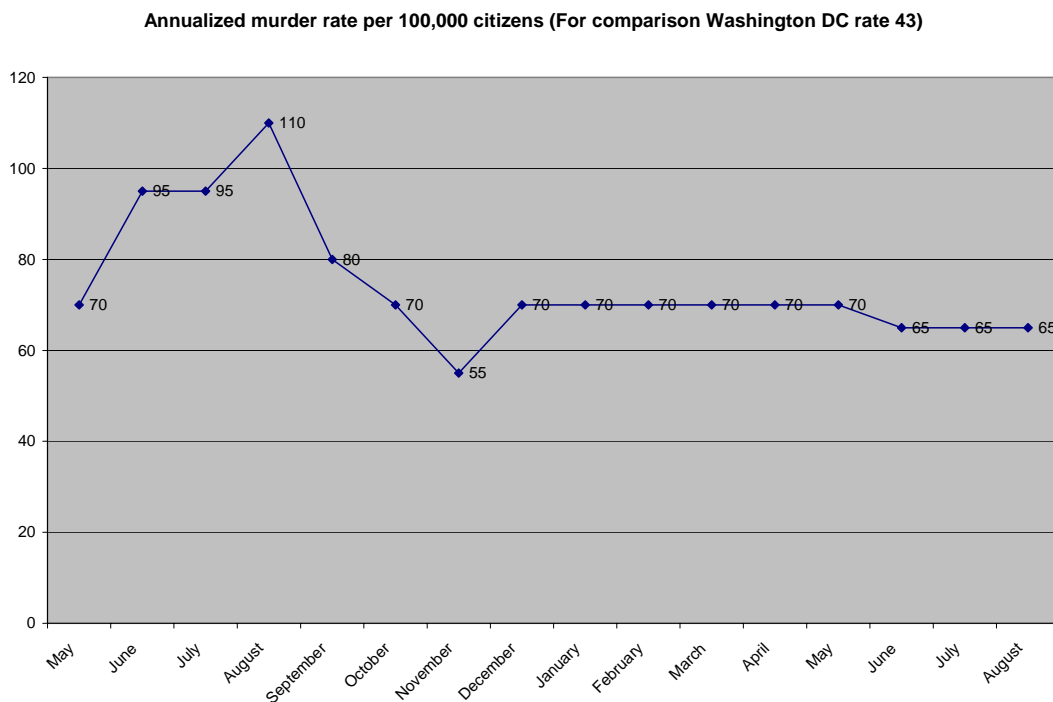
Mass casualty bombings: 121

Killed: 1,317

Wounded: 3,252

NOTE: At least 81 of the 121 mass casualty 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.

CRIME-RELATED DEATHS IN BAGHDAD SINCE MAY, 2003¹⁷



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.

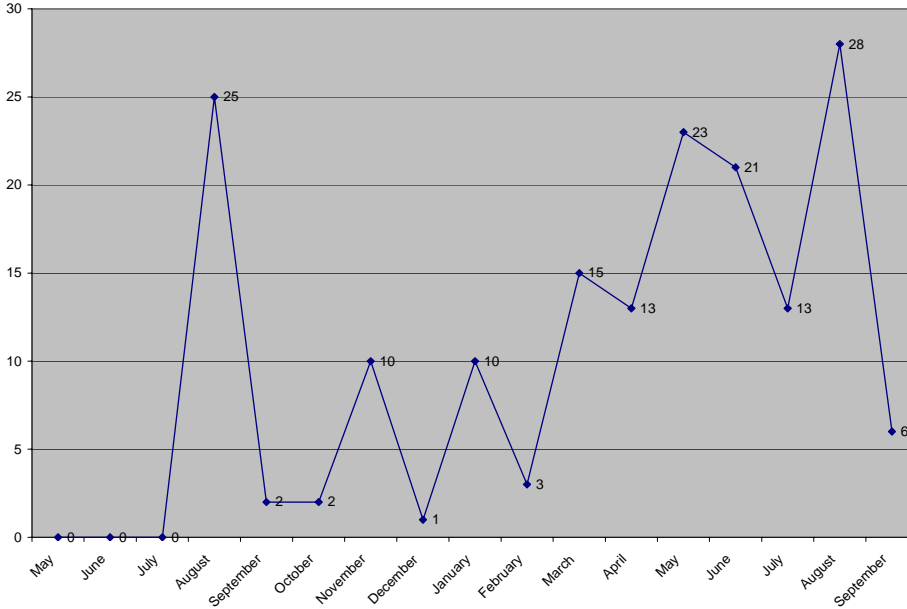
NOTE: Despite a generally poor security situation in Baghdad, there are indicators suggesting that the situation is improving somewhat. According to a report made by Brig. Gen. Mark Hurling, assistant commander, 1st Armored Division, Baghdad, “we continue to see a decrease in crime (especially as we put more Iraqi Police and ICDC [Iraqi Civil Defense Corps] on the streets.)¹⁸” 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.¹⁹” 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: ...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.

TOTAL IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF VIOLENCE FROM WAR AND VIOLENCE FROM CRIME²⁰

Number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of violence from war and violence from crime between May, 2003 and August 30, 2004	10,300-27,400
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NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES KILLED SINCE MAY, 2003²¹



Total as of September 70: 172

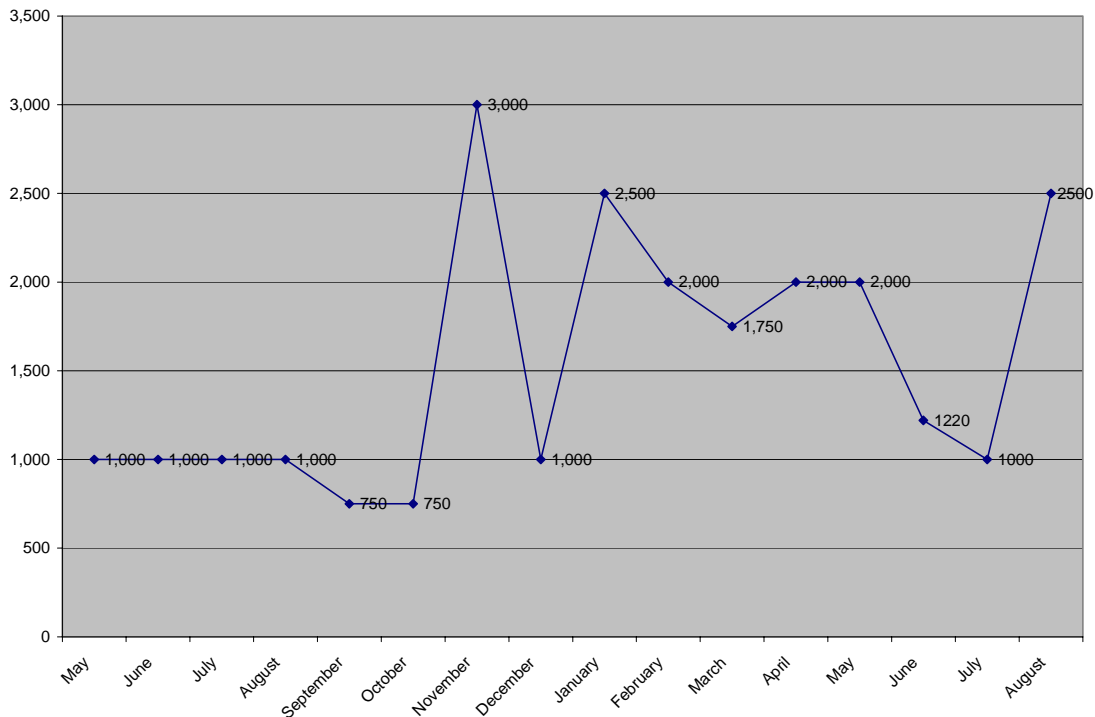
NOTE ON TOTAL IRAQI CIVILIANS CASUALTIES AS A RESULT OF POLITICAL AND CRIMINAL VIOLENCE BETWEEN MAY, 2003 AND JUNE, 2004 TABLE: Recognizing that the statistics for civilian casualties are not good, and that it is very hard to differentiate whether Iraqi civilian fatalities are due to violence from war or violence from crime, we have estimated how many people have died of both causes since May, 2003 and up until June 25, 2004. The total represented by this table is a rough but we believe reasonable estimate of how many Iraqi civilian casualties have been killed during this period.

NOTE ON NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES TABLE: At least 45 Halliburton employees have been killed in Iraq since March 2003. and up until August 29, 2004. T Christian Miller, "In Iraq, 'Road Warriors' Deliver the Goods," *Los Angeles Times*, August 29, 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.

FOREIGN NATIONALS KIDNAPPED IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 2003

Month	Number of foreigners kidnapped	Status
May 2003 - October 2003	0	
November	1 ²²	1 released
December	0	
January 2004	0	
February	0	
March	0	
April	43 ²³	3 killed, 30 released, 2 still held, 1 escaped, 7 status unknown
May	2 ²⁴	1 killed, 1 still held
June	3 ²⁵	1 escaped, 2 killed
July	26 ²⁶	3 killed, 13 released, 1 rescued, 1 escaped, 6 still held, 2 unknown
August	29 ²⁷	15 killed, 1 still held, 13 released
September	21 ²⁸	21 still held
Date of capture unknown	13 ²⁹	11 unknown, 2 killed
Total as of September 20, 2004	138	26 killed, 57 released, 3 escaped, 1 rescued, 31 still held, 20 status unknown

SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED³⁰



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

IRAQI PRISON POPULATION ³¹

Peak prison population in 2003	10,000
Prison population in July, 2004	5,700 ³² (of which 90 are foreign nationals)
Prison population as of September 7, 2004	5,500 (whereof 2 are women, 65-70 are juveniles and 130-140 are foreign nationals)

ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE

Month	Estimated strength of Iraqi resistance nationwide
November	5,000 ³³
December	5,000 ³⁴
January 2004	3, 000-5,000 ³⁵
February	N/A
March	N/A
April	5,000 ³⁶
May	N/A
June	N/A
July	20,000 ³⁷
August	20,000
September	20,000 ³⁸

NOTE ON IRAQI PRISON POPULATION TABLE: Military official now claims that the duration of processing those arresting and releasing those who are innocent have been decreased to an average of 60 days from having been between 120 – 140 days. Only 25 individuals of those released have been recaptured for being suspected of conducting attacks against American forces. Dexter Filkins, “General Says Less Coercion of Captives Yields Better Data,” *New York Times*, September 7, 2004.

NOTE ON ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE TABLE: The Deputy Commander of Coalition forces in Iraq, British Major General Andrew Graham,, estimates that there are 40,000 to 50,000 active insurgent fighters” in Iraq. Johanna McGeary, “Mission Still Not Accomplished,” *Time Magazine*, September 2, 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 ‘Anonymus’ No. 2; Low-Profile Deputy Director Leads Agency’s Analytical Side,” *Washington Post*, January 9, 2004.

COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY

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 ³⁹	~8,000 ⁴⁰	150,000 ⁴¹	23,000 ⁴²	173,000
June	~126,000 ⁴³	~24,000 ⁴⁴	150,000 ⁴⁵	21,000 ⁴⁶	171,000
July	~124,000 ⁴⁷	~25,000 ⁴⁸	149,000 ⁴⁹	21,000 ⁵⁰	170,000
August	~114,000 ⁵¹	~25,000 ⁵²	139,000 ⁵³	22,000 ⁵⁴	161,000
September	~103,000 ⁵⁵	~29,000 ⁵⁶	132,000 ⁵⁷	24,000 ⁵⁸	156,000
October	~102,000 ⁵⁹	~29,000 ⁶⁰	131,000 ⁶¹	25,000 ⁶²	156,000
November	N/A	N/A	123,000 ⁶³	23,900 ⁶⁴	146,900
December	~85,400 ⁶⁵	~36,600 ⁶⁶	122,000 ⁶⁷	24,500 ⁶⁸	146,500
January	N/A	N/A	122,000 ⁶⁹	25,600 ⁷⁰	147,600
February	N/A	N/A	115,000 ⁷¹	24,000 ⁷²	139,000
March	N/A	N/A	130,000 ⁷³	24,000 ⁷⁴	154,000
April	N/A	N/A	137,000 ⁷⁵	25,000 ⁷⁶	162,000
May	N/A	N/A	138,000 ⁷⁷	24,000 ⁷⁸	162,000
June	89,700	48,300 ⁷⁹	138,000 ⁸⁰	23,000 ⁸¹	161,000
July	N/A	N/A	140,000 ⁸²	22,000 ⁸³	162,000
August	84,000	56,000 ⁸⁴	140,000 ⁸⁵	22,000	162,000
September	84,000	56,000 ⁸⁶	140,000 ⁸⁷	22,000	162,000

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 ⁸⁸
December	45,000 ⁸⁹

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.

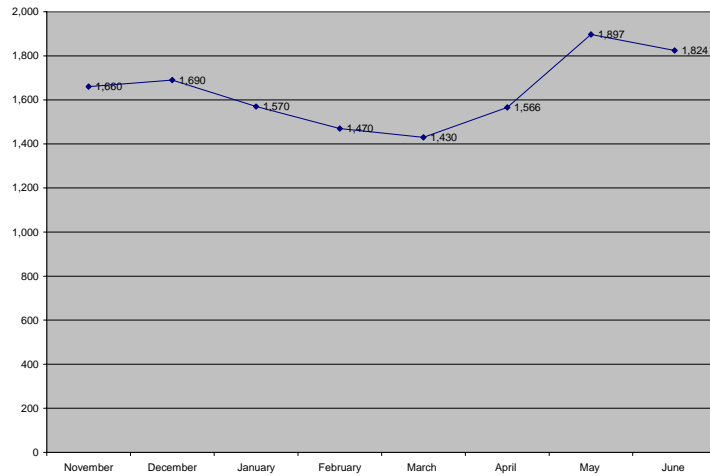
NOTE ON U.S. TROOPS ENGAGED IN OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM STATIONED IN THE VICINITIES OF IRAQ AND AT SEA TABLE: Of the 51,000 troops involved in Operation Iraqi Freedom stationed outside of Iraq in September 2003, approximately 10,070 were Navy personnel (most at sea in the Persian Gulf). The majority of 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

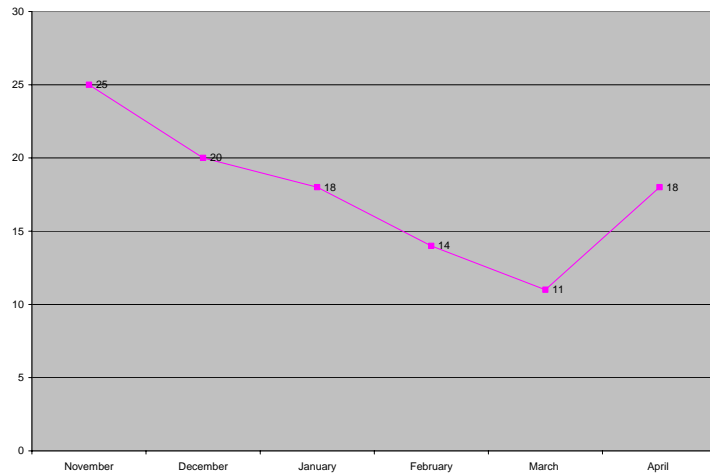
Coalition country	Military personnel in Iraq ⁹⁰
United Kingdom	8,300
South Korea	3,600 ⁹¹
Poland	3,000 ⁹²
Italy	2,800
Ukraine	1,600 ⁹³
Netherlands	1,300
Australia	850
Romania	700
Japan	500
Bulgaria	450

COALITION FORCES ACTIVITY⁹⁴

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PATROLS/24 HOURS



AVERAGE NUMBER OF RAIDS/24 HOURS



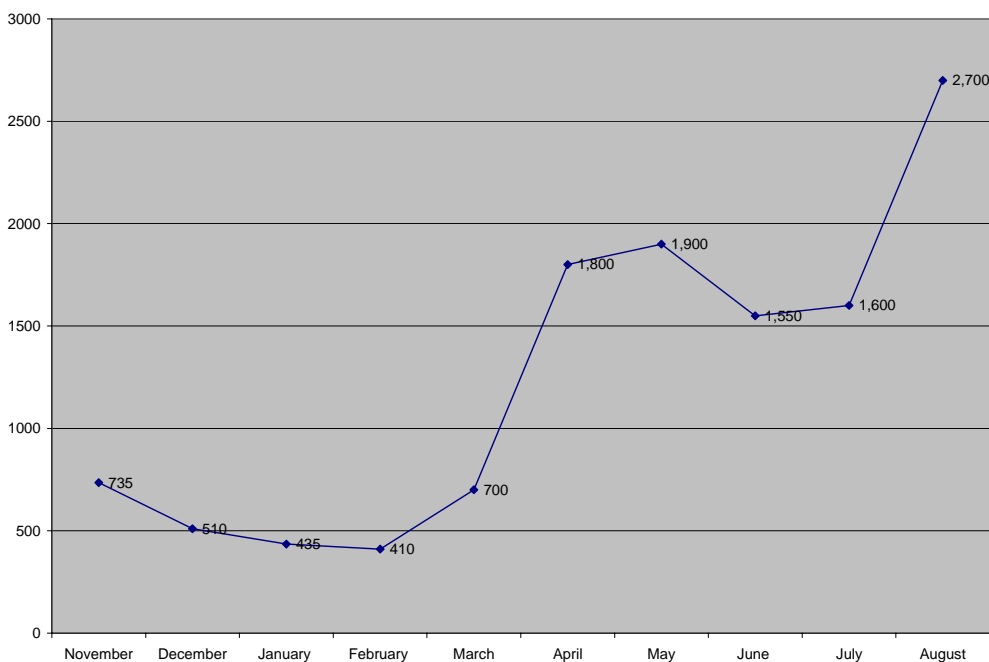
NOTE ON TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ TABLE:
Spain withdrew the last of its 1,300 troops from Iraq on May 21.

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, Honduras, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Singapore, Slovakia, Thailand, , Ukraine and the United Kingdom.

“HIGH-VALUE” INTELLIGENCE REPORTS⁹⁵

<p>Increase in number of “high-value” Intelligence reports drawn from interrogations on a monthly basis as of September 6, 2004 since January 2004</p>	<p>50%</p>
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INSURGENT ATTACKS ON COALITION FORCES⁹⁶



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 ⁹⁷
June	N/A
July	N/A
August	N/A
September	N/A
October	1,000-2,000/ 3,000-5,000 ⁹⁸
November	N/A
December	500/3,000 ⁹⁹

N/A= Not available

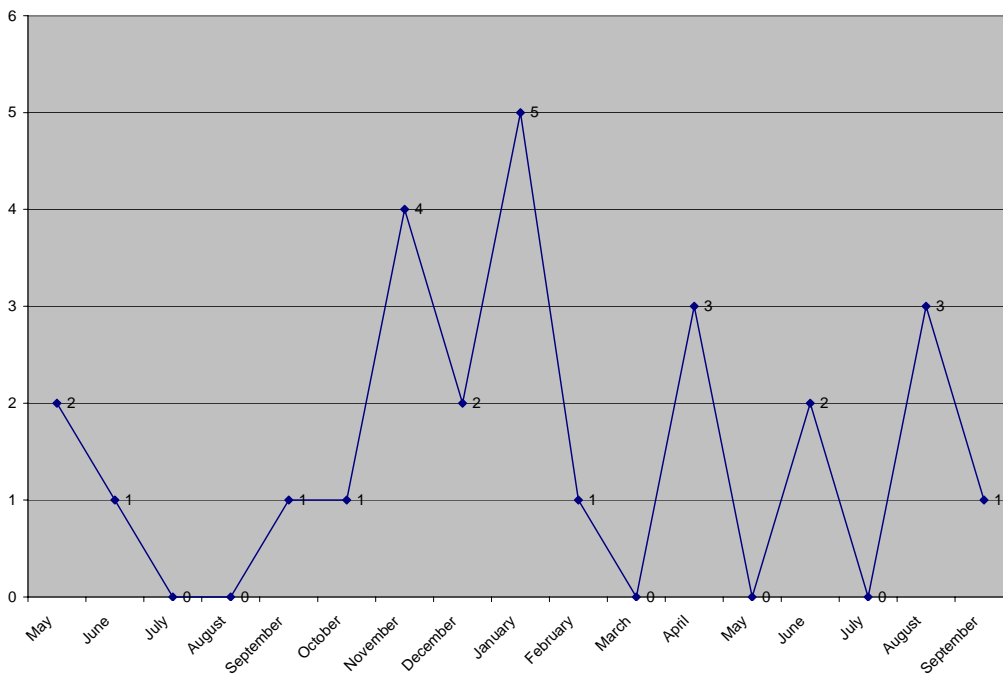
INSURGENT ATTACKS ON IRAQI SECURITY FORCES AND IRAQI CIVILIANS

4/2/2004

Month	Typical number of daily attacks on Iraqi security forces	Typical number of daily attacks on Iraqi civilians
December	2 ¹⁰⁰	2 ¹⁰¹
January	4 ¹⁰²	1 ¹⁰³
February	4 ¹⁰⁴	3 ¹⁰⁵
March	4 ¹⁰⁶	4 ¹⁰⁷
April	N/A	N/A
May	N/A	N/A

N/A= Not available

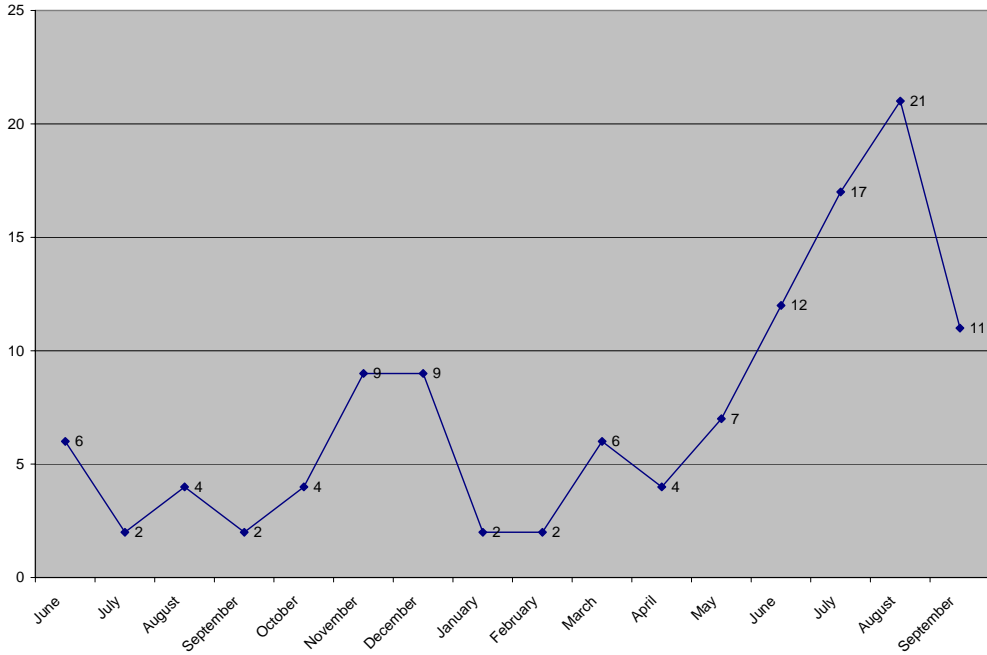
AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ¹⁰⁸



Total as of September 20: 26

NOTE ON AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ TABLE: Of the 26 helicopters downed in Iraq since May 2003, at least 16 were downed by enemy fire.

ATTACKS ON IRAQI OIL AND GAS PIPELINES, INSTALLATIONS & PERSONNEL¹⁰⁹



Total as of September 20: 118

BAATHIST LEADERS STILL AT LARGE SINCE APRIL

Month	Iraqi 55 most wanted: Individuals still at large ¹¹⁰
April	40
May	28
June	23
July	18
August	16
September	15
October	15
November	15
December	13 ¹¹¹
January	12 ¹¹²
February	10 ¹¹³
March	9 ¹¹⁴
April	9
May	9
June	9
July	9
August	9
September	8 ¹¹⁵

NOTE ON BAATHIST LEADERS STILL AT LARGE SINCE APRIL TABLE: Reports on September 6, 2004 said that a man believed to be Izzat Ibrahim had been captured. DNA tests are currently being taken to confirm that this is the case. The table assumes that the apprehended man indeed is Ibrahim. We will update this information as soon as more information is available.

SIZE OF IRAQI SECURITY FORCES ON DUTY

Month	Iraqi security forces					
	Police	National Guard (Former Civil Defense Corps)	Army	Border patrol	Facilities protection services	Total Iraqi security forces
May	7,000-9,000 ¹¹⁶	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
June	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	30,000 ¹¹⁷	N/A	0	N/A	11,000 ¹¹⁸	N/A
August	34,000 ¹¹⁹	670 ¹²⁰	0	2,500 ¹²¹	N/A	N/A
September	37,000 ¹²²	2,500 ¹²³	0	4,700 ¹²⁴	>12,000 ¹²⁵	56,200
October	55,000 ¹²⁶	4,700 ¹²⁷	700 ¹²⁸	6,400 ¹²⁹	18,700 ¹³⁰	85,500
November	68,800 ¹³¹	12,700 ¹³²	900 ¹³³	12,400 ¹³⁴	52,700 ¹³⁵	147,500
December	71,600 ¹³⁶	15,200 ¹³⁷	400 ¹³⁸	12,900 ¹³⁹	65,200 ¹⁴⁰	165,300
January	66,900 ¹⁴¹	19,800 ¹⁴²	1,100 ¹⁴³	21,000 ¹⁴⁴	97,800 ¹⁴⁵	206,600
February	77,100 ¹⁴⁶	27,900 ¹⁴⁷	2,000 ¹⁴⁸	18,000 ¹⁴⁹	73,900 ¹⁵⁰	198,900
March	75,000 ¹⁵¹	33,560 ¹⁵²	3,005 ¹⁵³	23,426 ¹⁵⁴	73,992 ¹⁵⁵	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	80,016 ¹⁵⁶	23,123 ¹⁵⁷	2,367 ¹⁵⁸	18,747 ¹⁵⁹	73,992 ¹⁶⁰	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	90,803 ¹⁶¹	24,873 ¹⁶²	3,939 ¹⁶³	16,097 ¹⁶⁴	73,992 ¹⁶⁵	209,704 ¹⁶⁶
	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	83,789 ¹⁶⁷	36,229 ¹⁶⁸	7,116 ¹⁶⁹	18,183 ¹⁷⁰	73,992 ¹⁷¹	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
July	31,300 ¹⁷² partially or fully trained	36,229 ¹⁷³ partially or fully trained	7,700 ¹⁷⁴ partially or fully trained	19,859 ¹⁷⁵ partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁷⁶ partially or fully trained	169,080 partially or fully trained
August	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	206,000 ¹⁷⁷ 53% partially or fully trained
September	32,000 on duty, none fully trained ¹⁷⁸	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	95,000 ¹⁷⁹ partially or fully trained
Stated goal	89,369 ¹⁸⁰	41,088 ¹⁸¹	35,000 ¹⁸²	20,420 ¹⁸³	73,992 ¹⁸⁴	259,869

N/A= Not available

NOTE: According to Donald Rumsfeld, Iraqi Security forces number around 206,000 in August, 2004. 96,000 of those forces have not been fully trained and equipped. Thom Shanker, "Terrorists Will Fall In Attempt to Disturb Voting For President In Afghanistan, Rumsfeld Says," *New York Times*, August 11, 2004.

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.

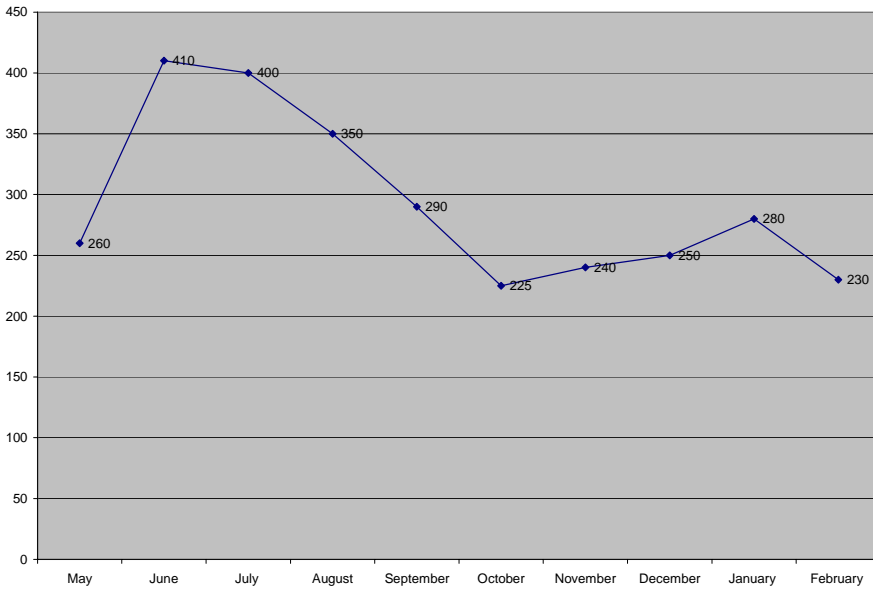
NOTE: 10% of Iraqi security forces fought against coalition forces during the upsurge in insurgent violence in April, according to the commander of the 1st Armored Division, Major General Martin Dempsey. Another 40% "walked off the job because they were intimidated," Major Dempsey said. Connie Cass, "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 DEPARTMENT¹⁸⁵



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>	499.3 ¹⁸⁶
<i>Austria</i>	813.1 ¹⁸⁷
<i>Belgium</i>	184.5 ¹⁸⁸
<i>Brazil</i>	192.9 ¹⁸⁹
<i>Canada</i>	564.2 ¹⁹⁰
<i>Denmark</i>	30.8 ¹⁹¹
<i>Finland</i>	152.2 ¹⁹²
<i>France</i>	2,993.7 ¹⁹³
<i>Germany</i>	2,403.9 ¹⁹⁴
<i>Italy</i>	1,726 ¹⁹⁵
<i>Japan</i>	4,108.6 ¹⁹⁶
<i>Netherlands</i>	96.7 ¹⁹⁷
<i>Republic of Korea</i>	54.7 ¹⁹⁸
<i>Russian Federation</i>	3,450 ¹⁹⁹
<i>Spain</i>	321.2 ²⁰⁰
<i>Sweden</i>	185.8 ²⁰¹
<i>Switzerland</i>	117.5 ²⁰²
<i>United Kingdom</i>	930.8 ²⁰³
<i>United States</i>	2,192 ²⁰⁴
Egypt and others	N/A
<i>Poland</i>	500 ²⁰⁵
<i>Kuwait</i>	17,000 ²⁰⁶
<i>Bulgaria</i>	1,000 ²⁰⁷
<i>Hungary</i>	16.5 ²⁰⁸
<i>Gulf States</i>	30,000 ²⁰⁹
<i>Morocco</i>	31.8 ²¹⁰
<i>Jordan</i>	295 ²¹¹
<i>Turkey</i>	800 ²¹²
Interest (as of 2002)	47,000 ²¹³
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 AT THE INTERNATIONAL DONOR'S CONFERENCE FOR IRAQ IN MADRID,
OCTOBER 23-24, 2003²¹⁴.**

Donor	2004 (millions)	2005-2007 (millions)	Unspecified by year (millions)	Total (millions)
Australia	\$45.59	\$0	\$0	\$45.59
Austria	\$1.94	\$3.53	\$0	\$5.48
Belgium	\$5.89	\$0	\$0	\$5.89
Bulgaria	\$0.64	\$0	\$0	\$0.64
Canada	\$0	\$0	\$187.47	\$187.47
China	\$0	\$0	\$25	\$25
Cyprus	\$0	\$0	\$0.12	\$0.12
Czech Republic	\$7.33	\$7.33	\$0.00	\$14.66
Denmark	\$26.95	\$0	\$0	\$26.95
Estonia	\$0.08	\$0	\$0	\$0.08
Finland	\$5.89	\$0	\$0	\$5.89
Greece	\$0	\$0	\$3.53	\$3.53
Hungary	\$1.24	\$0	\$0	\$1.24
India	\$10	\$0	\$0	\$10
Iran	\$5	\$0	\$0	\$5
Ireland	\$3.53	\$0	\$0	\$3.53
Iceland	\$1.50	\$1	\$0	\$2.50
Italy	\$0	\$0	\$235.62	\$235.62
Japan	\$0	\$0	\$4,914.00	\$4,914.00
Korea	\$0	\$0	\$200	\$200
Kuwait	\$0	\$0	\$500	\$500
Luxembourg	\$1.18	\$1.18	\$0	\$2.36
Malta	\$0.00	\$0	\$0.27	\$0.27
Netherlands	\$9.42	\$0	\$0	\$9.42
New Zealand	\$3.35	\$0	\$0	\$3.35
Norway	\$4.29	\$8.58	\$0	\$12.87
Oman	\$0	\$0	\$3	\$3
Pakistan	\$0	\$0	\$2.50	\$2.50
Qatar	\$0	\$0	\$100	\$100
Saudi Arabia	\$120	\$380	\$0	\$500
Slovenia	\$0.27	\$0.15	\$0	\$0.42
Spain	\$80	\$140	\$0	\$220
Sweden	\$0	\$0	\$33	\$33
Turkey	\$0	\$0	\$50	\$50
United Arab Emirates	\$0	\$0	\$215	\$215
United Kingdom	\$235.48	\$216.85	\$0	\$452.33
United States	\$0	\$0	\$18,649	\$18,649
International Monetary Fund	\$850	\$1,700-3,400	\$0	\$2,550-4,250
World Bank	\$500	\$2,500-4,500	\$0	\$3,000-5,000
European Commission , European Union member states and acceding countries	\$614.83	\$394.04	\$272.54	\$1,256.41
European Community	\$235.62	\$0	\$0	\$235.62
Total	\$2,155.21	\$4,958.62 - 8,658.62	\$25,118.50	\$32,232.33- 35,932.33 (whereof \$22,271.71 in grants & \$9,625-13,325 in loans²¹⁵)

NOTE: The World Bank defines a pledge as “an indication of intent to mobilize funds for which an approximate sum of contribution is specified. “ The amounts in this table excludes identified humanitarian assistance (\$115.17 million) and export credits and guarantees. Most donors were not able to specify the type of grant assistance at the time of the conference.

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.

WORLD BANK ESTIMATE OF IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION NEEDS²¹⁶

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 ASSESSMENT²¹⁷

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, 2004²¹⁸

	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	\$1.2 ²¹⁹

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, 2004²²⁰

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 CONTRACTS²²¹

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

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

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

FUEL

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	2.8-3.0 ²²²	1.7-2.5 ²²³	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
May	0.3 ²²⁴	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
June	0.675 ²²⁵	0.2 ²²⁶	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	0.925 ²²⁷	0.322 ²²⁸	6.5 ²²⁹	4.75 ²³⁰	13.5 ²³¹	1,880 ²³²
Aug.	1.445 ²³³	0.646 ²³⁴	10.25 ²³⁵	6.2 ²³⁶	14.0 ²³⁷	2,530 ²³⁸
Sept.	1.7225 ²³⁹	0.983 ²⁴⁰	14.25 ²⁴¹	6.9 ²⁴²	17.3 ²⁴³	3,030 ²⁴⁴
Oct.	2.055 ²⁴⁵	1.149 ²⁴⁶	14.75 ²⁴⁷	9.6 ²⁴⁸	16.35 ²⁴⁹	3,700 ²⁵⁰
November	2.1 ²⁵¹	1.524 ²⁵²	13.14 ²⁵³	13.3 ²⁵⁴	11.792 ²⁵⁵	3,610 ²⁵⁶
December	2.30 ²⁵⁷	1.541 ²⁵⁸	12.29 ²⁵⁹	9.4 ²⁶⁰	12.9 ²⁶¹	3,460 ²⁶²
January	2.440 ²⁶³	1.537 ²⁶⁴	13.91 ²⁶⁵	11.3 ²⁶⁶	13.32 ²⁶⁷	3,445 ²⁶⁸
February	2.276 ²⁶⁹	1.382 ²⁷⁰	15.21 ²⁷¹	13.05 ²⁷²	16.65 ²⁷³	4,670 ²⁷⁴
March	2.435 ²⁷⁵	1.825 ²⁷⁶	15.03 ²⁷⁷	17.28 ²⁷⁸	17.19 ²⁷⁹	5,010 ²⁸⁰
April	2.384 ²⁸¹	1.804 ²⁸²	22.75 ²⁸³	4.46 ²⁸⁴	19.3 ²⁸⁵	3,607 ²⁸⁶
May	1.887 ²⁸⁷	1.380 ²⁸⁸	22.92 ²⁸⁹	4.005 ²⁹⁰	18.07 ²⁹¹	3,264 ²⁹²
June	2.295 ²⁹³	2.023 ²⁹⁴	16.47 ²⁹⁵	4.9 ²⁹⁶	22 ²⁹⁷	3,086 ²⁹⁸
July	N/A	N/A	15.3 ²⁹⁹	4.9 ³⁰⁰	22 ³⁰¹	3,120 ³⁰²
August	1.85 ³⁰³	1.8 ³⁰⁴	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Stated Goal:	2.8-3.0 ³⁰⁵ to be reached by December 2004	N/A	18 ³⁰⁶ revised down in June from 19.5	5.0 ³⁰⁷ revised up in June from 4.5 in May	22 ³⁰⁸ revised up in June from 19 in May	4,000 ³⁰⁹ 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 somewhat 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

ELECTRICITY

Time	Average amount of electricity generated (Megawatts)		Average hours of electricity among 18 governorates ³¹⁰
	Nation-wide	Baghdad	
Estimated pre-war level	4,400 ³¹¹	2,500 ³¹²	N/A
May	N/A	300 ³¹³	N/A
June	3,193 ³¹⁴	707 ³¹⁵	N/A
July	3,236 ³¹⁶	1,082 ³¹⁷	N/A
Aug.	3,263 ³¹⁸	1,283 ³¹⁹	N/A
Sept.	3,543 ³²⁰	1,229 ³²¹	N/A
Oct.	3,948 ³²²	N/A	N/A
November	3,582 ³²³	N/A	N/A
December	3,427 ³²⁴	N/A	N/A
January	3,758 ³²⁵	N/A	N/A
February	4,125 ³²⁶	1,307 ³²⁷	13
March	4,040 ³²⁸	1,192 ³²⁹	15
April	3,823 ³³⁰	1,021 ³³¹	15
May	3,902 ³³²	1,053 ³³³	11
June	4,293 ³³⁴	1,198	10
July	5,000 ³³⁵	N/A	10
August	5,300 ³³⁶	N/A	10
Stated Goal:	6,000 to have been reached by July 1, 2004 ³³⁷	2,500 to have been reached by October 2003 ³³⁸	N/A

N/A = Not available

VALUE OF THE IRAQI DINAR

Month	\$1 =ID
October 15	2,000 ³³⁹
November	1,948 ³⁴⁰
December	1,675 ³⁴¹
January	1,360 ³⁴²
February	1,425 ³⁴³
March	1,415 ³⁴⁴
April	1,455 ³⁴⁵
May	1,460 ³⁴⁶
June	1,455 ³⁴⁷
July	1,460 ³⁴⁸
August	1,460 ³⁴⁹
September	1,460 ³⁵⁰

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.

NOTE ON AVERAGE HOURS OF ELECTRICITY PER DAY AMONG 18 GOVERNORATES TABLE : The table shows the average hours of electricity available per day to the population in Baghdad, Dahuk, Naynawa, Tamim, Salah Ad Din, Anbar, Diyala, Babil, Karbala, Najaf, Qadisiyah, Wasit, Muthanna, Dhi Qar, Maysan, Basrah, Arbil, and Sulaymaniyah. The average is a simple average, and not weighed according to how many people live in the respective governorates.

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

Time	Port cargo capacity (raw tonnage in millions) ³⁵¹	Commercial aircraft departures nationwide (per day) ³⁵²
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	20,000 ³⁵³
September	5,000 ³⁵⁴
October	3,500 ³⁵⁵

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

5/5/2004

Time	Number of phones	Number of Internet connections
Estimated pre-war level	833,000 ³⁵⁶	4,500 ³⁵⁷
September	850,000 ³⁵⁸	4,900 ³⁵⁹
December	600,000 ³⁶⁰	N/A
January 2004	600,000 ³⁶¹	N/A
February	900,000 ³⁶²	N/A
March	984,225 ³⁶³	N/A
April	1,095,000 ³⁶⁴	N/A
May	1,220,000 ³⁶⁵	N/A
June	1,200,000 ³⁶⁶	N/A
Previous goal (Jan. 2004)	1,100,000 ³⁶⁷	50,000 ³⁶⁸

LOCAL GOVERNANCE COUNCILS

2/18/2004

Month	Number of local governance councils
November	255 ³⁶⁹
December	255
January	N/A
February	318 ³⁷⁰

HOSPITALS RESTORED TO PRE-WAR LEVEL OF OPERATIONS

3/7/2004

Month	Hospitals restored to pre-war level of operations
March	90% ³⁷¹

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

NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE SINCE MAY 1

Month	Unemployment rate nationwide
May	N/A
June	50 - 60% ³⁷²
July	N/A
August	50-60% ³⁷³
September	N/A
October	40 - 50% ³⁷⁴
November	N/A
December	45-55% ³⁷⁵
January	30 - 45% ³⁷⁶
February	30 - 45% ³⁷⁷
March	30- 45% ³⁷⁸
April	30 - 45% ³⁷⁹
May	30-45% ³⁸⁰
June	30-40% ³⁸¹
July	30-40% ³⁸²
August	30-40% ³⁸³

N/A= Not available

NOTE ON NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT TABLE: Estimates of Iraq’s unemployment rate varies, but we estimate it to be between 30-40%. The CPA has referred to a 25% unemployment rate, the Iraqi Ministry of Planning mentioned a 30% unemployment rate, whereas the Iraqi Ministry of Social Affairs claims it to be 48%. “Reconstructing Iraq,” International Crisis Group, Report, September 2, 2004, p. 16, footnote 157. As

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

POLLING

**INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE & INDEPENDENT INSTITUTE FOR
ADMINISTRATIVE AND CIVIL SOCIETY STUDIES POLL:
AUGUST 10-20, 2004³⁸⁴**

Since the Fall of the Baath regime in April 2003, do you feel that your life has gotten better, worse or stayed the same?	Better: 46.5% Worse: 31.3% Same: 20.8% Don't know: 1.1%
Do you feel that there are enough opportunities for you or people like you to play a role in improving the quality of life in your community?	Yes: 40% No: 42% Don't know/No answer: 10%
To what degree do you feel that democracy in Iraq is likely or unlikely to succeed?	Very likely: 20.2% Somewhat likely: 37.8% Somewhat unlikely: 13.9% Very unlikely: 18.3% Don't know: 9.3%
Do you plan to vote in the upcoming election?	Yes: 88% No: 8% Don't know/No answer: 5%
How confident are you that when you cast your ballot, that your vote will be secret?	Very confident: 29% Somewhat confident: 33.2% Not very confident: 11.5% Not confident at all: 10.5%
To what extent do you feel that elections will reflect the will of the Iraqi people?	Very likely: 38.3% Somewhat likely: 37.3% Somewhat unlikely: 7.6% Very unlikely: 5.3%
To what extent do you feel that violence is likely leading up to, or during Iraq's elections scheduled to take place in January?	Very likely: 39% Somewhat likely: 37% Somewhat unlikely: 8% Very unlikely: 4%

REGIONAL VIEW OF QUALITY OF LIFE

	Kurdish areas	South	Mid-Euphrates	Baghdad	Mosul & Kirkuk	Sunni areas
Since the Fall of the Baath regime in April 2003, do you feel that your life has gotten better, worse or stayed the same?	Better: 85.6% Worse: 3.5%	Better: 52.8% Worse: 29.8%	Better: 52.7% Worse: 25.8%	Better: 36.4% Worse: 34.6%	Better: 26.5% Worse: 29.1%	Better: 11.9% Worse: 68.9%
Thinking about the future, do you think your life will be better, worse, or stay the same one year from now?	Better: 88.8% Worse: 1.6%	Better: 66.4% Worse: 14%	Better: 77% Worse: 11.7%	Better: 62.1% Worse: 9.3%	Better: 50% Worse: 14.3%	Better: 42.5% Worse: 29.2%

**INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE & INDEPENDENT INSTITUTE FOR
ADMINISTRATIVE AND CIVIL SOCIETY STUDIES POLL:
JULY 24 - AUGUST 2, 2004³⁸⁵**

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND PRIME MINISTER ALLAWI

To what degree do you feel that the Interim Government has been effective since the handover of authority on June 28?	Very effective: 19.8% Somewhat effective: 42.3% Somewhat ineffective: 14.3% Very ineffective: 12.3% Don't know: 10.4%	
To what degree do you feel that Prime Minister Ayed Allawi has been effective since the handover of authority on June 28?	Very effective: 30.6% Somewhat effective: 35.6% Somewhat ineffective: 9.4% Very ineffective: 8.9% Don't know: 13.8%	
On what issues do you feel that Prime Minister Allawi has beenmost effective? Improving security: 45.2% Don't know: 16.4% Improving outside relationships: 13.3% Improving economy: 2.8% Solving unemployment: 1.1% Solving housing crisis: 0.9%	...least effective? Don't know: 26.2% Rebuilding infrastructure: 15.5% Improving security: 9.5% Improving economy: 7.5% Solving unemployment: 6.73% Removal of coalition forces from Iraq: 2.5%

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF CURRENT SITUATION

Do you feel that Iraq is generally heading in the right or the wrong direction?	June Right direction: 50.7% Wrong direction: 39.3% Don't know: 9.2%	July Right direction: 51.3% Wrong direction: 31.4% Don't know: 16.05%
If you think Iraq is moving in the wrong direction, why is that?	Security situation: 62.45% Presence of occupation forces: 17.42% Unemployment: 5.1% Bias to certain groups of Iraqis: 3.66% Economic situation: 2.87% Neglect of infrastructure: 1.71%	
Thinking about the last two months, do you feel that the economy and security have gotten better, worse, or stayed the same?	Economy Better: 47.36% Worse: 13.99% Same: 36.08%	Security Better: 56.77% Worse: 19.96% Same: 21.63%

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, 2004: COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY (CPA) POLL³⁸⁷

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 POLL³⁸⁹

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 INSTITUTIONS³⁹⁰

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 BAGHDAD³⁹¹

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? ³⁹²
February	Better: 56.5% Worse: 18.6%

31 DECEMBER – 7 JANUARY: STATE DEPARTMENT STUDY OF IRAQ PUBLIC OPINION³⁹³

GREATEST THREAT TO IRAQI CITIZENS

Type of threat	What is the greatest threat to yourself and your family? ³⁹⁴					
	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? ³⁹⁵					
	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... ³⁹⁶		
	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.... ³⁹⁷		
	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.... ³⁹⁸		
	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... ³⁹⁹		
	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? ⁴⁰⁰		
	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? ⁴⁰¹					
	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? ⁴⁰²				
	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? ⁴⁰³	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? ⁴⁰⁴	Agree: 66%	Agree: 61%
If coalition forces left immediately, would you feel more safe, less safe, or no difference? ⁴⁰⁵	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? ⁴⁰⁶	Better off: 67% Worse off: 8%
Is Iraq better off now than it was before the invasion? ⁴⁰⁷	Better off: 33% Worse off: 47%
Was ousting Saddam worth the hardships endured since the invasion? ⁴⁰⁸	Yes: 62% No: N/A
Would you like to see U.S. troops stay longer than a few more months? ⁴⁰⁹	Stay longer: 71% Not stay longer: 26%
Are there circumstances in which attacks against U.S. troops can be justified? ⁴¹⁰	No: 64% Sometimes justified: 36%
Have you been afraid at times to go outside your home during the day within the past four weeks? ⁴¹¹	Yes: 86% No: N/A
Is Baghdad a more dangerous place now than before the invasion? ⁴¹²	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?⁴¹³
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 Calculations based on data made available at (icasualties.org/oif/).

³ Calculations based on data made available at (icasualties.org/oif/).

⁴ 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/).

⁵ “Details of British Casualties,” *British Ministry of Defense*, (www.operations.mod.uk/telic/casualties.htm).

⁶ Calculations based on data made available at (icasualties.org/oif/).

⁷ Calculations based on data made available at (icasualties.org/oif/).

⁸ Todd Pitman, “Iraqi Cop: Once a Cushy Job, Now One of the Most Perilous,” *Associated Press*, July 31, 2004.

⁹ Sabrina Tavernise, “Iraqis Working for Americans are in Insurgent’s Cross Hairs,” *New York Times*, September 18, 2004.

¹⁰ Iraq Body Count, (Iraqbodycount.net [September 17, 2004]).

¹¹ Mike Dorning, “We are Losing Our People,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 14, 2004.

¹² Bassem Mroue, “AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone,” *Associated Press*,

¹³ Bassem Mroue, “AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone,” *Associated Press*,

¹⁴ Bassem Mroue, “AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone,” *Associated Press*,

¹⁵ 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 fatalities as a result of mass casualty car-bombings/suicide bombings. We exclude the former two types of cases in order to avoid any potential double counting, and the latter since we are tracking those numbers ourselves and prefer to rely on those figures. We thus added our monthly estimates of fatalities due to mass casualty car-bombings/suicide bombings to the monthly estimates arrived at by relying on the data given by Iraq bodycount.org. The numbers for April were not arrived at using the reports in Iraq Body Count. This is since the number of civilians killed according to this data base were too low considering the heavy fighting in Najaf. The number for this month is therefore author’s estimate based on several news reports during the month.

¹⁶ 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.

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

Karl Vick and Rajiv Chandrasekaran, “Iraq Has Deadliest Day in a Month,” *Washington Post*, October 10, 2003. Ian Fisher, “Iraq Math: Visible Gains Minus Losses,” *New York Times*, October 10, 2003. Attack on October 9. Ian Fisher, “Attacks North of Baghdad Kill 3 G.I.’s and Barely Miss Governor of an Iraqi Province,” *New York Times*, October 14, 2003. Attack on October 10. Rajiv Chandrasekaran, “Suicide Bomber Kills 7 in Baghdad,” *Washington Post*, October 13, 2003. Attack on October 12. Theola Labbe, “Car Bomb Explodes Outside Turkish Embassy in Baghdad,” *Washington Post*, October 15, 2003. Attack on October 14. Dexter Filkins and Alex Berenson, “Suicide Bombers in Baghdad Kill at Least 34,” *New York Times*, October 28, 2003. Five attacks on October 27, including the attack on the headquarters of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Rajiv Chandrasekaran and Anthony Shadid, “Truck Bomb Near Fallujah Police Station Kills Four,” *Washington Post*, October 29, 2003. Attack on August 28. “Baghdad Official Killed,” *New York Times*, October 29, 2003. Attack on October 28.

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,” 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.

Neela Banerjee, “Suicide Bomber Outside Shiite Mosque in Iraq Kills Four Worshipers,” *New York Times*, January 10, 2004. Attack on January 9. Daniel Williams, “Suicide Blast Kills 2 at Iraqi Police Post,” *Washington Post*, January 15, 2004. Attack on January 14. Daniel Williams, “Suicide Attack Outside U.S. Headquarters Wounds Over 60,” *Washington Post*, January 19, 2004. Attack on January 18. Pamela Constable, “Bombings Kill 5 U.S. Troops and 4 Iraqis,” *Washington Post*, January 25, 2004. Attack on January 24. Jeffrey Gettleman, “A Suicide Bomber Kills 3 in Baghdad,” *New York Times*, January 29, 2004. Attack on January 28. Dexter Filkins, “3 G.I.’s Among 12 Killed in Bombings in Iraq,” *New York Times*, February 1, 2004. Attack on January 31.

Daniel Williams, “Blasts Target Iraq’s Kurdish Parties,” *Washington Post*, February 2, 2004. Two attacks on February 1. Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing, News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, February 10, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Attack on February 9. Ariana Eunjung Cha, “Two Car Bombs Kill at Least 75 in Central Iraq,” *Washington Post*, February 11, 2004. “Iraq Suicide Bombs Kills 11; UN to Rule on Handover,” *Reuters*, February 18, 2004. Two attacks on February 18. Christine Hauser, “At Least 8 Killed in Bombing Outside Iraqi Police Station,” *Washington Post*, February 23, 2004. Attack on February 23.

Rajiv Shandrasekaran and Anthony Shadid, “Shiites Massacred in Iraq Blast,” *Washington Post*, March 3, 2004. Attacks on two sites by 4 suicide bombers on March 2. Casualty figures in Ariana Eunjung Cha, “Bombing Suspects Seized by Iraqi Police,” *Washington Post*, March 5, 2004. John F. Burns, “Hotel Attacks Linked to War Anniversary,” *New York Times*, March 19, 2004. Sewell Chan, “U.S. Civilians Mutilated in Iraq Attack,” *Washington Post*, April 1, 2004.

John F. Burns, “Attack on Market and a Roadside Bombing Kill 28 Iraqis,” *New York Times*. One suicide bombing in Basra and one roadside bomb in Iskandariya during the week of April 23. Five attacks in Basra on April 21.

Susan Sachs, “Attacks in Mideast Raise Fear of More At Oil Installations,” *New York Times*, May 8, 2004. Scott Wilson and Sewell Chan, “7 Iraqis Killed by Bomb Hidden in Box,” *Washington Post*, May 10, 2004. Christopher Torchia, “Suicide Bomb Kills Head of Iraqi Governing Council,” *Associated Press*, May 17, 2004. Jackie Spinner, “Iraqi Security Official Survives Bomb Blast,” *Washington Post*, May 23, 2004. A car bomb detonated on May 22, 2004. Sabah Jerjes, “U.S. Military; Two killed in Roadside Bomb Near Coalition Headquarters.” *Associated Press*, May 24, 2004. Abdul Hussein Al-Obeidi, “U.S. Forces Fight Cleric’s Supporters in Najaf,” *Associated Press*, May 25, 2004. Edward Cody, “Car Bomb in Baghdad Kills Four Iraqis,” *Washington Post*, June 1, 2004. 4 killed and 25 wounded.

Daniel Williams and Jackie Spinner, “Iraq Moves Ahead, But Attacks Persist,” *Washington Post*, June 1, 2004. At least 5 people were killed. Mariam Fam, “U.S. Troops Battle Shiite Militants in Kufa, Baghdad,” *Associated Press*, June 2, 2004. Two car bombs detonated on June

2, killing at least 6 people and wounding 33. Mammoun Youssef, "Al-Qaida-affiliated Group Claims Responsibility for Deadly Baghdad Attacks," *Associated Press*, June 7, 2004. Two car bombs detonated on June 6, killing nine people. At least one of the attacks is believed to have been a suicide bombing. Robert H. Reid, "Two Suicide Car Bombings in Northern Iraq Kill 14 Iraqis and one U.S. Soldiers," *Associated Press*, June 8, 2004. At least 15 people were killed and 126 wounded. Jackie Spinner and Edward Cody, "Baghdad Blast Kill 12 Iraqis, Soldier," *Washington Post*, June 14, 2004. Sameer N. Yacoub, "Car Bombs in Baghdad," *Associated Press*, June 17, 2004. Two attacks killing 41 people and wounding 142. Christopher Torchia, "Iraqi Deputy Minister Wounded in Suicide Car Bomb Outside His Home," *Associated Press*, May 22, 2004. Edward Cody, "100 Iraqis Killed in Wave of Attacks," *Washington Post*, June 25, 2004. Five car bombs killed 62 people and wounded more than 220. Jim Krane, "Insurgents Launch Fresh Attacks in Baqouba," *Associated Press*, June 26, 2004. One person killed and 18 injured.

Doug Struck, "Suicide Bombs at Funeral Kills 14," *Washington Post*, July 7, 2004. Suicide bomb killed 14 people and wounded 70. Sameer N. Yacoub, "Car Bomb Rocks Baghdad Killing at Least 10, Injuring 40 as Philippines Withdraws Troops," *Associated Press*, July 14, 2004. "Bomb Kills at Least 10 in Second Day of Violence in Iraq," *Associated Press*, July 15, 2004. 10 dead and 27 wounded. Danika Kirka, "Car Bomb Targets Iraqi Justice Minister in Baghdad," *Associated Press*, July 17, 2004. 2 bombings, which killed a total of 6 people and wounded 47. "Car Bombing Kills at Least Three People in Baghdad," *Associated Press*, July 21, 2004. Three killed. Ravi Nessman, "Nine Killed in Truck Bomb Blast in Southwest Baghdad," *Associated Press*, July 19, 2004. 9 killed and 40 wounded. Paul Garwood, "Suicide Bomber Explodes truck at U.S. Base in Northern Iraq," *Associated Press*, July 26, 2004. Paul Garwood, "Suicide Bombing Outside Iraqi Police Station Kills 68," *Associated Press*, July 28, 2004. 68 killed and 56 wounded.

Omar Sinan, "Coordinated Bombs on Iraqi Christian Churches Kill 11," *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. 6 bombings causing 16 people killed and injuring 100. Sameer N. Yacoub, "Car Bomb, Insurgent Attacks Kill Seven Iraqi Security Personnel," *Associated Press*, August 3, 2004. "Car Bomb Blast in Iraq Kills 7 Policemen," *New York Times on the Web*, August 9, 2004. Suicide bomber kills 7 and wounds 16. "Car Bomb Explodes Northeast of Iraqi Capital, Two Killed," *Associated Press*, August 9, 2004. Two killed and 12 wounded. Alex Berenson and Dexter Filkins, "Rebel Iraqi Cleric is Told to Give Up of Face Attack," *New York Times*, August 25, 2004. Four killed and 2 wounded.

Erik Eckholm, "Suicide Blast Kills 17 in Worst of Several Attacks in Iraq," *New York Times*, September 5, 2004. 17 people killed (14 policemen and 3 civilians). Sabrina Tavernise, "7 U.S. Marines and 3 Iraqis are Killed in a Car Bomb Attack Outside Falluja," *New York Times*, September 7, 2004. 10 people killed. Edward Wong, "Bombing Kills 47 at Police Station in Iraqi Capital," *New York Times*, September 15, 2004. 47 killed and 114 wounded. "Suicide Bomb Blasts Rock Baghdad," *BBC News*, September 17, 2004. 13 killed and 20 wounded. Edward Wong, "Bombs Kill 19 in Kirkuk and 2 Soldiers in Baghdad," *New York Times*, September 19, 2004. Two suicide car bombs killed 21 people and wounded 75.

¹⁷ 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 "Unspeaking 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. Rate for June, July and August are based on author's estimate. 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.

¹⁸ Mark Hurling, et al. "On the Ground, Straight From the Top," *Washington Post*, December 7, 2003.

¹⁹ Jeffrey Fleishman, "Back Into Baghdad's Streets," *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 2004.

²⁰ Estimated number of Iraqi civilian casualties as represented in "Iraqi Civilians killed as a Result of War since May 2003," Iraq Index, www.brookings.edu/Iraqindex, table. The estimated number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of violence from crime was calculated based on an average annualized murder rate in Baghdad of 76.5/100,000 citizens. Based on a population of 5.6 million people in Baghdad we estimate that roughly 4,300 people are killed annually in the capital. The lower bound for the estimate of crime related deaths in the rest of Iraq was arrived at by taking the Baghdad annual rate times 0.8. The upper bound for the estimate of crime related deaths in the rest of Iraq was arrived at by taking the Baghdad annual rate time 3. In order to estimate the nationwide rate we then added the number of deaths caused by criminal violence to the lower and upper bound respectively. To arrive at the final estimate of number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of violence from war and violence from crime we then added the number of civilians killed as a result of violence from war up until June 25 to the lower and upper bound, respectively.

²¹ 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. September number are based on information from icasualties.org, website. 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. November number are based on information from icasualties.org, website. Alan Sipress, "U.S. Forces Kill Dozens after Iraq Ambushes," *Washington Post*, December 1, 2003. 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. February number are based on information from the icasualties.org website. 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. Anthony Shadid "U.S. Forces Take Heavy Losses as Violence Spreads Across Iraq," *Washington Post*, April 7, 2004. One Bulgarian civilian was killed on April 6. Jo Prins, "SA Man Decapitated," *News24.com*, (www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/News/0,,2-7-1442_1511018,00.html). One South African man was killed the week of April 5. Graeme Hosken, "Another SA citizen dies in Iraq,"

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